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TIBETAN LITERARY TEXTS  
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CHINESE TURKESTAN

SELECTED AND TRANSLATED BY  
F. W. THOMAS



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## PREFACE

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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<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> 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 *Ha-za*

**A**MONG 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 *khagans*; 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 *Hbrog* (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<sup>1</sup> 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 *Ha-za* 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.cañ Khoñ.co (Wên-ch'êng),  
widow of Sroñ.btsan.sgam.po = A.D. 681 (Bushell,  
*JRAS.* 1880, p. 438);

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this and a further MS., covering a subsequent period, see p. 38.



year 39: reception of the Chinese princess Kim-*śen* Kho*ñ*-co (i.e. Chün-ch'êng), as wife of the Tibetan king Khri-*hdus-sroñ* = A.D. 710 (Bushell, p. 457);

year 56: capture of the Chinese town of Kya-cu (An-hsi) = A.D. 727 (Bushell, p. 462);

year 68: death of the queen Kim-*śen* Kho*ñ*-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-za* people occupy in history a position of considerable obscurity. A tribe of "inner dwarfs" bearing the name *Se-ha-ta* 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-za* appears, according to Professor Francke, in Padma-sambhava literature, and, as belonging to a kind of fairies, also in Bon-po writings.<sup>1</sup> Finding it in the documents from Chinese Turkestan, Professor Francke was tempted to refer it there also to Lahul (*JRAS.* 1914, p. 46, and *Ancient Khotan*, p. 1162). 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-za* with the Tu-yu[k]-hum, a people well known in Chinese history (see

<sup>1</sup> 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-za 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-zas 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<sup>1</sup> AND TRANSLATIONS<sup>2</sup>

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

Hdun . ma . Dbu . ru . śod . kyī . Re . skam . du . bsdu . ste |  
 Khu . Hdus . tsan . dan . Rñegs . Khyi . ma . re . dan |  
 Ha . za . gsum . mchid . śags . ltshal . zin |

"The assemblage having been gathered in Re-skam of Dbu-ru-śod, the Khyu Hdus-tsan, Khyi-ma-re of Rñegs, and the Ha-za, these three, sent letters of complaint (protest ?)."

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

<sup>1</sup> In all the texts which follow partly legible *aksaras* are enclosed between square brackets and corrections between round brackets. Conjectural insertions are in *Italic*. Missing *aksaras* 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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:—

Btsan . po . Nēn . kar . gyi . Thaṅ . bu . ra . na . bṅgs .  
 śin | Btsan . mo . Khri . baṅs | Ḥa . za . rje . la . bag . mar .  
 gśegs |

"The Btsan-po (Khri-hdus-sroṅ) residing at Thaṅ-bu-ra in Nēn-kar, the Btsan-mo (princess) Khri-baṅs went as wife to the Ḥa-za king."

The name Khri-baṅs 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:—

Rtsaṅ . cen . poḥi . Ḥbrog . bskos . nas | blon . che . Khri .  
 ḥbrin . Ḥa . za . yul . du . mcis . par . lo . geig |

"After levying the Ḥbrog (nomads) of Rtsaṅ-cen the Great Minister Khri-ḥbrin went into the Ḥa-za country—so one year."

The Great Minister Khri-ḥbrin is perhaps identical with the Ch'ingling 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 Stoṅ-rtzan (= the Tungtsan, or Zutungtsan of Bushell, pp. 446-7, 453), was a great minister under Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po and his successor, dying in A.D. 667. One of his brothers, Btsan-sṅa, is the Tsanhsijo of Bushell, p. 447. Rtsaṅ-c[h]en, 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:—

blon . che . Khri . ḥbrin . Ḥa . za . yul . du . mcis . śin |  
 Stag . la . Rgya . dur . du . Rgyaḥi . dmag . dpon . Waṅ . zaṅ .  
 śo . daṅ . g-yul . sprade . Rgya . maṅ . po . bkum .

"The Great Councillor Khri-ḥbrin having gone into the Ḥa-za country, at Rgya-dur in Stag-la a battle was fought with the Chinese general Waṅ-zaṅ-śo, and many Chinese were slain."

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

## 5. Chronicle, ll. 70-1: Year 25 (Ape) = c. A.D. 696:—

Btsan . po . Zrid . mdaḥ . na . bṅgs . śin | blon . ce . Khri .

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 *chén*, "mart", may be connected with the *Shih-wu-fou* in the Śa-cu 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 . bsdluste | Bruñ . pa .  
Rdo . hphan . koñ . ni . byuñ | Tshes . poñ . Tre . goñ .  
behug . ste | Hbon . da . rgyal . dan . zañ . 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 Bruñ-pa Rdo-hphan-koñ was dismissed and Tre-goñ of Tshes-poñ 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-zañ-ñen ("uncle-relation" ?). The Hbon-da king, who recurs in the Chronicle,<sup>1</sup> 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" (*zañ-blon*) the word "uncle" should not be corrected to "noble" upon a supposition that a Chinese syllable is represented by *zañ* (see p. 321, n. 1). In a polyandrous country the position of "uncle" has special

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 104-143 (years 35-43 = A.D. 706-714), his surname being *Btsan-zañ*. Since he is clearly identical with the *Fintayen* of Bushell (p. 439) Khri-gzigs, who is constantly associated with him, should be Bushell's *Ch'ilikou*. His predecessor (father ?), surnamed *Khri-zañ*, appears in this Chronicle, ll. 10-63 (years 3-23 = A.D. 675-695).



aspects: and we need not understand an actual relationship of that kind. 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 Hbon or Dbon Ha-za were really "nephew" or "grandson" Ha-zas on the above lines and that the Dbon (below, pp. 29, 32) country came so by its name. On *Tshes-poñ*, = *Tshe-spoñ*, 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 . za . yul . du  
gsegste | sul . du . Dbahs . Sum . po . skyes . bkañ . gyod . la .  
chags | . . . dgun . Btsan . phoñi . pho . brañ . Jor . goñ .  
sna . nah . bzugste | Hbon . Ha . za . rje . dan | zañ . dbon .  
gdan . tshom | Dbahs . Stag . sgra . Khoñ . lod . blon . chen .  
por . bkañ . stsald | Ha . za . phal . po . che . bya . sga .  
stsald |

"The Btsan-po having gone in the summer to the Ha-za country to assume sovereignty, on the way, the *Dbahs* Sum-po-skyes attempted to evade orders (*bkañ-gyod*!) . . . The Hbon Ha-za chief and the uncle *dbon* (nephew?) resigned (exchanged?) their posts. The *Dbahs* Stag-sgra-Khoñ-lod was appointed Great Councillor. The Ha-za 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-gsal-baḥi-ne-lon*) (Lhasa Expedition, F. 1, fol. 306, l. 3) the form *dbas* is found. In Vol. I, p. 302, the term is clearly a tribal or clan name.

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

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

Ha . zañi . pha . los . bgyis .

"The Ha-za revolted."

9. Chronicle, l. 220: Year 64 (Hog) = c. A.D. 735:—

Blon.chen.po.Cuñ.bzañ.Ha.ža.yul.dit.mehis.par.lo.  
geig |

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

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

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

Khu.ñe.Mon.gañsu.blon.Mañ.po.rjes.Ha.žahi.mkhos.  
bgyia.

"At Khu-ñe-Mon-gañs the minister Mañ-po-rje levied the Ha-ža."

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-zuñ, 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'ü-mangpuchih of the Chinese history (Bushell, p. 455). Possibly the present Mañ-po-rje is his son.

Khu-ñe Mon-gañs is clearly in the Ha-ža country. It is possible that *Khu-ñe* is equivalent to the *khumiya*, *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-gañs*, looks as if it meant "ice (-country) of the Mons", concerning whom, see pp. 288-299. In *gañs*, 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.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But probably the place meant is the Khu-le-mo-nan, in the Śa-cu 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-yañ.can.mkhar.na.mdz . . . (2) . . .  
 s.sto (1) .Khri.[g]das.dañ | Cog.[ro].Cuñ.bzañ.hdam.  
 koñ . . . (3) . . . Ma.ga.Tho.gon.Kha.gan.la.phyag.  
 [bgyis (1 bgyiste or bgyisna ?)] || ston.mo.ched.po.gsol  
 . . . (4) sras . . . mo (bu.mo ?) pha.hbabs.d[ñul].lāa.dañ.  
 bya.dgañ.ched.po . . . (5) [du.bta] . . . rtañ.lo.sor.  
 dañ. | dbyar.sla.ra.bañi.[sku.bla].ched.po.gsol . . .  
 (6) apyan . . . dbyar.Rma.chab.kyi.Mu.to.lyin.na.chud.  
 du.btab . . . (7) . . . lins.ched.po.bgyis.te || ri.dags.  
 kyañ.n . . . (8) khrin.sa . . . s.kyi.pho.brañ.deñi.dg[ñu].n.  
 Sra.bal.gyi.G-ya[ñ.ca]n.mkhar.du . . . (9) de.nas.[deñi]  
 . . . gnam.gi.sras.Ma.ga.Tho.gon.Kha.gan.gi . . .  
 (10) S[e].t[o].ñahi.khab.tu.bze[s]te.Ha.za.rjeñi.dpya[ñ](dñ).  
 [la.gisu (logsu ?)].bkab.nas || . . . (11) [B]d[e?]ñi.Lyon.jeñ.  
 du.spar || de.nas.spreñu.lo.so[r] || Sra.ba[l] . . . (12) po.  
 yañ.[der].gsol.[deñi].dbya[r].yum.Btsan.mo.Khri.bañs.  
 kyi.ñam.rñ.du . . . (13) Ston.sde.mo.[spar].bkal.nas. ||  
 pho.brañ.Rma.chab.kyi.[Glañ].ma.luñ.du.[b] . . .



- (14) *dehi.ston.pho.brañ.Sra.bal.gyi.G-yañ.can.mkhar.*  
*du.btab.nas . . .* (15) *db[y]ar.G-yañ.[ca]n.mkhar.du.*  
*bžugste || žañ.Rgyal.tsan.sug.las . . .* (16) *žañ.lo[n].*  
*hdi.gñis.[sug.las.rjes].nas.rts[i]s.ched.po.bgyis | . . .*  
 (17) *[p]o.ya[ñ].der.gsol || [de]hi.dbyar.pho.brañ.Se.*  
*ton.du.btab. | de.nas . . .* (18) *[Ha.ža].sla.yañ.der.gso ||*  
*de.nas.hphrul.gyi.lha.Btsan.po[h]i . . .* (19) *db[ca]n.sa.*  
*St[o?]ñ.r[e?].Gnad.[ñ]uñ.la.stsogs.pa.mchis.te || hdun.ma*  
*. . .* (20) *rkañ.[bkris].sna.drugi.[g]yuh (byun ?).btab ||*  
*rkañ.ton.dañ.rtsis.ched.po.bgyi . . . khyihi.* (21) *lo.sor.*  
*dañ. | dbyar.sla.ra.bañi.sku.bla.ched.po.gsol || de.nas.*  
*zla.ba . . .* (22) *btsan.gyis . . . Rgya.rjeñi.sras.mo.Mun.*  
*ś[e]ñ.Khon.co.bžo[s] . . .* (23) *žañ.Btsan.to.re.dañ. |*  
*Hbro.žañ.Khri.bzañ.Kha.ce.btañ.dañ. | Cog.ro . . .*  
 (24) *[Sg]ra.ya.sto.mch[is].nas | de.nas.Btsan.mo.Khri.*  
*bañs.dañ. | sras.Ma.ga.Tho.gon.Kha.gan. . .* (25) *gšegs.*  
*nas || yun.sras.kyi.žam.rin.du || Ha.žañi.žañ.lon.[ched.*  
*po] . . .* (26) *Da.red.Blon.yi.dañ. || Mug.lden.dni.dbon.*  
*sor.dañ. || [rta].dpon.Wañ . . .* (27) *[p]on.dañ. || phuhi.*  
*thob.pa. || thabs.can.gi.mchis.brañ.la.stsogs.e . . .*  
 (28) *Mun.śeñ.Khon.co.dañ.mjal.nas. | phan.tshun.*  
*phyag.bgyis || ston . . .* (29) *sna.mañ.po.phul || de.nas.*  
*Mun.śe[ñ].Khoju.co.Dboñ.yul.dbusu . . .* (30) *dur.btab ||*  
*de.nas.pho.brañ.Tsogi.Rboñ.yo.dur.btab.nas || dgu[n]*  
*. . .* (31) *sla.ra.bañi.sku.bla.ched.po.yañ.der.gsol ||*  
*dehi.dbya[r].pho.[brañ].Lda (?) mñ [m] | . . .* (32) *Mdo.*  
*blon.ched.po.(Hbro)<sup>1</sup>.žañ.Brtan.sgra.ya.sto.la.stsogs.*  
*pa | phyag.htshal . . .* (33) *pha.hbabs.dañ. || bya.dgañ.*  
*ched.po.stsal.te.rlag.brdzañs | dehi.sto . . .* (34) *dehi.*  
*dgun.Ha.žañi.žañ.lon.gyi.geo | Da.red.Poñ.yi.gun ||*  
*de.nas . . .* (35) *g-yuñi.yi.ge.m.dehi.rtsa.rol.du.thob ||*  
*na[ñ].gi.blon.po.žal.ce.p[o]r.n. . . . byi.bañi.* (36) *lo.*  
*s[o]r.dañ. | dbyar.sla.ra.bañi.sku.bla.yañ.der.gsol || de.*  
*nas.ston.[mo] . . .* (37) *de.nas.dehi.dgun.yañ.Tsha.śod.*  
*du.bžugste | Btsan.mo.Khri.bañs. . .* (38) *žañ.ñen.gyi.*  
*bu (?) | Dbahs.Khri.bzañ.spo.skyes.la.stsal.te.brdzañs*  
*. . . Ma.ga.Tho.* (39) *gon.Kha.gan.gyi.khab.du. || Mug.*  
*lden.Ha.rod.par.gyi.bu.mo || Mug . . .* (40) *bkvag(?)nas ||*  
*mtshan.yañ.'A.lye.bañ.dig.žin.du.btags || . . .* (41) *de.*  
*nas.[glañ].gi.lo.la. | pho.brañ.Tsha.śod.du.btab.nas ||*  
*lo.s[o]r.dañ.dbya[r] . . .* (42) *las.byun.ste || skyin.*

<sup>1</sup> This syllable is inserted below the line.



bar. Śud. pu. Khri. gzu. sbur. cuñ. bskos || byuñ (?) . . .  
 (43) delhi. dbyar. pho. brañ. Tsha. śod. du. bzugste || leam.  
 Khen. co. Gñi. bod . . . (44) ched. po. gsol. te || rdzoñs.  
 kyañ. nod. du. mchis || slar. yañ. yañ. l [h ?] . . . (45) g[z]a.  
 hrgyah. dañ || rña. mo. yañ. rña. rdzi. dañ. beas || rta. yañ.  
 rta. dzi. dañ. beas . . . (46) dañ. beaste. brdzats || pha.  
 [sde ? m]chis. pañi. Dbahs. dpon. g-yog. ri[l] . . . (47) de.  
 nas. pho. brañ. Tsha. śod. du. bzugste. | dgun. sla. ra. bañi.  
 sku. bla. ched. po. gsol . . . *Ma. ga. Tho.* (48) gon. Kha.  
 gan. gyis. khab. tu || Cog. ro. Stoñ. re. Khoñ. zuñ. gi. bu. mo.  
 Cog. ro . . . (49) dig. žiñ. du. btags || Stoñ. re. Khoñ. zuñ.  
 thabs. spar. te. dñul. gyi. yi. ge . . . (50) btab. nas || stagi. loñi.  
 lo. s[o]r. dañ. d[gun. sla] . ra. bañi. sku. bla. ched. po  
 . . . (51) riñ. lugs. || Dbahs. Stag. sgra. Khoñ. [lod (?). dañ] ||  
 Cog. ro. na. [o] . . . (52) stoñ. ñen. [ur (sbur ?)]. koñ. dañ. ||  
 Mug. lden. dahi. dben. shen. dañ. | Da. red . . . (53) stsal. te ||  
 Ha. ža. yul. du. mchis. nas || hbañs. Ha. ža. phyogs . . .  
 (54) slar. Ha. ža. [yul. du. bsla] d. de. gśegs. nas || šul. [du. so]  
 . . . o . . . (55) . . . e. yuñ. stas.

## TRANSLATION

- "(1) . . . in G-yañ-can fort . . . (2) . . . *Sgra*  
 ya-sto-Khri-gdas and Cuñ-bzañ-hdam-koñ 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  
 A.D. 635 great presents. . . (5) . . . the *Horse* year came and  
 the feasting of magnates in the first summer month  
 was celebrated . . . (6) invited . . . In the summer  
 A.D. 636 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-ša, in fulfilment  
 of the Ha-ža chief's design . . . (11) erected at  
 Lyon-jeñ in Bds. Then the Ape year came.  
 A.D. 637 In Sra-bal . . . (12) also was there feasted. In the  
 summer, in the presence of the mother Queen  
 Khri-bañs . . . (13) lady of the Stoñ-sde having been  
 commissioned to erect. The residence *was* in

- Glañ-ma-luñ on the Peacock river (Hoang-ho).  
 . . . (14) In the autumn, having fixed the residence at G-yañ-can fort in Sra-bal . . .  
 (15) spending the summer in G-yañ-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) Gnad-nuñ 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-ś[e]ñ-Khon-co, daughter of the king of China . . . (23) sent to Kashmir the uncle Btsan-to-re and the uncle Khri-bzañ of Hbro; and the Cog-ro . . . (24) Sgra-ya-sto arrived. Then Queen Khri-baṅs and her son Maga Tho-gon Khagan . . . (25) having come, in the presence of mother and son the great Ha-za uncle Councillor . . . (26) Dar-red-Blon-yi, and Mug-lilen, commandant of the *dñi*, came and Wañ . . . commandant of horse, . . . (27) commandant and the upper classes (1). The wives and so forth of the officials (*thabs-can*) . . . (28) having met Mun-ś[e]ñ Khon-co, there were mutual greetings. Festivity (autumn ?) . . . (29) varied were offered. Then Mun-ś[e]ñ Khon-co in the middle of the Dboñ country . . . at Rboñ-yo- (30) du fixed her residence. Then, the residence having been fixed at Rboñ-yo-du in Tsog, the winter . . . (31) the feasting of magnates 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 Britan 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
- A.D. 638
- A.D. 639
- A.D. 640

- Ha-za uncle Councillors, Da-red Poñ-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-śod (Lower Tsha), Queen Khri-baṅs . . . (38) sent to *Dbahs* Khri-bzañ-spo-skyes, the son of the *čan-nēn* 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*,  
A.D. 642 the name 'A-l'ye-baṅ-dig was given . . . (41) Then for the Ox year the residence was fixed at Taha-śod (Lower Tsha). The year came, and in the summer . . . (42) being dismissed . . . to replace him the Sud-pu Khri-gzu-sbur-cuñ was appointed. . . . (43) In the Summer, the residence *being* in Tsha-śod (Lower Tsha), the princess Khon-co Gūi-hod . . . (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-śod (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-zuñ of Stoñ-re in Cog-ro, . . . of Cog-ro . . . *the name* . . . (49) dig was given. In honour of the occasion Khon-zuñ of Cog-ro silver letters  
A.D. 648 . . . (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) Stoñ-nēn Sbur-koñ and Mug-lden, the *dben-sben* 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-baṅs, 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 Mun-śen Khon-co (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 Kőrösi, *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-baṅs 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-baṅs, who in the year 18 (A.D. 689) was married to the Ha-za king. Another (?) Khri-baṅs is recorded in a literary document. The name is therefore recurrent in the royal lineage of Tibet.

But this Queen Khri-baṅs is evidently in special connexion with the Ha-za. Her son, however, bears two distinctively Turkish appellations: for this is true not only of *Khagan*,



but also of *Maga*, which is apparently the same as the *Môho* (Iranian *Baga?*) which the Chinese apply to certain Turkish rulers during the period about A.D. 700 (Chavannes, *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 *tho-gon*, occurring as a surname in a Tibetan document from Śa-cu (*infra*, pp. 367-8). If we should overlook that difficulty, it might seem possible to conclude either that the husband of Khri-baṅs 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 (*T'oung-Pao*, 1920-I, pp. 328-30) that the Tu-yu[k]-hun established near the Koko-nor used both the title *khagan* and another, *mo-ho*, which he regards as a form of the Mongol *abaya* "maternal uncle". If so, it seems natural to inquire whether the *Tho-gon* which we have between the two titles is not the name of the Tu-yu[k]-hun 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 *Mujung* may well represent *Maga*, it is not at all likely that *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-baṅs is probably a sister or aunt, or at least a near relative, of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, it may seem unlikely that she should be queen among the Tu-yu[k]-hun, 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 Tufan families were originally allied by marriage". But the part played by Khri-baṅs and her people in the welcome of the Chinese princess Mun-śeṅ 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-baŋ-dig (l. 40), 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 *tig*, which actually occurs at the end of female names (p. 72, *infra*) as translation of the Sanskrit *Śrī* ; in fact, *baŋ-dig* looks very like *waŋ-tig* " 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 Śa-cu 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 *Bkaŋ-hgyur* and *Bstan-hgyur* colophons and from other sources.

(b) Mu-to-lyin and Glan-ma-luŋ, stated to be on the [Upper] Hoang-ho : on Glan-ma-luŋ see the Itinerary *JASB.* 1882 (p. 45, no. 60).

(c) Tsa(Tsha)-śod, " Lower Tsa," probably in the Śa-cu region : see pp. 28-9.

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

(e) The Dboŋ country and Rboŋ-yo-dŋ in Tsog. (On these, and on Sra-bal, see pp. 25-7 and Vol. III, p. 23.)

(f) Se-toŋ, certainly in the Shan-shan (or Śa-cu) area : see pp. 161-4.

Moreover, the name *Tho-gon* may be simply explained as the original of the Chinese *T'u-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 *T'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 Cuñ-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 Mazār-Tāgh (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 Snañ-to-re Skyi-zun (l. 85), and at Mazār-Tāgh a Tshañ-to-re; Btsan Sgra-ya-sto (l. 32), the *tan-blon* of Hbro, recalls the *zan* Rgya-sto of the Chronicle (l. 125).

The phrase *skan-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 *rtsis* or army census. *Sud-pu* occurs as a tribal name in a document from Śa-cu (p. 70, n. 1) and also in other documents (Chronicle, l. 237; M.T. c. i, 0068); cf. Vol. I, 271, n. 1.

*Rin-lugs* (*lus*) (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). *Sku-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).

(1) ༩ | : | jo.cho.blon.Gtshug.bžer.dañ | blon.Legs.sgra.la | | Lha.Hbrug.brtsan. (2) gvi.mchid.gsol.bah || Lha.dpal.mched.kyi.ža.sña.nas || thugs.rtag.tu.bde.bar.smon.te || mchid. (3) yi.ge.las | sñun.gsol.žin.mchis.na || bkah.stsald.pa.tsam.tu.chi.gnañ || Ha.ža.steg.žin. (4) pah | stsañ.las | khal.sum.cu || jo.co.blon.Legs.sgra | pho.brañ.nas.gnañ.bahi.graṅs.dañ | bkum. (5) nas || skyin.ba.Ša.cur.hbul.bar | blon.Brtaṅ.bžer.mchid.gvis.hṡsal.nas || Ša.cuhi.stsañ.mñan | 'Im.ka. (6) cin.dañ | Dzeḡu.Tshiñ.tshiñ.gi.snon.tu.yañ.btab || Steg.žin.pa.yañ | god.stsal.lagste || god.kyi.phyag.rgya.yañ.nos. (7) lags || brgya.la.sñar.phulte | bui.rgya.mar.thal.na.yañ || stsañ.mñan.dañ | blon.Brtaṅ.bžer.tu.btug.cin | (8) ślad.kyis. | stsañ.rtsis.gyi.tshe || ñen.tu.myi.hgyur.bar.mdzad.par.gsol ||

*Two Seals*

1. 1. Tshañ.loñ.

1. 2. Lha.Hbrug.brtsan.sa.

(ll. 1-3) "To My Lords Councillor Gtshug-bžer 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 Ha-ža-steg farmers, thirty loads, with the number vouchsafed by My Lord Councillor Legs-sgra from his residence, Councillor Brtaṅ-bžer has sent by letter instructions to deliver at Ša-cu what is owing. (ll. 5-6) The Ša-cu grain official has previously remitted that of 'Im-ka-cin and of Dzeḡu Tshiñ-tshiñ. 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 Brtaṅ-bžer we beg to undertake that hereafter, when the grain is brought to account, there shall be no shortcoming."

*Seals:* Tshañ-loñ [= "blon, "Minister of Accounts"], Lha Hbrug-brtsan's residence.

The situation here seems to be that the Hbrug chief, who clearly is in possession of Ha-ža Steg, 'Im-ka-cin and



Dzēhu Tshin-tshin, has received from the Tibetan minister, Councillor Brtan-bzer, a letter requiring him to deliver to the Tibetan officials at Śa-cu a residue of his tribute of corn. He has sent the corn and now notifies the Śa-cu Tibetans, who have furnished their superior with the statistics. They shall, therefore, not be expecting delivery at Śa-cu.

This letter proves that Ha-za Steg, 'Im-ka-cin and Dzēhu 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 Śa-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 *chên*, meaning "mart". It can be shown that Dzēhu<sup>1</sup> is probably a tribal, or titular, designation, well known at Śa-cu; and it may be conjectured that Tshin-tshin of the Dzēhu 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-loñ*, *Lha-Hbrug-brtsan*), should be in Tibetan language. For we cannot suppose that by race or name he was a Tibetan.<sup>2</sup> Other Hbrug persons are mentioned in documents from Mirān (xxiii, 009b, etc.); and clearly their country, which we must now identify with the Śa-cu region, is the *Bug-cor*<sup>3</sup> or "Bug Province" mentioned by the side of *Dru-gu-cor* or "Dru-gu Province" in a narrative from Śa-cu itself (*infra*, pp. 278-9) and in the Chronicle, I. 162.

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

<sup>1</sup> Chinese *Tsoo*, a family at Śa-cu (*Serindia*, index)?

<sup>2</sup> The Lung, Dragon (= Hbrug), tribe of Kan-su came from Karashahr (L. Gilen, *B.S.O.S.*, vi, p. 844).

<sup>3</sup> *Cor* is perhaps identical with the *ts'ou* of Chavannes, index?

Sanakrit *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, *stsañ*, we have conjecturally rendered by "grain", because for "harvest" or "crop" we seem to have in the documents a different word (*rkya*)<sup>1</sup>: it is frequent in the documents (see Index). The other, word *mñan*, which in ordinary Tibetan means "curse" (*mñah*, which might be a variant, means "power"), may have the sense of "authority" or "official",<sup>2</sup> *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 Garuḍa).

(1) ཨ | | blon.Lha.bzer.dañ | žaṇ.Legs.bzañ.gis |  
| Hdun.tsa.žahi.Bde.sum.tshal.nas. (2) hbrugi.lohi.  
dbyard. | bkyeñi.phyag.rgya.phog.ste. | | žaṇ.stag.  
Rma.G-yu.goñ.la.mchid. (3) stsald.pa. | | hbrugi.lohi.  
dbyar. | | Sa.cu.phyogs.kyi.stsañ. | rtsus.gñer.bkum.  
na. | stsañ.yaṇ. (4) khal.graṇs.mañ.mo.žig.hgrībs.par.  
gyurd. | de.dag.la.sñar.god.pa.yaṇ. | sgo.sgoñi.bya.  
dgañ.stsolpho. (5) dañ.sña.skyin.sde.rjes.dañ.nod.dañ. |  
Kham.s.ma.gtogs.pha.dag.nas | bkah.luñ.dam.žag.dañ.  
sbyar.na.hgal.bar. (6) gtad.pa.las | slar.bstu.bar.chad.  
pañi.bkye.dños.kyañ.stsal.pha.lags || žaṇ.dños.kyañ. |  
Sa.cuñi. (7) stsañ.dam.žag.chañ.kyi.ñtshal.ba.la.gtogs.  
phas | hbrugi.lohi.ston.thog.las.stsañ.ma.ñtus.gyi.bar.  
du. (8) yan.man.tu.myi.mchi.bar.chad.de. | dmag.  
phoñ.la.yaṇ.spriñ.lags.gyis | stsañ.gñer.chags.kyañ.  
bkye.lam. (9) hbyuñ.ba.bžin.ñtus.par.ñtshol.chig ||

Seal: || Bde.blon.hdun.tsa.nas.bkye ||

<sup>1</sup> Sir A. Stein records (*Serindia*, p. 716) a word *te'ang* = "granary".

<sup>2</sup> *Mñan* is found with *stsañ* in pp. 41.6, 43.1; and elsewhere. On the meaning "government" see p. 341.

(ll. 1-2) " By councillor Lha-b $\dot{z}$ er and the uncle Legs-bzañ, from Bde-sum-tshal in H $\dot{d}$ un-tsa- $\dot{z}$ a, in the summer of the Dragon year, sent, seal attached, letter to the uncle Tiger (military) officer Rma Gyu-goñ.

(ll. 3-6) On careful examination of the amount of the grain from the Śa-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 *zan's* present demand for the Śa-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*<sup>1</sup>) 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-goñ (l. 2) indicates, no doubt, that he originated in the district of the Rma, or Upper Hoang-ho, river. But, since the tribute demanded is that of Śa-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 *tsañ* (ll. 3, etc.) and *bya-dgañ* see pp. 6, 19. On *gñer-bkum*, *god*, *sde-rje*, *dam- $\dot{z}$ ag*, *la-gtogs-pa*, *dan-sbyar-na*, *yan-man-tu*, *gñer-chags*, see Index.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Bzan-sum-tsal*, *Niñ-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.hphrul.dañ.mtshuñs.  
pa.hi . . . (3) bkañ.stsald.par.ci.gnañ. || slan.chad . . .  
(4) lam.htsal.ñiñ.mchis. || sna.slād.bkañs.sprin.las.  
g.yar.tu(du).mjal . . . sk . . . (5) gśegs.pa.yañ || žañ.lon.  
man.chad.na.mchis.pa.rnams.kyis.kyañ || phyogs.rtog.  
m . . . (6) ste | bdag.gis.Ha.ža.yul.dañ. | Kva.cu.khrom.  
tu.rtog.tu.btañ.ba.rnam.gñis. || hthū . . . (7) mchi.nas ?  
|| hdi.dag.phyogs.phyogs.bzuñ.ñiñ.mchis.pas. || bye.brag.  
ma.phyed.gyi . . . -u . . . (8) ni (no ?) . mar . myi .  
mchi || glo.ba.ñan.pa.la.dgoñs.na. | de.bar.tsher.  
to.śor.pa.yañ. | dpon.snañi . . . (9) bžugs.so.htsal.la ||  
p[h]yogs.sum.legs.par.dpyad.de || hdi.dag.cal.col.tu.  
bla.nas.ma. (10) rmas.par. || gdan.žañ.lon.chen.po.sar. ||  
myur.tu(du).Rta.zor.tu.gśegs.pa.hi.rigs. || chen.  
(11) po.sar.gśegs.te. | gsol.dañ.dbyoñs.śig.par.myi.  
gdab.pa.hi.sñad.ma.mchis. || dbyoñ.ba (tsa ?). (12) hi.  
tus(du).su. || bkañ.śags.thugs.la.ci.dgoñs.pa.gdab.pa.  
hi.rigs. || rño.thog.pa.mchis (ma.mchis). (13) par.sñan.  
sñuñs.pa.gsol.žes.bkañ.hbab.bam.myi.hbab || spod.sga.  
gyer.śas.śig. (14) sñan.sñuñs.na. | thugs.dpage—  
(20 *akšaras*, part of leaf lost between ll. 14 and 15) (15) . . .  
b.dañ. | Bde.g(a)ms.hdun.sar. || myi.hdi.rgyun.  
tu(du).m . . . (16) der.rmas.te || sug.pa.myi.brgyud.par.  
yi.ge.stsald.par.ji.gnañ. || man . . . (17) śag.śig.tag(dag).  
ji.hdra.bdag.chag.spun.gi.ma.rgan.mo.žig.dañ.nu.bo.  
byis.ba. (18) gñis.śig.mchis.pa.la. | noñ.žo.mchis.sam.  
ma.mchis. || Śa.cur.htul. (19) mañ.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 Śa-cu should send us precise instructions in writing."

This letter is evidently addressed to a high ecclesiastic or religious authority at Śa-cu. It mentions the Ħa-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  $\times$  30 cm. wide; fragmentary at beginning and lower right; ll. 50 of clear cursive writing):—

(1) . . . y[i]g.tsañ || (2) . . . [g]s.las. || Gser.chu.nu.  
sum.rgyud.du.gnañ || (3) . . . c. 20 *akṣaras* . . . gs.dañ.  
ma.sbyar.bar || phal.thañ.du.na.phabste.phrañ || (4) . . .  
c. 17 *akṣaras* . . . [d]bab.par . . . [g]sol.pa.las || bkas.gnañ.  
ste.yus.hdi.dañ || (5) . . . dbab.par.nod.[pa].lla.thug.pa.lags ||  
gze.niñ.slad.kyis || Ħa.ža (6) . . . d.g[sa]r.du.hdzugs.par.  
chad.nas || pho.brañ.nas.bkañ.luñ.stsalpa.las || bdagi ||

<sup>1</sup> Or "a previously (*bla-nas*) not mentioned recommendation" (?).

(7) myes, po. Led, koñ, sñon, gum, gis, kyañ || blar, zo, śa, cher, phul, bañi, rjesu || rje, blon, hphrul, gyis, dgoñste, thugs || (8) phags, mdzad, nas || tham, zin, chin, gsar, btsugs, kyí, stoñ, pon, tu || Led, koñ, gi, bu, tsañi, nañ, nas, rño, thog || (9) pa, las, bsko, bar || bkañ, luñ, myiñ, gis, stsai, nas || bdag, cag, bu, tsa, kha, cig, gñon, ba, dañ, rje, blas, gyis, bskal, (10) pañi, skabsu || Bde, blon, gis, Khye, stug, bakoste || Khye, stug, dguñ, lo, lña, drug, tsam, na, gum, nas || da, ltar, kha, rño, bar || (11) blon, Koñ, gsol, bañ || rje, blas, hdi, blon, Koñ, spad, gyis, zo, śa, phul, bañi, bkañ, drin, sgor, gtshigsu, gnañ, bañ || (12) ma, lags, te || myes, po, Led, koñ, gi, bu, tsa, rño, thog, pa, las, bsko, ho, zes, hbyuñ, ste || khoñ, ta, myiñ, gis, smos, pa || (13) ma, mchis, pañi, steñ, du, rño, thog, pa, las, bsko, ho, zes, hbyuñ, ba, hdi, dañ, sbyar, na, yañ || bdag, cag, spad, spun, Led || (14) koñ, gi, bu, tsa, las, rño, ma, thog, pa, ma, mchis, śiñ, || Khar, tsa, chin, sar, pa, glo, ba, riñs, te, žig, ciñ, ñi, nog, tu, šor, pañi || (15) dpon, sna, dañ, g-yon, khrin, la, ma, gthogs, pa, dañ || bdagi, pha, Ma, ko, cañ, gis, hdamste, gsolpañi, bkañ, drin || (16) stsai, pa, dañ, sbyar, na || Led, koñ, gi, bu, tsa, las, rño, thog, ciñ || blar, dpen, pañi, zo, śa, phul, bas || bkañ, luñ || (17) luñ, stsai, hdi, dañ, lhan, por, hbyor, pa, yañ, || bdag, cag, lagste || da, ltar, rje, blas, kha, rño, ba, hdir, yañ, bdag || (18) cag, gañ, bskos, na, rño, thog, ciñ, blar, dpen, pañi || Dbon, Ha, ža, rje, chis(ches), la, gthogs, pa, dañ, || Ha, ža, blon, thugs || (19) ches, pas || bkañ, luñ, dañ, sbyar, te || bdag, rño, thog, par, spus, gsol, pa, dañ || stoñ, pon, tu, bdag, myiñ || (20) gis, bsko, bar || bkas, gnañ, ba, dañ, sgo, yus, goñ, tu, gsol, pa, hdi, rnama, dañ, sbyar, žiñ || stoñ, pon, tu, bdag || (21) bsko, bar, ci, gnañ || blon, Koñ, gi, gsol, tshig, rnam, chig, las || bdagi, phu, bo, Klu, bžer, Khar, tsa, chin || (22) rñiñ, pañi, stoñ, pon, htshal, zes, gsol, ba, ni || bdag, cag, pha, tsan, spyir, gnañ, bañi, rje, blas, ni, ma, lags || bdagi, (23) pha, Ma, ko, cañ, sgos, zo, śa, phul, bañi, rje, blas, Koñ, tsar, htai, ha (bu ?), tsam, tu, paste || bdag, chag, pha, tsan, spyiñi, bkañ, drin, tu || (24) thob, pa, ham || blon, Koñ, gsol, ba, ltar || Led, koñ, gi, bu, tsa, rje, blas, sgo, ltañ, tu, btsir, myi, gdañ, ba, dmyigs || (25) kyis, gsol, pa, lagste || rje, blas, hdi, la, sñad, myi, gdags, śiñ || bdag, bsko, bar || bkas, gnañ, ba, dañ, dpon || (26) ana, bthu, bañi, bkañ, luñ, dañ || rje, blas, hdir, bdag, cag, Led, koñ, gi, bu, tsa, rño, thogs, las, bsko, bar, || bkañ, luñ, las, (27) hbyuñ, ba, dañ ||



Dbon. *Ha. 2a. rje. dan* || *Ha. 2a. blon. gis. zu. ba. gsol. pa. dan* || *bdag. nan. pa. rje. blas. gyi. rno. thog. myi. thog* ||  
 (28) *dbyaṅs. paḥi. gzi. dan. thugs. tshod. tu. sbyar. zin. sgo. yus. hdi. rnama. zur. hdi. bzin. btod. de* || *dmyigs. gyi. naṅ. tu.* (29) *rmos. śin* || *bdag. bsko. bar. mol. bar. ci. gnaṅ* |  
 | *Thir. bul. blon. Koṅ. gis. gsol. paḥi.* | . . . (30) *gi. mchid. śags. las.* || *Khar. tsa. cin. sar. pa. glo. ba. riṅs. paḥi. dpon. sna. dan* | | *g-yon. khrin. la. kho* . . . (31) *gthogs. pa. dan. dños. rno. thog. par* | | *Dbon. Ha. 2a. rjes. spus. bthug. pa. dan* || *bkas. gnaṅ. 2e* . . . (32) *bdagi. myes. po. 'O. dol. cu. dan. lo. stug. spad. Khar. tsa. cin. sar. paḥi. stoṅ. pon. h̄tshal. ba. las* || *sug. rjed* . . . (33) *tshor. nas* || *blar. gsol. pa. las* || *h̄phral. tu (du). dñul. ched. po. pho. ŋa. las. sgor. stsal* || *legs. [mo]* . . . (34) *las. kyaṅ* || *ma. noṅs. par. gyur. te* || *Khar. tsa. chin. sar. pas. gti. bzun. ste* || *tham. zin. stoṅ. sde. gc[ig]* | . . . (35) *la* || *stoṅ. pon. tu. yaṅ. Led. koṅ. gi. bu. tsa. las. bsko. bar* || *bkaḥ. luṅ. stsal. nas* || *rgyud. bzin. 'O. dol. cuḥi.* (36) *bu* || *bdagi. pha. Khye. stug. bskoṅ* || *myes. po. 'O. dol. cu. la. yaṅ. thabs. gser. stsal* || *slad. kyis. b[da]gi. pha. Khye* (37) *stug. la. yaṅ* || *phu (phra). men. stsal. te* || *bkaḥ. drin. rim. pas. nos. pa. dan. sbyar. na* || *noṅs. skyon. ma. mciṣte. bye* (38) *brag. phyed. pa. dan* || *Ha. 2a. rjes. zu. ba. gsol. pa. las. ni* || *Led. koṅ. gi. bu. tsar. bstuste* || *Khye. dpal* . . . (39) *myi. bzi. rno. thog. par. gsol. paḥi* || *Led. koṅ. gi. bu. tsar. h̄draḥis. kyaṅ* || *Khar. tsa. chin. gsar. riṅ. gi. stoṅ. pon.* (40) *'O. dol. cu. dan. Ma. ko. caṅ. spun. gñis. re. re. h̄tshal. te* || *bdag. chag. phu. rgyud. gyi. rje. blas* || *Khar. tsa. chin* (41) *stoṅ. sde. myiṅ. tsam.* || *tham. zin. tu. bagyur. bar. paste* || *bkaḥ. luṅ. las. kyaṅ. h̄byuṅ. ba. lags* . . . (42) *la. Khye. dp[al]. myi. gthogs. par. ni* || *dños. gyi. mchid. śags. las. h̄byuṅ. bas. [kya]ṅ* . . . (43) *gnaṅ. ba. yaṅ. sgyus. gsol. pas* || *sgyus. gsol. pa. myi. brtsan. bar. mdzad. paḥi. bkaḥ. [l]uṅ* . . . (44) *Thir. bul. Khye. dpal. gi. mchid. śags. las* || *bdag. chagi. myes. po. Led. koṅ. blar. glo. ba. ŋe. n* . . . | *h̄baṅs* . . . (45) *phyag. tu. phul. baḥi. ḥgel* || *Gser. myi. rabs. gsum. tu. gnaṅ. ba. dan* || *Khar. tsa. chin. sar. paḥi. stoṅ. pon. chaṅ* | (46) *khyur. gnaṅ. ste* || *myes. poḥi. mchid. drin. h̄di. rnam. gñis. las. ma. mchis. paḥi* || *bdag. chag. spad. khu. mtshan. gis* | (47) *mnoste* || *bkaḥ. drin. pham. rgyal. tu. gyur. ches. gsol. ba* | *dan. po. bdag. chagi. myes. po. Led. koṅ. bkaḥ. drin* || (48) *Gser. rgyud. gsum. [dan]* || *Ha. 2a. Khar. tsa. chin. gsar. riṅ. stoṅ. sde. gñis. gyi. stoṅ. pon. chaṅ.*

khyur.gnañ.nas || *bdagi* | (49) myes.po.'O.dol.cu.dañ |  
 nu.bo.Ma.ko.cañ.spun.gñis.re.re.bakos.te || Khar.tsa.  
 chin.rññ.pañi.stoñ.pon || nu.bo.Ma.ko.cañ.ñtsal || (50)  
 ba.las.gum.nas || rgyud.bñin.Khye.dpal.gi.phu.bo || K[lu].  
 bñer.da.ñtar.ñtsal.ba.lags || Khar.tsa.cin.sar.pañi.stoñ ||  
 (ll. 1-4 fragmentary.)

(ll. 5-10) It having been decided to establish next year  
 anew . . . Ha-za . . . and the order having been sent from  
 the palace, our grandfather Led-koñ 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-koñ's ?) name that one of Led-koñ's family,  
 according to competence, should be appointed Thousand-  
 commandant of the newly established *chin* as a whole  
 (*tham-zin* = *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 Koñ petitions.  
 His Excellency does not allow the contribution paid  
 by the family to be quoted by Councillor Koñ as  
 a private service. The case is that one of our grandfather  
 Led-koñ'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 com-  
 petence, be appointed", we brothers being of the family  
 of Led-koñ 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" ?),<sup>1</sup> having, at the earnest  
 request of our father Ma-ko-cañ, kindly sent a  
 petition: we being of the family of Led-koñ and  
 competent, and having presented a highly useful con-  
 tribution,<sup>2</sup> 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 Dhon Ha-za chief, and the

<sup>1</sup> "Not liable to wrong judgment" ? or "against whom nothing  
 is known" ?

<sup>2</sup> The phrase *dpun-bañi-to-ba* recurs in M.I. x, 2, p. 451. A1, which also  
 has the *chun-khyur* of ll. 45-6 and 48 below.



Ha-za 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 Koñ, he pleads, "appoint my elder brother Klu-bžer Commandant of the 1,000 of Old Khar-tsa-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-cañ is placed by His Excellency to the credit of Koñ, does it constitute a kindness to us, our father's family in general? In regard to Councillor Koñ's petition, it is pleaded under the idea that the family of Led-koñ 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-koñ, according to competence, and the courteous request of the Dbon Ha-za chief and the Ha-za 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.

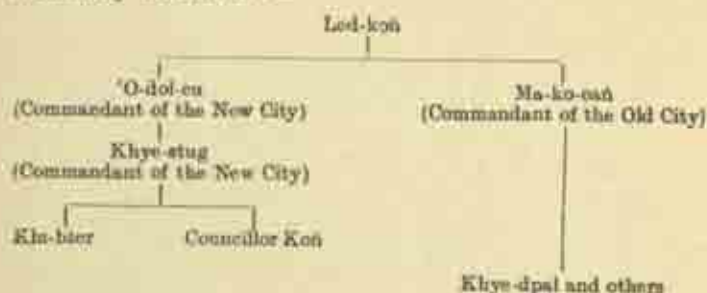
(ll. 30-5) Respectfully presented petition of Councillor Koñ: According to *the above* statement we have the leading intelligent officers of New Khar-Tsa-cin, and the persons not liable to wrong judgement . . . , the testimonial of the Ha-za chief as to actual competence and the orders issued . . . My grandfather 'O-dol-cu and (*dan, lo, stug, spad* ?), being appointed commandant of 1,000 at New Khar-tsa-cin, on hearing of the . . . commission, petitioned at once and immediately (*kphral-du*) sent specially by messenger a great deal of silver. Even if he did not do well therein (?), yet no offence was committed. (ll. 35-8) Orders having been sent to make New Khar-tsa-cin a starting-point and appoint from the family of Led-koñ a commandant of 1,000 for the whole (*tham-žin*) 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-za 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-can, two brothers, were appointed *commandants of 1,000* for New and Old Khar-tsa-cin respectively. That by His Excellency our elder line (?) was appointed nominally over the Thousand District of Khar-tsa-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-tsa-chin. Kind communications (*mchid-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-tsa-chin, two Ha-za Thousand Districts. (ll. 48-50) Our grandfather 'O-dol-cu and his junior Ma-ko-can, two brothers, were severally appointed. As commandant of 1,000 for Old Khar-tsa-chin the junior Ma-ko-can 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-tsa-cin. . . .

The complicated family connections wherewith this

document is concerned may be represented more or less accurately as follows:—



On the death of Ma-ko-cañ Councillor Koñ claims for his brother Klu-bzer 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 Śa-cu and is, no doubt, addressed to the chief Tibetan representative there, or is a dossier (*yig-tash*, l. 1) of a communication to the Tibetan prime minister. It relates to official appointments to two places in the Ḥa-za country, old and new Khar-tsa-cin, occupied by the Tibetans. That a Ḥa-za country was adjacent to the Śa-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* (*chên*, "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 Śa-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-śod, "Lower Tsha" mentioned above (p. 15).

(2) Tsha-stoba, a district in the Śa-cu region (*infra*, p. 60).





who would prevent brawls—a not remote situation of the *Ha-za* country is implied. *Chode* is for *chod-de* and *thoñ* is imperative of *gtañ*.

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

- (1) ཨ་ཇ་ཁྲི་སྡེ་སྡོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིའོ་  
 (2) རྩམས་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་མཉམ་པའི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཁྲི  
 . . . (B. 1) *kyis.Drug.cun.gyi.nas.dña(=|dañ).bāre.ñi[ñ]*  
 . . . (B. 2) *kha.cig.lug.du.ma.hbyor.te.Gnag.du.*  
*brdzan(s)* . . .

"When the *farmers* of the *Ha-za* Upper 10,000 district appertaining to China have put together the separate grain ("five *bre*"<sup>1</sup>) 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 *Ha-za* district to *Mirān*, since it comes within the purview of the officials there. But this district "appertains to or adjoins China";<sup>2</sup> 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 *Ša-cu*, or in the *Shan-shan* country.

On *Drug-cun*, misunderstood to mean *Dru-gu-chuñ* "the little *Dru-gu*"—see pp. 40, 274-5.

*Gnag* is clearly identical with the *Nag-sod* "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 *Ha-za* country or on the *Lop-nor* side of it.

<sup>1</sup> Is there a *ru* or *ñu* here below the line?

<sup>2</sup> 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 *rtshā* or *stshā* which we have found elsewhere. This is quite in accordance with the general variations of spelling, as is the writing *dña*, with subscript *ñ*, for *dañ*: cf. the frequent *bñre* for *bñer*.

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

(1) ॐ || žib.tu.rtsis.mgo.gon.du.stsald.pa.lags | phan.tahun.du.m. . . (2) gdugs.mtshan.spyad.de || mchi.bañi.dusu.sña.ra[?ma].dañ.phyi.ra.dañ . . . (3) tsher.bgyis.nas || mar.thal.bañi.rjes.ñan.ma.byuñ.[na] (B. 1) śul.du.gar.ñtubs.par.btsugs.nas || ye.myig . . . (B. 2) par.bgyis.te | sñon.nas.stshus.la | [d]rind.ciñ.[l]cebs . . . (B. 3) cig | rjes.ñan.Tshal.byi.ltar.phyuñ.na | Ḥa.ñahi.steñ.du.[h] . . .

"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-mchi-bañi-dusu*), 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 Ḥa-ža . . ."

The important point here is the adjacency of the Ḥa-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 = *hchus* "crooked". *Rtsis-mgo* "head, or total, of account," occurs in the Chronicle (l. 52) and in pp. 140, 446, also in Vol. I, p. 29, n. 4; and that *rjes-ñan* means "bad omen" is proved by the occurrence elsewhere (M.I. xxvii, 21, l. 12) of *byams-pañi-rjes* "good omen".

19. Lha-sa Potala Pillar Inscription B (published by Col. Waddell in *JRAS.* 1910, pp. 1276-9).

(25) Rgyaḥi.srid.kyi.ñam. (26) drod.rtog.cin.Khar.tsan.phyogs.su. (27) thog.ma.draṅs.pahi.dmag.dpon. (28) du.bkaḥ.stsald.gyis.kyañ.dgra.lha. (29) thabs.mkhas.la.gros.gyis.soñ.ste. (30) Rgyaḥi.khams.su.gtogs.pahi.Ḥa.ḥa. (31) . . . bsdus.Rgya.las.dmaṅs.phal. (32) po.che.bañad.pas.Rgya.spa.goñ.ste.

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

That the Ḥa-ḥa people is here mentioned (Col. Waddell had read *ḥa-ḥa*, 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. 273). That the Ḥa-ḥas were the instruments in the Tibetan aggressions upon China is in accord with known facts. For in the Chronicle the Dbon Ḥa-ḥa 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 Ḥa-ḥas with the Pailan; but in Tibetan no "Pailan", or "Ting-ling", people has been traced.

Khar-tsan can hardly be other than the Ḥa-ḥa town Khar-tsa-cin, with which we have already met (above, p. 28). In Mazar-Tāgh (a. iv. 0017, p. 192) we have *Khar-tshah*.

20. M.I. viii, 21A (paper, fol. No. 31, c. 11 × 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).

- A [1] . . . [l ?] . m[chid . gyis] . rmasna . sñu[n] . [rñi]ñ . ma .  
[hbred] . ces . g[tho]s . . .  
[2] . . . bkañ . stsal . bar . c[i] . [gnan] . | Khri(o ?) . legs .  
spri- . . . [khr-m] . . .  
[3] . . . na | Ha . za . yañ . phyogs . kyī . tha . [sñad] . s[ñ]a .  
bzñ . Ha . zañi . zañ<sup>1</sup> . lo  
[4] . . . [zig] [bal(las ?)] . [l(p ?)ag] . co[ñ] [ñe] . . .  
[5] . . . [stag . char(b ?) . bro (khro ?) . ces . lku]
- 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-zas 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-pañi . khrom .  
sby-d(r ?)  
[A 2] . . . thebste . | Nob . chu[ñ<sup>1</sup> . ñuñi]  
[B 1] . . . [d ?]mag . pon . g[ñ]ab . st  
[B 2] . . . [t ?]g . tsam . zig . dañ . 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-zas into the range of the Nob area.

The above are not all the passages containing a mention of Ha-zas (see Index): and we may adduce the fact that the *Royal-rabs-gsal-bahi-me-loñ* credits Mañ-sroñ-mañ, grandson of king Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po, with a Ha-za mother—

<sup>1</sup> a below line.



btsun . mo . Ḥa . za . bzaḥ . Kho . ḥjo . mod . Khri . dkar . ti .  
 ṣags . bya . ba . khab . tu . bṣes . pas . sras . Mañ . sroñ . mañ .  
 btsan . ḥkhrus (I.O. Xylograph, fol. 28a, ll. 1-3).

"he having taken to wife a noble Ḥa-za lady, named Kho-ḥjo-mod-Khri-dkar-ti-ṣags, there was born a son Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan."

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

*Geographical.*—Ḥa-za 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 Śa-cu district. It included places named Sil-gu(-cin), 'Im-ka(-cin), Khu-ñe Mon-gans and Old and New Khar-tsa(-cin), which is probably identical with the great city-mart (*khrom-chen-po*) of Khar-tsan in the Śa-cu region.

*Historical.*—The Ḥa-za (or some of them) originally "appertained to China". In the time of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po they were in friendly relations with the Tibetans; and later on certain Ḥa-za chiefs, called Dbon (or Ḥboñ or Ḥbon) Ḥa-zas, figured prominently in the Tibetan armies which warred with China, particularly in the campaigns in the Śa-cu and Kva-cu region, wherein we know the Dbon Ḥa-zas and the city Khar-tsa(-cin) to have been comprised. It is probable, therefore, that the Tibetan routes to Shan-shan and Śa-cu lay through Ḥa-za country. The Ḥa-zas 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-zes in connexion with agriculture, and this applies both to Mirān (Nos. 16-17) and to Śa-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-za is mentioned as conveying "grain":—

stsan,hdren | Ha.za.G-yu.brtsan.gyis |  
 " Grain-conveyor the Ha-za G-yu-brtsan,"

It seems possible that the Ha-zas descended from the upper country with cattle or yaks to assist in the ploughing and harvest of the districts of Chinese Turkestan.

Of Ha-za personal nomenclature the only at present citable examples are the above-mentioned G-yu-brtsan, the name of queen Khri-dkar-ti-sags, and that of the writer of another document (Ch. 77, x, *infra*, pp. 66-7), who describes himself as a "humble Ha-za" (*Ha-za-nan-pa*), and is called Khri-legs. The names of the two Hbon-da chiefs *Khri-zuñ* and *Btsan-zuñ* contain an element *zuñ*, which recurs in the name of *Khoñ-zuñ* of Cog-ro and in those of the Khu cheif *Lha-zuñ* and others; it may be simply Tibetan. It therefore appears that all the Ha-za 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-tsan*, *Khar-tsa(-cin)*, *Im-ka(-cin)*, *Sil-gu(-cin)*, in *Ho-khol*, and *Khu-ñe Mon-gañs* 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 *Bru-za*; if it is really represented by the *Ajha* of the Kharosthī 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-zas 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 Śa-cu, Mīrān, and Charklik. It seems possible therefore that in the literary equivalence *Hā-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, Śa-cu, and Western Kan-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 *Hā-za*; also the equation *Drug-gu* = *T'ū-chuch* = 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 *Hā-za*s in later Tibetan literature: it may be questioned whether the (probably apocryphal) visit of Padmasambhava to the *Hā-za* country is proof of the existence of such a kingdom in his time; and even the mention of *Hā-za*s 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 *Hā-za* state was in relation with the Tibetans down to the middle of that century, that it was adjacent to the Śa-cu region and also to Tshal-byi. The city of Khar-tsan, which was a *Hā-za* city, is clearly placed in the Kva-cu region (*supra*, p. 21), and the location of another city associated with the *Hā-za*s 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-mton*, which will be cited below (pp. 160-1). In the Mīrān 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. 11 *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-śeñ Koñ-co, the Chinese wife of Sron-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 *Hä-za*s with whom Queen Khri-hbañs 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 *Hä-za* country, which otherwise she had never left, and the prominence of the place Se-toñ in her narrative.

The existence of the separate Dbon or Hbon-da *Hä-za* state in A.D. 659 is proved by the mention (in the *Chronicle*) of the death of a *Hä-za* 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 *Hä-za* state to the Tibetan interest is asserted in document no. 19, confirmed by the prominence of a Fëntayen (Bushell, *JRAS.* 1880, p. 459) = *Hbon-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 *Śa-cu* region to private individuals. In regard to the Chinese *A-chai* = *Hä-za* 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 *Śa-cu* (Bichurin, *Istoriya Tibeta i Khukhunora*, i, pp. 78-80), and may have received the name of the *Hä-za* people.

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[*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 Śa-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 Śa-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,<sup>1</sup> and the notes are kept within a minimum.

<sup>1</sup> 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 accessions may be studied.

A. PLACES<sup>1</sup>

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

[1] . . . Śa.cu.Rgya. | Stoñ.sar.dañ | Rgod.sar.stoñ.  
ade.. gñis . kyi . || glañ . gi . lo . dañ | stagi . loñi | Drug .  
chun.gy[i].thag || -s. [2] . . . Kva.cur.hdren.bar.chad.  
nas || blon . G-yu . bžre<sup>2</sup> . gyi . stsañ . | Kva . cu . gži . na .  
mchis . pa . dañ | Śa . cu . [3] . . . las || lña . bcu . rkañ ||  
Khoñ . Shan . tseñi . tshan | Wañ . Bun . tsoñ . la . nas .  
khal.gcig | Cañ . . .

" . . . Chinese Śa-cu, Thousand-districts of Stoñ-sar and Rgod-aar, 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-bžer, which was on the Kva-cu estate, and from . . . Śa-cu, fifty bundles (*rkañ*). Account (*tshan*) of Khoñ Shan-tse; to Wañ Bun-tsoñ one load of barley; [to] Cañ . . ."

## Notes

l. 1: *Rgya*, perhaps an error for *rkya*, "crop."

l. 1: on *stoñ-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-gu*" (see pp. 30, 274-6).

l. 2: *stsañ*; see pp. 17, 19, and Index.

l. 3: *rkañ*, "bundle," as in p. 240; 92.A2 and elsewhere. *tshan* "account": see p. 91 below.


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

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

<sup>1</sup> A list of the persons mentioned will be found at the end of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Compounded for *bžer*, as often.

2. Ch. 80, v, 1 (734, vol. 53, fol. 39: paper document: 28.5 x 22 cm.; ll. 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).

[1]  | : || Rgod . sar . gyi . sde | Cañ . Ka . dzohi . tshan | Cañ . Kun . tses || stsañ . mñan . rñin . lo . Byi . btsan . gyi . gñer [2] rñin . gi . stsañ . las . gro . khal . phye . dan . gñis . dan . bre . bži . chags . pa . las || phagi . lohī . ston . hbul . [3] bar . rtse . rjes . gnañ . ste || dkar . chag . spospa . las || phagi . lohī . dpyid . sla . hbrin . poñi . no . lah [4] mkhan . po . Thub . brtan . la . dmag . dpon . gis . stsañ . žig . gnañ . bañi . phyag . rgya . mchis . šes . mchiste | [5] gñer . pa . Dar . Rgyal . ma . dan . Tre . Mye . slebs . lastsogs . pas . bdahste || gro . khal . phyed . dan . gñis . dan [6] bre . bži . lan . hdi . hi . dpyid . sla . hbrin . po . tshes . bcu . goig . la . mñan . rñin . lo . Byi . brtsan . la . phul . [7] te | . | Byi . brtsan . gyi . hbul . rgyas . btab . pañi . dbañ . la || Bam . Stag . slebs . dan | Dzeñu . Gog . tshen . dan | [8] Cañ . Klu . legs . lastsogs . pañi . dpañ . rgyas . btab . pañ || (*several seals, illegible*). *Inverted* [9] bkye . gñer . khums . ste . chags . rgya . šad . kyis . gnañ .

(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 (*gñer-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-brtsan, 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-brtsan's receipt seal having been given the attestation



seals of Bam Stag-slebs, Dzehu Gog-tshen, Cañ 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 (*śad-kyis-guan* ?)."

### Notes

l. 1: *tshan*: see p. 91 below.

Concerning *stsañ* = "corn", *mñan* = "government", "authority", see pp. 19, 341.

*gñer* "to be in charge of", "to be placed in charge of", and *gñer-ḥgum* (*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.

l. 2: *khal* "load" is no doubt technical = Sanskrit *vāha*.

l. 4: We understand "the Thub-brtan abbot" to be connected with the previously mentioned Byi-brtsan.

As regards the intervention of "the General" (*dmaḡ-dpon*), cf. the document given above (pp. 19-20).

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

l. 9: In (conjecturally) interpreting *chags* as "measure" or "weight" and *chags-rgya* (in the addendum) as "record of measure or weight" we may appeal to the expression *chag-khons* "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 *śad* 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 *guan*, 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 × 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] . . . staañ . || mñan . rñiñ . lo . Byis . brtsan . gyi . sug . pa . na . | [2] . . . dkar . chag . spos . pa . las . || ślad . kyis . dmag . pno<sup>1</sup> . [3] *thub . brtan . gyi . nod . du . kha . bstan . no . zes . mchih . nas .* || [4] . . . u . . . Kh[o]ñ . M[a]ñ . tse . la . gro . khal . phyed . dañ . gñis . dañ<sup>2</sup> . lo . hdihi . dpyid [5] śla . no<sup>2</sup> . hbrin . polji . no . la . mñan . lo . Byis . brtsan . la . phul . te . | bul . rgya . dañ | Tre . Mye . slebs . dañ | Bam . [6] Log . log | Cañ . Tshe . śiñ . || lastsogs . pañi . dpañ . rgyas . btab . pañ || yañ . gro . bre . drug . phul . [7] te . rgyas . btab . pañ ||

[8] bkye . gñer . khums . nas . chags . rgya . dañ . gthugste . śad . kyis . gnan .

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

*Rev.*: Khoñ . Man . tseñi . 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 Khoñ Man-tse 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-slebs and Bam Log-log and Cañ Tshe-śiñ and others are attached. [ll. 6-7] An additional six *bre* of wheat having been delivered, seals are attached.

#### *Endorsements*

[1. 8] Despatch carried out; amount, compared with signature, impressed with marks.

[1. 9] Despatch carried out, amount impressed with marks.

*Rev.*: Receipt of Khoñ Man-tse.”

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for *pon*.

<sup>2</sup> 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 *gtug-pa*, *thug-pa*, "reach," "agree," and to mean "having compared"; cf. *thug-chad*, "agreement," and *de-dan-gthugs-chin*, 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).

[1] ཨ | : | Spyi . tshogs . gyi . stsan . mnan . rñin . lo .  
Byis . brtsan . gyi . sug . pa . na . mcis . pa . las || Li. [2] Kañ .  
tses . gro . khal . phye . dan . gñis . dan . bre . bñi . žig . aña .  
g-yar . du . mnos . pa || phag . gi . lohi . dpyid . [3] zla .  
hbrin . po . tshes . bcu . gsum . la | ban . de . Thub . brtan .  
gyi . nod . du . kha . bstan . pañi . tshe | Byis . [4] brtsan . la .  
phul . te || bul . rgya . dan . gñer . pa | Tre . Mye . slebs .  
dan | Khyuñ . po . Stag . [5] legs . las . stsogs . pañi . dpañ .  
rgyas . btab . pa || dkar . chag . pyi . mo . bla . na .  
mchis . pa . ni . ślad . gyis . śad . gyis . gnan . [6] par .  
bgysis ||

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

[7] bkye . gñer . khum . ste . chags . rgya . śad . kyis .  
gnan .

[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 (*śha*?) received on loan (*g-yar-du*) by Li Kañ-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 Khyuñ-po Stag-legs and the others attached. A later list having come already (*bla-na*?), afterwards an impression with marks was made.

(Seal (1) and signature of) Hbyis-brtsan.

(Endorsement) [L. 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-hgyur* 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 x 18.5 cm.; ll. 12 of ordinary epistolary *dbu-can* script, for the most part legible).

[1] ॐ || : | bya . gagi lohi . dpyid || Rgod . gyi . [L]eñ .  
h[o] . Lin . lugi . mchis . brañ . Soñ . Sam . ñañ . gyis || Leñ .  
ho . Šib . [2] tigi . bran . mo | Beñu . žan . la . brel . te | rjes .  
phor . pa . bži . dañ . deb . tse . gs[u]m . dañ . | ras . kyī .  
rgyu . bkal . lags [3] pha . rkya . ma . phyid <sup>1</sup> . de . rnama |  
Šib . bir . la <sup>2</sup> . chags . te || slad . hphul . bañi . [d]us . ni ||  
khyiñi . lohi . dphyid . ala . tha . cuñs . [4] tshes . lña . tshun .  
cu <sup>3</sup> . la || Leñ . ho . Šib . bir . gyi . sgor . hbul . bra <sup>4</sup> . bgyi[ñ] ||  
dus . dir . ma . hp[h]ul : gchig . [5] las . g[ñ]su . bsgyur .  
de . || khoñ . tañi . sgor . nas . sam . zañ . spyad . ham .  
phor . pa . yañ . rñuñ (ruñ) . ste | dphrogs . kyañ . [6] [žal] . chu .  
ma . mchis . par . bgyis || yañ . ras . chag . phyed . dañ . bži .  
dañ . | nas . rgya . bre . bži . ni | sgo . lcags . [7] lde . myig .  
dañ . [bca]s . pa . gtañ . g-gs . nas || khyiñi . lohi . dpyid .  
sta . hbrin . po . tahes . beu . tshun . [8] cad . slad . blus .  
par . bgyis . dusu . ma . blus . na | sgo . lcags . g-[khogyi] .  
rgyu (?) . yañ . yal . bar . bgyis [9] pañi . dpañ . la || Cañ . Gu .  
gu . dañ | la . Legs . lod . dañ | Kheñu . Bzañ . goñ . dañ |  
[10] . . . lastsogs . pañi . dpañ . rgya . dañ . || Soñ . -i . -ñ .  
dañ || moñi . khyo . Lin . lug . kyī . su[g] . yig . tshad . dañ |  
Sam . ñañ . gyi . mdzub . tshad . btabpañ

(Inverted)

[1] khyo . L[e]ñ . [ho] . Lin . lu gi . sug [2] [yig] . tshad |  
[1] Kheñu . Bzañ . goñ . gyi . sug .

<sup>1</sup> For *phyed*. *d* erased.

<sup>2</sup> Erased. Read *cad*.

<sup>3</sup> Below line.

<sup>4</sup> Compendious for *bar*.



[2] *yig . tshad* || [1] *Soñ . Sam | ñaṅ . | gi . mdzab .* [2] *mo . tshad.*

[ll. 1-4] "Spring of the Bird year: the wife of *Leñ-ho Liñ-lug* of *Rgod*, *Soñ Sam-ñaṅ*, in employment with *Behu-zan*, female servant of *Leñ-ho Šib-tig*, having exchanged four cups, three register-baskets (*deb-tse*?) and woven (spun) cotton material, half a *rkya-ma*, these belonging to *Šib-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 Šib-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 *Cañ Gu-gu*, *La Legs-lod*, *Kheñu Bzan-goñ*, and . . . and the rest, and the written signature of the woman's husband, (*Leñ-ho*) *Liñ-lug*, and the finger size-mark of *Sam-ñaṅ* are attached."

(Endorsement)

[1] "Hand of the husband, *Leñ-ho Liñ-lug*. Hand of *Kheñu Bzan-goñ* [2] in writing. Finger-size-mark of *Soñ Sam-ñaṅ*."

It will be seen that *Leñ-ho Liñ-lug*, whose surname, recurrent at *Ša-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 *Ša-cu* itself was in the *Rgod* division.

Concerning the names (e.g. *Šib-tig* = "Ten-beauty," *daśa-śrī*), 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).

[1] 𑖦 | : | Pho . brañ . Hon . cañ<sup>1</sup> . do . nas . bkyehi .  
 phyag . rgya . phog . ste || ʒa . śhar . śhan . du | . . . [2]  
 pos (mos, sos, los ?) . | Śa . cuñi . akun . kar . hbañs . dan .  
 behas . su . phyag . du . bʒes . te || . . . [3] chab . srid . la .  
 bsdos . te | . | Bod . hbañs . kyi . mchog . bkum . gyis .  
 śin . || thugs . . . . [4] pag [mag ?] . To . dog . rtse . rjer .  
 bskos . the . dguñ . lo . bdun . lags . na . yañ . || Śa .  
 [cu ?] . . . [5] bkum . nas || slad . gyis . khrom . gyis .  
 mdab . non . pas . lhog . pañi . [rño ?] . . . [6] bdag . spus .  
 bthua . te . rtse . rjer . stald . nas || dguñ . lo . bchu . . .  
 [7] nañ . krug . dan . pan . pun . du . ma . gyurd . pha .  
 lags || rje . blaś . [kyañ . stsañ] . . . [8] pa . yañ . myi .  
 chad . phar . hbul . ʒiñ . blar . yañ . sman . yon . thogs . pa .  
 bdag . [glo] . . . [9] snas . myi . dbul . bar . phyag . rgya .  
 hgañ . ʒig . chi . gnañ . ʒes . gsol . . . [10] dbul . bar . gnañ .  
 ʒes || Bkañ | blon . Btshan . bʒer . dan . blon . [ñ] . . .  
 [11] phyag . rgya . hchañ . du . stald . pha : ||

[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 Śa-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 inter-  
 mission (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  
*Bkañ*-Councillor Btshan-bʒer and Councillor . . . sent, bearing  
 a signature."

This document refers apparently to a capture of Śa-cu  
 by the Tibetans, a subsequent revolt, instigated, no doubt,

<sup>1</sup> Inverted below him.

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 *Ša-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*, ll. 81, 88, 110, 115, to which further we may assign the following places (the authority is added in brackets):—

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

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

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

*Glin-rins-tshal* (*ibid.*, ll. 59, 101, and *M.I.*, viii, 46, *M. Tāgh*, iii, 0016). *Phyi-tshal* (*Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8212* (187), l. 19).

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

*Rtse-gro* in *Dra* (*Brit. Mus. MS.*, l. 10).

*Šo-ma-ra* (*ibid.*, ll. 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* (ll. 81, 88, 111, 115, 120), may mean "*Hon-city-land*", the *Hon* being a people known from Buddhist literature and from the *Chronicle* (ll. 12, 52, 73).

l. 3. *chab-srid-la-bśdos-te*: For the phrase see Index.

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

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

*spuz-bthus*: The phrase has been found above, p. 24.31.

l. 7. *nan-krug* (*hkhruḡ*) "internal strife".

*pan-pun* "dissension" = *phan-phun*; cf. *M. Tāgh*, a, vi, 0065, *phan-phun-zig-du-gyur-na*.

l. 8. *blar* "highly"; cf. p. 23, l. 16 and Index.

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

7. Ch. 73, iv, 14 (125, vol. 68, fol. 29, paper; c. 25 × 8.5 cm.; now attached to a literary MS., wherewith it has no connexion; ll. 5 of ordinary *dbu-can* script).



[1] | Bog . yas || khrom . ched . poñi . ḥdun . tsa || Leñ .  
cu . nas || rtañi . loñi . dbyar . sla . ḥbrin . poñi . . . [2] -gs .  
kyi . phyang . rgya . phogste || Śa . cu . dañ . || Kva . cuñi .  
tshi . śi . la . mchid . atsal . pa || Phag . Stag . l . . . [3] gsol .  
na || na . niñ . khrom . chen . pos || chab . sr[i]d . Dañ . to . kun .  
du . mdzad . nas || slar . gśegs . . . [4] ḥul . du || dor . po .  
peñu . geig || Gir . kis . gyis . btabste || sgyes . pa . pho .  
gzah . ni . bkum | . . . [5] pa . nañs . su . ḥtshal . pa . ḥi .  
nañ . nas || S[u]g . cur . Gño . za . Dge . ldem . žes . mchih .  
ba . |

[ll. 1-2] "From Leñ-cu (Liáng-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-śi* of Śa-cu and Kva-cu. Petition of Phag Stag-l . . .

[ll. 3-4] The city chief (?) having last year been carrying on the government in Dañ-to-kun, on the way back a *peñu* 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 Leñ-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 Leñ-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-śi*. Is this the *ts'e-che* "prefect" of Chavaunes, *Documents*, pp. 60, 72, = Uigur *cigñi* (Pelliot).

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

1. 4: *dor-po-peñu*: A *dor-po* is, no doubt, a person in charge



of a *dor* "yoke of oxen (or yaks)". *Peñu* is unknown so far, except as = Chinese *pao* "a gem" and in names, *Peñu-tse*, etc.

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

*Sgyes-pa*, perhaps = *sgyechu-ga* "bagman". *Nahs* occurs M.I., viii, 43, *thabs.ma.noñs.par.zind*, 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., xlv, 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 (*bad*), more often than, but sometimes hardly distinguishable from, points, separating the syllables).

[1] ཨ || Dañ . to | kun | du | Khri | sgrañ | dañ .  
 Khyuñ . koñ . dañ . Bzañ . koñ . gsum | gyis | bran |  
 bgos | [2] te | bran | so | sor | thoñ | pañi | myiñ.rus |  
 spi . las . dañ . khrald . ji | lta[3]r | bya . bañi : spyi . yi |  
 ger | bris . pa . . . . .

[ll. 1-3] "In Dañ-to-kun the three [persons], Khri-sgrañ, Khyuñ-koñ and Bzañ-koñ, 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 *Dañ-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-za* named *Žag-kdom*.

9. M.I., 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).

[1] ☉ || blon . Mtsho . bžer . dañ . blon . Lha . bžer . lastsogs . pas || dgun . sla . tha . cuñs . tshes . . . [2] phyag . rgya . phog . ste || pho . ña . Riñ . lugs . ltañ . sogs . Hdoñ . phreñ . Hdor . dgu . dañ . ño . mkhan [3] spyugs . myi . sde . Tsog . stod . gyi . sde . Mog . Kyem . po (?) . dañ . Šan . rnañi . sde . Boñ . La . ku . gñis | Tshal . byiñi . Nob . chuñu . . . [4] gar . slebs . slebs . su . sñegs . śiñ | Kva . cu . Khar . tsan . yan . chad . du . mchiste | ħtshal . ba . g-yar . . . [5] tshal . ma . thañ . mñam . ste | Hbrog . Sluñs . la . bya . na . gñon . lod . spel . mañi . bkah . rims . phye . phul . . . [6] rims . phye . khor . bžiñi . thañ . | rad . pa . srañ . [b]rgyad . brgya . ni . skyel . mañi . ste . len . du . ħgel . to | pho . ña . gžan . dañ . ħgrogs . m-e . . . [7] riñs . pa . zla . la . khrid . du . myi . gnañ || myi . bros . ste . sñe[g] . žiñ . mchi . ba . la : || Sluñs . dañ . so . pa . ma . mchis . te | bab . no . . . [8] so . pa . gañ . nas . gya . ba . nas | lam . tshor . ldañs . . . [g] chi [g] . dañ . . .

[ll. 1-2] "By Councillor Mtsho-bžer and Councillor Lha-bžer, on the . . . day of the last winter month, . . . seal attached. [ll. 2-4] Messenger Riñ-lugs (courier), porter Hdoñ-phreñ and Hdor-dgu (or is *hdor-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 Boñ La-ku of the Šan-rna 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 Hbrog-Sluñs (the nomad Sluñs), 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 *srañ* weight, to obtain that [they have] orders. Consorting with other messengers . . . and taking *riñs-pa* into friendship is not allowed. [l. 7] If the men run

away and, while they are going in pursuit, *Sluñs* and soldiers have not come, stage . . . having signalled (? 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 *Nan-rna* district and *Hbrog-Sluñs* (the Nomad *Sluñs*), *Tsog* has been noted above (p. 11), and with *Hbrog-Sluñs* we may compare the *Rgya-Sluñs*, Chinese *Sluñs*, of *M. Tagh*, c. iii, 0043 (pp. 276-7)<sup>1</sup>; perhaps the word is connected with Tibetan *luñ* "a valley" and means "the people of the Valley". *Nan-rna* has not yet been found: since the word is used in the sense of a "messenger" we might translate "Boñ La-ku of the messenger division (*sde*)".

Concerning the names *Mog Kyem-po* and *Boñ La-ku* see the classified list. *Rin-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-mjald-te* "three parties (caravans) met", pp. 61, 205,

<sup>1</sup> Other references for *Sluñs* are p. 296:23 (a person's "card" of wood *Rgya-Sluñs Hbrog-las*), p. 296:24, p. 431:1 (*byan-Sluñs*), p. 64:11J (*Sluñs* in connection with *Sāñ-tuoms*), *M.L.* xliii, 002 (*Sluñs*), *Chronicle*, l. 169 (*Sluñs-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. xvii, 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).

[A. 1] ༄ ཨུན . g[ɪ] . ʰog . tu . Btsan . po . Khri .  
 Sroñ . rtsan . gyi . riñ . la || Khyuñ . po . spu[n] . sad .  
 Zu . tse . lta . ʒig . rgalte(ste) . ñi . ma . ʰder . gnañ .  
 ño || huñ . nas. [1. 2] Btsan . poñi . ʒa . sñar . | Zu .  
 tse . gsol . pa . || spun . yab . Gnam . riñi . riñ . la || bdag .  
 gis . ʰbañsu . bkug . pa . lta . ʒig || ya[b] . [1. 3] kyis .  
 kyañ . ma . gzigs | ʒabs . kyis . kyañ . ma . beags . na . || Btsan .  
 po . sras . kyis | spyān . kyis . gzigs . sñiñ . | ʒabs . kyis .  
 [1. 4] beagste || bdag . rgan . poñi . spun || . pa . Khri .  
 bomsu . dgyes . skyems . ston . mo . gsol . bar . ʒi . gnañ .  
 ʒes . gsol . nas. | [1. 5] Btsan . po . Khri . Sroñ . rtsan . gyis .  
 Zu . tse . gsol . ba . bʒin . du . gnañ . ño | Huñ . gi . rjes .  
 la . || Mgar . yul . zuñ . pho . brañ . Ma . ʰ[drɪ] [1. 6] bar .  
 bkah . staal . te || Zu . tse . ga[n] . tu . mkhar . Khri . bomsu .  
 mchis . nas. || Mgar . . . gol [ʔ] . bltas . na . | Mgar [B. 1]  
 d[ɛ]ñi . bkah . gros . la . gtogste . Zu . tse . glo . ba . ñeho . ||  
 huñ . gi . ʰog . du . || Btsan . po . . . Sr[o]ñ . rtsan . gyi . riñ .  
 la | [1. 2] Myañ . ʒañ . snañ . glo . ba . riñs . pa . Zu . tses .  
 dku . ʰpel . te . || Btsan . poñi . sñan . du . gsol . te . | ʒañ .  
 snañ . bkum . nas. Zu . tse [1. 3] glo . ba . ñeho . || To . yo .  
 chas . lañi . rjo . bo . Bor . Yon . tse . brlag . ste . || To . yo .  
 chas . la . lastsogs . te . byañ . gi . ʒañ . zuñ . thams [1. 4] cad ||  
 Khri . Sroñ . rtsan . gyi . phyag . du . phul . te . || Zu .  
 tse . glo . ba . ñeho . || Btsan . poñi . blon . po . nañ . na . ||  
 spun . sad . Zu . tse . las . glo . [B l. 5] ñe . ba . sñon . chad .  
 kyañ . ma . byuñ . ño || Zu . tse . ʰdzañs . so . ʒes . so ||  
 sgyu . che . ʒiñ . mkhas . so || dpah . ʒes . paño . | chu . gañ .  
 [B l. 6] cheño || yañ . ba . riñ . ño . || myi . chig . la .  
 tshogs . dgu . tshogs . na | s[pun . sa]d . Zu . tse . la . staoga .  
 dgu . tshogs . so ||

[ll. 1-2] "After that, in the lifetime of the Btsan-po Khri



Sroñ-rtsan, the Khyuñ-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 Sroñ-rtsan assented to Zu-tse's petition. Following upon that, he sent orders to the palace Ma-hdri-ba, holding (zuñ ?) 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] Sroñ-rtsan, Myaṅ Žaṅ-snañ, a clever man, being outwitted (*dku-hpel* ?) by Zu-tse, petitioned in the hearing of the Btsan-po. Zu-tse killed Žaṅ-snañ and [remained] in favour.<sup>1</sup> [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 Žaṅ-zuñ under the hand of Khri Sroñ-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-gaṅ* 'water full' or = *cu-gaṅ*); he has a wide outlook (*yaṅ-ba* (expanse' ?); if any single man combines all that is to be combined, it is so with *spun-sad* Zu-tse."

### Notes

1. 1. *Khyuñ-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

<sup>1</sup> Or we might translate "Myaṅ Žaṅ-snañ being reported for treachery by Zu-tse in the hearing of the Btsan-po, Žaṅ-snañ was killed. . . ."

it were °*gsad* or °*bsad*: 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 *ñi-ma-lder* for *ñi-ma-lde* ?

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

l. 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, c. 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-lu-ri-ba* (?) are not known to me. But in the Tibetan *Me-lob* the famous minister, of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po, Gar-Gdon-btsan, is called (fol. 21 a, 4 30 a, 5) *Mgar*, which is, no doubt, his tribal name. In the *Chronicle* we have *Mgar Guñ-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-ñe* "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-žuṅ* occurs elsewhere as name of Gu-ge; and since in Pu-hrañs, 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 Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po and also because of the ready admission of Zu-tse to favour with Khri Sroñ-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 Sroñ-btsan, not of Zu-tse. The latter is remembered in (Bon-po) literature. Khri Sroñ-

rtzan is Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po, who in the Lha-sa treaty (Waddell in *JRAS.* 1909 (p. 950, l. 26) ) is called Khri Lde-sroñ-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.)

[1] ༄ : | nañ . rje . blon . G-yu (?) . bzer . la || Khri .  
legs . mchid . gsol . bañ || Hphrul . dañ . mtshuñs . pañi . za .  
ñas . nas . | sñun . rñiñ . slar . ma . [hbre]d . [ches].  
[2] thoste . glo . ba . dgañ . žiñ . mchis || sñun . gsol . gi .  
mchi[d . yi]g . śnar | rnam . du . ma . žig . gso[1] . na | [slal] .  
lan . ma . mchis . pa . dañ . | abyar . na | Ha . za . ñan .  
bdagis . gya . ga . [3] du . ma . phul . ba . lta . žig . [nañ] |  
nañ . rje . po . Kva . chu . pañi . | Ser . sbyoñ . gi . spun . du .  
bsgos . pa | Hi . ma . ter . gdan . gśegste | sgrol (sgol ? skrol ?).  
bkañ . hgrosu . mdzad . na . dmag . [pu . . . pyad . lñañ (ltañ ?)]  
[4] las . kyañ | dog . sa . [thagstu] . rab . tu . che . žabs . thugs .  
myi . bde . bas | gdan . gśegs . gyi (bgyi ?) . kyañ . hphrin .  
las . mdzad . la . sman . pa . myi . hdra . bar | riñ . lugs .  
kyi . hphrin . [by]añ . [5] [d]añ | chad . pañi . gži . | Bde .  
gamsu . mchis . nas | bdagis | bla . hog . du . gsol . žes . . .  
pyuñ . žig . ches . hbyuñ . ba | riñ . lugs . kyi . hphrin . byañ .  
khamsu . mchis . m- (mchiste ?) [6] . . . la . chad . pas <sup>1</sup> . chod .  
žig . ches | kha . mar . stsal . nas | rtsi . sar . gthad . dañ . |  
khri [m(?) . . s] . dañ . sbyar . na | sa . bar . sñad (mkhar . chud ?) .  
lo . chig . gi . sua . stsal . . . . . i . . [-ba . rdzug] [7] . . . . . pas .  
gchad . pañi . gži . byuñ . žiñ . mchis . na | de . las . thugs . myi <sup>2</sup> .  
chud . ba . team . du . gsold || slan . chad . bla . nas . thugs .  
re . ste | hphrin . lasu . b[sdos . st . .] [8] . . . . . hphrin .  
las . gzuñ . bžin . du . mdzad . pañi . rigs . par . bdag . ñan .  
pa . bkañ . grosu . gso[1] . žiñ . mchis || gchen . geu . po .  
m[gon] . ži[n (?) | ste] [9] . . . . . gs . bzer . gyi . g-yar . du .  
stsal . pa . ni | sman . yon . ji . yañ . ma . bgyiste | hdun . sa .  
snar (t) . spyi . yañ . myi . gdañ . žiñ . mchis te ||  
bdag . ñan [10] . . . . . rtag . tu . sñan . sñuñs .  
pa . gsol . žes . bkañ . bab . bam . myi . bab | Mdo . gama .

<sup>1</sup> 4 below line.

<sup>2</sup> myi crossed out.



nas | mjal . stsona | d[ru]l . pho . che . dag . gchig . s[na] .  
 slad . [du]go . [mtshams ?] [11] . . . . rdzas . dan | sga . g-yer .  
 phal . mo . che . zig . mchis . ses . gdah . ba | mched . gyi .  
 chab . sgor . phal . cher . hphus . ses . bka . mchid .  
 ltos(?) . na [12] . . . . . snuns . gsol . zin . mchis . na |  
 phyag . rgya . stsald . te | ban . chen . hdi . las | brdzañ .  
 na . tsam . du . thugs . dphag . jir . mdzad ||

[ll. 1-2] "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. [ll. 2-4] 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-sbyon family of Kva-chu, residing in your seat at Hi-ma-te, engaged in saving (?) counsels, from the army also . . . five . . . very great distance . . . your servant is ill at ease. [ll. 4-5] There being unequalled 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 (?). [ll. 5-6] 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). [ll. 6-7] As regards the law, the decision to punish having . . . one year . . . , accordingly begged to be not weak. [ll. 7-10] 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





[5] bgyis | *das . geig*<sup>1</sup> . bre . phul . myi . chad . par  
*das . geig . du . Lha . skyes . gyi . sgor . hbul . bar* [6] bgyis |  
*su*<sup>2</sup> . *das . der . ma . phul . lam . gya . gyu . žig . htshal . na* |  
*gñicig*<sup>3</sup> . *la . gñis . su . . .* [7] bagyur . te | *dños . sgyur .*  
*dañ . bcas . par . kho . nañi . sgor . phyi . phyig . dañ . nañ .*  
*rdzas . sug . spyad . rgyab . hgo[s]* [8] *ci . la . bab . kyañ .*  
*ruñste* | *riñ . lug . su . phrog . na . yañ . žal . cu . tshig .*  
*kyañ . myi . mchis . bgyi[s]* [9] *brgya . la . Dge . legs .*  
*bye . ha*<sup>4</sup> . *gži . la . ma . mchissam* | *rje . blas . bkur . te .*  
*guñ . chad . du . gyur* [10] *na . mjal . gña . kha . len . kho .*  
*nañi . pho . bra . . . . . ni*<sup>5</sup> . *dam . goñ . nas . byuñ . bžin . du*  
[11] *mchid . gyis . htshal . žin . hbul . brañ*<sup>6</sup> . *bgyis . pañi .*  
*dpañ* — [12] — *lastsogspañi . dpañ . rgyadañ . sug .*  
*yig . tahad . gyisbtapā.*

[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 Sñiñ-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. [4-5] Until death (*or* until this is effected ? *gum = khums*), half a *bre* is agreed (? *bzansu* ? 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

<sup>1</sup> These two syllables crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> *su* crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> *ñi* crossed out.

<sup>4</sup> These two syllables crossed out.

<sup>5</sup> *ni* crossed out.

<sup>6</sup> Compendious 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 *zal-cu*, *dam-gon-nas-byuñ*, *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 Śa-cu region.

l. 1. *Tshas-stobs*: This district has not hitherto been found.  
ll. 2-3. *Sñin-tsoms* and *Rgod-sar*: On these districts see the references in pp. 40, 83.

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

l. 4. *bzansu*: 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-gñisu* . . . *bsgyur*: Cf. p. 45.4-5 and Index.

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

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

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

[1] . . . *gste.rgyas.btan* | . . . [2] . . . *lña.chags.[rgy]as.btan*  
[3] . . . *l nas.bre.gsum.chagste.rgyas.btan* . . . [4] . . . *rgyas.*  
[b]tan || *ñdi . rñams . la . chagste . ñbul.bañi.rgyas.btan* . . .  
[5] . . . *tshun.chad.ñbul.bar.bgyis* | *dus.der.ma.phulna*.

taha.gñis.su.bagyur te [6] . . . dpañ.rgya.lñdi.sus.ñtshal.te.  
mchis.pas.khon.tañi.rad.gos.dañ.nas.zan.tsha [7] . . . par.  
bgvis.pañi.dpañ.la | Hgreñ.ro.Khyi.brug. | rtsig.Lha.rtsa.  
skyes | . . . [8] . . . dpañ.[rgy]as.btabs |

"[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 Hgreñ-ro Khyi-brug and rtsig Lha-rtsa-skyes . . .  
are attached."

#### Notes

For similar legal documents, see pp. 45, 62, etc. The designa-  
tion Hgreñ-ro denotes, as we shall see below (pp. 99, 100), the  
country of the Hgreñ 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, *Medieval Researches*, ii, pp. 203,  
224. Hgreñ, he thinks, may be the native name represented  
by the term *K'iang*, applied by the Chinese to the Tibetans  
of Kan-su, Ssü-ch'uan, and Koko-Nor.

ll. 1-4, *chags*: 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).

☞ || Greñ.ro.Zla.gtsug.

"Zla-gtsug, of [H]greñ-ro.

11d. M.I. viii, 48 (wood, c. 11.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole  
for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ || Hgreñ.ro.Klu.brtan |



"Klu-brtan, of Hgreh-ro.

11a. M. Tāgh. 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).

[1] gyis.tha.ma.la.bd-[l] . . . u . . . . .

[2] las.dmar.srañ.geig.du.b[s]gyurd.th[e] || bya [1510].  
gag.lohi.[dbg-g-gl] . . .

[3] cad . du . dmar . srañ . geig . h[bu] . bar . bgyis ||  
[1510] dus.der.ma.gcald.na.srañ.cig.

[4] las.srañ.fis | su.bsgyurd.[l]i: Rmeñu.Byiñ.la.[1510]  
[g]sas.gyi.sko.nas.progs | gya<sup>1</sup>ñ.rtsigs[u].

[5] cig . gyañ . myi . mci . bar . bgyis . pha . hi . dpañ .  
po.[1510] la<sup>2</sup>.Pyug.tshams.Rhul.po.dañ.[D]ar |

[6] Dbyi.rma.dañ | Tsi.bra.Lha.goñ.dpañ.po.hdi.[rnams]  
[1510] ' A : nañ.Byiñ.la.g . . . . . sug.

[7] rgyas.bthab.[bo].

"[ll. 1-3] . . . having on the last occasion become one *srañ* of copper, it was arranged that not later than . . . of the Bird-year one *srañ* of copper should be delivered. [ll. 3-5] If at that time payment should not have been made, from one *srañ* it should become two; and even if it should be seized from the door of Li Rmeñu Byiñ-la-gsas, 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-goñ. These witnesses have deposited their attestation with Rma 'A-nañ Byiñ-la-g[sas ?]."

#### 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 *Tsib-ra* ?) is not known, but is, no doubt, name of some district.

<sup>1</sup> ; crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> a 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).

[1] ཨ་ | : | Bzañ | Hor | gyi : ste : Zir : rgu : Cag : cuñ |  
gyis : Hbroñ | tsams | gyi | ste : Ba : Snañ | rma : . . .

[2] las | rta : eig : mtsh<sup>1</sup>jald : de.[d]a<sup>1</sup>hi : o : [r]is | dan | s-  
a : r[t]ags : la | . . .

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

#### Notes

Hbroñ-tsams (mtshams), Hbroñ-border, the name of which is parallel to that of Phyug-tshams (p. 62), etc. belongs doubtless, along with Hbroñ-stoñ, to the Hbroñ 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 Hbroñ is probably "the Yak country", just as Cog (Tsog)-ro may be "the Donkey country".

L. 1, *Zir Rgu-cag-c[hi]uñ*: "Rgu-cag minor of Zir"; but it may be "Cag-cuñ of Zir-rgu".

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

L. 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*?

11g. 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).

[A] ཨ་ || Hbroñ.tsama.khyi.sde.Po.yoñ.Hdus.rma |

[B 1] dños.Huten.na.mchis.na.dmag.skyin.nas.g[la].

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

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

<sup>1</sup> *ck* here crossed out.

## Notes

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

B 2, *thud*: = *mithud-ma*; cf. p. 415, *Chronicle*, l. 253 (*khraḥ*).

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).

☉ | : | Br[on].tsham.gyi.sde | se.Nab.tsen. |

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

## Note

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

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

☉ | : | Hbroñ.stoñ.Cuñ.goñ.gi.mchid.gsol.ba |

"Letter-petition of Cuñ-goñ of Hbroñ-stoñ."

## Note

Possibly Hbroñ-stoñ, "Hbroñ-Thousand," is intended for Hbroñ-stod, "Upper Hbroñ."

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).

[1] ☉ | : | blon.Ldoñ.bzañ. | glo.ba.myi.bde.nas || Spa. zar.rin.su.brdzañ [2] btañ || Sluñs.Ho.ma.Bu.lud(n?). dañ | Sññ.tsoms.kyi.hbañs | Ziñ [B 1] Rin.cen.dañ | Bag (bgu?).bre.Dpa[ñ].(hdu) | dañ | Hdza (Hje? Hdzi?) lda.'A.lum.gsum [B 2] Nob.ched.por.brdzañ.bar || sñs.slad.lan.du.ma.ñig.phed(?). [B 3] ba.las || phrin.byañ.kyi.lan.tsam.yañ.ma.mchi[s].

"By Councillor Ldoñ-bzañ, who is anxious, ordered to be despatched in haste to Spa-za. Whereas the Sluñs Ho-ma Bu-lud (n?) and Sññ-tsoms people, Ziñ Rin-cen and Bag-bre Dpal-hñud and Hdza-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 *Sluns* see *supra*, p. 52, and *infra*, pp. 296-7. The district *Sān-tsoms* has already been mentioned. For the surnames *Ziā*, *Bag(Bgla?) bre*, *Hdze(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-byān* *supra*, p. 58.

11k. M.I. xiv, 59 (fol. No. 42; paper, c. 21 × 7 cm., fragmentary at right; discoloured; ll. 6 of smallish, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨོཾ || jo.co.Klu.sman.gyi.ža.snar | | Rtsaṅ.Lde.ya.gyi.mchid.gsol<sup>1</sup> . . . [2] bar.amond.te. || mchid.yig.las.sñun . gsol . žin . mchisna || bkah . stsald . pa . tsam . ji . gnañ | [3] pa.las || Po.gams.Kva.cur.chad.de. || žal.ma.mthon.ba. || khel.mo.gum.ba.dan.hdra.ži . . . [4] bal.pho.re.gañ.žig.mchisna.bžes.par.ji.gnañ || chab.mar.dag.chig.db[u]l.[ba]r.b . . . [5] gyis.hbul.bar.ḥtshal.žin.mchis || ḥbañs.ḥgaḥ.žig.hbro.myi . . . g . . . [6] yañ.ḥbañs.dan.bsagros.te.gthañ.bar.ḥtshal.na | bk(g)ṣa . . .

"[ll. 1-2] To the presence of Lord Klu-sman: letter-petition of Rtsaṅ 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*

<sup>1</sup> 1 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-gaṅ*: With this phrase cf. pp. 152: 46. 3, 377 63.3. *Pho-re* would seem to be = *phor*.

## B. CLANS AND NOMENCLATURE

111. 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).

[1] ཨ | : | Ser . Dzin . kheñ . gi . bu . lon . Rgya . thag . gcig .  
dañ . śog . śog . yug . thun . bcu . Liñu . Klu . rton . la . chags .  
te . | [2] ḥbul . bañi . dus . ni . | Ḥbrugi . loñi . dgun . sla .  
tha . chuñs . tshes . ñi . śu . la . | Dzin . kheñ . gañ . na . mchis .  
par . ḥbul . | [3] bar . bgyis . | dus . der . ma . phul . na . |  
śog . śog . dañ . Rgya . thag . gñis . ka . bgyur . te . | dam .  
rgya . gsum . myi . | [4] dgos . par . dam . rgya . phyi .  
mo . gcig . bgyis . pa . des . riñ . lugs . bgyiste . | Klu . rton .  
gyi . dam . phyis . dañ . Śiñu . | [5] kin . ji . la . bab .  
kyañ . ruñ . ste . phrogs . kyañ . ñal . mchu . tshig . gcig .  
kyañ . myi . meñi . bar . bgyis . pañi . | [6] dpañ . la . |  
Sag . Stag . slebs . | 'Im . Ḥbye . leñu . | Khañ . Mañ . zigs . |  
Soñ . Legs . b<sup>1</sup> Lug . lug . las . | [7] stsogs . pañi . dpañ .  
rgya . dañ . | Klu . rton . gyi . sug . pa . gyi . mdzub . tshad .  
gyis . btab . pa . |

|| 'ed . qeñ . btab . pa .  
Klu . rton . sug . rgya . mchu . tshig .

" [ll. 1-3] Loan [on the part] of Ser Dzin-kheñ: 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-kheñ, 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 Śihu-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 Hbye-lehu, Khan Mañ-zigs, Soñ 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*, *Lihu*, *Sag*, 'Im, *Khan*, *Soñ* see the consolidated list.

l. 1, *Rgya-thag-geig* : This might mean "one seal-cord" ; but, since Dzin-khen has a Chinese name, the given rendering is more probable.

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

*chags* : See pp. 258.10, 323.

l. 4, *dam-phyis* . . . : The syntax is here obscure : we gather that Śihu-kin is to be included, as a guarantor, in the last agreement.

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

l. 5, *zal-mchu* : See pp. 59.8, 180, and Index.

l. 7, *mdzud-tshad* : See p. 46.1-2.

*mdzud* : The alternative, less usual, form, *mdzug*, which here follows, recurs also in p. 75. B 9 : in p. 74.11 *mdzud* 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 *ibu-can* script, l. 2 *verso* in another hand).

[1] .....  
 Pho . kvañ . s[i]hi . [l]ha . hbañs ; J-hu | Ži . ñañ . hphoñs |

Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Soñ . Šiñ . dgon |  
 Pho . kvañ . sihi . lha . hbañs . Yañ . G-yu-tshe . hphoñs |

[5] Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Bam . Kun . tse | dgon . g-yon |  
 ru . hbrin . Šud . pu . Legs . zigs . kyi . dar . tshan . 'An . Dze .  
 hiñ . dañ . sbyor . ||

[8] <sup>1</sup> ॐ : | Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | ru . hbrin | Šud . pu .  
 Legs . gzigs . [9] <sup>1</sup> pon . g-yog . bži . bcu . tshar . goigi . yul .  
 yig . la | . |

[10] Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | 'An . Dze . hiñ . hphoñs |  
 g-yasu . ru . cuñ . || Cañ . Ka . dzolhi . dar . tshan | Bam .  
 Kun . tse . dañ . sbyor ||

	Rgod . sar . kyi . sde	ban . de . Toñ . Thoñ . thoñ . dgon
	" "	Cañ . Hva . hva . hphoñs
[15]	" "	ban . de . Tsoñ . Tšeñ . tšeñ . dgon
	" "	Cañ . Kun . tse . hphoñs
	" "	Cañ . Sehu . sehu . dgon
	" "	Cañ . Hbye . tig . hphoñs
	" "	ban . de . Dvan . Keñu . ži . dgon
[20]	" "	Baḥ . Kun . kun . hphoñs
	" "	ban . de . Toñ . Phug . man . dgon
	" "	Žim . Li . theñu . hphoñs
O	" "	ban . de . Cañ . Leñu . cin . dgon
	" "	Žim . Kvon . hiñ . hphoñs
[25]	" "	ban . de . Cañ . Peñu . peñu . dgon
[26]	Pho . kvañ . sihi . lha . hbañs	Jeñu . Tše . tše . hphoñs
	Rgod . sar . kyi . sde	Dvan . Hiñ . dar . dgon
	" "	Žim . Ju . ju . hphoñs
	" "	Ser . Kun . dgon
[30]	" "	Ser . Kheñ . kheñ <sup>2</sup> . hphoñs . hdzin . pa
	" "	Šud . pu . Legs . dgon

<sup>1</sup> ll. 8-9 in red ink.

<sup>2</sup> Corrected from Tehen . tee.





[41] The god's servant of Leñ-ho-si, Wan Kun-tse, *hphons*

[50] Rgod-sar division, Tson Dze-ñin, *dgon*, along with Dzeln Sib-tig, *dar-tshan* of Stag-legs, middle horn of the centre left horn.

(Rev.) "Submitted. I, son-brother, Pho-tshon 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-kvañ-si and Leñ-ho-si respectively, these being, no doubt, the *si* (probably Chinese *ssü* "temple") of Pho-kvañ 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<sup>1</sup>; 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

<sup>1</sup> A list of the regiments will be given later (pp. 455 sqq.). On *Sud-pu* see p. 66. Note that not one of the 19 *bandes* is a *hphons*.

have, however, a person's (wooden) "card", which reads *Dgon Mon-cuñ*, i.e. "Mon-cuñ, 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 *Śib-tig* and *Hbyeñu-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*, *Taheñ-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 *Ži-ñan* 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).

[1] dge . sloñ . ma . Kvañ . ḡgam || Śa . cu . [pha] . Rgod  
 . . . bañ . Śañ . za . Dzah . ch- || dge . sloñ . ma . L[a]ñ .  
 e[a]ñu | Śa . cu . pha . Dar . phañ . sde . Beg . za . Hye .  
 wi[ñu ?] | [dge.sl]o[ñ].ma . . .

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

(a) Śa . cu . pha . Rgod . gyi . sde . Leñ . za . Señu . señu ||  
 dge . sloñ . ma . Theñi . cin ||

"Śa-cu, Rgod division: Leñ-za Señu-señu; *bhikṣuṇī* (nun) Theñi-cin."

(b) Śa . cu . pha . Rgod . gyi . sde . Then . za . Beñ . 'em ||  
 dge . sloñ . ma . Hbyeñu . ḡdzi || Śa . cu . pha . dge . sloñ . ma .  
 Kvag . za . Ji . lim . gyi . bran . mo . Kvag . za . Tam . tam . dge .  
 sloñ . ma . Thoñ . ceñu .

"Ša-cu, Rgod division: Then-za Beñ'em; *bhikṣuṇī* Hbyeḥu-ḥdzi; female servant of Ša-cu *bhikṣuṇī* Kvag-za Ji-lim, Kvag-za Tam-tam, *bhikṣuṇī* Thoñ-ceḥu."

In a portion of the instances the "division" (*sde*) specified is not Rgod, but Dar-pa. In most cases the mistress of a female servant or slave (*bran-mo*) is described not merely as *bhikṣuṇī*, but as "*bhikṣuṇī* of Ša-cu or of a Ša-cu man" (*Ša-cu-pha-dge-slon-ma*). Two women are called "subject of the Ša-cu queen" (*Ša-cu-pha-Btsan-moḥi-ḥbans*); 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 *bhikṣuṇī* 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", *Meñ-tig* "*Prabhā-śrī*", *Tig-nem* "Obtain-memory", *Hva-ḥgem* "Flower-mass", *Bo-de-sim* "*Bodhi-hṛdaya (citta)*", we infer that the majority will be recognizable as Chinese. These names of *bhikṣuṇīs* 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 *ñan*. Instances such as *Šib-ñan*, *Šib-lug-ñan*, *Šib-si-ñan*, *Sim-si-ñan*, commencing with what we can prove to be the Chinese for "10", "16", and "14", suggest that *ñan* 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 *Can* and *Sag*, but *Can-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 *bzah* "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; ll. 26 + 21 of ordinary, clear *dbu-can* writing; fragmentary; paper discoloured and smudged.)

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

[2] ॥ Kva . cuhi . khrom . rkyen . gyi . dar . ma . sde . gcig . yo . byad . dan . htshan . bar || blon . Rgyal . khyi . [3] dan . blon . Ldon . bzan . gi[s] | | ban . de . Dpal . gyi . bzan . po . la . brdzañste | da . ltar . yañ . [4] khrom . sar . bzugs . na | [b]ul . rtags . kyi . phyag . rgya . ni . ma . mehis || bla . go[d] . [n]i . yañ . stsald [5] dar . ma . dan . yo . byad . gyi . rgyu . dpyah . las . god . pa . mñan . rnam . gyis . chad . du . bdas | m.nap(s ?) <sup>1</sup> . | ma . [6] b das . par . [r]g[gyu] . god . kyi . phyag . rgya . rnam . gchig . nod . du . gso[1] | [d (?)e] . ltar . ma . gnañ . na . [7] dar [ma] . . . bla . nas . slar . batu . baji . phyag . rgya . nod . du . gsol . ||

[8] ॥ | rtahī . l[ohi] . [d]us . gcig . tu . sku . yon . tu . bsnos . [te] | blañi . mdzad . —ya . las . byuñ . ba | [B]o[d] . kyi . Śes . rab [9] h[b]u[m] . pa . sde . brgyad . dan || Rgyahi . Hbum . pa . bam . po . [d]rug . brgyah . [pa] . sde . gsum . ris . sig . ches . byuñste [10] Rgya . Hbum . pa . sde . gohi[g] . na <sup>2</sup> | Bod . kyi . Hbum . pa . sde . gñis . gyi . [g]lod . chod . eig . pa[r] | bla . luñ . stsal [11] pa . bzin . bris . lags . nas || Śa . cuhi . mdzod . tu . mdzub . tshigis . tsis . na | de . yañ . god . gyi . grañs [12] gyi . ž—ñ . phyag . [rgya . n]od . tu .

<sup>1</sup> Read bdas . sam.

<sup>2</sup> For ni or dan ?



gso[1] || Rgyaḥi. Hbu[m]. pa . sde . gsum | Bod . kyi . Hbum .  
 pa . sde . drug [13] gi . tshal . ma . stsa[ñ] . [kh]al . bži . brgya .  
 btua . bcu . tsam . dañ | yon . khal . drug . cu . taam . dañ |  
 snag [14] śog . gyi . rin . lastsogs . pa . bla . nas . ma . stsal .  
 te | dar . ma . lags . nas . stsa[1] . -o . . . . [15] m[ɛ]is .  
 nas || yi . ge . pa . myi . tshal . ma . [ma] . thob . nas | sku .  
 yon . tu . yañ . myi . hgyur . na | dk— . [16] dañ | sbyar . |  
 god . kyi . phyag . rgya . dños . gyañ . mchis . paḥi . rigs ||  
 de . dañ . gtugs . chiñ . mchi [17] ste . spyir . g[o]d . gyi .  
 ph[ya]g . rgya . rnam . gchig . nod . du . gsol ||

[18] \* | | Bod . kyi . H[bu]m . pa . sde . brgyad . hdri .  
 baḥi . tshal . ma . de . ḥi . tshe . nas . || Śacuḥi . dphon . sna .  
 . . . . [19] śigi . kha . nas . phy[e]d . phyed . hphriste | Rgyaḥi .  
 [d]ar . ma . hdri . baḥi . yi . ge . [pa] . brgyad . [cu] . dañ . | zu .  
 che . . . . [20] ñi . śu . la . stsal . te || de . rnam . kyi . skyin .  
 ba . ni . Rgyā . dar . ma . bri . baḥi . tshal . ma . mchis . n . . . .  
 [21] s[ta]al . ces . | dphon . snas . mchid . stsal . te | slad .  
 kyis | blon . Khon . bžer . lastsogs . [22] mñan . rnam . dbaḥ .  
 po . la . khuñs . phyuñ . ste | da . duñ . tu . Bod . kyi . dar . ma .  
 hdri . baḥi . [y]i . ge . . . . [23] p . . . thob . ste | phyag .  
 rgya . nod . tu . gsol ||

[24] \* | . . . byañ . byuñste | Rgyaḥi . Tshe . dpag .  
 tu . ma . m[chi]s . pa . . . [25] ris . śig . ches . byuñ . ba .  
 [de] . . dañ . gtugs . ciñ . bris . na . bam . po . gchig . |  
 . . o . . . [26] m-i-e-i-o-e . gyi . god . chod . [de | de . . .

[B 1] gyi . g-y . . . . . [pa] . dañ | [o]u . bžin . yo .  
 byad . htshañ . ste | tshad . ma . byuñ . cu . gsum  
 [B 2] khrom . rkyen . la . bzugs . paḥi . dar . ma .  
 glegs . thags . hdom . tshad . htshañ . ba . gcig . la . |  
 l[o] . ben . [B 3] lhag . tsam . spyad . nas | srañ .  
 la . gcal . de . | g[l]egs . thag . dños . žo<sup>1</sup> . srañ . gñis .  
 dañ . | [B 4] žo . [b]tun . byuñ . baḥi . steñ . du . gron . ma .  
 brtsiste | gron . brtsis . na | chad . ma . mchis || gron . du .  
 [B 5] gsol . ba . ni | thog . ma . srin . baḥ . bšigste | bkal .

<sup>1</sup> This syllable erased.

bañi . tshe . lag . rtsub . pos . sbyar | [B 6] nas . zo . geig . chad |  
 bzus . lags . nas . drul . te . go[i]g . chad | drul . lags . nas .  
 [gr]an [B 7] pañi . tshe | byañ . myig . tu . lan . sum . cu .  
 bskor . te | zo . phyed . chad || btags . pañ[i] . tshe . [za]g .  
 [B 8] beo . lñahi . bar . du . drul . drul . nas . zo . gñis . chad ||  
 lags . nas . brduns . bcags . bsgral . pa . [B 9] dañ . [mgo] . mdzug .  
 mtho . gañ . lñag . tsam . zig . bcad . pa . (*below line* zo . geig .  
 chad) . rnams . (*below line* kyi . chad) . brtsis . na || glegs  
 [B 10] geig . geig . la . zo . drug . drug . gron . tu . stsal . pa . |  
 sña . slad . du || kham . gyi . gnas . brtan . dañ [B 11] mkhan .  
 po . lhun . grub . dañ . | rtse . rje . lastsogs . pa . dam . žags .  
 brtsis . nas . gron . stsal . [B 12] s[t]e | bdag . cag . ñan . pa .  
 rnams . sgo . yus . tsam . žig . khoñ . subs . te . stams . las .  
 chad . [B 13] chin . mchis . na . | bkas . sbyañ . žin . mñan .  
 gyi . mehid . śags . myi . brtsan . bar . chad . [B 14] myi .  
 stsal . pa . tsham . tu . thugs . rje . chir . gzigs ||

[B 15] ☉ | | rtañi . lo . la . bri . bañi . dar . ma . sde .  
 gñis . || Śacubñi . pho . ña . Rgya . Śeg . Tsheñ . tsheñ . la .  
 brdžanste | [B 16] bul . rtags . kyi . phyag . (*below line* rgya) .  
 ni . ma . mchis . nas || (*below line* sña . ) slad . tu . | bla . nas .  
 dar . ma . chad . žes . rma . ba . | khoñ . tas [B 17] su . la .  
 phul . yañ . ruñste | sgo . bul . tsam . yañ . sku . yon . sar .  
 gñer . myi . khums . te | dguñ . [B 18] lo . bñiñi . bar . tu . |  
 Bde . gamsu . gñer . khums . žin . | bul . rtags . [kyi] . phyag .  
 rgya . nod . tu . [B 19] gtañ . bar | ban . de . Khyam . žañ .  
 gis . gžan . gdabs . na . mchisu . ma . btu[b] . ste | dar . ma .  
 a[d]je . [B 20] gñis . po . hdi . | bla . nas . sde . grañs . god . tu .  
 gnañ . na . ni . | spyi . god . las . | Śeg . Tsheñ . tsheñ  
 [B 21] myiñ . gis . smos . te . god . stsal . gsol | god . tu . [m]a .  
 gnañ . na . | Tsheñ . tsheñ . dar . ma . . .

[ll. 2-4] "Councillor Rgyal-khyi and Councillor Ldoñ-bzañ  
 having sent to ban-de Dpal-gyi-bzañ-po for a scripture  
 (*dar-ma*), one division, complete with appurtenances,<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> No doubt, such wraps, labels, and boards as are usual with Tibetan MSS.

has been already (*bla*) sent. [ll. 5-7] Whether a levy has been made or not made by the authorities to meet the expenditure upon material (*rgyu*) and costs (? *dpyah* "tax") (*chad-du-bdas-sam-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.

[ll. 8-9] A donation having been undertaken sometime in the Horse year, arising from the previously made communication (?) it appeared that a Tibetan *Ses-rab-hbum-pa* (*Śaṣaśāhasrika-Prajñā-pāramitā*) in eight divisions, and a Chinese *Hbum-pa* in six hundred chapters, three divisions, should be copied. [ll. 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 *z[u]n* (acknowledgment ?) of the reckoning of the expenditure. [ll. 12-15] For the Chinese *Hbum-pa*, three divisions, 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. [ll. 15-17] With reference to the difficulty (? *dkah* . . ?), 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.

[ll. 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 Khoñ-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-dpag-tu-ma-mchis-pa* (*Aparimitāyuh-sūtra*) . . . the copying having been done accordingly, one chapter . . . sanction the expenditure . . .

[B ll. 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 two *srañ* and seven *zo*, not reckoning the waste. In regard to reckoning the waste, there were no orders (or 'there is no measure', *chad* or *tshad-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-mtsub-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-zags*), our humble selves, having received orders restricting



us to sending in merely a private representation (*sgo-yus*), have discharged our task. [ll. 12-14] Will you have the kindness not to send orders invalidating the instructions of the authorities (*mhan-gyi-mchid-sags*) ?

[B ll. 15-16] The scripture, two divisions, to be copied in the Horse year having been sent to the Śa-cu envoy, the Chinaman, Śeg Tshen-tshen, 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-zañ, 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 Śeg Tshen-tshen. If the expense is not sanctioned, Tshen-tshen should return the scripture . . ."

### Notes

A 1. 2. We translate *rkyen* (Sk. *pratyaṃ*) 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. *bul-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 *gon*; it usually means "loss".

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

*chad* seems to mean either "sanction payment" or actually "pay".

l. 6. *nam-gchig*, "one part" or "one instance", seems to be used here, and l. 17 and elsewhere, of part or single settlements of accounts. Cf. Vol. I, p. 113, n. 6, and p. 23.21 and Index.

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

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

l. 13. *tsan* = "corn": see pp. 17, 19.

l. 16. *dnos*, *dnos-kyis*, *dnos-kyan* = "at present", "forthwith". See Index.

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

B l. 2. *rkyen*: v. *supra*.

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

B l. 3. *srañ* = "scales", and also a certain weight. It also is a weight.

B l. 11. *dam-zag[s]* has occurred *supra*, p. 19.7; cf. p. 201 and M.I. xlv, 8.

B l. 12. *khon-subs-te-stams-las-chad* perhaps = "having strict (*stams-las*, cf. p. 123) orders to furnish as a stop-gap (*khon-subs*, a private representation": cf. p. 402, *sko-yus-sdams-la*.

B l. 13. *mchid-zags*: see p. 3 and Index.

B l. 14. *thugs-rje-chir-gzigs*, "how do we (you ?) regard the kindness ?", is a phrase recurring, pp. 202-3, 385.5.

B l. 15. *Rgya Śeg Tshen-tshen*. For similar names see the classified list given below.

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

*Bde-gams*: cf. *supra*, p. 58.

1. 19. *gian-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 (*Kya-cu* and *Ša-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 *Sata-sūhasrika-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 | ॐ | 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).

[1] ॐ | : | Rta . dan . lug . gi . lo . la || lha . aras . kyi .

sku . yon . dar . ma . Śes . rab . hbum . pa | bri . bañi . yi . ge[ . pa]  
 [2] rnams . kyī . khoñ . na . śog . chad . cī . mehis . pa || riñ .  
 jugs . Stag . bzañ . Tsi . dam . dañ | G-yu . bžer [3] Brtan .  
 koñ . gi . g-ya . sñar || śog . śog . mnos . pañi . dkar . chag .  
 dañ | dar . ma . phul . bañi . bu[4] yig . tu . brtsis . pa . las .  
 ro . gron . dañ . glegs . tshas . bton . pañi . slad . na . | yi .  
 ge . pañi . khoñ . na [5] śog . śog . chad . yañ . dag . pañi .  
 myiñ . smras || blon . Rgyal . zigs . dañ | To . dog . blon .  
 Btsan . bžer [6] la . žus . pa . las || śog . chad . hdi . rnams .  
 sde . tshan . so . soñi . lña . behu . rkañ . dañ . hog . ana . la .  
 [7] gñer . par . gtan . pa . chos . la || rub . ma . pa . Jehu .  
 Brtan . koñ . gĩa . ni . sñon . tu . skoste | spreñu . lo [8] ston .  
 sla . ra . ba . sum . tshun . chad . kyis . gñer . hgumsu . stsol .  
 cig . ces . mehid . gyis . bead . nas [9] gñer . yig . dkar . chag .  
 tu . briñ . pā || gñer . pas . kyañ . ŋo . zlog . phod . par . htshol .  
 te | śog [10] śog . hbyor . na . dños . su . bstu | śog . śog . ma .  
 hbyor . ram | rañ . r[ī]ñ . htshal . ba . žig [11] mchis . na ||  
 phu . nu . ñe . tuñ . gcig . zuñste | btson . car . stsol . la ||  
 sku . yon . sar . btson . tu . žog [12] ste | yige . pa . dños .  
 kyis . ni | śog . śog . gi . gñer . hgumsu . stsol | gñer . ma .  
 hkhums [13] gyi . bar . du . phyugs . nor . la . stsogs . pa .  
 gtañ . ñi . ri . phrogs . la | rub . ma . pa . la . gtod . [14] cig |  
 gñer . pas . ŋo . zlog . ma . phod . dam | gñer . ma . gtus . par .  
 gyur . na | <sup>1</sup> li . ceñ . [15] rnams . kyañ | śog . śog . yug .  
 re <sup>2</sup> . leag . beu . beuñi . thañ . tu . rgyab . chad . gyis . chod .  
 par . gcado . | [16] li . ceñ . gi . rnams . kyañ . gdugs . re . lan .  
 re . sku . yon . sar . hphyan . cad . sñogs . la | śog . so[g] [17]  
 hbul . stobs . che . chuñ . yañ . rtsi . žiñ . mehis . śig ||

[B 1] ♀ || Stoñ . sar . gyi . sde . la || Leñ . ho . Don .  
 tahelji . tshan | Hva . Stag . legs . la | rtañi . lo . la [B 2] śog .  
 śog . yug . lña || hug . gi . lo . la | yug . sum . chu . rtsa .  
 drug . chad || Cañ . Hig . tse . la . rtañi . loñi [B 3] śog . śog .  
 yug . beu . chad | . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> gñer-pa here erased.

<sup>2</sup> A second re here erased.



[ll. 1-2] "In the Horse and Sheep years. Allotment of paper among the scribes who copied the scripture *Ses-rab-hbum-pa* (*Sata-sāhasrika-Prajñā-pāramitā*), whereof the Prince (*lha-sras*) was donor.

[ll. 2-6] After reckoning in the presence of courier Stag-bzan Tsi-dam and G-yu-bzer Brtan-koñ 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 (*rkun-dan-hog-sna*?), of several divisions and accounts, the *rub-ma-pa* appointed from the first was Jehu Brtan-koñ. [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 (*gñer-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<sup>1</sup> 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-ceñ* should punish him by whipping at the rate of ten lashes per roll (*yug*) of paper.

<sup>1</sup> *log-log*, reduplicated, occurs frequently as, perhaps, a sort of plural.

[ll. 15-17] The *li-ccñ* people also, while each day and each year (time ?) referring (*sñogs* ?) for certainty (*hphyan*(ñ)-*chad* ?) to the residence of the donor, should take account of capability, great or small, of delivering the paper.

[B 1] Stoñ-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 Cañ Hig-tse . . . . .

The remainder of the document, B. l. 1-D l. 29, consists of the names of the persons keeping the accounts (the *gñer-pas*, no doubt) and of those to whom paper, and in some cases ink (*snag* or *snag-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 (*gtan-la-phab-pa*), or a figure was modified upon a count (C 14, D 6), or a total (*spyir*) is stated (D 19). All the items belong to the Stoñ-sar division (*sde*) as far as C l. 1, where begins the Rgod-sar division, followed at D l. 1 by the Sñin-tsoms division, which is mentioned in M.I. vii, 32, *Sñin-tsoms-kyi-hban*s, pp. 64 and 60.

### Notes

- A l. 2. *rin-lugs* = "courier" : see pp. 16 and 51, 2.  
 l. 6. *rkañ-dañ-hog-sna* = "bundles and under" ?  
 l. 6. *sde-tshan* "account" : see pp. 91-2 and Index.  
 l. 7. The Ape year is that following the Sheep year.  
 l. 8. *gñer-hbumsu*, as at first read, would be an error, or variant, for *gñer-hgumsu*.  
 l. 9. *no-zlog* "turn the face" is stated to mean "oppose".  
 l. 11. *sar* "to the residence of" : see p. 21, 10-1 and Index.  
 l. 13. *gtah-ñi-ri-phrogs* = "pledge, twice value, taken".  
 l. 14. *li-ccñ* : a Chinese official title ?  
 l. 16. *gdugs* "noon" : on *lan* "year", see Index. *sñogs*, here Imperative of *sñogs*, is literally "follow".

*hphyan*(ñ)-*chad*, "doubt-deciding": cf. S. C. Das' Dictionary, S.W. *phyah-chad* and *hphyah*.

16. (No. 735; wood, 16.5 × 2 cm.; ll. 3 *obv.* + ll. 2 *rev.* of ordinary *dbu-can* script; clear and complete.)

[1] 𑖦 | : | Stag . Su . tam . dañ . Bran . ceñu . gyi . grar (gur ?) . brtsis . pa | bam . thum . hdi . [2] hi . nañ . na . yug . gsum . pa . bam . po . bdun . cu . rtsa . dgu . | yug . bñi . pa . bam . po [3] beu . gsum || yug . phyed . dañ . lña . pa . bam . po . gchiig || yug . phyed . [B 1] dañ . bñi . pa . bam . po . bdun | spyir . brtsis . na . bam . po . brgyah . la | śog . śog . [B 2] yug . sum . brgyah . rtsa . beo . brgyad . byuñ ||

"Counted in the school of Stag Su-tam and Bran-ceñu. 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 *grva*. The form *grā* 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-dva*, l. 2, is for *Bodhisattva*, soubriquet of Śāntirakṣita, who in the

second half of the eighth century visited Lha-sa and instigated the invitation of Padmasambhava. Others named, Ye-śes-dbañ-po = Jñānendra, Gsal-snañ, Dpal-dbyaṅs = Śrī-gḥoṣa, Rgyal-mchog-dbyaṅs, Dpal-gyi-señ-ge = Śrī-simha, are mentioned in Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*, trans. Obermiller, ii, pp. 187-191.

17. Ch. 0021 (670, vol. 31, fol. 116b; *verso* of fol. 2 of a text in *dbu-can* script; ll. 8 of clear *dbu-med*).

[1] ॐ || Bod . yul . du . byuñ . bañi . dge . bañi . bśes . ñen . gi . rgyud . kyi . rñams . grañs . la . ||

[2] Rgya . gar . gyi . mkhan . po . Bo . de . sva . dva . las . stsogs . pañi . slob . ma . ni | Dbah . btsun . ba . Ye<sup>1</sup> . še(s) . dbaṅ . po | Dbah . Dpal . dbyaṅs . | Ñan . lam . Rgyal . mchog . dbyaṅs . | Hgo . hbom . Rdo . rje . rgyal . po . | Jeñ . Gsal . rab . rin . po . che . | Myañ . Mchog . rab . gzo . nu . | Myañ . Gśa(?) . myi . go . cha . | Gleñu . Gzo . nu . sñiñ . po . | Lha . luñ . [3] Dpal . gi . rdo . rje | Tshog . ro . Dpal . gi . señ . ge . | <sup>2</sup>Tsog . ro . Byams . pañi . señ . ge . <sup>2</sup> | Cog . ro . Hchos . kyi . bśes . ñes (n) . | de . las . bsogs . pa . ni . Bsam . yas . dañ . Hphrul . snañ . yan . cad . kyi . dge . bañi . bśes . ñen . lags . sho . ||

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

[4] Wañ . Śes . rab . sla . ba . | Hdan . ma . Bkun . dgañ . dpal . | Nem . Dgañ . ldan . byañ . chub . las . bsog<sup>3</sup> . pa . ni . Mdo . gams . nas . brgyud . pa . lags . so . ||

Kam . bcuñi . chos . grañi . slob . pon . | Dbas . Byañ . chub . rin . cen . | 'An . Dge . lam . | Lañ . hgro . Dam . mtaho . || Lbe (Hbe ? Lce ?) . zi . Rnal . hbyor . [5] Skyor . | Hphru . ma . legs . las . bsogs . pa<sup>4</sup> . ni | byañ . ños . phyogs . su . brgyud . pa . lags . so . ||

Go<sup>5</sup> . cuñi . chos . grañi . slob . dpon . Myañ . Rin . cen .

<sup>1</sup> Corrected from *yes*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tsog* . . . *ge* repeated and then erased.

<sup>3</sup> Below the line.

<sup>4</sup> Below the line.

<sup>5</sup> Corrected from *Gog*.



byañ . chub . || Za . sña . Hjam . pañi . sniñ . po | Hgo . bom .  
 Sa . mun . tra . || Hgreñ . ro . Dgeñi . blo . gros . | Phuñ . Dge .  
 rgyas . las . btsogs . Śi . goñ . bu . nas . [6] brgyud . pa . lags .  
 sho . || rdzogs . so . |

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

[2-3] I. Pupils of the Indian abbots Bodeśvadva and so forth:—

Dbañ the reverend Ye-śes-dbañ-po (Jñānendra);

„ Dpal-dbyañs (Śrīghoṣa);

Rgyal-mehog-dbyañs (Ujjayana (?) ghōṣa) of Nan-lam;

Rdo-rje-rgyal-po (Vajrarāja) of Hgo-ñbom;

Jen Gsal-rab-rin-po-che (Prakāśaratna);

Myañ Mehog-rab-gzo-nu (Prāga(?)kumāra);

„ Gśa-myi-go-cha (. . . varman);

Gleñu Gzo-nu-sñiñ-po (Kumāragarbha);

Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje (Śrīvajra) of Lha-luñ;

Dpal-gyi-señ-ge (Śrīsimha) of Tshog-ro;

Byams-pañi-señ-ge (Maitrisimha) of Tsog-ro;

Hchos-kyi-bśes-gñen (Dharmamitra) of Cog-ro.

—these and others are the *kalyāṇa-mitras* of [the country] as far as the monasteries Bsam-yas and Hphrul-snañ.

[3-4] II. Teachers of the seminary of Mdo-gams:—

Wañ Śes-rab-sla-ba (Prajñācandra);

Hdan-ma Kun-dgañ-dpal (Ānandaśrī);

Nem Dgañ-ldan-byañ-chub (Tuṣitabodhi);

—these and others are of the succession of Mdo-gams.

[4-5] III. Teachers of the seminary of Kam-bcu:—

Dbas Byañ-chub-rin-chen (Bodhiratna);

'An Dge-lam (Supatha, Kṣemamārga ?);

Dam-mtsho of Lañ-ñgro;

Lbe-ñi Rnal-ñbyor (Yoga);

Hphru-ma-legs of Skyor;

—these and others are the succession in the region of the north.

## [5-6] IV. Teachers of the Go-cu seminary :—

Myaṅ Rin-cen-byaṅ-chub (Ratnabodhi) ;

Ža-sṅa Hjam-paḥi-sṅiṅ-po (Mañjugarbha) ;

Sa-mun-tra (Samudra) of Hgo-ḥbom ;

Dgeḥi-blo-gros (Śubhamati) of Hgreṅ-ro ;

Phuṅ Dge-rgyas (Punyavistara) ;

—these and others are the succession of Śi-goṅ-bu. *Finis.*"

*Notes.*

1. 2. *Dbaḥ* (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 *Hgo-ḥbom*) has been mentioned above (p. 55), and the second element occurs in *Khri-boms*. The name of *Kum-lum*, which might here occur to us, is usually explained as *Sku-ḥbum*.

11. 2-3. *Lha-luṅ* and *Cog(Tsog)-ro* are known, and the Bsam-yas and Hphrul-snaṅ monasteries are the famous early foundations, the latter at Lha-sa.

1. 3. *gra* = *grva*, see p. 843.

1. 4. *Kam-bcu* = Kan-chou.

*Lan-hyro* is mentioned in the *Chronicle* (ll. 174, 204, 237).

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

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

*Ža-sṅa*, ordinarily a phrase meaning "presence", occurs as a surname in the *Chronicle*, l. 208.

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

Concerning the surnames (*Myaṅ*, *Hdan-ma*, etc.) see the consolidated list, pp. 113-17. *Skyor* = *Skyor-mo-luṅ* ?

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 ; ll. 15 + 31 + 15 of excellent *dbu-can* script ; paragraphs separated by |'s and ॐ in red).

This document consists of a series of paragraphs having the form—

<sup>1</sup>Bam . Stag . zigs . gyi . khram . tshan . la<sup>1</sup> || Dgaḥ . ldan . ḥbyuñ . gnas . gyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . gyi . yon . bdag . Bam . Stag . gi . rkyā . | Dgaḥ . ldan . gnas . gyi . gḡal . yas . paḥi . gtsug . lag . khañ . gyi . yon . bdag . Leñ . ho . Siḥu . lañ . gyi . rkyā .

"*Khram account of Bam Stag-zigs.* Crop of Bam Stag, patron of the Dgaḥ-ldan-ḥbyuñ-gnas monastery. Crop of Leñ-ho Siḥu-lañ, patron of the Dgaḥ-ldan-gnas-kyi-gḡal-yas monastery."

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* (*dāna-pati* "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 Śa-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:—

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

Dri-myed . . .	monastery ;
" -ya-mam-dag	"
" -dḡos grub	"
" -tiñ-tse-ḥdzin	"
" -rgyas-pa	"
" don-dam	"

<sup>1</sup> This part in red ink.

[ll. 6-12] *Account (tshan) of Klu-sbehi-bsgyechu-rje-gye-se Hpyan-legs* :—

*Khram account (khram-tshan) of Cañ Lha-legs* :—

[Rnam]-dag-dgañ-ldan monastery ;

Rnam-dgañ-bo " "

Rnam-dag-yon-tan " "

" -pad-mo " "

" -don-grub " "

" -rin-chen " "

" -don-mdzad " "

" -snañ-mdzad " "

" -byams-pa " "

" -mthah-yas " "

[ll. 13-B l. 6] *Khram account of Bam Stag-zigs* :—

Dgañ-ldan-hbyun-gnas monastery ;

" -gnas-kyi-gzal-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 Cañ Si-ka* :—

Rin-chen-hod-hphro monastery ;

" -hbar-ba " "

" -rnal-hbyor " "

" -bla-myed " "

" -bsam-yas " "

" -dus-gsum " "

" -don-dam " "

" -dkah-thub " "

" -hod-khyab " "

" -chos-grags " "



[B II. 13-20]. *Khram account of Li Se-hu-lan* :—

Chos-grags-bsam-yas monastery ;

„	-bkra-śis	„
„	-g-yuñ-hdruñ	„
„	-dgañ-ldan	„
„	-gzi-brjid	„
„	-rgyas-pa	„
„	-don-mdzad	„
„	-myi-g-yo	„
„	-legs-ldan	„

[B I. 20-7]. *Khram account of Len-ho Zun-zun* :—

G-yuñ-hdruñ-yañ-dag monastery ;

„	-dam-pa	„
„	-don-dam	„
„	-rdzu-hphrul	„
„	-mñam-ñid	„
„	-byams-pa	„
„	-bla-myed	„
„	-dge-rtags	„
„	-yid-bñin	„

[B II. 27-31]. *Khram account of Wan Stagu* :—

Don-dam-rnal-hbyor monastery ;

„	-bla-myed	„
„	-byams-pa	„
„	-rdzu-hphrul	„
„	-mñam-ñid	„
„	-myi-g-yoñ	„

[C II. 1-2]. (Title of account missing).

Dbañ-mchog-rnal-hbyor monastery ;

[C II. 2-9]. *Khram account of Cañ Ka-dzo* :—

Bsam-yas-dus-gsum monastery ;

„	-myi-g-yoñ	„
„	-rnal-hbyor	„
„	-rin-chen	„
„	-btañ-sñoms	„

Bsam-yas-mchog monastery;

„ -yon-tan „

[C II. 9-15]. *Khram account of Cañ Hphan-legs* :—

Khams-gsum-grags-pa monastery;

„ -bla-myed „

„ -rgyal-ba „

„ -mchog „

„ -ñi-ba „

„ -hph . . . . . „

„ -don-mdzad „

„ -g-yuñ-druñ „

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*), *namdag* (= *viśuddha*), *dgahldan* (= *tuṣṭa*), *rin-chen* (= *ratna*), *chos-grags* (= *dharma-kīrti*), *g-yuñ-hdruñ* (= *svastika*), *don-dam* (= *paramārtha*), *bsam-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. *yiḡ-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-ñiñ* "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.<sup>1</sup> On two of these tallies the words *tshan* and *khram* in fact occur (cf. p. 184):—

(a) M.I., xxviii, 8:—

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

[2] To . rtson . gis . phul . bah . . .

(b) M.I., xiv, 131 a:—

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

[2] ☉ | Mon . Rtses . ra . lug . khram |

[3] lug                      ma . mo.

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; ll. 4 per page of good ordinary *dbu-can* script; paragraph titles in red ink).

88 (35) [1] ☉ | : | than . du . gtsigs . kyi . gtsug . lag .  
khañ . bzens . par . Mdo . gams . kyi . khams . kyi . dbañ . po .  
rnams . kyis . dkon . meog . gsum . la . meod . ciñ . yon .  
phul . ba . hdihi . bsod . nams . dañ | byin . gyi . rlabs . kyis  
[1. 2] lha . btsan . po . rje . blon . hkhör . dañ . beas . pañi .  
sdig . pa . thams . cad . ni . byañ | bsod . nams . dañ . ye . ses .  
kyi . tshogs . ni . yonñsu . rdzogs . nas . chab . srid . mjal . dum .  
g-yuñ . druñ . tu . bñtan . sku . tse . riñ . žiñ . lha . dañ . myiñi .  
bde . skyid [1. 3] phun . sum . tshogs . pa . la . gnas . te | bla .  
na . myed . pa . yañ . dag . par . rdzogs . pañi . byañ . cub . lhun .  
gyis . grub . par . smon . to | | ☉ | | <sup>2</sup> De . ga . gtsigs .  
kyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . zal . bsro . bañi [1. 4] Bde . blon . gyi . smon  
lam . du . gsol . bañ <sup>2</sup> || phyogs . bcu . mthañ . yas . mu .  
myed . pa . na . skye . ba . dañ | hñgog . pa . las . rnam . par .  
dben . ba . yod . myed . dañ . rtag . chad . kyi . mthañ . las .  
hñdas . pa . dus . gsum . gyi . de . bññ . gñegs . pa (B. I. 1) thams .  
cad . la . meod . ciñ . bstod . nas . skyabsu . mciste | gus . par .  
phyag . hñsal . lo | hñjig . rten . dañ . hñjig . rten . las . hñdas . pa .  
na . hñphags . pa . thams . cad . mkhyind <sup>2</sup> . pañi . ye . ses . dañ .

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

<sup>2</sup> Red ink in original.

<sup>3</sup> For *mkhyend*, which, in fact, may be read.

ldan . pa . ḥgag . la . ci . sñed . bžugs . so . cog [B. l. 2] dan |  
 chos . dan | sañs . rgyas . dan | dge . ḥdun . la . skyabsu . mei .  
 ste | gus . par . phyag . ḥtshal . lo || Ḥo . lde . spu . rgyal .  
 gnam . gyi . lha . las . myiḥi . rjer . gśegs . pa . yon . gis . sku .  
 bla . gzan || chab . sr.d . che | chos . bzan | gtsug [B. l. 3]  
 lag . che . bas . yul . byuñ . sa . dod . tshun . cad . rjeḥi . gtuñ .  
 ma . gyurd . te | chab . srid . g-yuñ . druñ . tu . brtan . žiñ . che .  
 baḥi . bkaḥ . drin . chen . pos . phyogs . brgyad . tu . khyab .  
 par . khebste | phyi . nañ . gñis . kyi . Ḥgrin<sup>1</sup> . myi . ḥo . chog .  
 la [B. l. 4] mñam . bar . dgoñs . nas . mtho . žiñ . dregs . pa .  
 ni . brlabs . dan . thabs . kyis . btul . te . rigs . paḥi . chos . la  
 btsud . | dmaḥ . žiñ . rgrad . pa . ni . ḥphral . yun . gñisu .  
 dgaḥ . žiñ . spro . bar . gzi(e ḥ)ñs . bstod . nas . gnam . mthaḥ . ḥog .

89 (36) [A. l. 1] \* | | gi . Ḥgren . myiḥo . chog . | yun .  
 gyi . bkaḥ . drin . gyis . khyab . pas | gnam . chen . po . phyogs .  
 bžiḥi . mñah . bdag || ḥphrul . gyi . lugs . dan . ḥthun . pa .  
 ni | Bod . kyi . lha . btsan . po | ḥphrul . gyi . ža . sñā . nas .  
 bžugs . te || yon . yañ | chu . bo . chen . poḥi . [A. l. 2]  
 glad | gañs . ri . mthon . poḥi . rtsa | yul . mtho . sa . gtsañ .  
 baḥi . gnas . na . bžugs . pas | ḥphrul . gyi . lha . btahan . po .  
 ni || gduñ . rabs . ḥgrañs . par . yañ | lhaḥi . lugs . ma .<sup>2</sup>  
 mñam . ste | rgyal . po . gzan . bas | che . žiñ . brtsan . bar  
 [A. l. 3] mñon | — | de . ltar . yab . myes . lha . dan . stañ .  
 bas | | yon . yañ | chab . srid . che | dbu . rmog . brtsan .  
 baḥi . steñ . du || ḥphrul . gyi . lha . btahan . po . Khri .  
 Gtsug . lde . brtsan . gyi . ža . sñā . nas | sku . la . dbyig  
 [A. l. 4] ḥkhruñs | thugs . la . ḥphrul . mñah . ste | gtsug . lag .  
 khañ . thams . chad . tshul . bžin . mdzad . pas . ni | sku . bla .  
 riñ . rdzi . dan | gnam . saḥi . lha . klu | thams . chad . kyañ .  
 ḥgo . žiñ . dgyes || thugs . rje . chen . po . dan . ldan . bas .  
 ni . Ḥgren . myi . [B. l. 1] ḥo . chog . la | gnam . saḥi . lugs .  
 dan . ḥthun . bar | bkab . ciñ . bkur . te | chab . srid . gyi .  
 mñah . thañ . chen . po . dard . ciñ . rgyas . paḥi . dus . su . |  
 chab . srid . kyi . blon . po . yañ . ḥphags . pa . dag . chig |

<sup>1</sup> Sic (7) for *Hgren*<sup>2</sup> Below line, inserted. For *dan* ?



mñah . thañ . tu . byunste || blon . chen . po [B l. 2] žaň .  
 Khri . sum . rje . daň | chen . po . žaň . Lha . bzaň . po . gñis .  
 kyis | dgrañi . śed . smad . de | chab . srid . kyī . phaň .  
 badod . nas . || Rgya . Drug . Hjaň . las . atsogs . pa .  
 mthañi . rgyal . po . || bar . du . chab . srid . la . sdo . žin .  
 rtsol | ba . [B l. 3] kun . kyaň | bkañ . nan . gyi . mthū .  
 daň | rñabs . kyis | bthul . bas . ni . re . thag . bcad | yun .  
 riñ . por . legs . śiñ . bde . bañi . bkañ . drin . gyis . ni . dad . pa .  
 daň . spro . ba . bskyed . nas | gnam . sa . yid . hbyor . pa .  
 daň . hdra . bar | rgyal [B l. 4] khams . tu . ma . žig . gis ||  
 Bod . rje . blon . gyi . bkañ . gus . par . mñan . te | chab . srid .  
 mjal . dum . chen . po . mdzad . pa . hdi . yaň | hphral . yun .  
 gñis . su . legs . śiñ . bde . ba . ŋi . tser . ma . baste | gzañ .  
 gsañ . gñis . 90 (37) [A l. 1] 卐 || su . chab . srid . kyī . phaň .  
 mtho . ba . daň . smos . śiñ . brjod . pañi . don . kyaň . rab . tu .  
 zab | lo . stoñ . rabs . khrir . yaň . hbri . ba . myed . par . bzaň .  
 žin . śān . te . mjal . dum . gyi . legs . pa . chen . po . mñon .  
 sum . tu . mdzad [A l. 2] pa . hdi . dkon . mchog . gsum .  
 daň | hñig . rten . gyi . lha . klu . thams . cad . kyis .  
 kyaň . mkhyend . ciñ . gzigs . pas . na | nam . tu . yaň . myi .  
 hgyur . žin . brtan . bar . smond . to || de . ltar . mjal .  
 dum . chen . po [A l. 3] mdzad . pañi . rkyen . kyis . rgyal .  
 khams . tu . ma . žig . gi . hbañs . mchon . chañi . khar . ñon .  
 moñs . pa . myiñ . myed . par . btsald . te | bde . skyid . pañi .  
 gnas . la . dus . geig . tu . bkod . pañi . bsod . nams [A l. 4]  
 chen . po . hdis | hphrul . gyi . lha . btsan . po . Khri . Gtsug .  
 lde . brtsan . mched . daň | chab . srid . kyī . blon . po . chen .  
 po . legs . pa . sgrub . sgrub . pa . blon . chen . po . žaň . Khri .  
 sum . rje . daň | žaň . chen . po . Lha [B l. 1] bzaň . lastsogs .  
 pa . Bod . rje . blon . hkhord . par . bcas . pa . daň | sems .  
 can . thams . cad . sgrib . pa . rnam . gñis . byaň . nas . bsod .  
 nams . daň . ye . śes . kyī . tshogs . yoñsu . rdzogste . mthar .  
 yaň . bla . na . myed . pa . yaň . dag [B l. 2] par . rdzogs .  
 pañi . byaň . cub . tu . mñon . bar . rdzogs . par . sañs . rgyas .  
 par . smon . to || De . ga . G-yu . tahal . mjal . tum . thaň .  
 tu . gtsigs . kyī . gtsug . lag . khaň . mdzad . pa . hdi . yaň .

lo.ñe . gñis [B l. 3] la . rgyal . khams . chen . po . gsum .  
 mjal . dum . ba . dañ . gtsigs . chen . po . mdzad . pañi . sa .  
 gzi . ste | hdir . bcas . pa . dañ . sbyar . na<sup>1</sup> | hdi . yañ . sñon .  
 gyi . hphags . pa . rnams . kyis . yañ [B l. 4] dag . par . byin .  
 kyis . brlabs . pañi . sa . gzi . zig . ste | yon . yañ . hdi . lta .  
 buñi . legs . pa . chen . po . dus . gcig . tu . byun . bañi . don .  
 tu . btsigs . pas . lhag . par . yañ . bsod . nams . che . zin . bkra .  
 sis . par . mñon . te | 91 (38) [A. l. 1] ¶ || bsod . nams . chen . po .  
 de . dag . gi . byin . kyis . gtsun<sup>2</sup> . lag . khañ . hdi . yañ . nam . ñi .  
 ma . dañ | zla . ba . yod . kyi . bar . tu . yun . tu . brtan . ba .  
 dañ | hphrul . kyi . lha . btsan . po . Khri . Gtsug . lde . brtsan .  
 gyi . za . sñā . nas | sku . tshe . riñ . zin [A l. 2] chab . srid .  
 che . ba . dañ | dgonś . pa . yid . bzin . tu . grub . par . smon .  
 to || sñon . Rgya . Drug . dañ<sup>3</sup> . chab . srid . la . ma .  
 mjalid . te . nold . pa . dag . gi . dus . na . lha . sras . dbu .  
 rmog . brtsan . po . dañ | blon . po . dpah . hdzans [A l. 3]  
 ldan . zin . dgra . thabs . mkhas . pañi . skyims<sup>4</sup> . kyis . dgra .  
 la . phog . pa . dañ | dmag . mañ . poñi . mthu . brtsan . pos .  
 dgrañi . mkhar . phab . pa . dañ | g-yu . bzlog . pa . dañ |  
 yul . bcom . ba . dañ | mnañś . bcad . pa . la [A l. 4] stsogste |  
 dgrañi . myi . phyugs . mañ . pho . srog . dañ . bral . ba . dañ .  
 ma . byind . par . blañś . phañi . dño . sdig . ci . meis . pa . yañ .  
 bsod . nams . chen . po . hdiñi . byin . dañ . zil . kyis . mnand .  
 te . zu . zin . byañ . bar . smon [B l. 1] to || dkon . mchog .  
 gsum . la . meod . cin . yon . phul . ba . dañ | dño(s) . sdig . bsags .  
 pa . lastsogs . pañi . bsod . nams . kyis . rjesu . bsño . zin .  
 dmyigs . pa . dañ | bzod . pa . dañ . hthol . tsañsu [B. l. 2]  
 gsol . ba . lastsogs . pa . smon . lam . gzan . yañ | bla . nas .  
 mdzad . pa . dañ . mthun . bar . smond . to || <sup>5</sup> De . ga .  
*G-yu . tshal . gtsigs . kyī . gtsug . lag . khañ . du . Mkhar . tsan*  
 [B.l. 3] *khrom . chen . pos . smon . lam . tu . gsol . ba* <sup>6</sup> . ||  
 Bod . rje . blen . dbu . rmog . brtsan . Sgam . dkyel . chen . poñi .

<sup>1</sup> = here erased.<sup>2</sup> Sic for *gtsug*.<sup>3</sup> Read *Hjan*?<sup>4</sup> For *skyims*.<sup>5-6</sup> Red ink in original.

sku . riñ . la | bar . tu . Rgya . Drug . dan . Hjañ . rgyal .  
 khams . chen . po . gsum . gyis . chab . srid . kyi . mdab .  
 tu [B l. 4] bños . pa . las | rje . dbu . rmog . brtsan .  
 blon . po . rin . po . che . dpah . rtsal . dan . ldan . bañi .  
 byin . rlabs . kyis . dgra . bkah . hog . du . chud . du |  
 gtsigs . bkah . stsald . to . htsald . tu . mnos . la | nam . za .  
 92 (39) [A l. 1] \* | : | myi . rabs . kyi . gtam . brjod .  
 kyi . bar . tu . legs . pañi . bkah . drin . dgugs . kyis . zin . to .  
 htsal . la . khebs . te . brjod . pañi . gtsigs . kyi . gtsug . lag .  
 khañ . bzeñs . par . rgyal . khams . chab . srid . kye<sup>1</sup> . la  
 [A l. 2] ltod . pañi . slad . tu . lha . sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde .  
 brtsan . gyi . za . sna . nas . thugs . kyi . phrin . las . su . mdzad .  
 pa . dan | blon . chen . po . zañ . Khri . sum . rje . dan | chen .  
 po . zañ . Lha . bzañ . gis . dgra . Rgya . Drug . gi . g-yul .  
 [A l. 3] chen . po . bzlog . pa . lastsogs . pa . thabs . ches . phras .  
 dgra . la . gnad . par . bgyis . pa . dan | kh[r]jom . Mkhar .  
 tsan . pa . lta . zig . Bod . hbañs . dpah . aran . la . stend . pañi .  
 tshul . bzin . du [A l. 4] lo . no . geig . la . g-yul . chen . po .  
 gñis . bzlog . pañi . dpah . bañi . sna . drans . pa . lastsogs . ste |  
 Bod . rjes . hbañs . kyis . chab . srid . la . sdo . bañi . slad . tu .  
 dbugs . chags . la . gnad . pañi . sema [B l. 1] kyis . mphro .  
 btod . ciñ . rma . phyuñ . no . htsal | rtul . tsam . ma . lus . phar .  
 byañ . bar . smon . lam . gsolte | Khar . tsan . khrom . kyis .  
 yon . dbul . ba . la | \* || | <sup>2</sup> De . ga . G-yu . tshal . gtsigs .  
 kyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . tu . Kva . cu . khrom . chen [B l. 2] po .  
 nas . smon . lam . tu . gsol . ba<sup>2</sup> || Bod . rje . blon . dbu .  
 rmog . brtsan . | Skam . dkyel . chen . poñi . sku . riñ . la |  
 bar . du . dgra . Rgya . Drug . Hjañ . rgyal . khams . chen . po .  
 gsum . kyis . chab . srid . kyi . mdab . tu . bsdos . pha . las  
 [B l. 3] rje . dbu . rmog . brtsan | blon . po . rin . po . che .  
 dpah . rtsal . ldan . bañi . rlabs . kyis . dgra . bkā . hog . tu .  
 chud . de . | gtsigs . bkah . stsald . to . htsal . tu . mnos . pha .  
 nam . za . myi . rabs . su . gtam . brjod . kyi . bar . tu [B l. 4]  
 legs . pañi . bkah . drin . dbugs . kyi . zin . to . htsal . khebs . te

<sup>1</sup> Read *kyi*, as below (B l. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Red ink in original.



brjod . pañi . gtsigs . kyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . bžens . par . rgyal .  
 khams . chab . srid . kyi . la . ltod . pañi . slad . tu | lha . sras .  
 kyi . za . sñā . nas . | thugs . kyi .

93 (40) [A l. 1] ॐ || hphrin . las . su . mdzad . pa .  
 dañ | blon . chen . po . zañ . Khri . sum . rje . dañ | chen . po .  
 zañ . Lha . bzañ . gis . Rgya . Drug . gi . g-yul . chen . po . bzlog .  
 pa . lastsogs . pha . Bod . rjes . hbañs . kyis . chab . srid . la .  
 sdo . bañi . slad . [A l. 2] tu . dgra . la . gnad . pañi . ŋugs .  
 kyis . bgyis . so . htsal . bag . tsam . ma . lus . par . byañ . bar .  
 smon . lam . tu . gsol . te || Kva . cu . khrom . chen . po .  
 nas . you . tu . dbuñ . bañ || ॐ || <sup>1</sup> *Phyug . tsams* . [A l. 3]  
 stoñ . pon . dpon . g-yog . gi . smon . lam . tu . gsol . bañ || <sup>2</sup>  
 dkon . mehog . gsum . la . phyag . htsal . lo || sañs . rgyas . la .  
 phyag . htsal . te . thams . cad . mkhyen . pa . laño || [A l. 4]  
 chos . la . pyag . htsal . te | theg . pa . bla . na . myed . pa .  
 laño || dge . hñun . la . phyag . htsal . te | phyir . myi . log .  
 pañi . byañ . cub . sems . dpañ . ruams . laño || bdag . dañ .  
 gžan . kyi . don . sgrub . pañi . phyir . dkon . mehog . gsum .  
 la . mehod . de | sdig . pa . thams [B l. 1] cad . btsald . nas |  
 bsod . nams . kyi . rjes . su . yi . rañ . ste | dkon . mehog .  
 gsum . la . phyogs . śiñ . rten . to || Thugs . skam . dbu . rmog .  
 brtsan . bañi . rje . blon . thugs . la . hphrul . dgoñs . phas .  
 Rgya . Drug . Hjañ . las . stsogs . pha [B l. 2] bar . tu . bkañ .  
 myi . mñand . pa . yañ . hbañs . gñug . ma . dañ . hñra . bar .  
 rnal . tu . phab . nas . dbu . rmog . brtsan . la . chab . srid . che .  
 bañi . hñab . la . phyogs . par . gsol . nas | mjal . dum . gyi .  
 gtsigs . bcas . nas . [B l. 3] rdo . riñs . la . bris | gtsigs . kyi .  
 gtsug . lag . khañ . bžens . nas . so . khams . kyi . khrom .  
 ni . dal . | yul . chen . poñi . dbus . skyid . ciñ . dar . bar .  
 bgyis . hñi . las . bkañ . drin . che . ba . ma . meis . pas . si .  
 zu . dañ . bkañ [B l. 4] drin . dran <sup>2</sup> . bañi . mtsan . ma .  
 tsam . du . dkon . mehog . gsum . la . yon . bañi . bsod . nams .  
 kyis | Bod . rje . blon . hñhor . dañ . bcas . pha . sku . tshe .

<sup>1</sup> Red ink in original.

<sup>2</sup> Below line.



dañ . mñah . thañ . g-yuñ . druñ . du . grub . la . Bod . kham .  
 na . phas . kyi . dgra . dañ . hkhruḡ . pañi . myi . gragste |  
 94 (41) [A l. 1] ⑤ || lo . phyugs . rtag . legs . la .  
 gtsigs . beas . pa . bzin . yun . du . brtan . zin . hjiḡ . rten . dañ .  
 hjiḡ . rten . las . hda . pañi . bde . skyid . phun . sum . tshogs .  
 pha . dañ . ldan . bar . smon . to || [A l. 2] ⑥ || <sup>1</sup> Hbrom .  
 khon <sup>2</sup> . sa . hi . smon . lam . du . gsol . bañ <sup>3</sup> || rje . bla . na .  
 bzugs . pa . ni . lha | chab . srid . kyi . blon . po . ni . hphrul |  
 rje . blon . lha . hphrul . kyis . gnam . ral . ba . ni . lhañi . byin .  
 kyis . drubs . | sa . gas . pa . ni . blon . poñi . rlab . kyis .  
 [A l. 3] btsams <sup>4</sup> . te | gnam . sa . ni . yid . sbyar | dgra .  
 zin . ni . mjañ . dum . nas | mtha . nas . ni . dgra . myi . sdo |  
 byañ . nas . ni . g-yag . myi . rtuñ . ste || Bod . hbañs . yonñs .  
 bde . skyid . pa . hbañ . sig . tu . ma . bas . te | ñi . hog . gi .  
 rgya <sup>4</sup> . khamna [A l. 4] rgyal . phran . mcis . pañi . rnam .  
 sems . myi . bde . zin . srid . sor . du . dogs . pañi . rnam .  
 kyañ . srid . la . myi . dbab . ciñ . sems . bde . ba . yañ . | rje .  
 blon . lha . hphrul . kyi . sku . yon . | hdi . hdra . bar . bkañ .  
 drin . chen . po . stasnas . [B l. 1] Bod . hbañs . yonñs . su .  
 bde . bañi . dus . ni . ñi . ma . bzin . tu . šard . | <sup>5</sup> men . tog .  
 bzin . tu . rgyas . nas . yul . Bkra . šis . dbyar . mo . thañ .  
 De . ga . G-yul . tsal . tu . | blon . chen . po . zañ . Khri . sum .  
 rje . dañ . | zañ . chen . po . Lha . bzañ . dañ . | bkañ [B l. 2]  
 hkhro . dañ . bdag . cag . las . stsogs . phas . gtsug . lag . khañ .  
 brtsigs . dge . hdun . gyi . sde . gtsugs . rkyen . dañ . beas .  
<sup>6</sup> par . sbyar . ba <sup>6</sup> . pañi . yon . kyis . | rje . lha . sras . Khri .  
 Gtsug . lde . brtsan . gyi . sku . tshe . riñ | dbu . rmog . brtsan .  
 dañ | [B l. 3] blon . chen . po . zañ . Khri . sum . rje . dañ |  
 zañ . chen . po . Lha . bzañ . dgoñs . so . htsal . mthar . phyin .  
 pa . dañ | Bod . rje . blon . kyi . gtsug . lag . ñi . ma . dañ .  
 hdra . bar . nam . žar . myi . hgyur . dañ | gtsigs . brtan . [B l. 4]

<sup>1,2</sup> Red ink.

<sup>3</sup> Inserted below line.

<sup>4</sup> m inserted below line.

<sup>5</sup> For rgyal. Inserted below line.

<sup>6</sup> mje here erased.

<sup>7</sup> Inserted below line.

bañ . dañ | <sup>1</sup> bdag . cag . las . stsogs <sup>1</sup> . sems . can . thams .  
 cad . tshe . rabs . kyi . sgrib . pa . byañ . stə | bla . na . myed .  
 pañi . lhañi . yañ . lha . sans . rgyas . bcom . ldan . ḷdas .  
 Byams . pañi . ḥkhor . tu . skye . bar . smon . to ||

[88a, l. 1] " In founding the monastery erected in [Bkra-  
 śis-dhyar-mo] that 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.

[88a, l. 3] 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 Saṃgha, seeking refuge  
 with them, in reverence hail !

From the time when Ho-lde 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 away of a sovereignty  
 firm on all sides and great filled and encompassed the Eight  
 Regions ; to us Hgreñ 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

joy and encouragement in both present and future extolling the humble and afflicted; filling us Hgren 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 Hgren 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-bzañ-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 Hjañ 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 millenniums, 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-lde-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-lde-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.

[915, 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.

[915, 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 Hjan 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 Mkhartsan, 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.

[92*b*, l. 1] PRAYER OFFERED FROM THE GREAT CITY OF KVA-CU AT THE MONASTERY ERECTED AT THE DE-GA TURQUOISE-WOOD.

*(This repeats 91*b*, l. 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.

[93*a*, l. 3] PRAYER OFFERED BY THE COMMANDANT OF THE PHYUG-TSAM<sup>s</sup> 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 Saṃgha, 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 bidden 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 HSBROM-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<sup>1</sup> 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-than*), in the De-ga Turquoise-Wood (*G-yu-tshal*), 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-lde-brtan 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<sup>1</sup> we ourselves and<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>2</sup> and the no less exalted integrity of its sentiment would have done honour to any religious

<sup>1</sup> Read *nan* for *byas* ("north")?

<sup>2</sup> Erased in the original.

<sup>3</sup> 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 refflorescence. 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 (*JRAS.* 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-sen 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 ilkyel) the Great", also designated *Thugs-skam*. In the Lha-sa inscriptions (1909, l. 44, 1910, B l. 42) he has hitherto escaped notice as an adviser of the Btsan-po Khri-lde-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-rins*) 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 Ch'ihling, "Red Hills," about 60 miles (320 *li*) from Si-ming-fu and 430 *li* west of the town of Shihp'u (Bushell, pp. 530-1)—known to the Tibetans (*Chronicle*, B.M. MS., ll. 43, 47), as Skyi-bu, it is there that we must locate the "Turquoise-Wood" (*G-yu-tshal*), in the "Luck-summer steppe" (*Bkra-sis-dbyar-mo-thaṅ*), in the "Phyug-tsams Thousand-District", in "Hbrom-khoṅ territory", forming part of the realm of Mdo-gams. The Dbyar-mo-thaṅ is mentioned in a Lha-sa inscription (*JRAS.* 1910, pp. 1255-67, l. 33 of text B), and in the *Geografia Tibeta* (p. 55): probably it is the Yar (*G-yar*, *G-yer*)-mo-thaṅ, in Khams, mentioned in Ś. C. Das' *Dictionary*, and is related to the G-yar-mo-sgaṅ of the *Geografia Tibeta* (p. 41). The Tson-ka named in adjacency to Dbyar-mo-thaṅ in the inscription may very likely be the birth-place of Tsoṅ-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 Mkhar-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 *Bkaḥ-hgyur* (Beckh, *Catalogue*, p. 74 and *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, i, p. 96) as Phyug-mtshams. Hbrom-khoṅ is not known; but cf. *Hbrom-stoṅ*, M.I., xiv, 96.

Of the parties to the treaty, the Chinese, the Drug, the Hjañ, and the Tibetans, who are, no doubt, meant by the "four exalted kings" (*mtsho-bñi-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 Hjañ we have hitherto had no printed mention beyond the occurrence of the name in the *Dpag-bzam-ljon-bzau* (ed. Ś. C. Das, p. 4) and an entry in Ś. C. Das' Dictionary, where *Hjañ-sa* is explained as a "place-name in N.W. (read N.E.) Tibet". But we may learn from the *Rgyal-rabs . . . me-loñ* (India Office Xylograph, fol. 31a) that the person *Hjañ-tsha-Lha-dbañ* "son of king Khri Lde-gtsug-brtan" (Ś. C. Das' Dictionary, s.v.), was so named, "Hjañ grandson," because the queen, his mother, Khri-btsun, was a Hjañ-mo, a Hjañ woman: and from the same history we may ascertain more of this people.<sup>1</sup> 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 *Hjañ* 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 relaté dans l'épopée du roi Gésar (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 *Hjañ*.<sup>2</sup>

The extent of the document may not have been as great

<sup>1</sup> The *Hjañ* country, *Hjañ-yul*, is mentioned also in the *Chronicle* (l. 92).

<sup>2</sup> The *Hjañ-sa-tham* of a Tibetan *gwañ-gñam* ("n. of a place in Kham", acc. to Ś. C. Das' Dictionary) is perhaps the *Sa-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.: *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: *hgag-la* "abide in their station", "remain at a standstill".

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

88 B, l. 3: *yul-byun-sa-dod*. So complete Lha-sa, 1909, l. 18.

88 B, l. 2: *lha-las-myihi-rjer-gsegs-te*. Cf. Lha-sa, 1909, ll. 21-2.

89 A, l. 1: *hphrul* "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: *Hgreñ-myi*. Note that this definitely locates





phul . lña . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes .  
 [ñ]aḥi . nub . mo . 'Im [4] Dam . then . ḥdo . gis | yu . mar .  
 phul . lña . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams ||  
 tshes . [dru]g . gi . nub . mo . 'Im . Dam [5] [then . ḥdo] .  
 gis . yu . mar . phul . dgu . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha .  
 brgyaḥ . brgyad . cu . bltams || tshes . [b]cuḥi . nub . mo .  
 'Im . Dam [6] then . [ḥ]do . gis . yu . mar . phul . phyed .  
 dañ . lña . phul . the | žugs . mar . kha<sup>1</sup> . dgu . beu . bltams .  
 . . . [verso].

[B 1] žugs . mar . kha . drug . cu . bltams || Lī . Kim .  
 kañ . gis . yu . mar . phul . bdun . phul . te | žugs . mar .  
 kha . brgyaḥ . bži . beḥu [B 2] bltams || tshes . ſi . ſu .  
 brgyad . gyi . nub . mo . blon . Gtshug . bžre<sup>2</sup> . gyis . yu .  
 mar . phul . bdun . dañ | khyor . phyed . dañ . do . phul . te ||  
 žugs . [3] mar . kha . brgya<sup>3</sup> . bži . beu . rtsa . bdun . bltams |  
 . . .<sup>4</sup> dgun . sla . tñā . chuñā . tshes . lñaḥi . nub . mo . Wañ .  
 Cvan . evan . gyis . yu [4] mar . phul . bdun . phul . te |  
 žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bži . beḥu . bltams || tshes . beu .  
 bžiḥi . nub . mo | blon . Lho . bzañ . [5] gi . yu . mar . 'An .  
 Zen . tses . yu . phul . beu . dañ | khyor . do . phul . te |  
 žugs . mar . kha . ſis . brgyaḥ . rtsa . beu . bltams || [6] tshes .  
 beo . lñaḥi . nub . mo | lña . ḥbañs . Hag . Kñi . ſeḥu . yu .  
 mar . phul . bdun . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bži .  
 cu . bltams | [7] tshes . ſi . ſu . nub . mo | Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ .  
 gis ]<sup>5</sup> . yu . mar . phul . beu . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha .  
 ſis . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes . ſi . ſu . gñis . kyi . nub . mo  
 [9] Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ . gis<sup>6</sup> . phul . beu . phul . te || žugs .  
 mar . kha . ſis . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes . ſi<sup>7</sup> . ſu<sup>7</sup> . gsum  
 [10] gyi . nub . mo . | Cañ . Kvañ . gis . yu . phul . beu . phul .

<sup>1</sup> *brgyad* . *cu* here erased.

<sup>2</sup> *Compendious for bžer*.

<sup>3</sup> *ḥ* here erased.

<sup>4</sup> *dgye* here erased.

<sup>5</sup> *yu . mar . phul . lña . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes . ſi . ſu . cig . (8) gi . nu* here erased.

<sup>6</sup> *phul . te* here erased.

<sup>7</sup> Added below line.

te | žugs . mar<sup>1</sup> . kha . ŋis . brgya . bltam . [11] tshes . ŋi .  
 šu . bži . ħi . nub . mo . Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ . yu . mar . phul .  
 ben . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . ŋis . brgya<sup>h</sup> . bltam |  
 [Inverted] . . . n . . . | Keñu . Lyañ (Syañ ?) . kañ .  
 žog . . .

[1-2] "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 Śa-cu. [2-6] In the monastery Pho-kvañ-si on the evening of the fourth day the god's servant 'Im<sup>2</sup> Dam-then-ħdo presented five *phul*<sup>3</sup> of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the fifth day 'Im<sup>2</sup> Dam-then-ħdo presented five *phul* of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. (So on the sixth and tenth days 9 and 4½ *phul*, resulting in 180 and 90 lamp-lights respectively.)

[B 1] . . . resulting in sixty portions of lamp-oil. Li Kim-kañ 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-bžer 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 Cvan-cvan presented seven *phul* of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred and forty portions of lamp-oil. (The remainder of the document, B ll. 4-11, reports similar donations by 'An Zen-tse (for Councillor Lho-bzañ), the God's servant Hag Kñi-señu, and Cañ Kvañ-thoñ.)"

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> *za* here erased.

<sup>2</sup> Erased.

<sup>3</sup> 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  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 2 *khyor* provide for 7 and 10 lamps respectively, it follows that 1 *khyor* =  $\frac{1}{4}$  *phul*, which latter measure is defined as "a handful".

(d) The phrase "with a half two" (*phyed-dañ-do*) means not "two and a half", but "one and a half", corresponding to Sanskrit *ardha-deṣṭiya*, 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] . . . pahī || hī  
[4] . . . | lha-sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde . brtsan . gy[i] . . .  
[5] . . . bžin . bg[yi]s . te || dge . hduñ . sde . gñis . dañ . . .  
[6] . . . s . stsogs . pa || skye . bo . amos . mañ . po . tshe . dpag .  
d[u] . myed . . . [7] . . . [l]ha . sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde<sup>1</sup> | .  
brtsan<sup>1</sup> | . gi . za . sñā . nas . || sku . la . sñun . nad . myi .  
mñā[h] . . . [8] bar . che || chab . arid . rtseg<sup>2</sup> . mar .  
mtho . žiñ . || byin . rlabs . yañ . bas . hph . . . [9]  
phyogs . [g]yi . gnod . byed . kyi . bgegs . dañ . || bsam . ba .  
log . par . hdabs . . . s[ts]og[s] . . . [10] rab . tu . ži .  
nas || sku . la . sdo . b . . . dhañ . du . hduñ . par . gyur .  
chig [1] | lha . ara[s] . kyi . za . [sñā] . . . [11] rnam .  
gñi[s] . [pa . ma .] l—s . par . byañ | . . . gse . ch . . . s . ni .  
yoñs . su . rdzogs . nas || sañ[s] . . . [12] —u . [n]i . yon .  
tan . sku . tshe . hdi . ñid . kyis . bžes . par . gyur . e[i]g || lha .  
s[r]as . kyi . za . sñā . nas . ji . lta . s . . . [13] chag . dkyil .  
hkhor . tu . žuga . pa . rnams . kyañ || tshe . rin . nad . myed .  
nas || bsam . ba . yi . . . [14] cig || [m]thah . yas . pahī .  
sems . can . dañ . Bod . kham . phyogs . su . yañ . da[i] .

<sup>1</sup> Added below the line.

<sup>2</sup> g below line.

hbyor . dan . bd[e] . . . . [15] tshogs . nas || myi . nad .  
 phyugs . nad . myed . cin . lo . phyugs . rtag . du . legs . par .  
 [smoñ] . to ||

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** : *Dge-lam* 17, *Dzan-tse* 15 (B 11), *Dze-hiñ* 12, *Gwñ-legs* 15 (D 20), *Lha-legs* 15 (D 10), *Phab-dzan* 15 (C 13), *Stag-cwñ* 15 (C 18), *Wen-tse* 15 (B 11), *Zen-tse* 20. **Bah** : *Kun-kun* 12. **Bam** : *Cheñu-hdo* 18 (B 3), *He-he* 13, *Hya-hdo* 15 (D 14), *Hyen-tse* 15 (B 14-5), *Ju-ju* 15 (D 7), 18 (C 4), *Kon-cu* 13, *Kun-tse* 12, *Li-hvag* 18 (C 5), *Li-tshen* 18 (C 5), *Log-log* 3, *Śib-lug-ñan* 13, *Si-ka* 18 (B 16), *Stag-legs* 18 (B 17), *Stag-slebs* 2, 15 (C 12), *Stag-zigs* 18 (A 13), *Tig-tse* 13, *Tsheñ* 18 (B 2), *Yiñ* 13. **Bañ** : *Dzin-jehu* 15 (D 3), *Gon-legs* 15 (C 25), *I-tse* 15 (D 11), *Legs-ma* 15 (C 24). **Beg** : *Hye-wi* 13, *Khe-ñehu* 15 (B 21), *Ti-phor* 13. **Boñ** : *La-ku* 9. **Bor** : *Yon-tse* 10. **Buñ** : *Śun-śun* 18 (B 13), *Hiñ-ñen* 18 (B 19).



**Cañ**: Beñ-ñāñ 13, *Bstan-bzan* 15 (C 15), Cin-hañ 13, Cin-hñi 15 (B 5), Dig-ḥdo 18 (A 12), *Dpal-legs* 15 (C 15), Dze-tse 12, Gen-tse 12, Gu-gu 5, Hbye-tig 12, Hgem-tse 13, Hig-tse 15 (B 1), *Hphan-legs* 18 (C 9-10), Hva-hva 12, Hye-na 15 (C 1), 'I-tse 15 (D 13), Ka-cin 18 (B 12), Ka-dzo 2, 12, 15 (C 7), 18 (C 2, 6), Kehu-kehu 13, *Klu-legs* 2, Kun-tse 2, 12, Kvañ-thoñ 20, Kyin-tshe 15 (D 11, 13), La-tshir 12, *Legs-stsan* 15 (C 9), Lehu-cin 12, *Lha-khri* 15 (C 5), *Lha-legs* 18 (A 6-7), Lyañ-ḥgi 15 (C 17), Peḥu-peḥu 12, *Rma-legs* 15 (D 9), Rya-ḥdo 18 (A 1), Śaṇ-ñāñ 13, Seḥu-seḥu 12, 15 (C 4), Śeñ-ñāñ 13, Si-ka 18 (B 6), Śim-ḥgo 13, Śin-maṇ 13, Śin-ñāñ 13, *Stag-snañ* 15 (C 14), *Stagu* 15 (C 4), Theḥu-cun 12, Tshen-tshen 12, Tshe-ñin 3, Tain-tse 18 (A 11), Tsin-tsin 18 (B 5), Yehu-yehu 13, Zan-tse 12, Zun-zun 18 (A 2). **Cheg**: Beñ-ñāñ 13, Bo-de-sim 13 (a woman), Zir-cin 13. **Cin**: Tam-ñāñ 13. **Dañ**: Khen-khen 15 (B 19). **Dar**: *Dbyi-rma* 11 E, *Rgyal-ma* 2. **Dbah**: *Ye-śes-dbañ-po* 17, *Dpal-dbyaṇs* 17. **Dbas**: *Byaṇ-cub-rin-cen* 17. **Den**: *Stag-legs* 15 (D 12), *Tshar-tin* 15 (D 18). **Do**: *Stag-cun* (15 B 3), Syaṇ-ḥdo 18 (B 11) Theḥi-beñ 18 (B 12). **Dvan**: Bur-zi 15 (C 25), Hig-tse 15 (C 8), Hin-dar 12, Kehu-zi 12. **Dzhehu**: Cu-cu 18 (B 26), Cvan-cvan 15 (D 22), Gog-tshen 2, Kve-kve 12, Lañ-tshe 15 (D 22), Mun-ba 15 (D 24), Śib-tig 12, Śin-ñin 15 (D 24), Tsin 18 (B 2). **Glehu**: *Gro-nu-sñin-po* 17. **Gñō**: *Dge-ltem* 17. **Gñōs**: Ho-se, p. 50. **Ha**: *Stag-slebs* 15 (D 7). **Hag**: Dzhehu-ñun 12, Khi-seḥu 20. **Han**: Then-tig 18 (A 12). **Hba**: Ko-lon 15 (B 13). **Hbah**: Bur-ḥdo 18 (B 23), Ji-tsañ (woman) 13. **Hbeg**: Dehu 18 (B 6). **Hbu**: *Bstan-legs* 15 (D 1), Kvañ-zi 18 (B 4). **Hdan-ma**: *Bkun-dgañ-dpal* 17. **Hehu**: *Legs-koñ* 15 (D 9). **Hgo**: Kañ-gañ 15 (C 21), Seḥu-han 15 (D 12), Śin-tse 13, *Stag-po* 15 (B 9), *Stag-tse* 15 (C 20), Yem-ñāñ 13. **Hgreñ-ro**: *Dgehi-blo-gros* 17. **Hva**: *Stag-legs* 15 (B 1). **Im**: Bur-ḥdo 15 (D 15), Dam-then-ḥdo 20, Dzi-hvan 15 (D 6), 'Eñ-tse 15 (D 6), *Gtsug-legs* 15 (C 10, 11), Hbi-ñāñ 13, Him-tse 15 (D 17, 21), Hin-hun 18 (A 9), Hin-ruehu 18 (A 10), Hi-yir-yañ 13, Ka-tsin 18 (B 24), Kvañ-wen 13,

Kveh-señ 13, Pho-cin (a woman), 13. **Jehu**: *Br̄tan-koñ* 15, Kog-tsheñ 15 (C 25), Tshe-tshe 12, Tsin-thoñ 18 (B 18), Zi-ñañ 12. **Jeñ**: *Deñ-h̄do* 18 (B 4), *H̄go-h̄go* 15 (C 23), *Gsal-rab-rin-po-che* 17, 'I-tse 15 (B 18), *Legs-rt̄san* 15 (C 22), 'On-tse 15 (B 20). **Jiñ**: *H̄do-tse* 15 (C 27), *Hig-tse* 15 (C 3), Ho-ho 15 (C 19). **Kehu**: *Dras-koñ* 18 (B 26), Ko-lon 15 (D 15), L (S) yañ-koñ 20, *Rgyal-slebs* 15 (B 6), Śib-tig 15 (B 7), *Smon-legs* 15 (B 16), *Stag-cuñ* 15 (D 23). **Khañ**: *Bstan-legs* 15 (D 4), *Bstan-slebs* 15 (B 4), *Dpal-legs* 15 (C 2), *Stag-slebs* 15 (D 3), *Stag-tshab* 15 (D 1), Ten-h̄ba 18 (B 25), Tsin khvañ 18 (A 29), Weñ-ñañ 13. **Khehu**: *Bzañ-goñ* 5, Yem-ñañ 13. **Khoñ**: Man-tse 3, *Rtsan-tse* 15 (C 10), Sbañ-tse 1, *Smon-legs* 15 (C 11), Thehi-ñañ 13. **Khyuñ-po**: *Stag-legs* 4, 10 (?), Zu-tse 10. **Koñ**: Tsehi-tsehi 18 (B 30). **Kvag**: Ji-lim (a woman), 13, *Kehu-zi* 15 (C 16), Tam-tam 13. **Kyer**: Chañ-kog 15 (B 13). **La**: *Legs-lod* 5. **Lbe** (**Hbe** ? **Lce** ?) -**zi**: *Rnal-hbyor* 17. **Lbehi**: *Kvañ-h̄do* 18 (B 9). **Len**: *Hva-sim* (a woman), 13. **Leñ**: *Sehu-sehu* 13, *Siñu-siñu* 13, Thehi-cin 13. **Leñ-ho**: 'An-zi 18 (B 21), Don-tshe 15 (B 1), Khrom-stañ 15 (D 17), *Hva-hva* 18 (B 1), Lin-lug 5, *Sehu-chon* 15 (B 19), Śib-bir 5, Śib-tig 5, *Siñu-lañ* 18 (A 4), *Yehu-yehu* 13, *Zun-kun* 18 (B 20-1). **Li**: 'An-tshe 15 (D 26), *G-yu-legs* 15 (B 9), He-he 13, *Hva-kog* 18 (B 31), Jin-'an 12, Kañ-tse 4, *Lha-skyes* 15 (D 5), *Mehehu-za* *Siñu-h̄ju* 13, *Sehu-lañ* 18 (B 12), *Sehu-sehu* 18 (C 1), *Stag-skyes* 15 (D 2), Tsin-dar 15 (B 13), *Tsun-h̄do* 18 (B 10), *Wañ-jehu* 15 (C 2), *Yen-h̄do* 18 (B 10). **Lihu**: *Bun-h̄de* 18 (B 8), *Klu-rt̄on* 11 L, Mant-se 18 (B 8), *Stag-sna* 18 (B 19). **Lne**: *Hva-cañ* (a woman) 13. **Lyañ**: *H̄go-h̄go* 18 (C 2). **Mehehu**: *Siñu-h̄ju* 13. **Mog**: *Kyem-po* 9. **Myañ**: *Gsa-myi-go-cha* 17, *Mehog-r̄o-ḡzo-nu* 17, *Rin-cen-byañ-cub* 17, *Zañ-snañ* 10. **Nem**: *Dgañ-l̄dan-byañ-cub* 17. **Phag**: *Stag-l̄egs* 7. **Pho-yoñ**: *H̄dus-r̄ma* 11 G. **Phu**: *Tan-myin* 15 (D 16). **Phuñ**: *Dge-rgyas* 17. **Sag**: 'Añ-sab 13, *Dge-legs* 11 A, 15 (C 19, D 10), *Dpañ-br̄tsan* 15 (B 13), **Hbe** 18 (C 3), *Hehi-jehu* 18 (C 12), *H̄gven-h̄gven* 18 (C 8), 'In-tse 15 (C 26), 'I-tse 13, *Jehu-jehu* 18 (C 7), *Kehu-cu* 13, Kog-tsheñ 18 (C 14), Kun-tse 15

(C 26), Kvañ-wen 18 (C 11), *Legs-skyes* 15 (B 14, 15), *Lha-bzer* 15 (C 6), Pa-tshic 18 (C 13), *Stag-slebs* 11 L. Tsin-beñ 18 (C 13), Wen-kog 18 (A 8). **Šaṅ** : Dza-rga 13. **Seg** : *Lha-ton* 15 (B 18), **Šeg** : *Dge-brtan* 15 (B 5), *Lha-ston* 15 (B 4). Hyen-hyen 15 (B 7), Tsheñ-tsheñ 14 (B 15, 20). **Ser** : Dzin-'in 12, 'kheñ 11 L. Kheñ-kheñ 12. Kun 12, *Legs-ma* 15 (D 8, 28), *Mdo-skyes* 18 (B 14). **Ser-sbyoñ** : *G-yu-bzer* 11. **Šig** : *Dge-brtan* 15 (D 19), *Hgi-tig* 15 (B 6). **So** : *Legs-tsan* 15 (D 29). **Son** : Hyen-tse 15 (B 16), Šin-hdo 15 (D 27). **Soñ** : *Bstan* 15 (B 17), *G-yu-legs* 15 (C 1), *Hgin-hgin* 13, *Lug-lug* 11 L. Rñeñ-tahe 18 (A 11), Sam-ñan | (a woman) 5, Šin 12, *Stag-ma* 15 (C 10), Tsin-hvi 18 (A 9). **Taṅ** : Pho-brin (a woman) 13. **Then** : Ben-'em 13. **Toñ** : Phug-man 12, *Stag-cuñ* 15 (C 7), Thoñ-thoñ 12, Wañ-hdo 12, Yu-tsheñ 18 (B 10). **Tre** : *Mye-slebs* 2, 3, 4. **Tsah** : Bur-hdo 18 (B 22). **Tsehi** : *Hig-tse* 15 (D 7). **Tsoñ** : Dzo-šin 12, Dzo-tsheñ 12, Tsheñ-tsheñ 12. **Tsyañ** : *Legs-hdus* 15 (C 12). **Wañ** : Beñ-ñan 13, Bun-tsoñ 1, Chah 13, Cvana 15 (B 15), Cvan-cvan 20, Deh-tse 15 (B 18), Dzin-šen 12, *Hig-tse* 15 (B 12), Hiñ-tse 15 (C 16), Hva-kun 18 (B 28), Hyen-hyen 15 (B 5), Kog-ne 12, Kun-tse 12, Kvañ-hiñ 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), *Šes-rab-sla-ba* 17, Šib-ñan 13, Šib-si-ñan 13, Šib-tig 18 (B 7), Šin-si-ñan 13, *Stag-cuñ* 15 (C 16), *Stagu* 18 (B 27), *Stag-zigs* 15 (D 26), Šun-thoñ 15 (B 10), Tsheñ-tsheñ 12, Tyum-si 13, Wen-jehu 15 (B 11). **Wehi** : Cñ-ñan 13. **Yam** : *Hgi-ñan* 13. **Yañ** : *G-yu-tahe* 12, Kog-buñ 15 (B 18), Phu-cu 13, *Stag-legs* 12. **Yehu** : Lañ-lañ 15 (D 8). **Yem** : Šim-si-ñan 13. **Yun** : 'An-tse 15 (B 20). **Za-sna**<sup>1</sup> : *Hjam-dpal-sñin-po* 17. **Zen** : Khyam-tse 15 (C 23). **Zim** : Hiñ-tse 12, Ju-ju 12, Kvon-hiñ 12, Li-theñu 12. **Ziñ** : *Rin-cen* 11 J. **Zir-gu** : *Cag-cuñ* 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 **Šaṅ** ?), 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

**Ba** : *Šnañ-rma* 11 F. **Bag-bre**, *Dpal-hñud* (?), 11 J. **Hdze** (?)-**lda** : 'A-lum 11 J. **Hgreñ-ro** *Khyi-hbrug* 11 B, *Klu-brtan* 11 D, *Zla-gtsug* 11 C. **'Im** : *Hbya-lehu* 11 L. **Khañ** : *Mañ-sig* 11 L. **Li** : *Kiñ-kañ* 20. **Rmehu** : *Byñ-la-gsas* 11 E. **Rtsaṅ** : *Lde-ya* (a woman) 11 K. **Phyug-mtshams** : *Rhul-po* 11 E. **Skyor** : *Hphru-ma-legs* 17. **Thre** : *Mthoñ-rma*, p. 130. **Tsi-bra** : *Lha-goñ* 11 E.

## B

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

Behu-žan 5.	Hbyeñu-wen 13.
Bode-sim (Cheg-za) 13.	„ -yuñ 13.
Byan-ceñu 13.	Hbyiñu-hgi 13
	„ -ji 13.
Ceñ-señ 13.	„ -meñ 13.
„ -sin 13.	Hgim-siñ 13.
Cin-hgo 13.	Hva-cañ (Lne) 13.
	„ -hgem 13.
Deñ-ci 13.	„ -sim (Len) 13.
„ -man 13.	Hyeñ-cher 13.
„ -theñu 13.	„ -tig 13.
Hbu-nem 13.	
Hbyeñu-hdž 13.	Ji-hvañi-man 13.
„ -kag 13.	„ -'iñ 13.
„ -neñ 13.	„ -lim (Kvag-za) 13.
„ -sin 13.	„ -tsaṅ 13 (Hbañ).
„ -tšeñ 13.	Jin-hyeñi 13.



Kag-hbyih 13.	Phyañ-ceñ 13.
Khye-wen 13.	Po-svan 13.
Kim-hyen 13.	
Kvag-hyehi 13.	Sam-nañ (Soñ) 5.
Kvañ-hgam 13.	Siñu-hgehi 13.
Kyen-hgi 13.	Šin-ci 13.
Kyen-hgo 13.	„ -cin 13.
	„ -hgo 13.
Lañ-cañu 13.	„ -kag 13.
Lde-ya (Rtsa) 11 K.	Šin-tsañ 13.
Leñu-cin 13.	Švañ-kvañ 13.
Meñ-ge 13.	
„ -hin 13.	Theñi-cin 13.
„ -hyvehi 13.	„ -ciñ 13.
„ -kag 13.	Thoñ-ceñu 13.
„ -lur 13.	Tig-hbyih 13.
„ -tig 13.	„ -nem 13.
	„ -šin 13.
Pho-brin (Tañ-za) 13.	
„ -ci 13.	Wen-hgo 13.
„ -cin ('Im) 13.	
Phu-za-sim 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 Śa-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-čen (Calmadana), Charklik (Nob), and the former Shan-shan kingdom. The documents come mainly from the old fort of Mīrān, which was also, as we have seen, in communication with Śa-cu; there is, indeed, ample evidence of active intercourse between the Tibetan authorities from Khotan as far as Śa-cu and Kya-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. 59-60, 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 *li* (say 100 miles) south of Charklik. The here available information is contained in the following documents:—

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

[1] ཨ | . | blon:Stag:bzer:gyi:bran: | | Jphu:Lho:gzig: |  
bkah . cad . kyis . bcad : de [2] Tshal : byihi : mñan : gyi :  
hban: su : banan . nas . Nob . chuñu : na . mchis : pa : | bdag .  
Tshal : byi . na : rje : [B 1] blas : htshal : bañi . tshe : |  
g-yar : por : hkhoh : du : gñan : bañi : gtad : byañ : yañ : skur :  
ba : lags . na : | [B 2] sug : las : phor : deb : htshal : du :  
stsold : pa . | Nob . chuñu : na : žugs : śin . ma . mchisna : |  
Ka . dag [B 3] tu : mchiste : phor : deb : thañ . btab : pa .  
bzin : du : bgyid : du : stsald : ||

[1-2] "A servant of Councillor Stag-bzer, Jphu Lho-gzig, having been in Little Nob, employed by order (or as a punishment, *bkah-c(h)ad-kyis-bcad-de*) among the government subjects (*mñan-gyi-hban*) 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

1. 1. *Jphu*: On this clan name see above, p. 115. *Mñan-gyi-hban*: This is a recurrent phrase of not definitely ascertained meaning. Thus in M.I. xxiv, 0029, we read:

ཨ || *mñan.gi.hban* . || *Mon.Tshe.skyes.la* . | "To the government servant, the Mon Tshe-skyes." Cf. pp. 42, 341.  
*banan*: "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 *dbu-can* writing, partly erased).

[1] | \* | Tshal-byi.Car.chen.na | | mthoñ.khyab.byañ.  
sruñs.pa.ñuñ.śas.śig [2] mchis.pa | | bkañ.luñ.rññ.  
dan. | | khri.sde.gsa[r].btsugs.kyi.bkañ.luñ.dañ.  
sbyar.na [B 1] rts[e].rgod.lta.bur.myi.ña.gis.kha.  
myi.bstan.ññ.myi.gtor.bar.hbyuñ. . . . [B 2]. .  
las | | mñah.ris.su.hkhrug.pa.byuñ.nas | | Tshal-byi.  
khams.[s]ju.yañ [B 3] hbro.cog.lastsogs.ste. | | glo.  
ba.rñs.pas | | ma.legs.dgu.ñig.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 (*hbro-cog*), etc. The malcontents have committed simply every possible mistake."

### Notes

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

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

1. B 3. *glo-ba-rñs*: This phrase has occurred, *supra*, pp. 23, 14, 55. *ma-legs-dgu*: On *dgu* as a sign of plurality see above, p. 55; on *mñah-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 *dbu-can* writing; *verso* a different document).

[B] [1] \* | | Guñ.Khri.bžer.gyi.bsñel.byañ.du.sñan.  
sñuñs.pa | | Tshal. . . . . [2] bdag.chag.



stun | Lan . myi | . sde . las | | phah . tshe . bkañ . chad .  
 gyis . kh . . . . . [3] mthoñ . khyab . na .  
 bsanand . par (?) | | bkañ . luñ . las . hbyuñ . ba . las | |  
 Tshal . byi . [dmag . pon . . . . chad . gñer . brtags . las | |  
 ade . kh-] [4] bsor . bsnan . pa | stams . las . [br] |  
 ste | | snar . žañ . lon . ched . po . la . gsold . pa . las | | Tshal .  
 byi . mthoñ . khyab . du . sde . spo . bar . gnañ . ste . | [5]  
 phyag . rgyas . gthad . nas | | snon . god . ma . thebs . pa .  
 tsam . žig | | bdag . chag . pha . bran . myi . spad . [ñ]a .  
 drug . mehis . pa | | spu . gñis [6] kyañ | mthoñ . khyab .  
 kyi . rkya . pherd . chin . no . thog . pa . žig . na | | sde . cha .  
 mthoñ . khyab . du . snon . god . thoñ . žig . par | | Tshal .  
 byi . dmag . pon . dañ | [7] Spyān . la . gthad . par . chi .  
 gnañ | žes . mol . [te] | | rgyal . bu . yum . sras . kyi .  
 bkañs . gnañ . phyag . rgya . [h]ñ . žig | brdzas . na | | gum .  
 ba . las . [8] sos . pa . dañ . hdra . ste | | bdag . chag . spad .  
 ma . gum . tshun . chad | žal . chi . mthoñ . du . spogs .  
 šin . mehis |

*Inverted.* [9] ❸ | | hphrul . gyi . ža . [sñā . la] | g-yar .  
 žau . [Mtsñ . sa . Bor . sgah] . mchid . gsol .

[1-2] "For a reminder to Gun Khri-bzer [letter of] inquiry as to *his* health. Tshal-byi . . . [2-4] Whereas we, originally of the Lan-myi regiment, were, by order in *our* father's lifetime . . . commanded to be employed in the watch-tower, the Tshal-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 Tshal-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 (*rkya-pherd* ?) 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 Tshal-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 (?)."

*Inverted.* [9] "To the divine presence: letter-petition of a poor hireling (*g-yar-zan* ?) *Mtsin-sa Bor-aga*."

### Notes

l. 1. *bsñel-byañ*: The phrase recurs in M. Tagh. α, iv, 00128; see pp. 160, 331.

l. 3, etc. *nthon-khyab* (= *khab*): This might be an alternative form of *nthon-khab* (there being not a little indifference as between *n* and *ñ* 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.

*bsuan*: 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.

*hbyun-ba-las*: On this phrase see p. 27.

l. 4. *stams-las*. "Summarily": the phrase has occurred, p. 79.

l. 5. *snon-god*: cf. p. 270, 7.

l. 7. *Spyan*: see pp. 126, 349.

l. 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).

[1] ☉ || stod.nas.blon.Ldon.bzan.Lha.sgra.Gsas . . .

[2] sprin . ba . dan . ñams . las | stod . kyi . Dru . . . [B 1]

Tshal . byiñi . thad . kar . bsñens . par . bla . nas . thug . . .

[B 2] chad . [nas] | nan . po . cag . gñis | khog . pas;

[1-B 2] "It having been previously decided (†) from dispatches of Councillor *Ldon-bzan Lha-sgra, Gsas* . . . above and from reflections that the Upper *Dru-gu* had extended (were apprehended) in the direction of *Tshal-byi*, [B 2] we two Interior Ministers (*nan-po*) interposing (*khog-pas* from *hgogs* ?) . . .

## Note

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

*Bsüens-par* recurs p. 447: 43. *Bla-nas*, "previously."

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

[l. 4] . . . || Tshal-byi.khri[m] [5] bon.pho[g].pañi.na.  
bran.skyes.ste.sgrol.bar.chad.ces || Bde.blon.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[m]-bon-pho[g]-pañi*: 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. xxi, 5 (wooden tablet, cut away at top, somewhat broken away at r.; c. 15 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] \* || Tshal-byi.dmag.pon.dañ || ñin.hgod.kyi.  
[riñ] [2] la.gthad.phā.

"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.

*ñin-hgod*: The phrase occurs below, pp. 140, 146.

*riñ-la-gñad-pha*: The reading *riñ* (= *rin*) is not quite certain: *gñad-pa* = *gñad-pa* "sent". *Riñ*, however, is evidently for *riñ-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 × 2 cm.; ll. 2, *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* writing).

[A 2] . . . Tshal-byi, ḥi.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 *reft*.

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

[2] | sgyeḥu.ka.Ḥtshal-byi (?).

[6] . . . dmag.dpon. . . .

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

#### Note

*sgyeḥu-ka*: See below, p. 136.

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

[1. 2] . . . Tshal-byi.r.mchis.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, III, xiv, 008c 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-TSAN-SMAD (Lower Rgod-tsañ), RGOD-TSAN-STOD (Upper Rgod-tsañ), KHA-DRO

These are four districts, as is evident from the arrangement of the wooden document, M.I. xxviii, 0017.



10.	Nag.śod	Rgod.tsañ.smad	Rgod.tsañ.stod
	gro nas	gro nas	gro nas
	(wheat)(barley)	(wheat)(barley)	(wheat)(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.śod.kyi.sde.gyab.Lha.ston. |

"The *gyab* Lha-ston of the Nag-śod 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).

[1] | Nag.śod.kyi. [2] sde | Skyan.po.Khrom.rma.

"The *Skyan-po* Khrom-rma of the Nag-śod 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].śod.gyi.ñin.dor.gsum | [A 2] . . . mñan.gi.[yi].gepañi.ñin.dor.geig | [A 3] . . . Nag.śod.gi.gleñu.ñin.dor.gñis. [B] . . . Spyān.gi.ñin.dor.[b]dun |

" . . . [Nag]śod land teams three . . . the government scribe's land team one. . . Nag-śod 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 *rje-ñin* "lord's land" of Nag-śod.)

(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).

[A 1] 𑄧 | Rgod.tsha[n].smad.kyi.stoñ.cu[n] . . . [A 2]  
 . . . dor.gchig(?) [B] dor.gsum.

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

On *stoñ-cuñ* see pp. 259, 319, and vol. i, p. 282.

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

[1] 𑄧 | Rgod.tshañ.smad.gyi.sa.mkhan.la | [2] dor.gsum ||

"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 × 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.tsañ.smad.kyi.sde | mdañ.g[<sup>2</sup>]u. . .

[2] *hchan*. *Lbeg*. *rma*. *Nuñ*. *ñub*.

"Of the Lower Rgod-tsañ district (or regiment), *Lbeg-rma Nuñ-ñub*, arrow, bow, scissiors" (cf. pp. 440-1).

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

[1] 𑄧 | Rgod.tshañ.smad | tsa.rñu.Khrom.legs.

[2] *kyi.sde*

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

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

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

[1] 𑄧 | Spoñ.Rañ.slog | Rgod.tshañ.smad.kyi.stoñ.

[2] *pon.gyi.ñin* | *dor.gsum* |

"Land of Spoñ Rañ-slog, thousand-commander of Lower Rgod-tshañ, three yokes."

It appears herefrom that Lower Rgod-tsañ 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).

[1] \* | : | Rgod . tshañ . stod . kyi . sde | stom . gyañ . Lha . [2] Hbrug . brtsan |

"Of the Upper Rgod-tshañ district, *stom-gyañ* Lha Hbrug-brtsan." On *stom-gyañ* 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).

[1] Ho . Brog . Nob . chun[u] || Kra . lde . Khra . gse . . . [2] Rgod . tsañ . stod . so . pa . myi . ben . gsum . mohis . pa . [3] . . .  
1 | [s]tag . lha . dpuñ | pañ . nod . s[n]a . s[t]ag . e . . .

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

Connected probably with Rgod-tsañ is Rgod-ldiñ—

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).

[A 1] Byañ . po . Rgod . ldiñ . gi . sde . . . [A 2] Pyi . sgra  
[B 1] tshugs . pon . Hdze (i ?) . ma . [sts ?] . . . [B 2] [rdzo . gla .  
rdu . Por . keh[u] ?]

"Cook, Rgod-ldiñ regiment, P(h)yi-sgra sergeant. . ."

22. M.I. iii, 14 (wood, c. 14 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] \* || dmag . pon . chen . po . blon . Gtsug . bžre . gi . guag .  
zi[h]. [A 2] ma . chad . Riñs . gliñsna . | Rgod . ldiñ . gi . rje . žiñ .  
dor . | [B] bži . | gsol |

"The great army commander Gtsug-bžer, not being assigned (*ma-chad* ?) black wheat land in Riñs-glin, requests two teams of the lord's land in Rgod-ldiñ."

(The phrase "lord's land", *rje-zin*, will recur again below, p. 140: see also above, pp. 127-8 and p. 318 and Index).

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

[A 1] \* || [tsh]ugs . pon . Snog . śod . kyī |

[A 2] sde . [rtsig] . Yu . yu[n̄ . ma]

[A 1] hog . pon . Rgod . tshañ . [sm] . . . |

[A 2] sde . Nir . sto . Ldo . ku[g̃]

[B 1] byan . po . Rgod . ldiñ . gi . sde . Na . sroñ | [B 2] Śi . bzoh |

[B 1] [bya]n . yog . Snog . śo[d̃] . . .

[B 2] sde . Pho . yon̄ . Gal . [lbag̃ ?]

"Sergeant *rtsig* Yu-yu[n̄-ma] of the Snog-śod regiment; corporal Nir-sto Ldo-ku[g̃] of the Rgod-tshañ-smad regiment. Cook Na-sroñ Śi-bzoh of the Rgod-ldiñ regiment: cook's servant Pho-yon̄ Gal-[lbag̃ ?] of the Snog-śod regiment."

### Notes

On *tshugs-pon*, *hog-pon*, and *rtsig* see Index. *Snog-śod* should perhaps be *Śog-śod*, which is known as one of the eighteen *śods*. *Na-sroñ* is probably a place (or clan) -name, which is certainly the case with *Pho-yon̄*, as one of the wives of Khri-aron Ldehu-btsan was *Pho-yon̄-bzah*. It will be seen that Rgod-ldiñ (mentioned also in M.I. xvi, 15) evidently belongs to the same general region as Rgod-tshañ.

(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.  $10 \times 1.5-2$  cm.; 129, c.  $6.5 \times 1.5-2$  cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] (129) \* || tshugs . pon . Kha . dro (124) . hi . sde |

hog . pon . Rgod . tsañ . . .

[A 2] (129) Lan . Klu . rton | (124) sa . stoñ . Klu . stoñ | . . .



[B 1] (129) byan . po . Nag . śod . kyī . [s]de | [B 2] (129) Th[r]je . Mthoñ . rma

[B 1] (124) byan . g-yog . Chaśa . . .

[B 2] (124) rgyal . bon . ma[h ?] [s[l]u[d] ?] śih |

"Sergeant, Lañ Klu-rton, of the Kha-dro regiment; corporal, guide Klu-stoñ, of the Rgod-tsañ-(*smad* regiment). Cook, Thre Mthoñ-rma, of the Nag-śod regiment; cook's servant, *rgyal-bon* (?) Mañ śih, of Chaśa . . ."

#### Notes

Kha-dro is here again associated, though only indirectly, with Rgod-tsañ-smad and Nag-śod. *Lañ* is probably the tribe of the Lañ-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-stoñ*, p. 343.

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

☞ | : | Kha . droñi . sdud . [dpʔsnʔ]on. [Lañ ?] .

Khlu.rton

"Lañ Khlu-rton, . . . of the Kha-dro regiment."

#### Notes

Khlu-rton is obviously the Klu-rton of the preceding document. The meaning of *sdud-dpon* 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] . . . ñis.kyi.chun.skyen.du (?)

[A 2] . . . gs[u]m |

[B] . . . pon.re.re | Kha.dro.rje.ñin |

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

### III. Hdzom-Smad (Lower Hdzom) and Hdzom-stod (Upper Hdzom)

A district Hdzom is several times mentioned in the documents, more often, in fact, than would be the case if it

were in another region. The name Hbrug suggests (see p. 18) that it lay east, towards the Śa-cu quarter.

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

☪ || Hdzom . smad . kyi . sde | Ho . nal . Lha . zo.

"Of the Lower Hdzom district (*or* regiment), the Ho-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 (*verso*); the last a letter from Hbrug-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).

☪ || Hdzom . stod . kyi . sde . Lde . tshoñ , hbru (?) . Hbrug . brtsan.

"Of the Upper Hdzom district (*or* regiment), Lde-tshoñ-hbru (?) Hbrug-brtsan."

(The Hdzom-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] ☪ || tse.rje (co.jo ?) . Mtsho . gzigs . dañ . Klu . htsho . la | Myes . rton . gsol . ba . | bdag . kyañ . mar . ni[ch]ji . bar .

[2] bgyis . pha . las : | bdag . chag . rje . blas . kyañ . Cer . cen . du . chad . pa . skad . kyañ . gdah . na . hdir . yañ . boñ . bu [3] yañ . slar . da . chuñ . mehis . khre . nas . kham . ga . kyañ . mar . myi . phyin . na . mehis . na . | slar . dguñ .

[B 1] bcu . tshun . chad . tsham . gis . bśol . lags . na . | Cer . cen . du . mehi . htshal . ham . m[y]ji . htshal . [B 2] ba . drul . ba . la . žib : mor . rtogs . la . drul : gañ . śha . ba . la . myur . du . bskas . ma . sprin . na . rab . tu . myi .

sman [B 3] ste . mchi . htshal | slag . pa . gchig . spus . ma .  
btsal . na . gtan . myi . sman . te . rin . spus . ci . dbabs .  
b[dag] (heng ? brlag ?) [B 4] m[taha] . dan . dbul . bar .  
htshal.

[1] "To the chiefs Mtsho-gzigs and Klu-htsho: petitioner Myes-rtön. [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 Charklik. 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 Mirān, where it was found.

#### Notes

1. 3. *kham-ga*: Apparently = *kham-ga* "mouthful".
1. B 3. *bakax*: Cf. *bkaḥ-sprin*, p. 21.4, and *phrin*, p. 244: 97.

#### V. KA-DAG

As is noted by Sir Aurel Stein (*Serindia*, pp. 320 n., 454 n.), Mirzā Ḥaidar, in his *Ta'rikh-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 *kātek-shahri*





regular *dbu-can* writing, partly erased, and the end part of l. 2 in a different hand).

[1] ༩ | . | sñon.glo . . . . . | [cag.ra ?] . . . . .  
 žiñ . [m]chis . mchis . pa . las | | rtahī . lo . la | ban . hde .  
 [2] Mtshog . gyi<sup>1</sup> . byin . [gi] . . . . . | .  
 [Dru . gu ?] . sba-i . . . . . b[ro]ñ . žes . mchi . nas .  
 g[tsh]es [3] . . . . . [do] . c[i]g . stagi .  
 [leñ . ba . dañ] | byuñ . bañ . hog . tu . | myi . hdiñi .  
 yus . | [B 1] . . . . . [mchi . nas |  
 [i . hdi] . sbyi (myi ?) . skyngs . las | bdag . gis . mjald |  
 [B 2] de . dpañ . ky . gtan . tshigs . kyañ . gsañ . ba . . . . .  
 las | | lta . . . . . ñede . . . . . yus . mjald . pa .  
 skad (?) [B 3] -u . blar . gsol . te . | gra . tus . Ka . dag . tu .  
 hgug . pa . lta . žig | bdag . ñan . [pa . ni] | Nob . chu .  
 ñuñi . . . . . [tsh]al | kha . hdzin[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 (*grwa*)" = "the seminary in a body". It is mentioned again below (p. 151); perhaps it functioned in trials of cases at law.

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

<sup>1</sup> *gyi* crossed out ?

[A] 𑄣 | | [rje] . . . [B 1] 𑄣 | | thugs.bde.ham.myi.bde.  
mch[i] . . . [B 2] Ka.dag.gi.rtse.rje.dañ.ñin.rtsod.pa:  
rnam . . . [B 3] myur.du.ni.Ho.nir.mchi.bahī.  
rho.m[ŷ]i . . .

[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 Ho-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] 𑄣 | | Nob.chen.po.na | blon.nu . . . [A 2]  
bstus.pa.dañ.Ka.dag.nas. [B 1] [gtiñ.non.bžin.nas |  
| nub]. [B 2] [kh—].[ñi].śu.gñi[s] . . . | Nob.[u] [B 3]  
[che.bros.bton.bahī-r-ñ . . . [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).

[B 2] | Nob.chu.ñur.khre.khal.gñis.drañs | Ka.dag.  
khre.las.Lha.chuñ.rta.rin.du.kh[r]al.

"To Little Nob two loads of millet were conveyed. From  
the Ka-dag millet Lha-chuñ 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 watch-  
tower (*ñthoñ-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-



question there" (*hdi-na* "here" = "there", like *atra* in the Kharosthi documents) from *gti-ba* "to question". Or perhaps *gthir* comes from *sti* "rest": cf. p. 164. 3, *bstis*.

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.: ll. 12 of large, rather coarse, cursive *dbu-can* writing + 1. 1 (inverted) in a smaller, neater hand).

[1] *dañ* | *rtse . rje . Khrom . bžre . Bzañ . koñ . la . [spr]ñ . st[e]* | [*lan . hdiñ*] . *st[o]ñ . sla . ra . ba . tshes . behus . Nob . chu . nur . phyin* [2] *par . rdzofs . śig . par . mjal . pa . las* | [*hphrin . byañ . . . . bsgyañ[s] . nas* | *hbrugi . loñi . ston . zla . ra* . [3] *tshes . bchu . bdun . [la] . slar . Nob . chu . nur . mchis . pa . las* | *khy [e?]d . kyis*] . *spri[ñ]* . *ba . la* | *bdag . chag . glo . ba . myi* . [4] *ches . ste* | *Pag . tsa . ni . Klu . rtse . hi . so . pa . la . gtogs . pas* | *Myo . ni . lba . tsha . kheñs . ñi . su . tsam . gis . Klu . rtser* . [5] *phyin . par . [gtoñ]* . *žes . mchi . nas* | [*hdi . slar . na . ] Nob . chu . nu . [mkhar . bži]* . *klogs . ma* . [*s]pu* . [*mdzad]* . *m[o]* [6] *mchis . pa . las . thogs . par . gyur . te* | *lan . hdi . hi . [sto]ñ . [zla . ra . bañ]* . *tahe[s]* . *bchu . bdun . la . sul . du* [7] *žuga* | *mkhar . bžiñi* : [*bla . sñu . rjeñi . ] hphrin . byañ . nas . ma . g . bstu . . btags . gi . glo . ba .* | *myi . ches* [8] *žes . mchi . ba . dañ* | *bañ . chen . Lda . ka . Hwa . lwa . rmas . slañs* | *rdzas . ma . skyes . dañ . tshogsu . . mu . khri . gñi* [9] *kyis . thabs . bgyi[s]* . *ste . ru . ba . ma . btañ . ba . dañ* | *mkhar . bži . Rma . [sgra]* . *rje . la . yañ . skad . chig . myi . gtañ* . [10] *hdi . skad . sprñ . bañi . rigs* | *kho . na . gñis . g[lt]os . žes . bañ . chen . Hwa . lwas* | *rtse . rje . blon . Legs* [11] *bzañ . dañ . blon . Rma . sgra . dañ .* | *lta . batsogs . [tsa . rñu . ] Guñ . tshat . Khus . ma . de . sgya . ro . zigs . legs . gyi* [12] *g-yrā . añar . bkañ* . [*mchid]* . *bgyis . ste* | *žañ . lon . rmas . kyī . dphañ . rgyas . btab . pañ* [13] *bgyis*.

*Inverted*: *Lda . ka . Wa . lwa . sug . yig . tshad*.

[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 (*bsgyaṅs* ? = *bryaṅs* '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; Pag-tsa, who was associated with the Klu-rtse soldiers, and Myo with some twenty arrogant fellows (*lba-tsha* ?), said 'Give us leave to go to Klu-rtse'. [5-6] Later, as a mistress who was with child (*spu-mtad-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-rñu* 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

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

*Klu-rtse*: See below, p. 156.

l. 5. *mkhar-bzi*: The Four Towns of Nob.

l. 11. *tsa-rñu*: Probably an official title; see above, p. 127.

l. 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).



the partition or abandoning the plough, thereby violating the division of the tillage, the yield is to be raised (? *thog-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 (*abyur* ?) what had been fixed, procedure should be according to the old town law of former times. [9-10] Great Uncle-Councillor Dge-bzan and Councillor Britsan-la-hphan—these, who were at first appointed, having gone back down, the chief Lord Dpe-gzan and Mdo-ber, during the interval, continued the work."

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

### Notes

l. 2. *zin-hgod*: "Settling the land"; the phrase has been noted above, p. 124. *Rje-zin*, pp. 127-9.

l. 3. *gtan-zin*: = "fixed field" or "established agreement"? The phrase recurs below, No. 38.

ll. 2 and 5. *etsis-mgo*: "Total"; see p. 31, and Index.

l. 5. *tho-rgya*: = "boundary mark", occurs in other documents (pp. 274, 361-5).

l. 7. *mkhar-ris*: "Town-boundary"; cf. pp. 136, 375.

38. M.I. xlv, 2 (wood, c. 10.5 × 2.5 cm., fragmentary at left; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . gya.s.te | | dbaṅ.thaṅ.can.daṅ.gtan.zin.gi.  
rnam [2] . . . log.zin.du.bgos.pa.lags | do.cig.ni |  
skun [3] . . -r | chun.pa.dag.bśugs.pas . . . [B 1] . .  
[mkhar . Nob . ched . po . r-is (?) kyī . rje . zin | | gi . mgo  
n . n(rī)i-ñ . ni . . [B 2] . . | thebs.pa.daṅ | Nob.chuṅ .  
ñu[hi] . yul . myi . bśugs . pa

[1] . . "persons having rights and fixed fields . . .





which they failed to hide and Ko-hgoñ 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-hgoñ 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 Ldoñ-koñ, property, cattle, and barley and rice, wherever found, may be seized without right of complaint: [9-10] in attestation whereof the attestation seals of the 'royal eye' (*rgyal-zigs* = *rāja-cakṣuḥ*) Legs-rtsan 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. *mñan-gyi-hbans*: See above, p. 120.

*Hor*: A Turk.

1. 3. *g-yag-sdñ*, *hgri-sdñ*: Is *sdñ* = *rtñ* "rear", "extra", being without loads? *hgri* = *hbri* "female yak".

*rad*: "Caravan" (?), has been already noted (p. 52). Elsewhere we have the expression *rad-gos* "travelling-clothes".

l. 6. *hog-tshons*: "Undersold merchandize" or "merchandize sold below" ?; cf. p. 415.4, *bla-tshon* ?

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

l. 10. *sug-yig-tshad*: See p. 46.

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

[1] ༄ || *phag . gi . lo . la* || *ṣaṇ . lon . chen . po . blon .*  
*Dpal . bzaṇ . gi . khrom . Nob . chu . ṣur . btab . paḥi . [lan .*  
*la] || Rgod . tsaṇ . stod . kyī . sde . | ṣṇon . skya . boḥi . tshē ||*  
*Ḥu . taṇ . Gsaas . chuṇ . ṣes . bgyi [2] tha . mar . ṣugs . nas |*  
*mtshan . Byaṇ . cub . bkra . ṣis . las || Gṇos . Ḥo . ses . bran .*  
*Pho . b[ts]o[n] . . Rgya . rgyud . las . myi . rma . ba || sug .*  
*yig . las . Rgya . Phu . tsba . ces . bgyi . ba . dguṇ . [3] lo .*  
*lṇa . bcu . tsam . lon . ba || ṣṇon . dmag . byuṇis . gcig . gi .*  
*bar . du . yaṇ . || ban . de . Rje . gol . gyi . . . . Ḥo . ses*  
*bgyiste || Ḥo . se . la . gnaas . ṣiṇ . ḥkhol . ba || lo . lan .*  
*ḥdi . la [4] Ḥo . ses . gthan . du . mjal . te || rin . dmar .*  
*sraṇ . brgyad . kyaṇ . ḥphral . du || ban . de . la . tshaṇ . bar .*  
*stsald || Phu . tsab . ḥdi . gthan . du . Ḥo . se . dbaṇ . ba .*  
*la || ṣal . mchu . tha . sṇad . ḥdogs . [5] pa . ṣig . byuṇiste |*  
*brgyaḥ . la . Phu . tsab . ṇes . ṣor . par . gyur . na || ṣal .*  
*mchu . ci . byuṇ . ba . yaṇ | ban . de . mchi[d . gyi]s .*  
*ḥtshal . bar . bgyis . paḥi . steṇ . du . bran . ḥdi . tsam . pod . pa .*  
*gcig . kyaṇ [6] ḥphral . du . gthan . tshigs . ḥdi . su . ḥchaṇ .*  
*ba . la || ban . des . ḥphral . du . ḥbul . bar . bgyis || ban .*  
*de . ma . mchis . na . khas . len || dam . goṇ . nas [7] ḥbyuṇ .*  
*baḥi . rnams . mchid . kyis . ḥtshal . bar . bgyis . paḥi . dpaṇ .*  
*la || blon . Stag . sgra | rtse . rje . blon . Stag . Stag . rtsan ||*  
*blon . Dpal . bzaṇ . . [dog] . rje | blon . Dge [8] bṣer .*  
*Lha . Ḥbrug . brtsan || ṣiṇ . pon . Stag . bzaṇ . Lha . spe .*

Ldoñ . phreñ . Mdo . goñ | lastsogs . pañi . dpañ . rgya .  
 dañ | — d . dañ . khas . len [9] gyi . sug . rgyas . btab .  
 pā ||

*Smudges of Seals. Verso* : Phu . tsab . kyī . dpañ . rgya .

[1] "In the Hog year, in reply to the despatch of the great Uncle-Councillor, Councillor Dpal-bzañ, at the mart of Little Nob. [1-3] From a person of the Rgod-tsañ upper district, who previously, when a layman, was called Hu-tañ Gsas-chuñ, but after entering the community was named Byañ-cub-bkra-śis (Bodhimangala), 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 *srañ*, 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 (?), 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-rtzan, Councillor Dpal-bzañ-po . . . dog-rje, Councillor Dge-bžer Lha Hbrug-brtsan, the farmers Stag-bzañ Lha-spe, Ldoñ-phreñ Mdo-goñ, and others and the written signatures (hand-marks) of [the *bande*] and the guarantor are attached."

*Verso* : "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 composition 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*.

l. 1. *Rgod-tsan-stod-kyi-sde*: Concerning this district see above, pp. 126-8.

*skya-bo*: An ordinary man or layman.

l. 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.

l. 3. *Rje-gol*: A place in the Śa-cu region (pp. 362, 367).

*Phu-tsa*: Compendious for *Phu-tsab*.

l. 4. *zal-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-sñad* = Sanskrit *vyavahāra* "affair".

l. 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-vibhāṅga* (ed. Lévi, 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"!

*steñ-du*: "After"; see p. 29.

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

l. 6. — *klas-len*: The gap is, no doubt, for the insertion of the name, as in European legal drafts.

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

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

[1] ... [zañ].lon.che[d].po.tshogs.pa.[khr]om.[che]d.po||



. . . dag . mkh(r)ar . goñ . nas . . . [2] . . . [phya]g . rgya .  
p[h]o[g . ste] | žiñ . hgod . kyī . riñ . lugs . dañ . mkhar . bži .  
bla . dañ | Nob . che . . . [3] . . . Ho . ses . gsol . pañ |  
bda[g] . [cha]g . Nob . chuñ . pañi . sdum . pa . sar . | Nob .  
ched . po . . . [4] . . . lam . r-e . poñ . -ye[ñ] . rg-[oñ] . . .

"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. žiñ-hgod-kyī-riñ-lugs: See above, pp. 124, 140.

1. 3. sdum-pa-sar: sdum-pa has occurred above, p. 133.

42. M.I. xxx, 8 (paper, fol. no. 79 in vol., nearly complete;  
c. 28 × 75 cm.; ll. 9 recto + 6 verso (five in a different hand)  
of neat *dbu-can* script, close packed and in parts illegible).

[1] [ \* | . | — ] sgre . gañ . sgra . la . | | Khrom . koñ .  
gyī . mchid . gsol . bañ | | mchid . kyis . rmas . na . thugs .  
bdeñ . žes . [g-yar] . tu . thos [2] te . glo . ba . dgañ . žiñ .  
mchis . na . | | bar . du . thugs . bdeñam . myi . bdeñ . sūm .  
gsol . žiñ . mchis . na . bkañ . stsald . par . gsol . | | [ph]o .  
brañ . na . sñā . slar [3] pho . ña . dañ . [h]drul . ba . mchis .  
pa[h]i . bkañ . mchid . [dañ ?] . yul . phyogs . thañ (?) | |  
žo . co . Zla . bžer . gyī . ža . sñar . ched . myi . nad . phyugs .  
nad . lo (?) [4] ma . mchis . . . . | mdad(?) . dañ .  
bañ (?) . soñi . [rkye]ñ . ru . yañ . lag . smad . man . chad . la .  
drug . rkyā . gehig . la . dñul . srañ . drug . las . [ma] . bab .  
dgun [5] tshun . chad . [spun] . dmag . myi . hthū . | žes .  
mchi . | Skal . hkhār . gyī . yi . geh . pho . brañ . na . tshal .  
ža . bgyid . pa . ma . mchis . | | Khrom . [bžer ?] . gyī . bkañ .  
mchid . ni [6] blon . Kri (Khri ?) . rma . las . chí . gtsan<sup>4</sup> .  
pa . tsham . du . bañs . | | mchid . yi . ge . hdi . sprñ . ba .  
tsham . na . Mdo . blon . sa . nas . | | hphar . ma . sum . rol .  
dgu . tshod . chig . mchis . pañ [7] la . | Nañ . goñ . nas .  
myi . bol . dag . chig . mchis . pa . hdra . ba (?) | Smad . nas . [rjes .

<sup>4</sup> Corrected to *gma* ?

su . gro . kyañ ?) . žes . ni . mehi | gdan . gsol . du . nuñ .  
 hchad . myi . gdañ | blon . Mañ [8] zigs . la . gtad . ni .  
 dños . kyis . gsal . pa . lags . te . gnañ | ši . sos . kyī . [gla] .  
 dgra . chud . ma . htshal . bar . gyis . šig . par . hḍrul . ba .  
 las . bkah . nan . ma [9] mdzad . par . gyis . la || hḍi .  
 dag . tu . yañ . stsañ . lo . dgra . nos . pas | [bas . ma] .  
 skyes . kyañ . ston . sñā . hthon . tu . Nob . [šod] . phyogsu .  
 gtañ . bar [B 1] htshal . na . | Rmañ . cuñ . gyi . sug .  
 las . kyañ . Nob . šod . phyi . ma<sup>1</sup> . yan . man . tu . mehis .  
 pa . ltar . bgyis . šin . mehis ||

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

[1-2] "To . . sgre-gaṇ-sgra: letter-petition of Khrom-koñ. 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* commands. [2-5] Report of messengers and missives received in the residence, first and last, and of the district [news]. With My Lord Zla-bžer there is tidings [*ched* ?] 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 *eran* of silver has been levied. Before winter an army of brethren cannot assemble. [5-6] Letter of [from ?] Skal-ḥkhar: In the residence there is nothing to eat. As for Khrom-bžer's gossip, what has been heard from Councillor 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 sides. 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 Councillor Mañ-zigs. [8-B 1] As regards stringent orders not having been sent by runner that at the price of

<sup>1</sup> *phyi.nu* 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-śod side. Rmañ-cuñ's handiwork also has at last come after long time to Nob-śod—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), Nañ-goñ and Mdo, which is clearly Mdo-khams. Who "the enemy" are does not appear. The translation is in part uncertain.

l. 3. *ched*: This seems to mean "tidings".

l. 4. *mdad*: In the sense of a monument to the dead the word occurs in the *Chronicle*, ll. 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-yañ-lag* see p. 435 and vol. i, p. 282.

l. 5. *spun-dmag*: "Army of brethren," i.e. of clans (f).

l. 6. *hphar-ma*: "Missive" occurs in M. Tagh., b, ii, 0035; pp. 203-4, 371, etc. *rol-dgu*: "Nine sides" of paper or wood?

l. 7. *Nañ-goñ(d)*: This is known as a name of Baltistan (Cunningham, *Ladak*, p. 34).

*Smad*: No doubt = Mdo-smad.

l. 8. *śi-śos-kyi-gla*: "Wages of being saved from death."

l. B 1. *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).

[1] | : | sbrul . gyi . loñi . dpyid . śla . ra . ba . gnam  
ston . gi . gdugs . la . | rtse . rje . blon . Ju . cu[g] . dañ .

[2] zañ . blon . Skyañ . po . Dbye (Drñe ?) . rma . las . btsogs .



pañi . g-yar . snar . | yus . bdag . Pañ . tshab . Rbeg [3]  
 chuñ . dañ . Ldoñ . phrañ . Spra . hu . koñ . gñis | riñ . lus .  
 kyis | Rlañ . spun . po . spun . dañ . sñon [4] po . spun .  
 dañ . phyis . spu . Klu . ḥdus . dañ . Dañ . ḥbe . Myes .  
 mthoñ . dañ . Rlañ . phran . Hphan . legs [5] la . stsogs .  
 pañ | glar . bkug . nas | yus . bdag . Rbe(g) . chuñ . la .  
 stsogs . pañi . mchid . nas | [6] bdag . cag . Nob . chu . nu .  
 nas | Hor . gyi . mjug . stog . ltañ . sogs . brgyad . puñ .  
 cha . geig | [7] btus . ste . Nob . ched . por . mchis . pa .  
 dañ . rtse . rje . las . śiñ . thun . [m]yi . ḥgañ . g-yar . po .  
 bgyis . pa [8] las | śi(ñ) . thun . gyi . myi . ni . ma . mchis .  
 ślad . rol . khañ . rul . śig . žig . žes . mchi . nas | bdag .  
 [9] gñis . kyis . kyi . khañ . ru[1] . geig . bśigs . pa . las |  
 khoñ . ta . goñ . na . [sm]o[s] . pa . myi . lña . log . nas [10]  
 bdag . cag . gñis . [kh]ye . [tsho]gs | gbug (gbrug ? gñug ?) .  
 dub . gi . khar . bsdegs . nas | [thabs] . gum . tsam . bgyis  
 [11] pañ | bdag . ñan . [pa] . da . lta . ñan . ñon . khar .  
 ba . bgo . la . chags . ste . mchid . yu[s] . [rtso]d . . . ḥdi .  
 [lt . .] [12] — Spra . hu . koñ . ni . da . du . spo . na .  
 mchis . ñel | bdag . gñis . la . stoñ . sde . gñis . my[i] . rje .  
 -o — s [13] dañ . bdag . cag . bka . luñ . stsāl . te | dka<sup>1</sup> .  
 blas . la . mchi . bañ | bkañ . luñ . sun . phyuñ[s] [14]  
 bhag . [c]ag . sma . phag | khrims . gañ . tañ . ḥbyor . pa .  
 bla . ched . po . man . chad . gsol . žiñ . brtsad [15] ḥtshal .  
 na . ña . khrims . bžin . bakron . te . dus . tsa . gdab . par .  
 gsol . žes . mchi . nas<sup>2</sup> | khoñ . ta . rna[ms] [16] . . .<sup>3</sup>  
 || kyi . gñañi . myiñ . rus . la | Hgreñ . ro . Klu . brtan |  
 Khu . Stag . chuñ . dañ | [17] So . nam . legs | Rum  
 (Tum ?) . Mtsho . brtsan | Hbrin . ḥbrug . Spe | Dru . gu .  
 Lha . legs . rnames [18] kyi . gña . rgya . dañ . riñ . lugs .  
 dañ . dpañ . chen . dañ . khon . tañ . rnames . kyi . sug . rgyañ .  
 btab . pañ . [19] gra . dus . ni . dbyar . sla . ḥbrin . poñi .  
 no . la . mchid .<sup>4</sup> . śagsu . ḥtshal . par . bgyis ||

Five seals illegible.

<sup>1</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  erased.

<sup>2</sup> nas belyw the line.

<sup>3</sup> pañi . mchid . nas is here crossed out.

<sup>4</sup> lu here crossed out.



[1-2] "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 *Skya-po* Dbye-rma and the rest. [2-5] The complainants, Pañ-tsab Rbeg-chuñ and Ldoñ-phrañ Spra-hu-koñ, two couriers, having engaged on hire the Rlañ eldest (?) brother and elder brother and younger brother Klu-hdus and Dañ-hbe Myes-mthoñ and Rlañ-phrañ Hphan-legs and others, the complainants Rbe[g]-chuñ 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-hu-koñ during his removal here fell ill. The two Stoñ-sdes not . . . to us and sending us to the Bkañ-luñ, we went to the distinguished Dkañ (*sic*). The Bkañ-luñ 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 (*l bla*), pray take care to summon (?) witnesses according to law. [15-18] As to the names and families of their witnesses, they are Hgreñ-ro Klu-brtan, Khu Stag-chuñ and So Nam-legs, Rum Mtsho-brtsan, Hbrin-hbrug Spe, Dru-gu Lha-legs, whose attestation marks and the hand-signatures of the couriers, the *dpañ-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*

1. 1. *Skya-po*: See pp. 126, 241, 294.

1. 2. *Pañ-tsab*: See pp. 138, 305, and Vol. I, p. 278 and n. 4.

l. 3. *Rlañ*: This is, no doubt, a local name, and the *Rlañ-phran* below is "the little Rlañ". In p. 356 is named a Rlañ Klu-sto, and in pp. 241, 467 we have mention of a Rlañ district or regiment (*sde*). The three brothers seem all to have been named Klu-hdus, whence the manner in which they are particularized.

l. 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"?).

l. 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.

ll. 12-13. *ston-sde* . . . *bkañ-luñ*: "Thousand District" and "Command" seem to be used for the respective officials.

l. 14. *gañ-t(h)añ*: "As much as you like"?

l. 15. *dus-tsa*: = *dun-pa*?

l. 17. *Hgreñ-ro*: See above, pp. 108-9.

l. 18. *riñ-lugs*: = *riñ-lus* of l. 3; cf. p. 16.

l. 19. *gra-dus*: "Seminary assembly," no doubt for the trial. See p. 134.

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).

[1] . . . *žañ . lon . chen . po . žañ . Btsan . sum . sgras* |  
[2] *Nob . cuñuñi . rtse . rje . rnam . la . sprin . ño* || [3]  
*dpen . pañi . zo . ša . cher . hbul . ba . dañ* || *kham . rgyud .*  
*mar* [4] . . . *dgahr* || *Nob . cuñuñi . mñan . Shuñs . dañ .*  
*tshas* . . .

[1-2] "Sent by the great Uncle-Minister Uncle Btsan-sum-sgra to the chief lords of Little Nob. [3] The liberal present of an useful contribution and . . . [4] . . . glad. The government Shuñs of Little Nob and . . ."

### Notes

l. 3. *dpen-pañi-zo-ša*: On this phrase see p. 25 n.: *zo-ša-cher-bul* recurs in pp. 23.7, 153.B1.

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

[1] 𐼁 || Nob . cu . nu . hi . rtse . bla . dan . rtse . sman .  
la || yos . bu . lohi [2] sp[ylid] . ala . ra . ba . la || sku .  
blahi . bres | sñin (snid ? sdud ?) . bžin . bzañs [B 1] . . .  
gsol . te | lag . dgra . dan | sogs . mcin . la [B 2] sman .  
bris . pañi . gñer . hñus (hyus ?) ||

[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-mcin (retention of urine ? *gsog-gcin*)."

*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 × 8 cm.; ll. 6 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] 𐼁 | . | jo . co . Btshan . ta . dan | Klu . sgra . la ||  
yul . mthoñ . gi . mchid . gsol . ba || alar . yañ . sñan .  
sñuñs . gsol . pa . [2] [l]ags | Nob . ched . poñi . Rtse .  
rgod . kyī . lo . tañ . phul . bañi . bul | Lha . -hi . t . nod .  
cin . mchisna | bul . atsal . par . gsol | [3] bdag . cag .  
gi . lo . tañ . ci . lus . pa . dan | boñ . na(?) . kag (t) | li . bal .  
pho . re . gañ . žig | hdi . rnams . šul . du . hbul . bar ||  
[4] blon . Lha . bzañ . la . yañ . gsol . te | spu . bal . ci .  
ma . phul . ba | hdi . bžin . lhag . tshad . ma . mchis |  
[5] su . la . žiñ . mchis . na || bdag . gi . sug . rgya . yañ ||  
dños . gyis . gsold . pa . lags . na | de . las . thugs . [6]  
mdzad . du . gsol .

*Verso* : 𐼁 | . | Nob . ched . poñi . hyi . ba . lohi . lo . tañ |

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

1. 3. *li-bal-pho-re-gaṅ-zig*: compare pp. 65-6, *bal-pho-re-gaṅ-zig*, and p. 377, *phyin-rgyu-bal-pho-re-gaṅ*.

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] ༄ || ḥbrug . gi . loḥi . dpyid . sla . ḥbrin . poḥi . no . la || zaṅ . lon . ched . po . blon . Dpal . sum [2] khrom . Nob . chunur . bthab . paḥi . lan . la || rtsig . Graḥ (Gdab ?) . khus . gsol . pa || btag . ṅan . Bod . kyī [3] mṅaḥ . ris . su . ḥkhrug . mgo . btshaṅ . nas | sku . mtshal . gñer . baḥi . yan . ḥam [B 1] srog . lus . la . ma . bzems . nas . zo . śa . cher . [b]ul . baḥi . yon . gis || bka . drin [B 2] Nob . chuṅḥi . mgo . rñon . du . bskos . paḥi . dbaṅ . thaṅ . mkhar . ris . nas | dud . khral [B 3] stsaṅ . nas || khal . gsum . nod . paḥi . ḥbul . sna . Ldoṅ . phreṅ . Mdo . goṅ . gis . sgyin (sgyi . bar ?) [B 4] mehid (bgyir ?) . gyis . bcad . rgyaḥ (śes ?) . rtags . gi . phyag . rgya . p[h]og . pa .

[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* Grah-klu. [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-ruon* 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-kyis*) on the part of Ldon-phren Mdo-goñ to be given: signed letter sent with seal attached."

### Notes

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

On the expressions *rtsig*, *zo-ka*, *mkhar-ris* see Index.

1. A 3, *msah-ris* = either "frontier" or "state": see p. 342.

*sku-mtshal* : The dictionary gives the sense of " blood ".

B 1, *bkaḥ-drin*: Apparently adverbial, as elsewhere.

B 2, *ngo-rhon*: The nature of this office is not known, "head *rhon*," *dud-khral*: pp. 374-5.

B 4, *rgyah-rtags-gi-phyag-rgya*: "Signed letter with seal attached."

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

[1] ཨོཾ || . Kho . nam . kyi . rjed . byañ . Mdzes . ldan . la .  
balpho.re.gsum | Hphan.la.bžer.la.phore.do || Hphan.  
legs.dañ. [2] Dge.bus.bal.pho.re. [g ] || G-yu.rton.la.  
nas.kha[1].gcig.dañ. | bre.bco.lña. || Nob.ched.po.pa.la.nas.  
khal. [3] phye.dañ.bži | Hphan.legs.kyi.bal.pho.re.gsum.  
de.hi.lan.la.bžag. | slad.ma.rnams.myi.gžag.par. [4] yar.  
brdzañ. |

[1-2] "Memorandum tablet of the Kho-nam : To Mdzes-ldan three *pho-re*'s of wool ; to Hphan-la-bžer 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 *phye-dan-bži* (= 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 *ngo-rñon* (p. 154), of its "foreign councillor" (*dgra-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. xlv, 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-žin*, 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-Khotanī 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-SÖD (Lower Nob), KLU-RTSE, G-YUŠ-DRUŠ-RTSE

49. M.I. i, 24 (paper, fol. no. 2 in vol., c. 11 × 17 cm. ; much torn and badly smudged ; ll. 17 (?) *recto* + 8 (?) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* writing, barely legible).

- [A 5] gñer . myi . khumsu . myi . ruhste  
 [A 9] khrom . Der (?) . ha . ra . tahun . cad . skad . abyī . . .  
 [A 13] Mdo . sgra[hī] . steñ . du  
 [A 14] Klu . rtseñi . hphar . phyogs . dañ  
 [B 3] Nob . śod . na . [phyu]  
 [B 6] Nob . chu . nu . yañ .  
 [A 5] "Not proper not to perform,"  
 [A 9] "As far as the mart Der-ha-ra a rumour"  
 [A 13] "Up to Mdo-sgra."  
 [A 14] "beyond Klu-rtse"  
 [B 3] "in Lower Nob"  
 [B 6] "Little Nob also."

#### Note

Concerning Der-ha-ra and the person Mdo-sgrañ we have no information. Nob-śod, mentioned also in M.I. xxx . 8 (p. 148), recurs in a Tibetan text as one of the eighteen śods (low countries); since Nob = Nag (p. 30), it was substantially identical with Nag-śod. 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).

[A 1] ☉ | | Klu . rtse . chu . myig . gyi . tshugs . po[n] [A 2]  
 Rtsañ . Spe . sme . [B] byan . po . Blu . spe . bu |

"Rtsañ Spe-sme, sergeant of the spring of Klu-rtse.  
 Cook, Blu-spe-bu."

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

. . . [2] . . . Klu . rtser . yañ . sprin . ste |

"To Klu-rtse also a message has been sent."

#### VIII. SNAÑ-ŚDAÑ AND SNAÑ-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] \* || dpyid . sla . tha . chuñs . tshes . ñi . ñu . lñañi .  
 dguñ . sañs . nas || ñul . tu [2] ñugs . te || dros . kyis .  
 skyes . Tañ . gñor . tu . phyind . par . mchi . la || [B 1] de .  
 phan . chad . sña . ra . dañ . phyi . ra . ye . myig . cher . bgyis .  
 nas | ñul . pho . che [B 2] las . byol . te | ñin . ni . rdul .  
 dañ . ngo . brtag | mtshan . ni . sgra [B 3] mchom .  
 mñand . te | Snañ . sdañ . dañ [43, 1] Snañ . rtse . yan .  
 chad . sna . tshod . pas . bsgugs . nas | thabs . sa . gar . bde .  
 ba [43, 2] dog . sa . ma . hpham . ba . nas | thabs . ma .  
 noñs . par . zind . cin . thebs . par [43, 3] htshol .  
 cig || Snañ . rtse . gñir . dguñ . lña . bsdad . de . ma . byuñ .  
 na | gal . te | [43, B 1] sdiñ . gro . bo . rgyud . du .  
 dog . sa . bsgrañs . nas | phyug . mañi . steñ . du [43, B 2]  
 sña . ltogs na[h] . pa . sgan . ma . ltor (btor ?) . bor . nas | bun  
 (thug ?) . tshod . bgyid . kyañ [43, B 3] gdañam || mar .  
 ma . ñor . ma . thal . ñes . na | rdud (2) . kañ . dañ . sdiñ .  
 gro . bo . . .

[1] "Taking the road at daybreak on the twenty-fifth day of the last spring month, march so as to arrive at Tañ-gñor 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 3-43, 3] As far as Snañ-sdañ and Snañ-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 Snañ-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 (*steñ-du*, or after, *steñ-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 . . ."

#### Notes

In these orders (cf. pp. 447-9) the starting-point is not stated, so that the locating of Snañ-rtse and Tañ-gñor is



difficult; but the latter name reminds us of Rta-zor (pp. 21-2) and Ltañ-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*, *sña-ltogs*, *ltor*, being obscure. [See now Vol. III, p. 57.]

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

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

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

[A 1] 𐰚 || Snañ . rtseñi . Ho . b[rag] . gi . glah . cig . [hbrag] [A 2] gi . lohī . dpyid . sla . tha . cuñs . tshes . drug . la . [B 1] brdzañs . pañi . so . byañ |

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

#### Notes

Ho-brag: Perhaps = Ho-brog, p. 128: 20, He-brag, p. 233: 82.

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-rtse 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.

55. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 00128 (paper, fol. no. 20 in vol., fragmentary at right and bottom : ll. 7 *recto* + 7 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, discoloured and rather smudged).

[1] ཨོཾ་ | : | jo . co . stag . Stsañ . bžer<sup>1</sup> . gyi . bsñel . byañ .  
Spra . Legs . zigs . kyis . gsold . pa || bdag . gžis . h[ɬ]i . . .  
[2] myi . mchi . myi . ruñ . bar . bkah . nan . stsal . cin | Tshal .  
byir . mehis . nas | mdzo . g-yag . ji . mehis . pa . ni . bśag . . .  
[3] te | lug . rnams . kyañ<sup>2</sup> . ser . ru . mcis . nas  
| H[ɬ]rjon . koñ . [gi . bla . la] . rdzi . Ku . dañ . bcaste . gtad .  
| mdzo . g-ya . . [4] du . ma . hgyurd . te | grañs . kyis . mañ .  
ñi[g]i . . . . [5] dañ . | slañ . Sta . gu . khrom . pa . la . . . . [6] ñam  
cuñ . žiñ . yra<sup>3</sup> . m . . . [7] -i . [B 1] mal . gś-n . . [2] stom .  
kyañ . Klu . gtsu . . . [3] Spe . tsa . dañ | yañ . Rlañ . Spe . slebs . . .  
[4] bdag . la . ral . gyi . gcig . stsald . pa . dañ | . . . la . brtag (?) .  
par . gñis . mehis . pañi . logs . [5] par . bgyi[s] . sam . sm[a]ñ . yar .  
myi . mchir . myi . ruñ . bar . bkah . nan . [stsald] | g-ya . nas (?) .  
mchi . ba . rnam . . . [6] [sñā] . stsal . myi . thal . na . yañ . hp[h]ral .  
la . bkas . gead | so . bskos . pañi . lhag . ma . ji . mehis . pa .  
ñi . rnams . kyañ . rol . [tsh]u . . . [7] gñañ . spor | Ril . khrid .  
du . stsald .

[1] "To my lord, the Tiger Stsañ-bžer, memorandum presented by Spra Legs-zigs. [2-3] 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 H[ɬ]ron-koñ authority with shepherd Ku in attendance. [3-B] 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-kyañ* Klu-gtsu[*g* and] Spe-tsa, and also Rlañ Spe-slebs . . . 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

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for *bžer*.

<sup>2</sup> Something (*pha* ? *gya-gyu* ?) crossed out here.

<sup>3</sup> For *g-yur* ?

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

- I. 1, *bsñel-byan*: See p. 123.  
 I. 3, *ser-ru*: For this epithet applied to animals, see p. 259.  
*Hdron-kon*: Is this *Hbrom-khon*, in Mdo? See p. 106.  
*g-ya* . . .: Read *g-yar-nas*? Or *mdzo.g-yag*, "mdzos and yaks"? I. 4, *grabs-kyis*, "by count": see p. 139.1.  
 I. 5, *Sta-gu-khrom*: This is evidently in the Tshal-byi region.  
 II. 5-6: Perhaps the sense is that the Sta-gu officials had little sense (*ñams-cuñ*).  
 B I. 2, *stom-kyah*: On this title see p. 128.  
 I. 3, *Rlan*: See p. 151.  
 I. 4, *ral-gyi*: Error for *ral-gri*? Cf. p. 441: 25.  
 II. 5-6, *nam-pa-sha*: "The first despatch"? On *nam-pa* see p. 79.  
 I. 6, *yan-kphral-la*: cf. *yan-man-tu*, p. 19.8.  
*bskos*: The regular term for calling up soldiers for service, see p. 424. *rol-tshu[r]*: See p. 243:95.

### X. RTSE-HTHON

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

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

[1] 𑖦 | : | *Hphan . la . brtsan . rmed* [2] *pañ* | *Rtse . hton . gi . zin . dor* [B] *phye* (phyed) . *dañ . gñi[s]*.

"Plougher *Hphan-la-brtsan*: *Rtse-hton* 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).

- [1] ཨ | . | G-yu . rton . gvi . dkar . du . mos . pah  
 [2] Rtse . thon . gyi . zin . dor . geig | dor . [phye] . dan .  
 [3] gñis.

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

58. M.I. lviii, 006 (wood, c. 13.5 × 2.2.5 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

- [A 1] ཨ | zin . pon | Mdo . goñ . gi . chun . pa | myi . g . . .  
 [A 2] phog . pa || ldud . mo . smed . zin . lhag | dor . . .  
 [B 1] [hgri ?] | Kh[e] . bz-n . khral . po[n] . dan . Rtse .  
 mton . khral . . . [B 2] dor . geig |

"Field-man of farmer Mdo-goñ (*then an obscure passage*) . . . residual land, team . . . Khe-bzan (?) the taxing-official and the taxing . . . of Rtse-mton . . . one yoke."

*khe-bz-n* is perhaps = *kha-bzuñ* (from *kha-hdzin*, which occurs elsewhere, e.g. p. 238). Rtse-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).

- ཨ || Rtse . mton . gyi . rje . zin . dor . drug . tsa . rñu . Guñ .  
 rton (ston ?) . gyis . dor . g[ñ]i . . .

"Lord's land of Rtse-mton, six yokes. By *tsa-rñu* Guñ-r(s ?)ton two yokes . . ."

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

It suffices to mention the probability that this Rtse-thon may be identical with the Se-to or Se-toñ 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] [☉] phagi . lohī . dpyid . sla . hbrin . po . la | <sup>1</sup> thoñ . kyab . Se . toñ . pañi . sde | Hkal . rgyah . bzan . Teñu . teñu . gyi . rkyah . zin | Pog . peñu . [gr (hr ?)] [2] br[i]ñ . yu . [r]eñ[o] (redo ?) . la . mchis . pa . las | Teñu . teñu . rmoñ . pa <sup>2</sup> . glañ . bu <sup>3</sup> . dan . lag . spyad . ma . <sup>4</sup> mchis . pa . dan || dge . sloñ . Can . Leñ . hyan . spun <sup>5</sup> . la . [3] khu <sup>6</sup> . zlah . bar . bgyis . ste | Leñ . hyan . gyi | rmoñ . pa . lag . spyad . yan . cad | khoñ . nañi . zin . cheñu . dan . mñam . bar . bgyis | sa . bun . dan . myi [4] ni . gñis . kah . bñ[am] . par . [b]gyis | tkyun . du . sruñ . ba . khar . lani . Teñu . teñu . mchid . gyis . htshal | ston <sup>7</sup> | nas . ci . <sup>8</sup> sñad . pa . ni . dan <sup>9</sup> [5] rañ . rañ . skyah . m . . . -in . -n . la . mtug . pañi . tabe . Leñ . hyan . gyi . phyugs . dan . <sup>10</sup> rza . ci . noñ . zus <sup>11</sup> . yu[s] [6] ste . [T]eñu . teñu . mchid . gyis . htshal . bar . bgyis . pañi . dbañ . lah | : | phral . du . ma . geal . tam . gya . gyu . zig . bgyis . ste [7] [gcig-la]s . gñisu . b[s]gyur . [na . kho]ñ . nañi . ago . nas . phyi . phyugs <sup>12</sup> . nañ . nor . ci . la . bab . kyañ . ruñ . s[t]e [8] [sy]yur . dan . beasu . phrogs . kyañ . tshig . cig . myi . mchis . bar . bgyis | <sup>13</sup> ci . noñs . kyañ . ruñ . ste | -o [9] . mchis . na <sup>14</sup> . blañi | srañ . thañ . myi . [sk-u]g . -in . | skyin . hdi . tsam . phod . pa . gcig . phral . du . hbul . bar . bg[y]i[s] [10] hdi . ltar . thama . <sup>15</sup> pa . las | gya . gyu . dan <sup>16</sup> . tha . sñad . hdogs . re . bar . | khoñ . tas . broñ . kyañ . bakyal | . . . | [11] . . . dus . bzin . ma . phul . na . | r[i]ñ . lngs . [su . gza(o)bsu . khyim . rdza[s] . dan . lag . spyad . rad . <sup>17</sup> gos . yan | [12] [c]ad . ji . la . bab . kyañ . ruñ . ste | dños . <sup>18</sup> te | phrogs . kyañ . | zuñ . mchu . ma . mchis . yus . mi . [13]

<sup>1</sup> Se, toñ here crossed out. <sup>2</sup> pa below line.

<sup>3</sup> bu crossed out ?

<sup>4</sup> Chinese. <sup>5</sup> Span ? corr. from Spun.

<sup>6</sup> Khu crossed out.

<sup>7</sup> Stan crossed out ? <sup>8</sup> Skya here crossed out. <sup>9</sup> na, dan crossed out ?

<sup>10</sup> rja here crossed out. <sup>11</sup> na here crossed out. <sup>12</sup> noñ here crossed out.

<sup>13</sup> ci, noñs here crossed out and replaced by ci (below line).

<sup>14</sup> Some sign here crossed out or smudged. <sup>15</sup> sa here crossed out.

<sup>16</sup> ci, tam, bar (7) below dan. <sup>17</sup> kho crossed out. <sup>18</sup> Two Chinese signs.

yal . bar . zog . | dam . hdi . brtsan . bar . <sup>1</sup> [mchid] .  
 gyis . htshal || tsoñ . la . myi . dbañ . nam . bdag . po [14]  
 žig . byuñ . ste | ños . śul . pat <sup>2</sup> . gyur <sup>3</sup> . na . skyin . lus .  
 gyi <sup>4</sup> . hdra . nañi . tshad <sup>5</sup> ||

"[1] Hog year, spring, middle month: There being in Pog-peñu-gra (hra ?)-br[i]h-yu-reño (redo ?) [2] crop-land of Hkal-rgyah-bzan Teñu-teñu, of the watch-tower Se-toñ regiment (district), and Teñu-teñu being without plough-oxen and hand-tools and having entered into relation with the monk Leñ-hyan [3], Leñ-hyan's ploughers, hand-tools included, are to work it along with [his] own plot (*cheñu*) of land: seed and men [4] both to be on footing of equality: regular watch-rounds against theft Teñu-teñu 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 Teñu-teñu 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 forthwith. [10] Thus agreed, on each occasion of trickery or trouble charged, he (Teñu-teñu) shall attend and escort. [11] If payment is not made in time, then upon application (*gžabau* ?) according to usage, [his] household goods and hand-tools, down to travel-clothes [12], wherever bestowed, may be seized without protest and without [13] forfeiture of right of action. 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."

<sup>1</sup> One Chinese syllable.

<sup>2</sup> Below line is given ños . śor . śul . lam

<sup>3</sup> Corrected from *gyur*.

<sup>4</sup> *gyi* crossed out ? <sup>5</sup> *tshad* corrected from ?

In this draft agreement the monk Cañ Leñ-hyan undertakes, apparently of good will or on ground of relationship, to supply oxen and tools for tillage of the farm of Teñu-teñu in conjunction with his own, reserving a right to compensation for any damage to his goods.

The place Pog-peñu-hra (gra l)-br[i]ñ, reñs (redo), which must have been in the Śa-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 Śa-cu. As a winter residence of the Ħa-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 watch-tower. Its identity with Rtse-thon (*supra*, pp. 160-1) and the Tái-tuen of the Chinese (p. 37) is hardly open to doubt.

The names Teñu-teñu and Cañ Leñ-hyan are normal in the Śa-cu region (pp. 113 sqq.). But the surname *Ħkal-rgyah-bzañ* is obscure.

#### XI. 'A-ton

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

☉ | . | 'A-ton | Khro.bzañ |

"Khro-bzañ of 'A-ton."

'A-ton is probably a place-name.

#### XII. BYEñU-LIñ

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

[1] ☉ | . | nañ . rje . po . blon . Stag . bzañ . dañ .  
blon . Mdo . bzer . la || | Śañ . Rdzoñ . gi . mchid . gsol .  
bah || nañ . rje . po . cag . [2] thugs . rtag . du . bde .  
ba . dañ . chab . arid . mtho . bar | smon . lam . Ħtshal .  
ziñ . mchis || thugs . pags . mdzad . pañi . [b]k[añ] . drin .  
rab . [che] . ste || bdag . [3] Byeñu . liñ . du . pyin . nas :  
skyel . ma . yañ . slar . myur . du . mchi . ba . las || kho . na .  
bro . Ħtshal . pa . dañ || ba . boñ . ñan . pa . yañ | cuñ .



zad . ma . bstis [4] na . | chab . ñam . chuñ . ba . dañ .  
 chab . htshal : du : | glo . ba . chuñ . nas . | chuñ . zad .  
 thogste | mehis . [pa] . lags . nah || cuñ . zad . hphyis . par .  
 gyur . pa [5] bkañ . chad . kyis . myi . gead . par . thugs .  
 pags . chir . mdzad |

[1-2] "To the Home Ministers, Councillor Stag-bzañ and Councillor Mdo-bzer. Letter petition of Śaṅ Rdzoñ: 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 Byeñu-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

Byeñu-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, *hdun-tsa*, there). Conceivably it is the Yü-ling of the Chinese, placed by Dr. Herrmann in the neighbourhood of Dälai-kurghān (*Die alten Seidenstraßen*, p. 99, cf. *Serindia*, p. 296). As to *Byeñu* = Yü cf. *Byeñu* = Yao, p. 233.

#### XIII. GRSOS-MO-GLIN

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 *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] zes . žal . mthoñ . nas . sñan . du . gsol . žiñ . mehis |  
 Dor . te . pañi . stsañ . nas . [A 2] kyañ . khal .  
 grañs . [dañ . sbyar] . nah | mehis . pa . hdra . nah |  
 da (?) . duñ . du . yañ . thugs . tshod[u] [B 1] [bžes . nas .  
 šas . žig . ste . žib . du(?) . bka . sprñ . ba . gsol . 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. ŠOD

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

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

☉ | : | ma . thag . tu . Šod . tu . mchis . na . de . las . cha . myur . du . sprin . bar . gsol |

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

The nomads of Šod (*Šod-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] ☉ | : | Hbri.char.smad.kyi.kha.hdzin

[B] Ldo.rba.rman.sby[i]n |

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

## XVII. GLAN-ŠIN-MKAR

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] ☉ || Stag . [tshab t] . Dpal . legs . Glan . šin . mkhar .

[2] nas . dor . gsum . gzi . rñin . nod |

"From substitute-Tiger Dpal-legs of Glan-šin 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 *Nan-rje-po* and a *Dmag-pon*. II: *Šin-šan*. III: *Gyu-mo*, *Ho-toñ 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 × 2.5 cm.; rather curved, complete, hole for string at right; two columns separated by a line; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso*—the third in each case inverted—of cursive *dbu-can* script).

##### I

[1] *šel . chab . hog . mañi .*  
*tshand . la* [2] *Li . bcu . gñis .*  
*gyi . ded . sna . Li . Smad . la*  
[3] *gthad | inverted tshard .*  
*Ši . ro . ña*

##### II

[1] *šel . chab . goñ . mañi .*  
*tshan . la . Li . bdun . gyi*  
[2] *ded . sna . Li . Bun . dar .*  
*ma . la . gthad | [3] inverted*  
*tshar . Has . go . ña . na .*  
*mchis .*

##### III

[B 1] *šel . chab . dbus . gyi .*  
*tshan . la . Li . dguñi . ded*  
[B 2] *sna | Bar . ma . ro .*  
*ñañi . Li . Šir . de | la . gthad |*  
[B 3] *Li .*

##### IV

[B 1] *mkhar . pa . drugi .*  
*ded . sna | Li . Khom(s?) . še .*  
*dad | [B 2] la . gthad [B 3]*  
*inverted srañ . Ba . zo . ña .*  
*na . mchis*

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 Khotanī Smad as chief of twelve Khotanīs. Parish Śi.ro.ña.

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

III. "Sent to the company between the rivers, to the Khotanī Śir-de of Bar-ma-ro-ña as chief of nine Khotanīs.

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

V. "The Khotanī Gu(Gru ?)-jo(dze ?) was punished (executed), 1 : the Khotanī Sam-rba(ga ? 'Am-ca ?) was (or thirty (*sum.cu*) Khotanīs 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 *śel-chab-hog-ma*, *śel-chab-gon-ma*, and *śel-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-ya*, 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 *Śi-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 *ljons*, "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-yig* "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-hjo* "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. 19.5 × 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).

*Verso*: [1] ཨ | ['O . nal . Li . Hu . ten .] gi . so . pa . tshar .  
Hdzam . ñaḥi . Li . Gi . cbog . gis . Rgya . Legs . khriḥi .



[2] . . . nas . bre . lña . htshal . | pa . dañ . | 'O . toñ . Sgo .  
mo . so . pa . tshar . Ka . to . ži . ña . Li . Śa[n ?] [3] . . . -o .  
Kva . tshehi (chohi ?) . nas . bre . do . htshal |

"The 'o-nal, the Khotan Hu-ten soldier, the Khotanī Gi-chog, of Parish Hdzam-ña, requires five *bre* of barley belonging to Rgya (Chinaman ?) Legs-khri; and the 'O-toñ Sgo-mo soldier, the Khotanī Śan . . . , of Parish Ka-to-žī-ña, requires two *bre* of barley belonging to . . . Kva-tshe (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 . yahi . Li . 'Um : de . . .

[3] . . . śul : du : | Hgrom : pañi . sde : [m] . . .

[4] . . . -ñ (?) . l[o] . ñahi : Li : Bu : ñon . dag : | tshar .  
De . . .

[5] . . . glan . myi . Stag . rton : | tshugs : pond | tshar .  
Ts . . .

[6] . . . r . mo . roñi : Li : Sar . žon | 9 | hbañs . la . yo . . .

[7] . . . ñahi . Li . Ho (Rho ?) : ne . | tshar : Śir : no .  
hi : Li . Ko . [ś]e . . .

- [8] . . . . Gcom.bahi : sde : ra.śāns : Gsas . . . .  
 [9] . . . . : | tshar : Byi.ro.ñi.Li : Bu.ñon . . . .  
 [10] . . . . mo.ža.ñi.Li.Gu.dag : | | . . . .  
 [11] . . . . Hgrom.pahi.sde | g-i . . . .  
 [12] . . . . drag | tshar : Ha (Rha ?).-o . . . .
- [B] [1] . . . . nad (?) || tshar . Phro.ño . . . .  
 [2] . . . . : G-yar.skyan.gi.sde . . . .  
 [3] . . . . [Li]. | Wi.[d-].[s]a || tshar : Phun.bu.do . . . .  
 [4] . . . . tshar.Pan.ro.ñahi.Li.Meg (Rmag ?).su[r] . . . .  
 [5] . . . . ri : zur . . . [srañ] dru : | Hgrom.pahi.sde : . . . .  
 [6] . . . . [tsha]r : Śo.žo.ñahi.Li.Cam.po.la : | tshar :  
     Su.dor : . . . .  
 [7] . . . . s.tshugs.pond || tshar : Has : lo.ñahi . . . .  
 [8] . . . . hdzind.byar.sar : lha.mtaho.ñi.sde . . . .  
 [9] . . . . -e.lus. | tshar.Me.žali.ñi . . . .  
 [10] . . . . -i.ñahi.Li : Ko.hag (heg ?) || tsh . . . .  
 [11] . . . . : sde.g-yer. [l]o.Khve
- [A] [2] "The Khotanī 'Um-de of *Hañ-gu-ya*.  
 [3] " . . . . In . . . . śul, the Hgrom-pa regiment.  
 [4] " . . . . the Khotanī Bu-ñon-dag of Parish . . . . n-lo-  
     ña. Of Parish De . . . .  
 [5] " . . . . the *glañ-myi* Stag-rton, sergeant. Of Parish  
     Ts . . . .  
 [6] " . . . . the Khotanī Sar-žoñ, of Parish *Bar-mo-ro*.  
     Among the subjects . . . .  
 [7] " . . . . the Khotanī Ho-ne : the Khotanī Ko-še, of  
     Parish Śir-no . . . .  
 [8] " . . . . Regiment . . . . Gcom-pa, the *ra-śāns* Gsas . . . .  
 [9] " . . . . the Khotanī Bu-ñon . . . ., of Parish Byi-ro-  
 [10] " . . . . the Khotanī Gu-dag, of . . . . mo-ža . . . .  
 [11] " . . . . Regiment Hgrom-pa . . . .  
 [12] " . . . . Parish Ha -o . . . .
- [B] [1] " . . . . Parish Phro-ño . . . .  
 [2] " . . . . Regiment G-yar-skyan . . . .  
 [3] " . . . . Wi-de-sa. Of Parish Phun-bu-do . . . .

- [4] "... the Khotanī Meg(Rmag ?)-sur, of Parish  
Pan-ro-ña . . .
- [5] "... in ri-zu . . . Regiment Hgrom-pa . .
- [6] "... the Khotanī Cam-po-la, of Parish Šo-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 Khotanī 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 *Hgrom-pa* regiment is mentioned also in p. 174 and Vol. I, p. 277. The *G-yar-skyan* regiment is very possibly, as we have suggested (in Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 1985, for the *Yar-skyen-gi-sde*), "the Yarkand regiment." Cf. p. 469.

*Glan-myi*, *tshugs-pon*, *g-yer-lo* (?), and *ra-saṅs* are military or other designations which will be considered later (pp. 426-8). For *tshugs-pon* the translation "sergeant" is merely a makeshift. The word *tshugs* occurs usually in connection with small numbers of soldiers, and often there is a *tshugs-pon* "sergeant" and his subordinate *hog-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-saṅs* (sic) will be found

*infra*, pp. 175, 196, and it recurs elsewhere (Tibetan chronicle, ll. 19 and 22, *ra-saṅ-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 Kharoṣṭhī documents). In our documents we sometimes (e.g. p. 444) find the phrase *so-rjed*, which should mean "soldier-memorandum" (cf. *rjed-tho* "note-book", *rjed-byaṅ* "invoice", *brjed-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, fol. 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).

*Verso*. [1] *gyi.rtse.na.B[o]d.gñis.Li.gñ[i]s | Stag.rtse. Khri . skugs . h̄jor . na . Bod . gsum | la | Grom . pañi*  
 [2] *sde . my[i] . Tshes . koñ | Myaṅ . roñi . sde . lo . nan .*  
*Myes . chuñ | Rtsal . mo . pag . gi . sde .* [3] *sña . śur .*  
*Stag . bzañ | | [4] Bye . ma . h̄dord . gyi . rtse . na . Bod .*  
*gñis . Li . gchig : | Yañ . rtsaṅ . gi . sde . phur . myi . Rke .*  
*tuñ | Ho . tso . pag . gi . sde . sro .* [5] *Sti (Lti ?) . kro |*  
*tshard . Jam . ṇaḥi . Li . Cehu . h̄do . | 33 | Ho . toñ . Gy[u] .*  
*mo . na . Bod . gñis . Li . gchig | Phod . kar . gyi . . .*

"In . . . *gyi-rtse* two Tibetans, two Khotanis.

"In *Khri-skugs-h̄jor* of *Stag-rtse* three Tibetans, [namely], the man *Tshes-koñ* of the *Grom-pa* regiment, the *lo-nan*



Myes-chuñ of the Myañ-ro regiment, the *sñā-śur* Stag-bzañ of the Rtsal-mo-pag regiment.

"In Bye-ma-ḥdord-gyi-rtse two Tibetans, one Khotani, [namely], *phur-myi* Rke-tuñ of the Yañ-rtsañ regiment, *sro* Sti[Lti ?]-kro of the Ho-tso-pag regiment, the Khotani Cehu-ḥdo of parish Jam-ña.

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

#### Notes

Concerning the place-names ending in *-rtse* (*Stag-rtse*, *Bye-ma-ḥdord-gyi-rtse*), and concerning Ho-toñ 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); *sñā-śur* is found in M.T. a, iii, 0070, etc.: in the Tibetan *Rgyal-rabs* (Francke, *Antiquities of Tibet*, ii, p. 82) *gñā-śur* 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.; ll. 16, fragmentary, of ordinary cursive *ābu-can* script).

[1] . . tshard . Ha (?) , ban . gyi . . . .

[2] . . sde . ra : sañs . Li (?) . . . .

[3] srañ (?) . tshar . Dro . tir : gi : Li | Phu (Ha ?) . sgra . . . .

[4] . . bu . [rtsa]ñ . gi : sde : Rlo . sag . myi | . . . .

[5] . . cum . de | ॐ | Drugu . [c]or . na . Śaṅ : sde . Ḥa . za

. . . .

[6] sdeñi . Li : Yeye : tshar : Nos . go : ñaṅi : Li . Chu (Mu ?)

. . . .

[7] . . po . tshar . Bar . mo . ro . ñaṅi : Li : Byi . de . tshard

. . . .

[8] . . Peñu . mar : na . Ḥbrom . gi : sde . Co . ze . Liha . . . .

[9] . . dir . śi (gi ?) : Li : Ku . zu . srañ . Byi . nom (chom ?) .  
ñaṅi

- [10] . . tshar : Las . ro . ñaḥi . Seṅ . ge . l . . . .  
 [11] . . r . ne : | ॐ | snañ . Gsal | legs  
 [12] . . śaḥi . . . . r . tshar : Dar (ñ ?) . ci  
 [13] . . ḥe . . . . bgyi . . n : khri . pa  
 [14] . . | tshar . Ha[s] . ro . ñaḥi | Li . Byi  
 [15] . . . . . na . . . . . gi  
 [16] . . Li . Śi . nir | tshar

[1] " Parish Ha (?) -ban . . . . .

[2] " . . . regiment, *ra-saṅs* the Khotanī . . .

[3] " . . . the Khotanī 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-za* . . . , of the Śaṅ regiment; the Khotanī Ye-ye, of the . . . regiment; . . . the Khotanī Chu (Mu ?) . . . , of parish Nos-go-ña; the Khotanī Byi-de, of Parish Bar-mo-ro-ña; . . . of parish . . . .

[8-16] " . . . In Peḥu-mar the *co-ze* Lha . . . of the Hbrom regiment; the Khotanī Ku-ḥu, of Parish Dro-tir; . . . . . of street Byi-nom(chom ?)-na . . ; the Khotanī Seṅ-ge, of Parish Las-ro-ña; the Khotanī -r-ne of . . . . . ; . . . . . snañ Gsal-legs; . . . . . of Parish Dar(Daṅ ?)-ci . . . . . ; the Khotanī Byi . . . , of Parish Has-ro-ña; the Khotanī Śi-nir, of . . . . . ; . . . . . of parish . . . . . "

### Notes

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

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

6. M. Tāgh. 0492 (paper fragment, discoloured; c. 9 × 9 cm.; parts of ll. 8 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

- [1] . . . -u . . .  
 [2] . . . [r . hi . su (bu ?) . na .] r[i] | [srañ] . . . .  
 [3] [tsh]ar . . la . ro . ña . hi . Li . Phu . de | lhag . . . .  
 [4] -hi . sde . su . tu . Lha . lod | srañ . No . ña . Li . . . .  
 [5] . . . n . | Byañ . slu(?)ñs . stod . pa . hi . hcan . . . .  
 [6] . . . [s]u . mo . no . hi . Sku (Rku ?) . . . .  
 [7] . . . s : lo . no . ña . Li . Sañ . ga . h (l ?) . . . .  
 [8] . . . te (de ?) . sa . | tshar . [Dr]jo . tir . Wi (?) . -e .

" . . . . . street . . . the Khotani Phu-de of Parish . . la-ro-ña; the *su-tu* Lha-lod of the Lhag . . . . regiment; the Khotani . . . . of street No-ña; the . . . . of the Byañ-slu(?)ñs-stod-pa [regiment]; Sku . . . . of Parish -su-mo-no; the Khotani Sañ-ga- . of -s-lo-no-ña; . . . . te-sa; Wi . . . . of Parish Dro-tir."

#### Notes

The expression *su-tu* seems not to be found elsewhere; but it might be Su(Si)-tu, "a place in Kham," named in Bstan-hgyur colophons.

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

- [1] . . . gy . st- (gyi . sde ?) . M[ya]ñ . Khu . hphan  
 [2] . . . myi . sde . Gce . hu (?) . gtshes  
 [3] . . . thu (?) . rgyal . Ta . gur (ñ ?) . na  
 [4] . . . : L[i] : Gu-dag | 8 Phag . sna  
 [5] . . . r . rvañ (dvañ ?) . sañ . | tshar . Go . sto  
 [6] . . . ra . yo . Li : Wi . ne . sa .  
 [7] . . . yo . ña . Li . Khu . le | srañ

"Myañ Khu-hphan, of the . . . . regiment; Gcehu-gtshes, of the . . . myi regiment . . . . Thu-rgyal.

"In Ta-gu . . . the Khotani Gu-dag.

"In . . . Phag-sna . . . r-rvañ-sañ; . . . . 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).

- [1] lod | tshar . Ro . . .
- [2] [tsh]aŋ (slaŋ ?) . myi . sde . . . .
- [3] na . mkhar . sa . . . .
- [4] Li . Bu (Cu ?) . de . saŋ . . . .
- [5] tshar : [Ga]s (?) | [st]o . . .
- [6] . . . -o . mo . . . . .

" . . . . lod ; . . . . parish Ro . . . ; . . . . regiment . . . tshan(slaŋ ?)-myi ; . . . . town . . . ; the Khotani " Bu (Cu ?)-de saŋ . . . ; . . . . 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).

- [1] . . d . | [tsh]ar . Zval . r[o] . . .
- [2] . . . ŋe . Li . San . ge . B-o . . .
- [3] . . . [St]ag . Hphan . [ch]uŋ . | tshar . Ba . rog . . .
- [4] . . . gyi . [sde] . glan . sum . Bu . lod | . . .
- [5] . . . ʒ | Lam . [ko . ŋa] . na . Na . . . .
- [6] . . . Li . Gu . [d]e (ce ?) . | ʒ

" . . . of Parish Zval-ro . . . ; the Khotani Saŋ-ge of . . . ŋe ; the 'Tiger' Hphan-chuŋ of . . . ; . . . parish Ba-rog . . . ; *glan-sum* Bu-lod of . . . regiment.

" In Lam-ko-ŋa 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[de-] . Pu . de | 9 |

[2] tshar . Men . ko . ña . Li . De . d[e] . tshar . 'A . ti .  
ko (?) . . . Šin . de | tshar . Bun . [b]o (?) (co ? so ?) .  
do . ña . Li .

" . . . in Parish Wam-na gde- (?) Pu-de . . . The Khotanī De-de, of Parish Men-ko-ña. The Khotanī Šin-de, of Parish 'A-ti-ko . . . The Khotanī . . . of Parish Bun-bo(?) -do-ña."

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 . ña . ro . yo . hi | Li | Hi . . .

"The Khotanī Hi . . . of Parish Han-ge-ña-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).

[1] ☞ | : | tsar . Hden : ro . ñahi . Li . Dzadz<sup>1</sup> . [dod] .  
h . . . . .

[2] . [Li . Ri . zo (gro ?) Tse . ldan | (?) . tsar . Hde . ro  
[ñahi] . . . [zar]

"The Khotanī Dzadz-dod of Parish Hden-ro-ña. The Khotanī Ri-zo Tse-ldan (?). Parish Hde[ñ?]-ro-ña."

*Dzadz*: Cf. the name *Dzātsi*, ap. Konow, *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt* (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).

<sup>1</sup> Corrected from *Dzaz* (?).

[1] ☉ | | Spre . huhi . lo . hi | dgun | sla | tha | cuñis |  
 kyi | no . [la] . . . [2] rje . dan . sa<sup>1</sup> . dpuñ | pon | blon |  
 Mtsho | bzañ | [po | hi | gsoł] . . . [3] zu . tshar | \*Zum .  
 bañi | Li | Mar | son | la | Yañ | rtsaṅ . gi | s[d]e . . .  
 [4] beu | gchig | dan | ral | g[ri] | gchig | m[jal] . te | hbru  
 . . . [5] brañ [gchig] [Śin . śan | du | hbul | [bar brgyis] | |  
 dus | der . . . [6] lprañ | yug | gchig | las | yug | gñis | su  
 sgyur | . . . [7] khon | hi | sgo | phrugs | dan | nañ . no<sup>2</sup> |  
 gchi | mchis | pa . [la]<sup>3</sup> [8] gyañ | žal | chu | ma | mchis  
 par | rgyis | khon | ta | hi | khnas . . . [9] chogs (tshegs ?) |  
 stap | ho | dpañ | du | yañ | Mañ | [k]ra<sup>4</sup> | gyi | s[d]e |  
 sbrad | . . .

"Beginning of the last winter month of the Ape year . . . petition of . . . chief and army commander Councillor Mtsho-bzañ-po . . . of the Yañ-rtsañ 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-śan . . . . . 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 the *sbrad* . . . of the Mañ-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. 3. *Yañ-rtsañ-gi-sde* : see pp. 174, 190, 468-9.

1. 6. *gchig-las-yug-gñis-su-sgyur* : cf. p. 60, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> Erroneous for *nor*.

<sup>3</sup> Crossed out.

<sup>4</sup> Compendious for *kar*.

l. 8. *zal-mchu*: "protest," or "complaint", as *supra* (p. 145).

*khnas-pa*: This is evidently a compendious writing of *kha-blans-pa* "guarantor", from *kha(s)-len* which occurred *supra* (pp. 134, 145).

l. 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).

[1] [Sp]e . hi . Li | srañ . Ma . zo . . . .  
| hi . Li . . .

"Khotanī . . . of . . . spe | Khotanī . . . of street Ma-zo."

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-roḡ (0503).

Bun-gto(bo-do?)-ña (*b*, ii, 0054).

Byi-ro-ña (*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 . -o . . . . (*a*, ii, 0096).

Han-ge-ña-ro-yo (*a*, iii, 0010).

Has-lo(go, ro)-ña (*a*, i, 0031; *b*, i, 0048; *a*, ii, 0096).

Hde-ro-ña (*c*, ii, 0018).

Hden-ro-ña (*c*, ii, 0018).

Hdi-ñe (vol. i, p. 101 and n. 5).

Hdzam-ña (*a*, iv, 0074).

Jam-ña (*b*, i, 0095).

Ka-to-zi-ña (*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-mo-ro (a, ii, 0096).  
 Wam-na (b, ii, 0054).  
 Žum-ba (0050).  
 Zval-ro (0503).  
 . . . mo-ža (a, ii, 0096).  
 . . . n-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. Tāgh, 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-ñā*, which combination may have conveyed a combined meaning. For the *no* in *Śir-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-ñā (*b*, i, 0048).

Byi-nom(chom ?)-na (*a*, i, 0031).

Ma-žo . . (*a*, vi, 0030).

No-ñā (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-śi-ko-ñā*.

### 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 *dbu-can* script):

[A] Li . Gos . de | Li . Śir . de . | | Li . Hir . bod .

[C] Lha . gañ . Tshar . ma . hjo | Lha . gañ . Tshar . ma . hjo | Lha . gañ . Hgum . tir . |

"The Khotanī Gos-de, of the Tshar-ma-hjo temple; the Khotanī Śir-de, of the Tshar-ma-hjo temple; the Khotanī Hir-bod, of the Hgum-tir temple."

Since the syllable *hjo* is often found terminating the names of Khotan shrines, the Tshar-ma-hjo is probably identical with the famous Tsar-ma foundation mentioned by Hiuan-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-hjo 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.  $12 \times 2.5$  cm.; complete; l. 1 of clear, cursive *dbu-can* script).

Lha . gañ . Gu . žau . do | Li . Sar . rñoñ |

"The Khotanī Sar-rñoñ of the Gu-žau-do temple (*Lha-khañ*)."

The temple in question is probably related to the Vihāra Hgu-gžau-ta, mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle and discussed in *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, vol. vi, p. 187, and *Asia Major*, vol. ii, pp. 264 and 266. See Vol. I, p. 122.

17. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0090 (wood; c.  $8.5 \times 2$  cm.; complete; l. 1 of small, clear, cursive *dbu-can* script).

☉ | : | Lha . gañ . Bru . ño . Li . Ku . chi . śi . |

"The Khotanī Ku-chi-śi of the Bru-ño (Phru-ño) 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.  $11.5 \times 2$  cm.; complete; ll. 2 *recto* of ordinary, cursive *dbu-can* script, l. 1 *verso* in a larger hand, more formal, a writing exercise).

[A] ☉ | : | So : ma : ña . Be . de | j[o] : gyi | Žo : da :

[B] ka kha ga | ña ca cha ja ña 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 Hiuan-Tsang, concerning which see *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 194, n. 223-5, and Vol. I, p. 118.

It seems, therefore, that the documents<sup>1</sup> name several of the most famous religious establishments in Khotan, confirming the literary records and supplying, where required, a chronological *terminus ad quem*.

<sup>1</sup> Add 18a. M.T. 6. i, 0045 (wooden slip; c.  $8 \times 2$  cm.; clear *dbu-can*).

[1] ☉ | : | Lha . gañ . Khe . gñan . tshe . | Rgya . [2] Sam . du . "Chinaman Sam-du of the Khe-gñan-tshe temple". On this (Khe-gñan-tsa) vihāra see *Asia Major*, ii, p. 266, and Vol. I, p. 127.

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. Tāgh. a, iv, 0022 (wooden stick, of irregular shape, four-sided, one side only partially flattened and retaining a portion of the bark; c.  $27 \times 2 \times 1$  cm.; ll.  $2 + 1 + 1$  of coarse *dbu-can* script, blurred and in places difficult to read; four notches and six lines on face A).

[A 1] [Ph]agi . lo . la . skun . kar . Hu . then . du | dmar .  
 arañ . [A 2] dgu . [gs]o[ḡ]a . brnañs . g[ch]o [B] pa . mehis .  
 nas . | dgra . zun . gyi . mtahams . gyi . son [C] kar : | Lhā .  
 rtsā . . . ḡgum . drug [D] lña . khram . ḡdi<sup>1</sup> . ḡdi . la .  
 mehis . pa . deñ . sañ .

"Of the men employed at nine copper *arañ* in all who came in the Hog year to the Fort of Hu-then, Lhā-rtśā . . died at the time of coming to the guard-lines: five or six are at present still in this indenture."

## Notes

1. A 2: *brnañs-gcho*; Perhaps for *°tsho* "company employed", with *tsho* as in *so-tsho* (p. 233 *infra*), *mkhar-tsho* (p. 424), etc., etc., and *brnañs* = *bsnan* in pp. 120, 123. *Gsogs* may indicate the "collective" pay.

B. *dgra-zun*: This seems to be for *dgra-son* "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 *ñag* (or *ñā-ga*)-*khram* with the sense of "notch" or "indenture".


E. *The Khotan King*

During the period when the Tibetans occupied the fort at Śin-śan the whole of the Khotan country must have been

<sup>1</sup> 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. Tāgh. 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.)

[A 1]  | nan . rje . po . Khri . bžre<sup>1</sup> . dan . Hphan . bžer . dan . Rgyal . bžre<sup>1</sup> . mched . kyi . za . sñar | *monogram* | Htran . cedpo<sup>2</sup> [A 2] <sup>3</sup> hi . mchid . gsol . bañ | nan . po . hphrul . dan . hdra . ba . mched . kyi . za . sñā . nas . thugs . bdeñ . [A 3] žes . thoste . glo . bañ . rab . tu . gdagspa . žiñ . mchis . mtshes | | Hel . ge . dan . Nag . tshur [A 4] lku<sup>4</sup> . | cig . ces . byuñ . bañ | Mdo . bžre<sup>1</sup> . rje . blas . gyis . brtsald . te . ma . mdzald | bdag . gi [A 5] myi . [lk]u . stag . sum<sup>5</sup> . la . skur . žiñ . mchis . na . [gros ?] dgroñ . bañi . thabs . ni . rgyal . ta . bras . bu [A 6] gdags . la . bsku | Nag . tshur . žugs . la . bsregs . nas . rgyal . ta . bras . bu . dan . Nag . [A 7] na . tshur . gñisu . bsgyurd . te . blkun . na . Sag . ti . hi . tshar . phin . b . . . [A 8] ha . lo . [bcas . ste] . stsald . | *blank*

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for *bier*.

<sup>2</sup> Written compendiously and somewhat doubtful, parts of the sign being due to the *verso*. A reading *du* (simply) is possible.

<sup>3</sup> There is here an apparent sign, due to the *verso*.

<sup>4</sup> *sku* (?), *lku* ?.

<sup>5</sup> *suṅ-zum-la* "with hands closed up" †



with inverted signs transparent from verso | : | Mdo .  
 lo . hi . [sl-] . . . [B 1] mkhar . gyi . [S]luñs . pon .  
 hdir . mehis . na . žal . mehu . hi . slad . na . | . . . [B 2]  
 gdañ . na . | kho . kyañ . gya . ža<sup>1</sup> . gyu . dag . bgyis . te .  
 kho . ni . hdi . nas . šul . . . [B 3] te . mehis . na . | phas .  
 kyañ . bkañ . yi . ge . hgah . yañ . ma . mehis . na . | bch<sup>2</sup> .  
 bdag . c . . . [B 4] kyañ . hdi . na . rab . tu . myi . bde . žin .  
 mehis . | . | ji . hdra . ba . tsham . bkañs . spriñ . bar . gsol  
 [B 5] spyis . ji . hdra . ba . ni . bdag<sup>3</sup> . gis . gsol . gyañ . phyi .  
 htshal . thugs . la . mñah . ba . lags . na [B 6] lku . don .  
 phran . tshogs . rnams . kyañ . [m]yur . du . bsgrubs . te | ma .  
 thogs . pa . žig . du . tshur . byon . par<sup>4</sup> [B 7] gsol . || žal .  
 b[za]ñpo . mthon . gi . bar . du . stans . dgyal . yab . sras . thugs .  
 rtag [B 8] du . hde . bar . smond . chin . mehis . | | [rgya] |  
 [rgya] | [rgya] [then in a different hand] | gden . Pho . lod .

[A 1-3] "In the presence of our brothers, Home Ministers Khri-bzer and Hphan-bzer and Rgyal-bzer: letter-petition of King Htran-ced-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 Sluns 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

<sup>1</sup> Crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> Crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> Below this between the lines (above the words *thugs*, *la* in L. 5) is written the word *dlya* inverted.

<sup>4</sup> + 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 auspicious 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 *gdags* "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 *meched* "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 *Ultran*, 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.<sup>1</sup>

Now it happens that in a Tibetan letter<sup>2</sup> from an emissary of a Khotan king the Lion (*Sen-ge*) king is named *Mun-dmag-tran*, in which phrase the syllables *Mun-dmag*, which occur elsewhere, denote some kind of troops. The last syllable is the name which appears in our document. Professor Konow

<sup>1</sup> See M. Bascot's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, x, xix (1912), pp. 1 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Publications of the Indian Institute, Oslo University, 1, 3 (1929), *Two medieval documents from Pan-huang*, 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(ā)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 *Īltran* is a good Tibetan equivalent (from *hdren* "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 *Mun-dmag-traṇ* will, as Professor Konow has suggested, be *-senā-vāhana*.

It is curious to note that in the emissary's letter *mched* 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-šan. It refers plainly to complaints of robberies committed, no doubt, by Khotanī 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. *Hel-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.

l. 4. *stag-sum* : The Tibetan authorities.

l. 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.

l. 6. *bsku* = *bskur* recurs *infra* in p. 218.51 and p. 259. A 7.

l. 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).

l. 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.

l. B 1. *Sluñs-pon* : On the *Sluñs*, 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*).

l. B 3. *phas* : = *pha-las* "from beyond"; cf. p. 98. 93B. 4.

l. B 6. *tshur* : "hither", i.e. "to me".

*phran-tshegs* : this phrase, in which *tshegs* means "difficulty", "check", and which in Ś. C. Das' Dictionary is given s.v. *phran*, recurs in Mi. iv. 133, as *phran-tsegs*.

l. 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 (*stān-dbyald*), p. 385 (*stāns-byal*) and 0436, published in *Innermost Asia*, p. 1088 (*stāns-bsal-bya*), c, ii, 0064 (*gtāns-dbyal*).

l. B 8. *gden Pho-lod* : 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).

[1] <sup>9</sup> | | rta . hi . lo . hi . dgun . blon . Klu . sgra . las .  
staogs || pa . hi . hdun . tsa . Šel . than . du . btab . pa . lan : ||

[2] la || Yañ . rtsaṅ . gi . sde . Myañ . Lha . mthoṅ . Li . rjeḥi .  
tshugs . pa . Li . Bat : nag : li<sup>1</sup> . men . l<sup>1</sup> . tri [3] yug .  
2 . gñis . sa<sup>2</sup> . lan . hdi . hi . dgun : sla . ra . ba . tshes . ŋi . su .  
gsum . la ||<sup>3</sup> skyeds [4] pu<sup>2</sup> . da . | htsha[ld] . de . skyed . 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. Myañ Lha-mthoṅ of the Yañ-rtsaṅ 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 . . ."

Yañ-rtsaṅ-gi-sde: see pp. 174, 468-9.

### Notes

1. 1. *Šel-than*: The place ("River-plain"?) is not otherwise known.

1. 2. *tshugs-pa*: See *supra*, p. 172. "Trooper" is a make-shift. On *men-tri* see Vol. I, p. 69, n. 7.

In M. Tāgh. a, iv, 00159 (paper) also we have mention of a *Li-rjeḥi-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).

[A] . . . [m] . du | Li . rjeḥi . steṅ . du

[B] . . [rt] (st ?) ogs | Li . la . rgya . hdra . . .

" . . . in . . . Up to the Khotan king . . ."

<sup>1</sup> Crossed out; read *la* in the first occurrence.

<sup>2</sup> Crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> Crossed out.

*F. Amacas,*<sup>1</sup> a "nañ-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. Tāgh. b, i, 0088 (wood; c. 8 × 1 cm.; complete l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

ཨ | 'Am . cha . Śir . de . tshan.

"The Amaca Śir-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 *ban-de* in p. 210, and it is similarly employed in the document edited in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains*, pp. 402-3.

24. M. Tāgh. 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] . bdaḍ [rdaḍ ?].

"Amaca Si-bir Tsa-bdaḍ (Ci-rdaḍ ?)."

<sup>1</sup> 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 (*Königsnamen 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*, *am-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. Tāgh. 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] 𐰽 | . | : jo . co . Stoñ . bžre<sup>1</sup> . laḥ . yul . zigs . kyī . mchid . gsol | . [A 2] ba . thugs . bde . myi . bde . añun . gsol . žin . mchis . bdag [A 3] cag : | Li . brgyags . | 'A . ma . chaḥ . la . len . du . btañ . na [B 1] ma . mchis . na . Ho . ni . nas . nas . rgyaḥ . bre . lña . skur . bar . [B 2] gsol |

[A 1-2] "To My Lord Stoñ-bžer: 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 *Rmah-rogs*, p. 258, *infra*), as in a, iii, 0070.

1. A 3. *Lī-brgyags*: "Khotan supplies" seems to be a technical term (cf. "Manchester goods") here and elsewhere (M. Tāgh. 068, a, i, 0011, p. 384). *rgya-bre*: cf. b, i, 0099.

26. M. Tāgh. 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] [ma . aprin] . | ñe . cha . [Li] . rdze . rtse . rjes . [tshe] . . . nan . gyi . thud . ma . stsald . paḥi . . [2] mchi . thob . paḥi . mar . tsh[o] . . de . mchis . śig . | Khar . tshañ . śin . mkhan . gyi . [slad] [B 1] nas . sprin . ba . yañ . sta . hon . tshol . cig . | 'A . ma . [cag] . Stag . sum . rje . la . gyes [B 2] [gsol] . mo . gchig . dañ . sta . re . gchig . gyañ . žogs . śig ll.

will be seen below (except as concerns the Turfan document, in which, we may remark, the phrase *stay-eras-dgyes-ggi-rte* is a place-name; see *infra*, pp. 229-30). That any of the persons named are royal I am far from believing.

<sup>1</sup> For *bžer*.

"... 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-tshan carpenter. For the Amaca Stag-aun-rje leave a present of a feast (*dgyes-gsol-mo* = *skyes-gsol-mo* ?) and a hatchet."

### Notes

1. 2. *Khar-tshan-sin-mkhan* might be the town of Khar-tsan or Khar-tsa-cin 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 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨ || Glu<sup>1</sup> . myi . Hpan . chuñ | [B] 'A . ma . cha . Se[n] . dohi . mtshal . mo . la [2] . . . . . h . [stsa]l |

"Glu-myi Hpan-chuñ sends . . . for a repast for the Amaca Sen-do."

### Note

1. 1. *Glu-myi* = "singer" ?

1. B. *Sen-do*: Possibly *Señ* (compendious for what ?) is written. *Mtshal-mo* = *gsol-mo* ? or *htshal-ma* ?

28. M. Tāgh. 0483 (paper fragment; c. 27 × 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.*]

<sup>2</sup> garā vī ce Ysaināguttre tīye rā stā haurāpñai.

ཨ | . | Yon (Yod ?) . 'A . ma . chas | | Sin (*sic*) . śan . gyi . rtse . r[ī]je . laḥ . gsol . baḥ |

"Petition by the Amaca Yon (Yod ?) to the chief in command of Sin-śan."

<sup>1</sup> Possibly *Gru*.

<sup>2</sup> Reading kindly corrected by Professor Sten Konow; but see p. 109.



29. M. Tāgh. a, vi, 0057 (wood; c.  $10 \times 1 \times 1$  cm.; complete; hole for string at right; notches on B; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] 'A . ma . ca . Lha . zuñ . gre | tshand . la . [B] Sna . bo . Li . 'In . dad . hbul . ba . nas .

"Barley, offering by the Khotanī 'In-dad of Sna-bo to the Amaca Lha-zuñ-gre."

### Notes

I. B. *Sna-bo*: Cf. p. 212. On *Sna-bo* as a name of the Cer-cen river see *Acta Orientalia*, xiii, p. 44.

I. 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, 206, 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 *grwa-tus* (= *pariṣad*, see *supra*, p. 134).

Of other Khotan dignitaries we do not hear. But it might be opportune to consider the Tibetan *nan-rje-pos*, *jo-cos*, *tan-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 *dmag-pon*,

or General, in the city of Khotan and of the conduct of one *nañ-rje-po*.

30. M. Tāgh. 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*).

[A 1] Hbyuñ | <sup>1</sup> ཨ | : | H[phan] | gz[il]gs . la | |  
Hphan : rya : dañ : Ña : b[rt]s[an] . [gyi] . gso[l] : bañ | sñuñ  
[2] ba : slar : hbre[dañ] . mi . hbred : sñ[u]n : gs[o]l | ñiñ .  
m[chi]s || de . ltar : so : la : bthus . [pa . hi] . tshe<sup>2</sup> . yañ : bdag :  
chag . [3] kyañ : so : la : bthus : pa . yañ : bdag : chag : [su]g :  
las : gyis : bka[al] . nas | so : ka : ma . [h]dzin : t[e] || mo : [rg]lañ  
[4] [g-oh] . na : bu . [mchi]s . pañi : tsh[e] | bdag : chag : gis :  
chi : pyin du : htshal : ñiñ : m[chi]s : | gyis : thugs : m[yi]i :  
chad . du . gso<sup>2</sup> [5] do . [chi]g . na . . mo . . sña . tsham : ni : ]  
pyuñ : ñiñ . mchis || hdi : na . yañ | ra . sañ . rje : dañ : pur  
ba : lastsogs . pa . [yañ] [6] . . : ma ñ . pos . . . . nas |  
sman . [b]u . aman : hgañ : yañ : ma : skur : ñiñ : [m]chisna :  
de[ : las : thugs] myi [7] chad : par . gsol | sñun . yañ .  
myur du : gdañs : par : gsol |

[Inverted] ཨ | | Hphan . gzi[gs] | la | | Hphan : rgya[hi] .  
gsol : bañ ||

[B] [1] Hphan . zigs | la || Hphan : la : rya : dañ . | Ña :  
brtsan : gyis : spriñ

[2] [Inverted, in a different hand] . . . [ra . sañ . lastsogs] .  
bañi . [sp]u : [tu]s . dañ . | | dmag . pon . kyi : gdan . cha .  
Hu . ten . du . bab . pañi . thañ . yigi . dpyeñ . gsar |

"Be it so!" (or "May come", an endorsement).

[1-2] "To Hphan-gzigs: petition of Hphan-rya and Ña-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 (?)

<sup>1</sup> An endorsement in a different hand below the line.

<sup>2</sup> 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-saṅ* and the *pur-ba*s 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 *Hphan-gzigs*: petition of *Hphan-rgya*."

[B 1] "To *Hphan-gzigs*: sent by *Hphan-la-rya* and *Ṣa-brtsan*."

[B 2—a different hand] "Recommendation submission from the *ra-saṅ* and others and authorization by the General's *dicān* established in *Hu-ten*—a new copy."

#### Notes

- l. 1. *hbyuṅ*: This is, no doubt, the General's endorsement.
- l. 2. *hbreḍ*: Cf. pp. 33: 20. A 1, 56.1, 397. A 2.  
*so-la-bṭus*: "Be called up for military service."  
 The phrase is found also in p. 454: 52. A 1.
- l. 3. *bskal-nas*: Translation doubtful; but cf. *so-skal-bab*, p. 260. B 4.  
*so-ka-ma-ḥdzin*: = *\*kha-ma\**: cf. *so-khaḥ-zuṅ*, p. 238.
- l. 4. *chi-pyin-du-ḥtshal* . . . *gyis*: For *mchi-phyin* † or *ci* interrogative?  
*thugs-myi-chad-par-gsol*: The phrase recurs in M. Tagh. a, iv, 00123.
- l. 5. *ra-saṅ*: 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-zus*: 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, cursive *dbu-can*, a different hand from *recto*).

[A 1] ॐ || Naṅ . rje : po . Btshan . to . re : ma : rgyon :





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] *mā-rgyon-smyon-ba*: By "mother" is perhaps meant "[other people's] wives"; similarly as concerns "sisters", *ši-l̥byis-paḥ*: The expression "as to death, a child" may denote irresponsible killing. Or is it "a child of death"?

*mdaḥ-tshags-pa*: *mdaḥ-l̥pags* means "gourd" and *tshags* = "sieve"; perhaps this is a "portmanteau" expression.

*rtol-po-che-chuñ*: 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-Tūgh. It is perhaps, therefore, a corruption of some native name, and we may ask whether it is possibly the *Šen-za* of the *Gośrṅga-vyākaraṇa*, 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. *Senā*)-*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; H. 1 + 2 + 1 + 2 of poor cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] 𑖦 | : | khram . ḥdi . la . meis . pa . dañ . mar

[B 1] . -i . -[ph]o . ḥi . [no] | Śi[n̄ . śa]n . gyi . [ . ]

[B 2] [n]as . | khal . ŋis . b[rgy]aḥ . | [bre . bzi] . . .

[C] Li . Bu (Gu ?) . ḥdug . la | gtad . de | Śi[n]

[D 1] śan . du . ḥtsal . bar . bgyis . nas

[D 2] kham . [sladu] . yañ . Bu . ḥdug . s[ts]ald |

"The indent has come here, and at the beginning of . . . the barley of . . . Śin-śan, two hundred loads and four[teen ?] *bre*, consigned to the Khotanī Bu-ḥdug, has been caused to be sent to Śin-śan; apricots also were afterwards sent to Bu-ḥdug."

#### Notes

1. A 1. *khram*: See *supra*, p. 184.

1. A 2. *kham*-[*sladu*] might be erroneous for *khram-bu*.

33. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0040 (wood; 23 × 2.5 cm.; complete; hole with string at left; ll. 2 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing, rather faint).

[1] \* | | Ḥu . ten . gyi . rtsis . sa . nas . | | Śin . śan . gyi . mñan . la . s[pr]lñs . pa [2] ŋin . žag . gehig . la . lha . tahod . du . btañste | ḥphrin . byañ . ḥdi . riñs . la . ko . ches . pa (?) [B 1] dam . du . zuñ . la | ḥphrin . byañ . dusu . ma . phyind . tam . khyams . par . gyurd . naḥ [B 2] g[ī]s . noñs . pa . | chad . pas . khriñs . bzin . du . gcad . do | | Ḥu . ten . nas . tses .

"From the place of the census of Ḥu-ten: Message to the authorities of Śin-śan 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 Ḥu-ten, date. . . ."

#### Notes

1. 1. *rtsis-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 *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa* 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 *ñin-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-tu* "on a fixed day" in pp. 19, 79, and *ñin-dam-du* is found in M. Tāgh. c, iii, 0034 below (p. 202).

34. M. Tāgh. 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] ཨ | . | Li : Hdzas : dan . | Śir . hde . gñis : | | Hu . then . du : bdagi . dgun [2] cha . len . du . btañ . ba . las | | gchig . ni . alar . mchis : | [B 1] gchig . ni . ma . mchis | | dehi . tsal . ma . ni | [par] . śa . ris . ma [B 2] lastsogspa . śha . mas . [htshald] |

[1] "Two Khotanis, Hdzas and Śir-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-śa-ris-ma*, etcetera, were sent before."

#### Note

With the name *Hdzas*, cf. the Dzadz of p. 178.

The expression *par-śa-ris-ma* is of unknown meaning; it recurs twice, in the form *par-śa-re-śi-ma*, in another wooden document (M. Tāgh. a, vi, 0056).

35. M. Tāgh. 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] Spe . stañ . dañ | | Mdo . brtsan . bsaṃ . bor . gyis | |  
 Śin . śan [2] hphar . du . | yos . bu : lohi . dbyar . sla : tha :  
 chuñs | takes : ñi . śu . gñis [3] Hu : then . nas . sprin . ste |  
 so . hphar . hdi . rins . kyis : | ñin | [B 1] dam : du . zuñ . la : |  
 dpañ . žag : du | tshug[s] . śig : | phyis . sam : phar . khyam[s]  
 [B 2] śin<sup>1</sup> | phar . ma . skye[l] . bskyal | chad . pa (pha ?) .  
 cher (chad ?) . gcado (gcod) : | |

[1-3] "By Spe-stañ 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 Śin-śan. [3] This soldier-missive is to be taken immediately on the fixed day, and delivered on a witnessed (*dpañ* ?) date. [3-B 2] In case of lateness or wandering astray and not providing convoy for the missive severe punishment is to be imposed."

### Notes

1. A 1. *Śin-śan-hphar-du* : This might perhaps be rendered "to beyond Śin-śan". *Bsaṃ-bor* : see Ś. C. Das, s.v. *hbor*.

1. A 3. *so-hphar* : The phrase recurs M.T. b, ii, 0052: "a soldier pass" : see p. 429.

*ñin-dam-du-zuñ-la* : See *supra*, p. 201.

1. B 2. *skye-l-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 ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 on side + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, *verso* rather faint).

[1] \* | | Ho . toñ . Gyu . mo . yan . chad . gi . stag . so .  
 pa . bžugs . pa . la | | Gliñ . rins . gi . so . pañi [2] mchid .  
 gsol . pañ . bdag . cag . tshugs . pon . dañ . hog . pon . gñis .  
 kañ . ri . zug . pas ([B] nañ . rje . [po] . hl[o]n . Stañ . legs .  
 gi . ža . śnar . gs[o]l . bañ [s-r . gs-l . -sh ?] [C 1] htahal . brgyags .  
 bar . chad . du . gyur . žin . mchis . na . śnar . gtañ . par . thugs .

<sup>1</sup> ste ? dañ ?

rje . jir [C 2] gzigs . Dru . gu . cor . tu . manchis . na . byañ .  
bu . hdi . Śiñ . śan . du . gtañ . par . gsol | |

[1] "To the tiger soldiers stationed as far on as Ho-ton Gyu-mo, letter petition of the Glin-rins soldiers. We, a *tshugs-pon* (sergeant) and a *hog-pon* (corporal), both having mountain sickness (*ri-zug-pa*)<sup>1</sup> (petition in the presence of the Home-Minister Councillor Stañ-legs),<sup>2</sup> 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 Śiñ-śan."

### Notes

The missive duly reached Śiñ-śan, where it was unearthed by Sir Aurel Stein.

Concerning Ho-ton Gyu-mo and Glin-rins see below (pp. 212 seq., 254-6). It will be observed that the former was clearly on the route from Glin-rins, which was in Tibet, to Śiñ-śan, 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. *byañ-bu* "little tablet" evidently denotes the wooden tablet itself; cf. *phrin-byañ*, *so-byañ* "soldier-tablet" (M.I. xiv, 0019, 126), pp. 58, 158, 206, 252, 433: 6. We have also *so-ris(res)-byañ* "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.; l. 1 on each face, ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] 𑖦 | Par . ban : man : chad : dañ | Drugu : h̥jor :  
man : chad : gyi : so : pa [B] la : sprin : ño : h̥par : ma : h̥di :  
ma : kyams : par : Śiñ | śan : du : thugs<sup>2</sup> [C] bag : du : le : lo :

<sup>1</sup> This line B seems to be part of a previously inscribed letter, which was erased or cut away when the present missive was inscribed.

<sup>2</sup> \* below line.

tsa (myi ?) : kyī : bar : toñ : śig : ūin : tshod : mtshan : tshod  
 [D] dam : du : zuñ : śig : su : le : lo : bkyid : pa : chadu : chod :  
 par : gcado.

[A-B] "Sent to the soldiers onwards from Par-ban and onwards from Dru-gu *h̄jor*. [B-C] Dispatch this missive, without straying, to Śin-śan, 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-h̄jor*: See *supra*, p. 203.

B. *h̄par-ma*: See *supra*, p. 148 and Index.

D. *dam-du-zuñ*, *ūin-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).

[A 1] ༄ | : | bdag . nand . pha | Rdze | sa (mi ?) | | Śin .  
 śan . man . cad . kyī . | so , h̄dzu [A 2] ūul : | : | h̄tsal . ba .  
 [cī] . [ste] . žig<sup>1</sup> | | Žugs . nam . gyi . lton . na[s] [B 1] rg[y]un .  
 riñs . su . mcis . phas | | rad . gos . kyañ . myi . h̄byord . jiñ  
 [B 2] mcis . [nam] . žig | | dguñ . sla . gñ[s] . śin . lan .  
 gohig[s] . | sug [B 3] las | gyi . gñ[erd] . h̄g[ums] . śin . |  
 h̄kor . la . mehi . [ba : tsa]m.

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).

[A 1] ༄ | : | stsald . h̄tsal . gyihi | h̄tsal . ma . yen .  
 [c̄h]uñ . bam (bar ?) . du . sbyor . la | bdagi : h̄tsla<sup>1</sup> [B] h̄phrin .  
 byañ . h̄di . . Cañ . lañ . tse . yan . cad . kyī . so . pas<sup>2</sup> . riñs .  
 par . Śin . śan |

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for *h̄tsal*.

<sup>2</sup> 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-hdzu*) of (the country) down to Šin-šan, have come in a long course (*rgyun*) 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 (*ban* ?) with the rations which should have been sent. This message tablet [should be forwarded] quickly by the soldiers as far up as Can-lan-tse to Šin-šan."

### Notes

005, A 2. *Žugs-nam-gyi-tōns*: 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 *n* and *d* (𐰽 and 𐰾). 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 Tshal-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. *ñul*: 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 *ñin-šin* "in the day-time". Cf. vol. i, p. 22, n. 5.



B 3. *gñer-hkums*: See *supra*, p. 42 and Index.

*hkor*: = *hkhor*.

007. A. *h̄tsal*: If correctly read, this seems to be an equivalent of *h̄tsal*, as not infrequently.

B. *h̄phrin-byañ*: "Message-tablet"; see *supra*, p. 58.

*Can-lan-tse*: A place; see *infra*, p. 219. Clearly it must have been on the way to Śin-śan.

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] 𑖦 | : | blon . Mtsho . bzañ . gis | | Rid . Khrom .

[2] rma . la . sprin . ño . || [B 1] lañ . sprin . na . ma . mjal .  
pa . lta . žig . ste . slar . yañ . ma mchil[s] : | da : Śin . śan  
[B 2] h̄tsal . kyis . h̄phrin . byañ . gis . mj[ə]ld . ma . thag .

[1] "By Councillor Mtsho-bzañ sent to Rid Khrom-rma  
[B 1] If an answer (*lañ* = *lan* ?) has been sent, it has not arrived, it seems: later also it has not come. [B 1-2] So report to Śin-śan immediately upon the receipt of [this] missive."

#### Note

1. B 2. *h̄phrin-byañ*: See *supra*.

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).

[1] 𑖦 | Śin . śan . mkhar . bu . [so]jhi [2] las | skos | kyi .  
byañ . bu .

"Ticket of work-levy of soldier in the lesser fort (town) of Śin-śan."

#### Note

1. 1. *mkhar-bu*: The "lesser fort" or town at Śin-śan 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] ༩ | : | nañ . rje . po . Śiñ . śan . gyi . rtse . . . . . sñan .  
 Khri . ma . lod . | gduñ . rus . grag . . btsoñ (n ?) . . .  
 [2] ra . myi . ra . | žon . na . rta . chig . ri . b[ahi] . . . . s . pa .  
 a | | Klu . gzigs . kyi . m[chi]d . gs[o]l . [3] bah | | Nañ .  
 rje . po . hphrul . dañ . m[tsh]uñs . pas . | thugs . dpag .  
 mdzad . de . g . yra<sup>1</sup> . zigs . [4] . . . stsald . pa . sug . par . mehis .  
 te . [gtañ] . rag . htsal . || nañ . . . -o . . [5] . . . śan . gyi .  
 stsan . ś[u]gs . nod . pañi . [tshe] . . . -o . . . l . hg . . .  
 [6] . . b . tu . gohags . | | bdag . [ña]n . pa . [rño] . thog . na .  
 spyān . zigs . . . [7] . . . hi . rigs . na . | kho . ru . chu  
 . . . . [8] . . . phyed . bskur . ži . . .

[1-3] "To the [wife of the] Home Minister, the chief [in command] of Śiñ-śan, [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, *sugs*?) of the (Śiñ .) śan 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. L. *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 Śiñ-śan *rtse-rje* "chief in command" and *nañ-rje-po* "Home Minister".

1. 2. . . . *ra-myi-ra*: "In . . . place or men's place."

1. 6. *spyān-zigs*: "A present," as on p. 224, etc., *infra*. The present is, no doubt, the customary *upāyana*.

43. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0097 (paper, fol. no. 36; c. 20.5 × 5 cm.;

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for *g-yar*.

fragmentary at right; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] 𐰽 | : | rtaḥi . loḥi | dbyar . sla . ḥbrin . poḥi . no . la ||  
 Śin . śan . gyi . mkhar . pa . dañ . | . . . [2] res . gyi .  
 ḥtshal . ma || stsañ . nas . khal | brgya . bži . bcu . stsal | |  
 Śin . śan . . . [3] mhan . | dbrad . Chas . slebs | la | stsañ .  
 ḥdren | Ḥa . ʒa . G-yu . brtsan . gyis | | ḥphu[ī] . . .

"In the middle Summer month of the Horse year. Rations of the men in the fort and *soldier relays* (*so-res* ?) of Śin-śan. Barley grain, one hundred and forty loads, has been sent. To *dbrad* Chas-slebs, grain-official of Śin-śan, offered by the Ḥa-ʒa 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. *mhan*: See *supra*, p. 19.79.

*dbrad*: See *supra*, p. 180.

44. M. Tāgh. 0501 (paper fragment, irregular; c. 11 × 6 cm.; ll. 6 of rather neat, cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] . . . rta(?) . ḥi . lo . stoñ . | Śin . śan . gyi . mkhar . snon .  
 du . . . [2] . . . ḥ[ī] . śu . la . Ś[ī]ñ . śan . du . lta[ñ] . sags  
 G-yu . brtsan . m . . . [3] . . . brgyad . thañ .  
 du . stsol . l[o] . ches . byuñ . nas . | s-o[n] . . . [4] . . .  
 pa . dañ . slar . Ḥu . ten . du . mchi . ba . śul . ʒag . . . . .  
 [5] . . . -[so]gs . G-yu . brtsan . dañ . rtse . rje . lañ . sa . d-o  
 . . . . [6] . . . d . n[ī] . cha(n t) . ma . chad[u] . p . . .

[1] " . . . autumn of the Horse year(?). On the 20 . . .  
 . . . to man the town of Śin-śan . . . [3] . . . send to  
 Śin-śan the bale-man (*ltañ-sags* ?) G-yu-brtsan . . . at the  
 rate of eight"—with reference to this (order) . . .  
 [4] . . . and coming back to Ḥu-ten, days on the road . . .  
 [bale]-man G-yu-brtsan and the Chief in command . . .  
 [6] . . . not to punish . . . "

## Notes

1. 2. *Itaṅ-sags*: Apparently equivalent to *Itaṅ-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". *Ltaṅ-sogs* = "bale-man".

1. 3. *ches-byuñ-nas*: On this phrase see pp. 29 and 123. Cf. *ces-byuñ-baḥ*, p. 185, A 4.

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] | Śiñ. śan. gyi. Li. mñan. Li. Bu. god. gi [2] mchid. gsol. baḥ || ban. de. tshan. gi. Sañ. skyeld. paḥi. rnam. . . . nas. ni. tshan. bar. mños. gi. śul. du. [3] poñ. bu. chad. paḥi. rnams. kyañ. Sañ. nas. las || stsalḍ | Li. . . gyurd. na. yañ. gži. la. yañ. bžag. nas. Sañ. nas. [4] poñ. khal. gñis. las. gsum. tu. bsgyur. de. Śiñ. śan. gžir. mchis. . . . n. śan. nas. ma. gcal. paḥi. sñun. legsu. [5] śiñ. sug. mjalḍ. te | de. nas. bdag. la. phul<sup>1</sup>. baḥ. dañ. chad. du. gyurd. te. de. nas. ni. bdag. cag. la. | bre. gaḥ. mtho. [6] žes. mchi. ste. bdag. nand. pa. la. mchid. phyar. gtoñ. žiñ. mchis. na. ḥdi. tsam. ži[g]. brañ. ḥba. nas. mños. nas | ya. yar. [7] khyim. khyim. tu. mehir. myi. gñañ. ḥbar<sup>2</sup>. thal. byuñ. du. Śiñ. śan. du<sup>2</sup>. droñs. sig. par. bkaḥ. nan. bla. nas. mñzad. par<sup>3</sup>. thugs. rje. chen. po. žigs ||

[1-3] "To the Khotanī authorities of Śiñ-śan: letter-petition of Khotanī Bu-god. Having received in full the barley *paid* (?) for the conducting of the *ban-de* to Sañ, on the way I sent the asses levied (or exacted) with the help of the Sañ barley. [3-4] Having reached Khotan, I halted also on the estate and the Sañ barley became three ass-loads in place of two. [4-5] When I came to the Śiñ-śan estate, at first the [Śiñ-śan] 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

<sup>1</sup> *Phul* repeated and the second crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic* for *bar*.

<sup>3</sup> 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 Sañ, which was outside Khotan territory and was possibly the Šaṇ or Mo-šaṇ 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-mñan* and *Lí*.

1. 2, *bañ-de-tshan*: On the honorific term *tshan* see *supra*, p. 191.

1. 3, *bzag*: From *hjoḡ*. The word seems to occur elsewhere with the sense of "putting up", "staying": see Index.

1. 4, *geal*: No doubt = *beal*, from *hjal* "pay".

1. 5, *bre-gaḥ-mtho*: "a *bre*, how many spans?"

1. 6, *mchid-phyar-gton*: See Ś. C. Das's dictionary, under *hphyar-kha*.

1. 8, *thal-byun*: "Come straight on without stopping"; see Ś. C. Das, under *thal*.

45a. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0035 (wood, c. 12.5 × 2 cm., nearly complete; hole (broken) for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, partly obscured by dirt).

[A 1] ཨ : | Rlañ . gi . sde . Pu : bag. Nññ . k[uh]

[A 2] | Šin . san . kyi . [g??] || kog . la

[B] [r]i : [z]ug. ||

"Pu-bag Šin-kuñ of the Rlañ regiment, in the . . . of Šin-šan: [B] mountain-sick."

### Note

On the Rlañ 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).

[A 1] . . . gis | Šin . šan . gyi [A 2] | rtse . rje .  
dañ . mñan . la . sprino |

[B 1] . . . [g] . tshagi . thañ . du . gslo . ba . thañ . yig . la .  
yañ. [Between B 1 and B 2] . . . n.chad.de. [B 2] . . .  
la.gsol.bar.chad.kyis || skyema

"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] ☉ | : | rtahī . dpyid . sla . tha . chuñs . la | Šin . ši(a)n .  
chah . rgyud . gyi | snas | Stag . Rtsañ . 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).

[A] ☉ | : | ban . deh . Sna . bo | Li . Bu . hñog . dag . la .  
| gthad . de. [B 1] Šin . šan . du . ḥs[ts]-l . baḥ . | nas.  
[B 2] khram . maḥ

"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 *Šin-šan* 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 (*mkhar-bu*). It had a *rtse-rje* "head official", who was a *nan-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-TOŃ GYU-MO

For already cited references to a place named *Ho-toŃ Gyu-mo*, with variants *'O-toŃ Sgo-mo* and *Ho-toŃ 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 *Šin-šan*, 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 *Tsü-mo* or *Chü-mo* (*Serindia*, p. 297), and (2) the old kingdom of *Yü-mi* or *Chü-mi* (the *Niā-mo*, *Han-mo*, *Kyu-mo* of the Former Han Annals), located by the Chinese between the Keriya and Chīra 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 Mirān (Little Nob) to Khotan crossed the river.

No. 3 is markedly favoured by two references in the documents. In document 36 (pp. 202-3) *Hō-toñ* Gyu-mo is evidently regarded as the far-limit (*yan-chad*) of the *Dru-gu cor* from a place in N.E. Tibet in the direction of Khotan. In no. 37 (pp. 203-4) the *Dru-gu h̄jor* 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 *Dru-gu h̄jor* was otherwise arranged. This shows that *Hō-toñ* Gyu-mo functions as a frontier post between the two administrations, that of the *Dru-gu cor*, corresponding, as will appear, to the old Shan-shan kingdom, and that of Khotan, with headquarters in *Šin-šan*. 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 Kharoṣṭhī records, was the mining town in the mountains south of the Niya-Cañjota 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 *Hō-toñ* Gyu-mo and via *Par-ban*. The other references to *Hō-toñ* Gyu-mo, though lacking decisive geographical implications, contain nothing adverse to the proposed identification.

The prefix *Hō-toñ*, sometimes omitted, resembles that in *Odon-Kaskar*, which in the Tibetan *Rgyal-rabs* (see Franke, *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), *Hō-toñ* 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-Khotanua* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents and the *Tshal-byi-Car-chen*, *Tshal-byi-Nob-chuñu*, and *Kva-cu-Khar-tsan*, recorded in the Tibetan (*supra*, pp. 51, 121).

45c. M. Tāgh. 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] . . . r dron . myi . Lha . goñ . Nad . gos . Btsan . legs |  
Dgra . byuñ . . . [2] . . . na . Yul . hphan . Tses . mthoñ .  
Phug . Hdros . legs | . . . [3] . . . s . Brtsan . zigs | Hphrul .  
gyi . rtse . na . Kol . kol . Ña . rtsan . . . [4] . . . Ryuñ .  
g[o]ñ . Rye (Nye ?) . skor . | 'An . tse . na . Rhul . po . Khu .  
goñ . Rgyal . slebs . . . [5] . . . d . na . G[s]as . zigs . Zla . rma .  
byeñu : Hbu . śaṅ . na . G-yu . l . . . [6] . . . ñ . Lad .  
rtsu | Stag . sras . na . Tses . zigs . Lha . mñen . Ja . l . . .  
[7] . . . dus . na . Rmañ . [s]lebs . Žaṅ . rmun . yul . tsan |  
Hjag . ma . gu[r] . . . [8] . . . san . Dgra . mthoñ . Skyin .  
tsud | Stag . sgugs . na . Liñ . . . [9] . . . phan . | Mdoñ .  
rtse . na . Phaṅs . legs . Lha . brtsan . | Jañ . lañ . . . [10]  
 . . . legs | Ho . toñ . Gyu . mo . na . Byi . bu . Hul . tse |  
Tse . u . cag . na . . . [11] . . . s . gyi . rtse . na . Myes .  
mtoñ | Bye . ri . snañ . dañ . rtse . na . Legs . gsas .

" . . . Dron-myi Lha-goñ, sick-clothes(-man) Btsan-legs.

" In Dgra-byuñ . . . Yul-hphan, Tses-mthoñ, Phug-Dros-legs . . . Brtsan-zigs.

" In Hphrul-gyi-rtse Kol-kol, Ña-rtsan . . . Ryuñ-goñ, Rye-skor.

" In 'An-tse Rhul-po Khu-goñ, Rgyal-slebs . . .

" In . . . d Gsas-zigs, Zla-rma-byeñu.

" In Hbu-śaṅ G-yu-l . . . ñ, Lad-rtsu.

" In Stag-sras Tses-zigs, Lha-mñen, Ja-l . . .

" In Stag-hdus Rmañ-slebs, Žaṅ-rmun, Yul-tsan.

" In Hjag-ma-gu . . . san, Dgra-mthoñ, Skyin-tsud.

" In Stag-sgugs Liñ . . . [h]phan.

" In Mdoñ-rtse Phañs-legs, Lha-brtsean.

" In Jan-lañ-rtse . . . legs.

" In Ho-toñ Gyu-mo Byi-bu, Hul-tse.

" In Tse-u-cag . . .

" In . . . -s-gyi-rtse Myes-mton.

" In Bye-ri-snañ-dañ-rtse Legs-gsas."

### Notes

Concerning the places with names ending in *rtse*, viz. 'An-tse, Bye-ri-snañ-dañ-rtse, Jan-lañ-rtse, Mdoñ-rtse, Hphrul-gyi-rtse, Stag-hdus-kyi-rtse, Stag-agugs-kyi-rtse, Stag-sras-kyi-rtse, see below (pp. 217 sqq.), where several of them recur. Concerning Dgra-byuñ(-gi-rtse ?), Hbu-śañ, Hjaḡ-ma-gu, Tse-u-cag, 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-tsud* (l. 8) might likewise be a title. In l. 6 the expression *rhul-po* has been taken as a prefix (class or clan name) on the ground of its form (cf. *Khyuñ-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).

[1] | Ho . toñ . Gyu . mo . na | Bod . gñis . Li . gñis . la |  
mñald . pañi . khri . thag . bar . [Rtsjes . byin] . . . [2] Li  
. . . s : rtse . na | Skyi . stod . gyi . sde . dñul . Klu . bzañ . hog .  
phon . . .

" In Ho-toñ Gyu-mo two Tibetans, two Khotanīs, sick-bedstead *thag-bar* Rtses-byin.

" In . . . s-rtse, the *dñul* Klu-bzañ of the Upper Skyi regiment, the corporal . . ."

## Notes

1. 1. *māld* . . . : This phrase perhaps refers to conveyance of the sick. But we hear elsewhere of a *māul-pahi-sde* and *māul-hphan-gyi-sde* (pp. 247, 464), the medical contingent.

1. 2. *dnul*: Apparently not found elsewhere as a personal designation. Since *dnul* = "money", it might mean "cashier".

*Skyi-stod-kyi-sde*: See p. 468.

47. M. Tāgh. c, i, 0053 (wood; c. 15.5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ༩ | | Ho . ton . Gyu . mo . hi . rgyags) ||

[B 1] Ha . zar . gy[i] . dmag . la . ri . zugi . brgyags . hbag

[B 2] gu . yañ . med . tho

"Supplies for Ho-ton Gyu-mo. For the army in the Ha-za [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 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary, rather clumsy, cursive *dbu-can* script).

༩ | | Ho . ton . Gyu . mor . mchi |

"Going to Ho-ton Gyu-mo."

49. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0066 (wood; c. 17 × 1 cm.; fragmentary, the top part lost; l. 1 *recto* + the top of l. 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] . . . : htshal . brgyags . dag . ma . thond . pas | rab .  
htu : t[o] | | dah . cuñ . yañ . Ho . ton . Sgo . [ts]al[d].<sup>1</sup>

[B] *Illegible*.

"Food supplies not having been issued, very . . . . Now some little sent to Ho-ton Sgo[-mo]."

<sup>1</sup> Added below middle of line.

For a mention of a *Gyu-mo* without qualification see below, pp. 235, 249.

49a. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0051 (wood, c. 10.5 × 1.5-2 cm., cut to a point at l., cut away at top; hole for string at r.; traces of ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . Ho-toh *Gyu-mo* : na . . . ri zug[i 3]

[A 2] . . . [rgy]a-gs |

[B 1] . . . [r yuñ.-o.-h l . . . h . . . te] . . . [B 2] . . . g . . . [h y s ?]

"In Ho-toh *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. *Klu-rtse*, *Snah-rtse*, *Gyūn-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 *Pehū-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 (I feast ?)-peak", *Hphrul-gyi-me-loñ-kun-snah-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).

☞ | | Bye . ma . h̄dor . gyi . rtse

(Quite similar are the likewise complete documents *a*, ii, 0073(0 !); *a*, iv, 006 (notches, etc.); *c*, ii, 0051 (notches, etc.).)

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] ☞ | | Bye . ma . h̄dor . gyi . rtse | lo . nañ . Mon .

[B] baku . bar . toñ . śig .

"Bye-ma-*h*dor-gyi-rtse. Allow the *lo-nañ* Men to be sent."

*Note*

A. *lo-nañ*: See p. 174 (*lo-nan*). *Bsku*, pp. 185. A 6, 259. A 7.

(c) *Bye-ri-snañ-dañ-rtse*.

Mentioned in M.T. 0050 (p. 215 *supra*) and ii, 006.

(d) *Can-lañ-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).

☞ | : | Cañ . lañ . tshe |

Possibly the *Jañ-lañ-rtse* mentioned *supra* (p. 215) is only a variant of this name.

(e) *Dbyild-cuñ-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).

[A 1] ☞ | | mnañ . ris . na . [A 2] Dbyild . cuñ . tseñ  
[B] bgyags.

"Supplies for Dbyild-cuñ-tse 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).

[A 1] . . . [g]sol . na : su . la . gsol . . . [A 2] . . . ñand .  
mamehis . te | | rad . pa . dbyar . ch . . . [A 3] . . . Dbyild .  
cuñ . rtse . khrom . du . | su . . . [B 1] . . . | ñtshal . ba .  
las | | bda . . . [B 2] . . . | so . glas . tsald . cig .  
[B 3] [sññ . rje] . po . chir . mdzad | |

. . . "Travelling party . . . to Dbyild-cuñ-rtse mart. . ."  
Send soldier's wages."

It seems therefore that Dbyild-cuñ-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-loñ-rtse* (*infra*).

(g) *Hphrul-gyi-me-loñ-kun-snañ-rtse* ("Magic-mirror-all-appearing-peak").

55. M. Tāgh. i, 0020 (wooden tally; c. 9.5 × 2 cm.; complete (†); hole for string at left; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༩ | . | Hprul . gi . mye . loñ . | [A 2] kun . snañ .  
rtse | [B 1] Glu . gañ . gis . phye . khal [B 2] gcig . dañ . bre .  
bzi . nos | phyi . na . bre . phyed.

"Hphrul-gyi-me-loñ-kun-snañ-rtse: received by Glu-gañ flour, one load (*khal* = *vāha*), 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; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༩ : | Hprul . gyi . mye . loñ . du . mehi . ba . hdi .  
riñs [A 2] s . par . thoñ . sig . | riñs . ri . skyel . hdi . rñams .  
sña [B 1] byi | ma . nor . par . thoñ . sig | sna . rnam . ma .  
rjogs . sla . [B 2] gdod . gzan . thoñ . sig . |

"Going to Hphrul-gyi-me-loñ: send on quickly. These rapid mountain couriers are to be sent on early or late (*sna-phys*) 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

A 2. *ri-skyel*: "Mountain convoy" (see p. 83 *supra*).

B 1. *ma-rjogs-sla*: = *ma-rdzogs-la*?

*sna-rnam*: For this use of *rnam* see p. 79.

(h) *Jah-lañ-rtse*.

See above, under *Cuñ-lañ-rtse*.

(i) *Mdon-rtse*.

See M.T. 0050 (p. 215 *supra*).

(j) *Me-lon-rtse* ("Mirror Peak").

Possibly the same as *Hphrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snañ-rtse* (g, *supra*).

57. M. Tāgh. c, i, 0015 (wood; c. 10.5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left broken away; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] མེ་ལོན་ཤེ་གཡི་འབྲུག་པ་ [2] [shah]

"For Me-lon-rtse, supplies: secret (or remainder, *hbañ*, or some ?)."

(k) *Mñah-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 × 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*).

[A] མྱའུ་རིས་བྱིན་གཡི་རེ་ [B] ལ་འབྲུག་པ་ རྩི་རུ་སྐྱོ་འབྲུག་པ་

"Mñah-ris-byin-gyi-rtse: four *bre* of barley counted, received."

(l) *Mñah-ris-rtse* ("Frontier Peak").

See M.T. 0050 (p. 215 *supra*, [*mñah-ris*]).

(m) *Mon-rtse* ("Mon Peak").

59. M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0058 (wood; c. 10 × 2 cm.; complete; irregular at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] མོན་ཤེ་གཡི་འབྲུག་པ་ [2] so

"For Mon-rtse, supplies."

(n) *Pehū-rtse* ("Pehū Peak", cf. *Pehū-mar* "Lower Pehū").

60. M. Tāgh. 0615 (wood; c. 23.5 × 2 cm.; nearly



complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] . . [s]o . slar . bskyed . par . chad . nas . hdi . nas .  
s[n]ondu . brdzans . pa<sup>1</sup> . yañ . lags . gyis . || [2] . . sñā . na .  
hbañ . Tsheñu . chag . gi . so . pa . ni . Bsam . cha[r] . hpos . śig ||  
Peñu . rtse . sar . pañi . . .

"It having been settled to re-increase the soldiers there, reinforcements from here have been sent . . . some soldiers of Tsheñu-cag should be transferred to Bsam-cha. Of new Peñu-rtse . . ."

### Notes

On Tsheñu-cag and Bsam-cha see pp. 232, 247, 250 *infra*.  
l. 2, *hpos*: Intransitive of *spos*, from *spos-ba*, which has occurred *supra* (p. 122, l. 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] ༩ | . | zañ . zañ . blon . Khri . bzer . dañ | | nañ .  
rje . po . Lha . bzañ . . . [2] mtshuns . pa | Žugs . nam . gyi .  
ltoñs | solñi . mñh . . . [3] bžugs . na | thugs . bde . ham .  
myi . bde . | sñun . gsol . . . [4] chi . gnañ | Hu . ten  
phyogs . na . bkañ . mchid . chi . gdañ . . . [5] pa . dag .  
bžugs . pa . la | bdag . nan . pas . rño . thog . pa . . . [6] hdi .  
skad . sñan . sñuns . pa . gsol . žes . | bkañ . h . . . [7] nañ .  
rje . po . Lha . bzañ . dañ | phur . myi . arid . gchig . ste || gio  
. . . [8] do . gchig . dbyard . Pe . hu . rtse . rtsig . du . mchis .  
tahun . chad . | . . . [9] htsald . de | rah . tu . myi . bde .  
ste | bro . g-yog . dañ . phu . ldir . bgyid . . . [10] gi . bran .  
rkyā . rgu<sup>2</sup> . gu . rib . Tran . slebs | so . res . hdi . la . mchi . ba  
. . . [11] bar . g-yrā<sup>3</sup> . te . ma . btañ . bañi . skyin . ba | ade .  
myi . Na . gram . Hphan . brod | . . . [12] mchis . pa . |

<sup>1</sup> Or ? *pro* (compendious for *par*) ?

<sup>2</sup> Crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> Compendious for *g-yrā*.

Tran : slebs . kyi . skyin . bar <sup>1</sup> . ri . zug . du . mchi . . . .  
 [13] hdi . bzin . du . spyān . ris . btsa . zin | so . chad . . .  
 [14] mdzad || bdag . nan . pa . bro . cuñ . zad . tha . gi . | so .  
 sla . . . [15] hrend . dañ . sku . nas . myi . htsal . bar | dusu .  
 phyin . . . [16] ba . dañ . phur . myiñi . srid . du . be <sup>2</sup> .  
 mdzad . chin . spyān . . . [17] ma . stoñs . pañi . mtshan .  
 ma | spyān . zigs . . . [18] mchis . na . rma . zin . bžes . par .  
 chi . gnañ | . . . [19] gñis . thugs . bde . sku . tshe . riñ . bar .  
 smon . . . [20] so . ñul . Klu . mthoñ . mchi . ba . la . hañ .  
 žib . tu . . . [21] chi . legsu . mdzad . par . smon . chin .  
 mchis . . .

*Verso* : [1] 𑎧 | . | žañ . žañ . Khri . bžre <sup>3</sup> . dañ | nañ . rje .  
 po . Lha [2] bzañ . la | | Du . dun . skyes . kyi . m-i . . .

[1-4] "That the žañ Uncle-Councillor Khri-bžer and the Home Minister Lha-bzañ, equal to theophanies, 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-bzañ and the swordsmen are united and intimate (*glo-ba-ñe* ? or *glo-ba-riñs* 'far-seeing' ?). At present, since in the summer I came to build Peñu-rtse, . . . sent. [9-12] I am very ill at ease. My house-servant, the *gu-riñ* Tran-slebs, who renders *me* sick-service and blows the fire (*phu-ldir* ?), being lent to . . . , on this soldier-relay coming here, was not sent, and his debtor (substitute ?), a regimental man, Hphan-brod of Na-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]

<sup>1</sup> r crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> Crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> Compendious for žier.

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-niton comes, I pray *you* to . . . particularly and do what is good."

[B 1] "To *šan* Uncle Khri-bžer and Home Minister Lha-bzan: letter of Du-dun-skyes."

### Notes

l. 1. *Zugs-nam-gyi-lton*: See p. 205 *supra*.

l. 7. *phur-myi*: The phrase, which occurred *supra*, p. 174, is found also in a, ii, 0089 and p. 277 (*phur-myi-stag-rnams-la*).

l. 9. *phu-ldir*: Both *phu* and *ldir* seem to have the general sense of "blowing".

l. 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?).

*so-res*: "Soldier-relay," as *supra*, p. 208.

l. 11. *skyin-ba*: This naturally means a "debtor". Apparently the debtor was required to act as a substitute.

l. 12. *ri-zug*: See pp. 203, 434, 452.

l. 13. *spyān-ris(rus)-btā*: "Examining" recurs *infra*, pp. 242, 246, 385.

l. 15. *sku-nas*: "By myself in person."

l. 17. *spyān-zigs*: "A present," as on p. 207 *supra*.

l. 20. *so-ñul*: "A soldier spy," as *supra*, p. 205.

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).

[1] . . . -i. [m]ehid . gsol . baḥ | | [2] . . . g . pa . dañ |  
Dur . ya . p[ḥ]ur . myi . rgod . kyī . gle . gugs . sug . las [3] . . .  
mchi . ba | gāi . nand . paḥi . steñ . du | sug . las . ches .

pas | g-yar<sup>1</sup> . ga[m] . . . [4] . . . ri . mchis . na | Peñu .  
 tse . rtsig . pañi . bsel . du . yan . mchi . bar . mchid . staald  
 . . . [5] . . [d]ab . ham . chen . tags | rña . mo . geig . g-yar .  
 por . gsol . zin . mchis . na . . . [6] . . . ñ[i]ñ . g-yar . por .  
 thugs . rje . ji . gzigs .||

"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  
 Peñu-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 Peñu-rtse was in the vicinity of that place.  
 The reference to the building of Peñu-rtse in this and the  
 preceding document is in harmony with the mention of New  
 Peñu-rtse in the one first quoted (M. Tāgh. 0615, p. 221).

1. 1. *rgod-kyi-gle-gugs*: *Gle* is said to mean "a small  
 uncultivated island", and *gugs* may mean "a corner"  
 (*angulus terrae*). Cf. pp. 126:13 (*gleñu*), 232, 351.

1. 4. *bsel*: This may mean either "guard" or "clear up".  
 In p. 133, B 1, we have had it used, apparently, of defending  
 a citadel.

#### (o) *Ram-khyi-rtse*

62 A. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 0033 (wood, c. 12-12.5 × 2 cm., com-  
 plete; hole for string at l.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] 𑖦 | . | Khyuñ . Luñ . bruñ | Ram.kh[yi].rtse

[2] bañi.[h—l ?] |

"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 viḥāra, both of which are mentioned in the

<sup>1</sup> Crossed out.





[1] \* | : | jo . bo . Stag . m[ñe]n . gyi . sñan . du . | |  
 Myes . tshab . gyi . mchid . gsol . baḥ | | so . pa . dag . la .  
 rmas . na . jo . bo . sñuñ . sbagla<sup>1</sup> . žin . [2] ba . de . s[k]ad .  
 g-yar . du . mjalḍ . ste . glo . [b]aḥ . rab . du . myi . dgah . žin .  
 mchis . bdag . gsun . mar . mchi . ḥo . sñam<sup>2</sup> . glo . ba . la . .  
 [3] . . . glah . ni . ma . sñed . bdag . mchi . yañ . smad .  
 yon . myi . thog . ḥdah . yañ . sñuñ . nad . [las] . chuñ .  
 zad . tha . [gyi] . [yañ] . -i . . . [4] . . . . . pab (par ?) . nog . tshil .  
 -wu . [hi]s . dañ . ḥbras . ḥpul : gañ . glo . ba . myi . ḥriñs .  
 paḥi . skye . . . . . [5] . . . [n] . Myes . kol . la . sñan .  
 sñuñs . bgyis . ste . yar . gśegs . par . smond . s[ñu]n . na[d] . . . . .  
 [6] . . [n]ad . las . gsos . sññ . žal . mjalḍ . par . smond . cin .  
 mchis | | g . . . . . [7] ba . bdagi . ḥpha . rgan . ñam .  
 noñsu . gyurd . na . rul . bu . ma . khyama . pa . tsham . sñan .  
 [sñuñ] . . . . . [8] chir . mdzad . | | tsha . bo .  
 Señ . gaḥ . tse . la . | | Lha . lod . gyi . mchid . gsol . baḥ .  
 bdag . ñan . . . . . [9] bdag . yas . mchis . na . mzind .  
 par . thugs . dpags . chir . mdzad . 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-gaḥ-tse: letter-petition of Lha-lod. Will you be so kind as not to . . . . . your humble servant . . . is beside . . . self! . . . your good countenance."

<sup>1</sup> Apparently crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> *kam*?

## 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 *lod* are generally feminine, is probably the case here. The person addressed in the postscript as *Señ-gah-tse* is probably the Stag-mñen addressed in the same letter, *Señ-gah-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.

l. 3. *smad-yon*: For *sman-yon* (pp. 48, 58, and Vol. I, p. 29, n. 1).

*tha-gyi*: = *tha-gi*: Cf. p. 223, 14.

l. 4. *hpul-gah*: Cf. the phrases noted in p. 153.


*glo-ba-myi-hrins* (= *rins*): Cf. p. 55, 121.

l. 7. *rul-bu*: We have taken this as = *hḍrul-bu* "a short letter".

l. 9. *mzind*: For *ma-zind*?

(g) *Snañ-dañ-hphrul-gyi-rtse* ("Vision and Magic Peak"). The name bears a likeness to *Hphrul-gyi-rtse* and *Hphrul-gyime-loñ-kun-snañ-rtse*, p. 220, *Snañ-dañ-mthah-hḍul*, a, iv, 00106.

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).

[1]  | | Snañ . dañ . hphrul . gi | [2] rtse

(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).

¶ | | Snañ . dan . hphrul . gyi . rtse . na . Bod . bži . tshugs . geig . la | -yi

"In Snañ-dan-hphrul-gyi-rtse for four Tibetans, one squad, . . ."

(c) *Snañ-hphrul-dan-mthoñ-rtse* ("Vision-magic-seeing Peak").

Mentioned (*Snañ-h[phrul]-mthoñ-rtse*) in ii, 003. c, ii, 0026.

(r) *Snañ-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. Tāgh. 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. Tāgh. a, ii, 0043 (wood; c. 20.5 × 1 × 1 cm.; cut away at one side; ll. 1 + 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; on one side about 19 notches and lines).

[A] Hġj- . 'a (ma ?) : nas | | Stag : hdus : su : gtad : pañi | ri . skyel : khram [B] khram : bu : yañ : Stag : hdus : pa : tsugs : pon : la | gtad | do | |

"List of mountain escort supplied from Hġj-'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. Tāgh. 0589 (wooden tally; c. 14 × 2 cm.; com-



plete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, clear; groups of notches *recto* and *verso*).

[1] 𐎃 | | Stag. ḥdus. dgyes. | [2] kyi. rtse

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*).

[1] 𐎃 | . | Stag. ḥdus. dges. gi. | [2] rtse | nas

"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 *akṣara verso*; 2 notches or lines *recto*, 2 *verso*).

[1] 𐎃 | | Stag. ḥdus. dgyes | nas | [2] gi. rtse | [B] pye

"Stag-ḥdus-dges-gi-rtse: barley, flour."

M.T., i, 0013 has *Stag-ḥdus* only.

72. M. Tāgh. i, 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*).

[1] 𐎃 | : Stag. sras. dges | [2] gyi. rtse

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).

[1] 𐎃 | : | Stag. rtse. Khri. skugs | [2] h̄jor. | [B]. pye. bre. do. b̄zag |

"Khri-skugs *h̄jor* 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).

𐎃 | . | Stag. rtse. Khri. skugs |

"Khri-skugs in Stag-rtse."

75. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 0031 (wooden tally; c.  $13 \times 2.5$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script; clear).

[1] ☉ | | Khri . skugs . h̄jor . gyi . so . pa . Li [2] gehig . chad

"One soldier of Khri-sgugs *h̄jor*, a Khotani, punished (executed)."

On the expression (*Khri-sgugs*) *h̄jor* 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 Hbum-rdugs.

(u) *Stag-skugs-bye(gye)-ri-rtse* ("Tiger-in-wait-mountain Peak"). Sometimes the name appears as *Stag-sgugs* (*skugs*) only, e.g. in M.T. 0572 and pp. 214, 446.

76. M. Tāgh. 005 (wooden tally; c.  $11 \times 3$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; 3 notches or lines *recto*, 2 (3) *verso*).

[1] ☉ | : | Stag . skugs | [2] bye . ri . rtse

(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.  $11.5 \times 1.5$  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*).

☉ | . | Stag . skugs . bye . ri . -rtse | - - nas

"Stag-skugs-bye-ri-rtse: barley."

78. M. Tāgh. 0010 (wooden tally; c.  $10 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ☉ | : | Stag . skugs | [B 1] nas . bre . drug . ma . nos . te . [B 2] pyi[su] . nod

"Stag-skugs: barley, six *bre*, not received: deliver later."

79. M. Tāgh. i, 0026 (wood; c.  $11 \times 2$  cm.; complete; pointed at left; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ | Stag . skugs . kyī . so . pa

"Soldier of Stag-skugs."

80. M. Tāgh. 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).

[A 1] | [S]tag . skugs . gyī . rgoñ . yan . cad . du | peñu .  
lña[r] | [A 2] . . . bži . nos . cig . la : ḥdom . bži : | gnam : |  
[B 1] . . . . . m(y ṭ)an . cad . | drug . stoñ . bži [B 2] . . .  
. . . k(g ṭ)yi . ñi(hi ṭ) . stoñ . |

"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 *rgod*, comparing the phrase *rgod-kyi-gle-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-rtsu*.

### V. OTHER PLACES PRESUMABLY IN THE KHOTAN REGION

(a) *Bsam-cha* (*Sam-cha*).

See *infra*, pp. 247, 250.

(b) *Bya-maṅs-tshal* ("Many-Bird Wood").

81. M. Tāgh. 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).

[A] ☞ | : | Bya . maṅs . tshal . | [B] . . . rta . chas . . .

"Bya-maṅs-tshal . . . a party of horse . . ." On *rta-cha* see p. 273, A 2.

(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-tshañ-smug-po* ("Bird-Copse (?) Reeds").

82. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0042 (wood; c. 13.5 × 2 cm.; slightly fragmentary at top left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] [☉ | . | D]grāḥi . śakri . yan . chad : Bya . tshañ . smug . phor : Nam . ru . pag [A 2] sum . tshugs : | gelig . hkhyaṃ . ṣiñ : so . tshor . staald : | [B] paḥi . dgra . thabs : |

"In Bya-tshañ-smug-po up to Dgrāḥi-śag 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.

(c) *Byeḥu-yog*. (= "Yao-well," *Serindia*, p. 1331: Cf. *Byeḥu-liñ*.)

82, A. M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0033 (wood, c. 12.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ☉ | . | Byeḥu : yog : du . bab . pa . la | phye . dañ . [lñajhi . . . He(Hde ?) | brag [2] Krom . skyes . [la . phy ?].

"On reaching Byeḥu-yog: five, less one-half, to Krom-skyes of He-brag."

He-brag: Cf. pp. 128, 158. *Byeḥu-yog* recurs p. 260.6.

(e) *Byi-glañ-pam*.

In M. Tāgh. b, i, 0098 (paper) occurs the sentence—

83. | Byi . glañ . [pam] . ya[n] . khrom . du . ni . khral . phran . . . . bton . . . .

"Sent . . . in the market town Byi-glañ-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-glah-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*<sup>9</sup>); 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*; ll. 1 *recto* + 2 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] *Dgra.ya.chad* | [B 1] *Za . rma . ri . zugi . brgyags* |  
[B 2] *Ryuh . rogs . no[s]*

"*Dgra-ya-chad*. Mountain-sickness provisions of *Za-rma*, received (by) *Ryuh-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*]<sub>s</sub>

"*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-mu*.

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 *Kök-yar*, this may be *Mumuk*, on the *Tiznaf* 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 *dbu-can* script).

[A] [1] ༩ | . | Hbrog . lig . yan . cag . tsa . gyi . so . pa .  
la . sprin . nō . s-ags . . . [2] yig . hdi | tshes . bcu . dguhi |  
nam . . . . na (ba ?) . Śin . . . [B] nin . tsod . mdzan . tsod .  
dam . | du . zuñ . śig |

"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 Śin-šan."

## 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*.

[B] *nin-tsod-mdzan-tsod-dam-du*: See *supra*, p. 201.

(k) *Hbum-rdugs*.

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 *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༩ | : | Hbum . rdugs . su . Li . Pu . god | myi .  
hjigsna . mehis<sup>1</sup> [A 2] Ho si (?)<sup>2</sup> | Gyu . mo . na . meis . Śir .  
hdo . mgo . śu . [cun] | [B] Ltag . bži . nah . meis ||

"In Hbum-rdugs is the Khotanī Pu-god, under safe-conduct (or in *Myi-hjigs* ?); Ho-si (?) is in Gyu-mo. Śir-hdo Mgo-śu-cun (?) is in Ltag-bži."

<sup>1</sup> Below line.

<sup>2</sup> Above line.

## Note

On Gyu-mo see pp. 212 sqq. *Ltag-bzi* may be one rendering of Tājīk, on which see Vol. I, p. 273, n. 5.

86. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0031 (wooden tally; c. 13 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ | : | Hbum . rdugs . Khri . skugs | [2] h̄jor.

"Khri-skugs *h̄jor* (cor) in Hbum-rdugs."

From this reference to Khri-skugs *h̄jor*, 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*.

(l) *Hbu-šan* or *Hbu-šan*.

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 Śin-šan and Bya-rig-skugs. [See now Vol. III, p. 70.]

87. M. Tāgh. 0442 (wood; c. 18 × 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).

[A 1] [Hbu . šan . gi . Sluñ]s : tsun . chad . Bya : rig : skugsu : Hor . chig | | [A 2] . . . G[ñ]o]s . Snañ . rtsan . [n]i . [sñ]ar . dgras : gtord . pas . tshegs . che [B 1] . . . [gyis . śnar] [moh] : bar . htshol . ch[ig] | Śin . šan . phan . cad . kyi . so [B 2] . . . [Śin] . šan . na . h̄dus . śin . . . . -na(u?)ms : | Gñō[s] : Snañ . rtsa[n] [B 3] . . . . bar . du . zög : la : gž-n : | |

"In Bya-rig-skugs this side the Sluñs of Hbu-šan one Hor (Turk) . . . The Gñōs-Snañ-rtsan having first been scattered by the enemy, a great check, . . . should go at once. The soldiers as far as beyond Śin-šan . . . being mustered in Śin-šan . . . leave the Gñōs-Snañ-rtsan . . . between . . . and . . ."

## Note

A 2, B 3. *Gños-Snañ-rtan*: On *Gños* as a tribal name see pp. 144-5. The *Gños-Snañ-rtan* 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).

[A] ཨ་བུ་ཤཱ་པཎ་ཀྱི་ | Hbu: śaṇ: pa(?)hi.

[B] ཨ་བུ་ཤཱ་པཎ་ | Hbu: śaṇ.

M.T. 0018 reads *Hbwal-saṇ* (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).

ཨ་བུ་ཤཱ་པཎ་ཀྱི་ | Mjag. ma. ngur. na. Bod. gñis. mchis. |

"In *Mjag-ma-gu* are arrived two Tibetans."

(M. Tāgh. 009, a wooden tally, complete, reads *Mjag-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).

[1] ཨ་བུ་ཤཱ་པཎ་ཀྱི་ | Spañ. rje. Rgoñ (rgod t). koñ. yañ. | -i . . .

[2] ཨ་བུ་ཤཱ་པཎ་ཀྱི་ | Ho. nir. mchis. sam . .



"Spaṅ-rje Rgoñ-koñ . . . sent: is in Ho-ni or . . ."

91. M. Tāgh. a. i, 0012 (wood, c. 24.5-25 × 2-2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ☉ || blon . Khri . btsan . la . Lha . mtoñ . gyi . sol .  
ba . thugs . bde . zes . tos . te . d 'ga . ho | bdag . gyi . rgyags |  
[A 2] gal . thaḥ . Ho . ni . maḥ . khyams . paḥ . zig . du . gdañ .  
bar . thugs . pag . mtsad . phar <sup>2</sup> . sol || [B 1] phyi . mañi . so .  
khaḥ . zuñ . zin . ci . legs . su . mtsad . phar . ci . gnañ . rgyags .  
dag . gy- . kh . . . [B 2] zin . legs . phar . rtsaṅ . par .  
[sol] | daḥ . slan . cad . | gyañ . bro . ma . tsal . par . smon .  
nagaḥ ||

"To councillor Khri-btsan: petition of Lha-mtoñ. 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-mthoñ of p. 277 *infra*. He uses *tos*, *ga*, *gdañ*, *mtsad*, *phar*, *sol*, *gyaṅ*, *rtsaṅ*, in place of *thos*, *dgah*, *gtañ*, *mdzad*, *par*, *gsol*, *kyaṅ*, *rdzañ*. His nonchalant tone may reflect a high rank.

1. A 2, *gal-thaḥ*: Cf. p. 453: 50. A 3, *rgyags-snod-gal-du*, where *gal-du* should be an Infinitive, perhaps from *lgeḥ*, "put on," whence *khal*, "a load"; cf. W. Tibetan *lkhāl*, "send," "forward." Here, and also elsewhere, *gal[-thaḥ]* might appositely mean "load": or, have we in both passages *gal* "importance" (see Ś. C. Das' Dictionary) ?

1. B 1, *so-kha-zuñ*: See p. 196.

*ci-legs-su-mtsad*: Cf. p. 223.21.

1. B 2, *nagaḥ*: i.e. *na-dgaḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> Below line.

<sup>2</sup> Phar below line.

(p) *Jeg-śin*.

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).

[1] ཨ | | tsa . bo . Btsan . bžre . dañ . Hphan . bžre . dañ  
... legs . la . stsogs . pa . la | Rdzi . legs . kyi . gslo . ba : |  
d . . .

[2] Jeg . śin . gi . lam . nañ . hbyu[n . bañi] : lam : du:  
byu[n] : ste . [m]chis | pyu [g] . . . pon . . . . .  
[gyi] [sten . du] . . .

[3] su . mchis . pa . las . . . . gy . . . . lag . myi . . . peñu .  
stag . par . gyurd | : bdag : cag . brg-g- : rnam . p .

[4] . . rnamsu . . .

"To grandsons Btsan-bžer and Hphan-bžer and — legs and the rest: letter of Rdzi-legs. I am on the road leading to (?) the Jeg-śin road . . ." (the remainder too illegible to allow of a continuous rendering). *Peñu*: Cf. pp. 49-50 ?

(q) *Khri-skugs hñor*.

Associated with Hbum-ridugs and Stag-rtse: see pp. 230-1, 236. M.T. a, 5 reads *Khri-skugs* | bu (cu ?)-tshe (only).

(r) *Lñ-sked-chad* (= *Li-hsieh* of *Ancient Khotan*, p. 521 ?).

See p. 249 *infra*, and cf. *Rked-chad*, pp. 246-7.

(s) *Lho-lo-pan-ro-rbog-skyes*.

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. c, iii, 0011, as a townlet (*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 Nā-gzigs* and perhaps in M.I. xiv, 61b (*Me-nu-mi-yul*?).

(v) *Mjag-ma-gu*.

See *Hjag-ma-gu*, *supra*, p. 237.

(w) *Nag* (= *Nāki*, *Nāhi*: (i.e. Nob) of the Khotanī document cited *supra*, p. 155; cf. *Nag-sod*, 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 × 7 cm.; complete; ll. 5 *recto* of rather small cursive *dbu-can* script, partly faint; ll. 3 *verso* in another hand).

[A 1] ॐ | | [j]o . co . Stag . bžre <sup>1</sup> . gyi . [žn . śnar] | |  
[sr]id . drugi . mehid . gsol . baḥ | jo . co . lha . dpal . thugs .  
bde . bar [2] s[m]o[nd . cin] . mehis | tses . ŋi . [śu] .  
dguḥi . nub . mo . | Skyañ . ro . nas . | rkyā . gsum . dañ .  
rkañ . [bcu] . geig . mehis . pas . pho . ŋa . [Ph]od . kar [3]  
mtshan . ma . mehis . pa <sup>2</sup> . brkas . te . ḥtshal . nas . | bdag .  
dan . [tha]ñ . Nag . tu . mjald . nas <sup>3</sup> . rkun . por . no . ma .  
ḥtshal . te . mehis . na[h] [4] rgya[n] . kun . tu . glo . ba . cuñ .  
žin . mehis . na . žib . bkas . rma . bar . thugs . rje . chir .  
gzigs | . | ḥtshal . baḥi . spu . stag . bži . khon . ba . -u .

<sup>1</sup> Compensations for *śar*.

<sup>2</sup> pa below line.

<sup>3</sup> s crossed out.

[5] mtshal . ser . dañ . mtshal ན (bre?) . dañ . [kum] . ser .  
dañ . | [gsum] mchis . [na].

[B—a different document.]

[B 1] ཨ : Hu . ten . ban . nog . Ro . [zañ] . legs . kyi :  
gñen | | Sum . pa . Gsas . slebs . rma . ste . spyan [2] ras .  
kyis . btsah . bar . zañ . lon . la . bagu[1] |

[A 1-2] "In the presence of My Lord Stag-bzer: 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* (1)) 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 Hu-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*, *Hgreñ-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. *rkun-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. *rygan*: ? for *rkyañ* "wild ass" ? Or ref. to *Skyan* ?

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-dmag* (p. 148) ?  
*mīshal-ser* . . . : This passage is obscure.

B. 1. *ban-nog*: For the suffix *nog* (forming a plural of honour f) 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].

*spyān-ras-kyis-btsah-bar*: On this phrase see p. 224 *supra* and pp. 246, 385 *infra*: *btsah* 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 *h̄jor* on the other for forwarding to Śiā-san. The implication is that for the sake of security duplicates were sent. Since certainly the Dru-gu *h̄jor* 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-čen or Polu; and this is confirmed by a document (given below, p. 249) in which Par-ban is associated with [Ho-ton] Gyn-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. Tāgh. 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] 𑎔 | . | Par . ban . gyi . th[a]d . ka . gyi . śo . rtsaṅ .

[2] hgram . du . Nam . ru . pag . gi . [gsum] [B] [ron] . rñu . mchis . paḥi .

"At the bank of the Śo river in the direction of Par-ban are arrived three of Nam-ru-pag with a *ron-rñu* (?)."

### Notes

*Nam-ru-pag* is a frequently mentioned regiment (and district in Tibet): see pp. 223, 465, and *Innermost Asia*, pp. 1084-5.

*Śo-rtsaṅ-hgram*: "Śo-river-bank." The same phrase occurs in 0522 (*Innermost Asia*, loc. cit.) and i, 0015 (*chuhlus-kyi-rtsaṅ-hgram* "river bank of the confluence"): *śo-rtsaṅ* is found in the *Gośrṅga-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-rñu*: The reading is uncertain. Perhaps the meaning may be soldiers with an officer: with *ron-rñu* (if correct) cf. *ce-rñu* or *tsa-rñu*, pp. 127, 138, 427. The genitive *mchis-paḥi* 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. Tāgh. 0523 (wood; c. 7.5 × 2.5 cm.; broken away at left; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).


[1] 𑎔 | : | Par . ban . gsar . gy . . . [2] gyi . tshu . rold . na . [tsh]ugs . gcig . . . [3] gyi : sno[n . sde(du ?)] . stsald . . .

"Sent to reinforce (*snon-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. 432: 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).

[1]  | | Nañ . rje . po . Khri . bže[r] . las . [sta]o[g]s . pa .  
la . . . [2] dañ . Khyuñ . bžer . gyi . mehid . gsol . ba | |  
nañ . [rje] . . . [3] thugs . bde . ham . myi . bde . mehid . yige .  
las . g[so] . . . [4] cag . gyañ . Par . ban . dañ . Je[g] . śiñ . gi .  
mdo . [tshuñ] . . . [5] tog . dpon . g-[vog] . . . [6] la . śi . .

<sup>44</sup> To Home Minister Khri-bzer and the rest : letter-petition of . . . and Khyun-bzer. [*Then after the usual compliments.*] We also . . . , as far as Par-ban and the lower valley of Jeg-sin . . . .<sup>25</sup>

### Note

On Jeg-sin see p. 239 *supra*.

- (2) *Peh̄u-mar* (cf. *Peh̄u-rtse*). = 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] 𑖦 | 𑖦𑖩𑖪 . po . 𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖫 . b̥re<sup>1</sup> . la . | 𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖫 | Gsas .  
[sle]ba . gy[i] . [mchi]d . gsol . baḥ . | mehid . gyis . rmasna |  
thugs . bd[e] . . . [2] | thos . te . bdag . 𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖫 . pa . yaṇ .  
smoṇ . pa . las . ma . gal . te : glo . ba . ra[b . tu] . dgaḥ . 𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖫  
m]ch[i]s . | bkaḥ . phrin . daṇ . 𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖫 . du . mjal . te . | nan .  
phabs . [gli<sup>1</sup>] (phri<sup>1</sup>) . . . [3] dbul . bar . bgyis . pa . | 𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖫  
sas . 𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖫 . mehispa . [la]s . | . . d . po . la . g-es . par . mehi .  
kar . phyag . las . g-o . ma . nas . slar . lus . te . . . [4] bdag .  
kyaṇ . rab . tu . gnoṇ . te . bkaḥ . chad . htshal . . . slad . gyis .

↳ Compendious for brev.

*phyogs . gyi . . . na (cha ?) . bkañ . myi . h̄bab . [b] . . .*  
*pag . cir . [5] mdzad . bdag . . . . . -n . cig . ma .*  
*meh[i]s . [par] . [s]ñā . s[l]ad . -i . . . [t]h[ug]s . pag . mdzad .*  
*[par] . . . . . bskur . ciñ [6] meh[i]s . | da . yañ . h̄di . skad .*  
*sñān . sñuñs . gsol . te . [b]kañ . [tsh . ] [m]yi . h̄bab . | bdag .*  
*kyañ . Peh̄u . mar . gyi . so . par . mehis . pa . sug . rj[e]d . Li .*  
*[g]sum . [7] la . cig . ni . bro . htshal . cig . ni . riñ . sdod .*  
*htshal . . . . oh[i]g . tshal . ma . nod . du . btañ . žiñ . mehisna .*  
*Ho . ni . dag . du . h̄khor . bar . rgyur . na . . [8] tshal .*  
*brgyags . kyañ . gtoñ . la . thugste . rab . tu . poñs . šin .*  
*mehis . na . h̄di . žal . ta . tsam . mdzade . -re . yañ . [r]gyad .*  
*dañ . sgyu . dag . mehis . [9] še[s . g]dah . na . sgyu . ma . šor .*  
*bar . spyān . ras . gyi[s] . btsa . žiñ . [m]noste | Lis . ci . theg .*  
*pa . . sa (s-a ?) . ma . brdzañ . | slad . ma . žañ . poñi . phyag .*  
*tu . phyag [10] rgyas . btab . te . bžag . nas . slar . len . par .*  
*htshal . na | h̄di . tsam . žig . spyān . ras . gyis . btsa . bar .*  
*thugs . rje . cir . zigs . | ma . | [11] bskyud . gyi . mtshan .*  
*ma . sman . sna . gsom . [ž]ig . sug . rgyas . btabste . bskur .*  
*ba . dan . spyān . zigs . ja . tor . gñis . šig . h̄bul . žiñ [12]*  
*mehis . na . bžes . par . ci . gnañ . chuñ [b] . š[α]s . bkañ .*  
*myi . h̄bab . par . gsol . žiñ . mehis . |*

[1-2] "To Uncle Hphan-bžer: 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 Peh̄u-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 Khotanī 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

l. 6. *sug-rjed*: "hand-list" recurs pp. 375, 443, 466.

l. 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"?

l. 8. *-re-(yan-)rgyad*: This might perhaps be for *hdre-(yan-)brgyad* "eight devils". One of the documents (M.I. xiv, 002, p. 403: 106.A 2) uses the phrase "a *hdre* is in my mind", meaning "I am depressed".

l. 9. *lis-ci-theg*: What the Khotanī was to carry is not stated.

*spyān-ras-gyis-btsa*: The phrase recurs in l. 10 and pp. 224, 242.

l. 11. *ja-tor*: Is this = *ja-phor* "tea-cup"?

(aa) *Rgya-hdrug-hdul*.

This seems to be a place-name *infra*, pp. 250-1.

(bb) *Rked-chad* (= *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. Tāgh., 0532 (wood, c. 16.5 × 1 × .5 cm., broken away at r.; traces of cursive *dbu-can* script on four sides).

[A] ♀ Stsbeñu . dñā ? | Rked . cad | kha . hdzin | drug . . .

[B] . . . . . | |

[C] po.laḥ | phog.paḥ | . . . [D] . . . rgyag . . . daḥ . . .  
chen.bḥi |

"In Stsheḥu and Rked-cad: guarantor (?): wages for . . . :  
provisions and four large . . ."

(cc) *Sam-cha* (= *Sāca*, *Samca*, of Kharoṣṭhī documents).

Mentioned p. 222 *supra* and pp. 250-1 *infra*.

99. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0022 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 1.5 cm.;  
complete; hole for string at left; several notches *recto*;  
ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; a  
different hand *recto* l. 2 and *verso*).

[A 1] ☉ | . | Bsam.cha.Mdo.geḥod | [A 2] ḥ[bu]

[B 1] ☉ | | Mṇal.hpan.gi.sde.rag [B 2] Ḥpan.rogs.  
gyis.pye.bre.do.ḥa[ts]ḥa.ba.slad.gis.

"[To] Mdo-geḥod of Bsam-cha: offered. By rag Ḥphan-  
rogs of the Mṇal-ḥp[ḥ]an regiment, two *bre* of flour, after the  
census (or the reckoning later)."

B 1. *Mṇal-hpan-gi-sde*: See *supra*, p. 216.

In M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0098 also *Bsam-cha* is a surname.

(dd) *Sel-than*.

Mentioned p. 190 *supra*.

(ee) *Skyin-mkhar*: *G-guṇ-druṇ-rtse*.

The name (only) is given in M. Tāgh. a, iv, 0085.

(ff) *Snañ-daḥ-mṭhañ-ḥdul* [-*gyi-rtse* ?].

The name (only) in M. Tāgh. a, iv, 0086.

(ee) *Snañ-hu-ḥa*. (Cf. *Hañ-gu-ya*, *Zaḥ-gu-ya*).

This is described as a townlet (*mkhar-bu*).

100. M. Tāgh. ii, 1 (wood; c. 13.5 × 2 cm.; broken  
away at top left; l. 1 (+ lower part of another) *recto* + 1  
(+ upper part of another) *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can*  
script).

[A 1] . . . . .

[A 2] . . . [la] . | | gros.mṇan.gi.ḥbaṇs.Kho.lho

[B 1] . . n.Snañ.[hu].ḥa.mkar:bu.na. | Bod.bḥi.  
tshugs [B 2] . . . [h].[bar.tae.s-ir.tsh-gs.po.]

"To . . . Kho-lho, servant of the authorities in council.



documents, one of which associates it with [Ho-ton] Gyu-mo and Par-ban.

104. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0065 (paper, fol. no. 52 in volume; c. 14 × 7 cm.; fragmentary at right; ll. 4 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨ | Ta . ha : naḥ | Sna : nam . Zla . bžre<sup>1</sup> | ri : zug | Tshu . . . [2] Snañ . luñ . rtse . naḥ | Khyuñ . po . Myes . skyes : ri : zug . . . [3] Liñ . sked . chad . naḥ | Gže . ma : Sman : lod : ri : zug | Hbog . . . [4] Druḡu . h̄jor : naḥ | Po . si : o | : Pyi : slebs : ri : zug | . . .

"In Ta-ha Zla-bžer, of Sna-nam, *ri-zug*. In Tshu . . . In Snañ-luñ-rtse Khyuñ-po Myes-skyes *ri-zug*. . . . In Liñ-sked-chad Gže-ma Sman-lod, *ri-zug*. In Hbog . . . In the Dru-gu *h̄jor* Po-si-o Phyi-slebs *ri-zug*."

#### 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 *h̄jor*, p. 276 sqq.; on Sna-nam, p. 259 *infra*; on *Khyuñ-po*, p. 215 *supra*.

Tshu . . . 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. Tāgh. 0604 (wood; c. 12.5 × 1.5 cm.; complete; l. 1 *recto* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; some traces of erased writing *verso*).

[A] ཨ | . | Ta . haḥ | B Li . [b] . . . bre . dñā .

106. M. Tāgh. 0524 (wood; c. 16 × 7.5 × 1 cm.; fragmentary at left; l. 1 of ordinary, square *dbu-can* script, in 3 compartments; 5 notches in B).

ཨ | Ta ha | Gyu . mo : tshugs : ñis | Par : ban | | | |

"Ta-ha | Gyu-mo, two squads | Par-ban."

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for *bžer*.



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) *Tshehu-cag* (= *Ts'eu-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*).

☉ | . | *Tshehu . 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).

*Tshehu . cagi . so . pah*

"Soldier of *Tshehu-cag*."

Under the variant form *Rtschu-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 *Hbu-saŋ*.

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, ll. 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*).

[A] [1] *sde . rjes . bre . bdun . kyan* . [A 2] *htshald* (also independently) [1] *brgyags*; [2] *htshald*.

[B] | : *lyin* : | *Hbög . la . tham* | *Rgya : drug . hdu* | *Yol : ba : ri* | *Sam : chaŋ* | [S] *na[n]* . -u . -ya . (-*gya*, -*gra* ?).

[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*).

*Lyin* may have something to do with *Lün-sked-chad*, while *Sam-cha* certainly, and perhaps *Hbog-la-tham* and *Snan-u-ya* (*Snan-hu-ha*), have been noted above (see pp. 247-9).

110. Khad. 052 (paper, originally folded in a long slip, like a modern Tibetan letter; complete; ll. 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 . hi . lohī . dpyid . sla . ra . baḥi . ŋo . la |  
so . btsas . de . Hbu . zañ . Yol . ba . ri . hi . byan . g-yog . Li .  
nañ . g[1]leg [B 2] hi . Li . Su . dad . ces . kyī . lan . ma[n] . mo .  
zig . snogs . de | Li . phuñ . du . chad . pas . dgum .  
zes . bgyis . na . khon . hi . tshe [B 3] nas . kyañ . dgum . ri . zu .  
du . yañ . gžag . ces . bgyis . na | tshug . pon . las . bsogs . de .  
rog . po . cha . gsum . la . doñ . tse . bži . s[t]joñ . lna . rgya  
[B 4] so . rog . bekañ . sha . rold . mo . d[ño]s-e . . so . ru .  
cha . . . dbul . bar . bgyis . de . [der] . ham . gyu . bgyisna . .  
[B 5] geig . las . gñisn . bagyur . ba . [ra]d . gos . yan . chad .  
phrogs . de . rgya[b] . chad . gyis . gyañ . chad . la . ri . zu . du .  
yañ . gžag . par . bgyis . [B 6] paḥi . dpañ . laḥ | tshugs .  
skyu . dañ . gñis [gya | gya | gya] [la] s . bsogs . pa . hi .  
dpañ . rgyas . bthad .

[B 1-2] "At the beginning of the first spring month of the Horse year, on examining the soldiers, a Khotanī *gleg*, named Su-dad, one of the Khotanīs serving as cooks in Yol-ba-ri in Hbu-zañ, 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, 0059, "cook-service," and M.I. xiv, 0070: cf. pp. 129-30.

I. 3. *ri-zu*: Sense uncertain. Is it "torture" or "prison", of "left in the mountains"? *Cha* "part" or "troop".

*doh-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 × 6 cm.; ll. 5 of clear *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . tshuñs . tshes . ñi . śu . la | chab . rgyud . ched .  
poñi . so . pa . bñus . te | dgun . śla . . . [2] . . . dan . |  
Stag . Klu . bñer . dan . | blon . Mtsho . bzañ . gis . | so .  
bskos . nas . | m . . . [3] . . . gs . chig . dan . | rñā . dkog .  
ñul . tshugs . bñi . ni . so . byañ . gi . . . [4] . . . Mtsho . bzañ .  
Śin . śan . du . mchis . nas . | rñā . s-o . . . [5] . . . śañ . 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-bñer and Councillor Mtsho-bzañ having made the levy of soldiers . . . [3] . . . one *company* and of secret camel spies four companies. Of the soldier missive . . . [4] . . . Mtsho-bzañ having come to Śin-śan, the camel . . . [5] . . . *Hbu-śañ*, the hill Yol-ba."

### Notes

I. 4. *so-byañ*: See *supra*, p. 203, and *infra*, p. 260. B3.

I. 5. . . *śañ-Yol-ba-ri*: This is, no doubt, *Hbu-śañ*, on which see *supra*, pp. 236-7.

1. 3, *cha-dkog-nul*. Cf. *so-hdzu-nul*, pp. 204-5.

(jj) *Zugs-nam*.

On this place see *supra*, pp. 205, 224.

# VI PLACES OR STATES ADJACENT TO, OR CONNECTED WITH, THE KHOTAN REGION

(a) *Bru-za*. (See Vol. I, p. 100).

Assuming that it was proved in *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 258-9, that the name *Bru-za* 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:

blon . Skyes . bzañ . Ldon . tsab . gyis | Bru . za . yul . tu .  
drañs | dgun . pho . brañ . Brag . mar . na . bžugs . te | Bru .  
žahi . rgyal : po : phab . ste . phyag . ltshald |

"Councillor Skyes-bzañ Ldon-tsab having marched into the Bru-za country, in the winter, when (the Tibetan king) was residing in the palace at Brag-mar, the Bru-za king was reduced and sent homage."

113. *Chronicle*, II, 230-1; year 69 (Dragon) = A.D. 740:

Btsan . poñi : po . brañ | dbyard . Mtshar . bu :  
snañi . Nañ . mo : gliñ . na . bžugste | je . ba : Khri . ma . lod .  
Bru . za . rje . la . bag . mar . btañ |

"The Btsan-po being resident in his palace in Nañ-mo-gliñ of Mtshar-bu-sna during the summer, the princess (je-ba?) Khri-ma-lod was sent to be wife to the Bru-za 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-ñā* (= Bru-žal) 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 north-western Tibetan plain, the Byañ-thañ; 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-rins* ("Long Meadow"), *Glin-rins-tshal* ("Long-Meadow Wood"), *Glin-rins-smug-po-tshal* ("Long-Meadow-Bamboo (Reed ? Cane ?) Wood").

A reference to a *Glin-rins* 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-rins-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] ལྷོ་མོ་ | | Stag . brtsan . dañ . Mdo . brtsan . . .

[A 2] lastzogs . so . bañ . la : | . . .

[A 3] l. bañ . phyogs . su . [th]ugs . [bde] . . .

☞ | |

[B 1] yi . ge . las . sñun . gsol . žin . mchis . Gliñ . [riñs] .

[B 2] gi . Li . la . nas . bre . gañ . skur . ham . ma . skur .

[B 3] | Stag . rtsan . gi . Ma[n] . žu . stagi . sñā . la . skur . žin . . .

"Petition of . . . to soldiers Stag-brtsan and Mdo-brtsan, and the rest. [*Then after the usual compliments.*] To the Khotanis of Gliñ-riñs has a full *bre* of barley been sent or not? To . . of Man-žu Stag (?) of Stag-rtzan [regiment] am sending."

### Notes

l. A 3. *phyogs-su* : This phrase, which recurs, means "on [your] aide", "on [your] part". Cf. pp. 245, 4, 456:58.

l. B 3. Read *sñā-la-skur-žin-m[chis]*?

115. M. Tāgh. 006 (wood; c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ☞ | : | Gliñ . riñs . smug | [2] po . tshal.

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 *Gliñ-riñ* only.

116. M. Tāgh. 0151 (wood; c. 15.5 × 1 cm.; complete; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ | | Gliñ . riñsu . gśen . Hphan . legs . la.

"In Gliñ-riñs to the *gśen* Hphan-legs."

*Gśen*, as a personal or official designation, occurs also in pp. 300:32, 395, 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).

[1] ☞ | | Gliñ . riñs . smug . po . tshal . na . Bod . gñis . Li . gñis . la | Bzañ . Ho[rd] . gyi . sde | [2] Mñan . Ji . hu . tshugs . phon | Lan . myi . hi . sde . Dbyild . [Chas] . legs . hog | . -g

"In Glin-rins-smug-po-tshal two Tibetans, two Khotanīs, namely, Mñan Ji-hu, of the Bzañ-Ħor regiment, sergeant, Dbyild Chas-legs, of the Lañ-myi regiment, corporal, . . ."

#### Notes

The two regiments, Bzañ-Ħor and Lañ-myi, are mentioned elsewhere; they will be noted again pp. 456, 462-3.

1. 2. *tshugs-phon* and *hog-phon*: See *supra*, p. 172.

#### (c) *G-yar-skyan*.

The *G-yar-skyan* regiment is mentioned on p. 172 *supra*, and in M. Tāgh. 0280 (p. 469, *Innermost Asia*, p. 1085) 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 "divān", 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, Kharoṣṭhī, Chinese, Tibetan, and Buddhist Sanskrit, is cited as Cugapan, Cugopa, Cakoka, Che-chü-chia, Chu-chü-po, Chu-chü-pan, Bcu-gon-pan, and the inhabitants of which are by the Chinese designated *Tzu-ho* = *Cu-ga*? (see Sir Aurel Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 89-93, 582; M. Sylvain Lévi in *BÉFE-O*, v, pp. 255-6, 263, 267; Chavannes, *Toung-pao*, 1905, p. 334; notes in *Zeitschrift für 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 (*Kilpan* or *Gilpan*) 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 Karghalik (or Kōk-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 *Kargha* (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 . ña . 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 Karghalik. Also, if not Karghalik, what country is denoted? In a Mirān document (a paper fragment, M.I. vii, 83a) the form *Cu-chu-pan* seems to occur, unfortunately without further information.

118. M. Tāgh. b, i, 00104 (paper, fol. no. 39 in vol., fragmentary at right and at bottom; c. 25.5 × 15 cm.; ll. 12 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨ | : | Kha . ga . pan . khri . la | | Rmañ . rogs . gyi . mehid . g . . . [2] . m[chi]d . kyis . rmas . na . thugs . bde . zes . thos . | te . glo . ba . rab . tu . dgañ . zin . mchis | | g . . . [3] bañi . slad . nas . | | nañ . nin . kha . chag . gis . kha . phyar | bth[oste] | Se . ho . [gze]s . zur . nas | bdag . [gi] . . . [4] dbon . ma . gchig . bgyis | | Gñag . yul . du . yañ . tsha . bo . hi . tshe | lo . . . dañ . lo . gro . yu . gi . . . [5] go . skyes . gza . bran . gñis | khyim . puñ . du . nog . pañi : sriñ . ba . dañ . . . rta . bab . pañ . . . [6] myi . blas . bab . ste | las . hdi . rnam . | dañ . hdom | ste . mchi[s] . dmar . . . [7] pa . dañ . bgyis . pa | dañ . | jo . mo . pas . žal . mch[us] . . . rgal . ste | dmar . srañ . gsum . . . [8] pañs . kyi . slad . nas | bdag . la : žal . mehu . chig . . . mchis | rta . seru . hi . slad . nas . . . [9] ris . chibs . mchis . pa . skad . bgyis | nas . | de[hi] . slad . nas . kyañ . bdag . chag : nor . hjald | gze . ni . m . . . [10] su . žañ . |



Rgyal . bžre<sup>1</sup> . gi . hbañs | Me . nu . Ņa . gzigs . kyis | | gla .  
 žo . bdun . chags . pañ . Kha . ga . dañ . chu . . . [11] gi .  
 rgya . byuñ . nas | Dmu . mur . du . bsgugs . nas | žo . bdun .  
 las | bou . bžir . bsgyurd . nas | phro[gs] . . . [12] . . . behom | . . .

"To the Kha-ga-pan divān: letter-petition of Rmañ-rogs—  
 [then after the usual compliments.] Last year having heard  
 of slanders by abusive persons, I retired to Še-žo. Then in  
 my . . . a grand-daughter was born. Also in the Gñag  
 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 com-  
 plaint against me, I lost . . . three *strañ* 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 (*žañ*) Rgyal-bžer, Ņa-gzigs of Me-nu, whose  
 wages were agreed at seven žo, after there had come a signature  
 Kha-ga and Chu . . ., waited in Dmu-mu, and from seven žo  
 it became fourteen. Seizing . . ."

### Notes

1. 1. *Rmañ-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. *Rmañ-rogs*  
 means, no doubt, a "horse-attendant", and the drawing  
 of horses published by Sir Aurel Stein in *Innermost Asia*,  
 plate vii, 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, *sta-rogs*.

1. 3. *Še-žo*: ? = *Si-ho*, Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 215.

1. 4. *Gñag*: This also has not been traced, since we can  
 hardly think of Gñag, "a place in Tibet".

*lo-gro*: This may = *gro-lo-ma* "a kind of satin".

<sup>1</sup> Compensious for *hžer*.

- l. 5. [s]go-skyes: A special present.  
 l. 7. *zal-mchu*: See p. 189. *Rgal-ste*, "being crossed" ?  
 l. 8. *seru*: This seems to be = *ser-ru* "rotten". It is used of "sheep", p. 159.3.  
 l. 10. *Me-nu*: A place-name; see *supra*, p. 240.  
     *Kha-ga*: Apparently = people of Kha-ga-pan.  
 l. 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 co-operating 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 (*suliga*) 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).

- A [1] . . . Bzu . ru . ḥi . mchid . gsol . baḥ | . . .  
 [2] . . . brañ | yañ . Śu . lig . nas | dgu[n. sl] . . .  
 [3] . . . po . du . Bu . lod . stoñ . chuñ . Koñ .  
     sle[b] . . .  
 [4] . . . ḥb-i . se (mo ?) . ña . tsam . na . Hu . te . du .  
     pyin . . .  
 [5] . . . [nī . ma] . ku-s . Hpan . le[gs] . . .  
 [6] . . . rta . po . la . s[la]d . du . yañ . na . ni . m . . .  
 [7] . . . [t]ab . ste . Legs . tsan . la . bsku . ba . lagso .

- B [1] 𐰽 | . | jo : cho : Stag : bžre<sup>1</sup> : l . . .  
 [2] ma : la | so : rims . kyañ . chu . . .  
 [3] de : slan : chad : kyañ : so : byañ . chu . ñu (?) . . .  
 [4] bdagi : so : skal : h[ɪ]ab . pha . . .  
 [5] de : bžin : gžag : phar . gslo<sup>2</sup> : | so . . .  
 [6] na . yañ . zor . ba . bdagi : Byeñu : yog . . .  
 [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-res*). The first, a letter from a person named Bzu-ru, speaks of going from Śu(Su)-lig (= Kashgar) and arriving at Hñ-te (= Khotan). On *Byeñu-yog* see p. 233.

#### VII. PERSONAL NAMES OF KHOTANĪ 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-za*, 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 *Lī-rje*, or Khotan king. The matter of the documents is also largely military.

Naturally, however, there was multifarious intercourse with the native Khotanīs, 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 Khotanī people. But the writers of the documents have placed us in a still more favourable position. The discrimination between Tibetan and Khotanī was in their circumstances

<sup>1</sup> Compensious for *bžer*.

<sup>2</sup> Compensious for *gsol*.

naturally an explicit one; and in mentioning a Khotanī person they usually show his nationality by prefixing the word *Lā* "Khotan" or "Khotanī". 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-hñog-dag (*b*, i, 0038).  
 Bun-dar-ma (*b*, i, 0048).  
 Bu-ñe (ño ? ñi ?)-dag (Domoko 0168).  
 Bu-ñon (*a*, ii, 0096).  
 Byi — (*a*, i, 0031).  
 Byi-de (0184 ; 0344 ; *a*, i, 0031 ; *a*, vi, 0063).  
 Cam-po-la (*b*, ii, 0096).  
 Cehu-hdo (*b*, i, 0095).  
 Chu — (*a*, i, 0031).  
 Cu(Bu)-de (0513).  
 De-de (*b*, ii, 0054).  
 Dzadz-dod (*c*, ii, 0018).  
 Gi-chog (*a*, iv, 0074).  
 Gos-de (*a*, iii, 0012).  
 Gu-dag (*a*, ii, 0096 ; *a*, iii, 0074).  
 Gu-de (0503).  
 Gu-hdag (*H*, 2).  
 Gu-jo (dze ?) (*b*, i, 0048).  
 Hdzas (*a*, iii, 001).  
 Hi — (*a*, iv, 0010).  
 Hir-bod (*a*, iii, 0012).  
 Ho(Rho ?)-ne (*a*, ii, 0096).  
 'I-hduh (*a*, ii, 0018).  
 'In-dad (*a*, vi, 0057, *c*, iii, 0024).  
 Khom-še-dad (*b*, i, 0048).  
 Khu-le (*a*, iii, 0074).  
 Ko-hag (hog ?) (*a*, ii, 0096).  
 Ko-še (*a*, ii, 0096).  
 Ku-chi-si (*b*, i, 0090).  
 Ku-zu (*a*, i, 0031).



- Mar-son (0050).  
 Meg(Rmag ?)-sur (a, ii, 0096).  
 Nob-žo (a, v, 005).  
 Phu-agra (a, i, 0036).  
 Phu(Pu)-de (0492 ; b, ii, 0054).  
 Pu-god (a, iii, 0043).  
 Rdz — (c, ii, 0011).  
 Śa — (a, iv, 0074).  
 Sa-bdad (c, i, 0050).  
 Sam-rba (b, i, 0048).  
 Sañ (0586).  
 Sañ-ga(e ?) (0492).  
 Sañ-ga-[l]e (b, i, 0084).  
 Sañ-ge (0503).  
 Sañ-ge-sur (a, iv, 0081).  
 Śa-rag (b, i, 0062).  
 Sar-dad (b, i, 0051).  
 Sar-rhoñ b, i, 0070).  
 Sar-žon (a, ii, 0096).  
 Señ-ge (0238) ; Señ-ge-lag (0331).  
 Ś.n-de (b, i, 0054).  
 Śi-nir (a, i, 0031).  
 Śir-dad (b, ii, 0017 ; c, ii, 0017).  
 Śir-de (a, iii, 001 ; a, iii, 0012 ; b, i, 0048).  
 Śir-hdo (a, iii, 0043).  
 Śi-rhañ-za (b, 00103).  
 Śi-ri-had (a, vi, 007).  
 Śu-cu (c, i, 0038).  
 Su-dad (Khad. 052).  
 Su-de (0586).  
 Sur-de (0287).  
 'Um-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*, *Śi-bir* (sic) and *Śir-de* mentioned

above (pp. 191-3) and the Amaca *Bî-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, ii, 5, c. iv, 008), clearly Khotanîs. 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), *hdo* (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. *Sen-ge-lag* and *Sa-rag* above), *Na-mo-hbod* (cf. *Hir-bod* above), *A-ba-ya-rdad* (cf. *In-dad*, *Khrom-se-dad*, *Sa-bdad*, *Sar-dad*, *Sir-dad* above). The monosyllabic names *Hdzas* and *Sah* may be set by the side of the *Hjes* and *Hji* of the Tibetan works (pp. 252 and 270 of the article). To *Hdah-no-ya* and *Za-ro* of the Tibetan works we have as yet no parallel.<sup>1</sup> *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 Kharoṣṭhî documents (see *Kharoṣṭhî 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 Khotanî 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 Khotanî (*Lî*) persons with the names *Suḥe-sa Tsadzūgo*, *Ga-tsag*, *Sur-dad*, *Mañ-bod*, which present obvious analogies or correspondences to those cited above.

<sup>1</sup> But cf. the place-names *Han-gu-ya*, *Zan-gu-ya*.

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, Khotanī, and Saka, had been known in Khotan from at least about A.D. 500 (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 271), while an Indian Prākṛit and the Chinese had been familiar from a much earlier period, perhaps from the very foundation of the city. The name *Ku-chi-ti* bears a resemblance to *Ser-the-si* and *Ka-the-si*, which in the Khotan chronicle (see Sir A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, p. 582) are given as names of Chinese ministers. Concerning the '*A-ba-ya-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 Sanskrit names of monks, such as *Puñade*, 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-žo-na (for Sar-žon)
- \*Señ-ge-la-ga (for Señ-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-hgyur*. 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 Mazâr-Tâgh. 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-ña*, *Byi-ro-ña*, *Hden-ro-ña*, *Pan-ro-ña*, *Śi-ro-ña*, *Zval-ro*, etc.) is probably identical with the *ro* in names from N.E. Tibet (*Cog-ro*, *Hgren-ro*, *Myan-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*, *btson-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 Mazâr-Tâgh and elsewhere) that in the eighth century at least the "Saka-Khotanī" 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 Prākṛit 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):—

*dvī pī sī dām śo [śā 1] dā*



Here the word *pīsā* is possibly identical with the *pīsai*, which Professor Konow (Hoernle, *Buddhist Remains*, p. 347) has found in a "Khotanī" *Vajra-cchedikā*, as representing the Sanskrit *guru* (see also *Saka Studies*, p. 170). Thus the painting may represent the *guru* Dām-śo-dā, in whose name the syllables *śo-dā* (if not *śā-dā*) may be connected with the *śo-da* noted above (p. 64). There is, however, another Saka-khotanī word, *pīsā* (ibid.), 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-Uilig, 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. Gośrṅga appears in two Chinese forms, one (*Hqchu-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 *Bru*.

## 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, Sluñs, 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-yu[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-Kīrti, 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-śos or 'A-no-mo-śoñ. 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-Saṅgrāma 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-gžan or Hgu-žan-ta. A subsequent Vijaya-Saṅgrāma 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.

Blon, Btsan, sñas | Zims : gyi, Gu : ran, du : Zañ, zuñ, gyi : mkhos : bgyiste | Dru, gu, yul, du : Ltañ, yor, mehis.

"Councillor Btsan-sña, having levied(?) the Zañ-zuñ in Gu-ran of Zims, went to Ltañ-yor in the Dru-gu country."

#### Notes

In A.D. 673, two years before, the Mgar Btsan-sña ldom-bu (probably = the Tsauhsijo 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 Zañ-zuñ is usually located. Ltañ-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.

Blon, Btsan, sñas : Dru, gu, yul : du, drañste | ldum, bu : Khri, bños : khrom, htsald.

"Councillor Btsan-sña, having marched into the Dru-gu country, sent vegetables to Khri-bños town."

Khri-bños seems not to be known, see *infra*, pp. 285-6.

3. Chronicle, ll. 41-2: Year 15 (Dog) = A.D. 686.

Blon : Khri, hbrin, gyia | Dru, gu : yul, du : Drañ, zes : bgyi, bgyi<sup>1</sup>, pa, las | phyi, dalte | dhyar, hdun, Šoñ, snar, hdus.

"Councillor Khri-hbrin, lingering outside [on the way] from a [place] called Drañ in the Dru-gu country, held the summer assemblage in Šoñ-sna."

Concerning Drañ and Šoñ-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.).

<sup>1</sup> Repeated in error.

3a. Chronicle, ll. 58-9: Year 21 (Dragon) = A.D. 692.

Btsan . po . Ņen . kar . bñugs . śin | dbyar . ḥdun . Śoñ . anar .  
ḥduste | Mñan . chen . po . drug . du . bskos |

"The Btsan-po residing in Ņen-ka, the summer assemblage being held in Śoñ-sna, the supreme government was nominated in six departments or the Mñan-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 Śoñ-sna.

4. Chronicle, ll. 44-5: Year 16 (Hog) = A.D. 687.

Blon . Khri . ḥbriñ . gyis | Dru . gu : Gu . zan . yul : du . drañs .

"Councillor Khri-ḥbriñ 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 . ḥbriñ . Dru . gu . yul . nas : ślar : ḥkhorte |

"The Great Councillor Khri-ḥbriñ returning from the Dru-gu country."

6. Chronicle, ll. 79-80: Year 29 (Mouse) = A.D. 700.

Btsan . po . . . | Ton . Ya . bgo : Kha . gan . Dru . gu . yul . du .  
btañ |

"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 (*phyag-ḥtsald*) in A.D. 694 and 699, and whose Turkish name and titles remind us of a famous early Khagan (see Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiu occidentaux*, index), nothing further seems to be known from Tibetan sources: is he the Tun-yo-ku, Tonyuquq, of Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, pp. 74, 185?



7. Chronicle, ll. 201-2: Year 58 (Serpent) = A.D. 729.

Blon.chen.po : Cuñ.bzañ.gyis | dgun.hdun : Skyi.Šo.  
ma.rar.bsduste | Mun.magi : snon.god.brtsis | dmag :  
Dru.gu : yul.du.drañs : pha : slar : hkhord.

"The Great Councillor Cuñ-bzañ, having held the winter muster in Šo-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-bzañ Hor-mañ 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 Šo-ma-ra see p. 48. Skyi is the Tang-hsiang country (Chinese *Hsih-chih*), east of the Hoang-ho gorge.

The expression *mun-dmag*, denoting some kind of troops, has 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", has 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).

ཨ། : | .i.[lo.la] || skun.mkhar. | Nob.chuñu.G-yuñ.druñ.  
rtser | rkyen.gyi | mun.dmag.Spu.tshugs | dkar |

"Year —. At G-yuñ-druñ-tse 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.mañ.po.rje.Khyi.chuñ.gyis | Dru.gu.yul.  
du.drañs.

"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-rje*, 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, Itañ-yor, Khri-bśos, Drañ, Śoñ-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 Mirān, Mazār-Tāgh and Tun-huang (Śa-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 Mirān, Eudere, and Mazār-Tāgh to the eighth century A.D. The general probability that Mirān 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 Mazār-Tāgh to the latter half of the century.

It is a curious fact that the Mirān documents, numerous as they are, never refer to Śin-šan, while those from Śin-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 Mirān collections would belong to the first half of the eighth century, and be thus at least one generation prior to those from Mazār-Tāgh. 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] ༩ || ya.la.mchis.paḥi.rje[s].la.shar.mchis.pas.non.te.lam.po.cher.žugste.sla[r] [A 2] mchis | Dru.gu.sṣa.ma.dro.dgorsu.btab.paḥi.braṇ.sa.brtaḡs.naḥ | braṇ.rdal.lṇa. [B 1] tsam.mchiste | rta.sna.rol.gchig.bkum.nas || stsaṇ.sṣa.dag.kyaṇ.bsregste("to ?).ḥtshal. [B 2] braṇ.naḥ.gla.dar.gchig.daṇ.gri.šubs.gchig.kyaṇ.rñede | Chu.mdoḥi.Ce-ti.steṇ.du.gdar. [B 3] bcug.ste.[pyad ? byad ?].daṇ.khram.bu.bžag.ste.ces | gñer.ḡgums.gsol.ba.lags.

[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)."

*braṇ-sa*: "station" or "halting-place". This expression is common in the names of stopping-places in the mountains, e.g. Saser Braṇ-sa on the Karakoram route.

B. 2, *stsaṇ-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; ll. 6 *recto* + 6 *verso* (a different hand) of ordinary *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] , | glañ.gi.loñi.dpyid. || blon.Btsan.Sug.bžer.dañ |  
blon.[Giñ.z]lign.dañ | blon.Dpal.bzañ.la.stsogs.las | | hdun.  
sa.[Dru].gur. [2] . . [Dr]u.gu.yul.du.myi.hdzin.cha.  
gsum.[bkye].bahi.rta.pa.cha.geigi.dpuñ.pon.pa | tsa.  
rñu.Khoñ.rgid.btus.pas | [t]shal.bahi.g-yar.hog.rta . . [3]  
ma.hbyor.nas: || Rlañ.Hbrug.legs.kyi.rta.phros.pa.glañte |  
gla.[rgod.po.chuñ.phyugs] . pa . geig.yanu.hsdus.so.  
ri[ba.mtha.ril.ma.mchis.la] . . [4] [sgur.dañ.sgrad.]man-  
chis | srañ.drug.ri.ba.geig.staal.par.bgyis.pa.dañ || rta.pho.  
nañ.pa.dños.gum.stor.ma.gyur.te | slan.[chad.m] . .  
[5] na.yañ.[skad].rmyig.[l]as.skyon.zugste.bkol.spyad.ltam  
gnod.par.gyur.ham.khoñ.gcoñ.zugs.na. || Śi.[n]jir.gi.ri . .  
[6] sum.eur.b[tab]ste. | rta.pho.rgod.gañ.hbyor.hbyor. . .  
geig . . . is. [ba.mtha.bzi] . . .

[A 1] "Spring of the Ox year; from Councillor Btsan-sug (sum†)-bžer and Councillor Giñ-zigs and Councillor Dpal-bzañ and others. Assemblage in [Dru]-gu . . . [A 2-3] The *tsa-rñu* Khoñ-rgid 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 (*q-yar-hog*). He having hired a spare horse of *Rlañ Hbrug-legs*, the hire (*here follow some particulars which cannot be clearly read*) . . . [A 4-6] it was arranged that he should give six *srañ* 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 Śi-nir hill, at Sum-cu: whatever untamed stallion is available . . . one . . ."

#### Notes

1. A. 3, *phros-pa*: "Additional," "remaining."

*gla* as a verb is not found elsewhere. The following passage no doubt stated the price.



A. 4, *nañ-pa* (*nañ-pa* ?): "Domestic" (i.e. tame ?), is apparently contrasted with the *rgod* "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-cur*: This means "at thirty"; but it seems likely that a place-name is intended, and this might be *Sum-chu* "Three Waters", since in the Chronicle we have such a place-name (ll. 3, 38: "Sum-chu-bo in Śans"): the place may even be the same, the rivers being Tārīm, Konche, and Cereen daryā.

### *The Great and Little Dru-gu, and the Upper Dru-gu*

In connection with the *Ha-za* (p. 30) and with *Śa-cu* (p. 40), we have already met with the name *Drug-cun* and *°chun*, which must have been understood to mean the "Little Dru-gu" (*Drug-chun*). Further examples are the following:—

11. M.I. iv, 57 (a) (paper fragment, fol. no. 19 in vol.; c. 6 × 6 cm.; parts of ll. 5 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script; similar to Ch. 56, fol. 51, p. 363).

[1] . . . [mtshams.tho.rgya] . . . [2] . . . *li.su.tug* || *nub.ma* . . . [3] . . . [mtshams.tho.rgya.can.la.thug] . . . [4] . . . *nthoñ.khyab.Drug.cun.gyi* . . . [5] . . . -i . . . [l]ags . . .

" . . . boundary-stone mark . . . came upon. West . . . came upon a boundary-stone with a mark . . . watch-tower, of the *Drug-cun* . . ."

### *Notes*

1. 1, *mtshams-tho*: The expression is frequent in another document, p. 361.6, etc.

1. 4, *nthoñ-khyab*: On this expression see p. 123.

12. M.I. iv, 57 (a) (paper fragment, fol. 19 in vol.; c. 4 × 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 | ?) | byañ.m . . .

[2] . . . gi.mtahams . . .

[3] . . . [g] | རྩོག | | rtse.h-(l-ŋ) . . .

[4] . . . || lho.Nag.sod . . .

[5] . . . [tsh]añ.stod . . .

(A line is perhaps lost here.)

[6] . . . -un.gyi.rje.ñin . . .

[7] .i . . . o

" . . . north . . . boundary of . . . Rtse-[*lho* ?] . . .  
South Nag-sod . . . Upper [*Rgod* (?)]-tsh]añ . . . king's land  
of the [*Drug-c*]un . . . "

On *rje-ñin*, 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-can* script, rather obscure).

[A 1] . . . ldoñ.bzañ.lha.sgra.[gsas].kyi.gñi . . .

[A 2] . . . s.kyis | stod.gyi.Dru.gu.dma[g] . . .

[B 1] . . . gñan . . . [g]y-ñ . . .

[B 2] . . . [bla.Drug.]che.chu[ñ].gi.[sts] . . .

[A 1] " . . . estate of ldoñ-bzañ 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 ldoñ-bzañ 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-za, Śa-cu, Kva-cu, Stoñ-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).

F.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, α, vi, 0031, b, ii, 0023) we have on wooden tablets merely the expression *Dru-gu-hjor*, except that in one of them (0022) the place-name *Tsehu.ca[g]* (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 *ch'ou* (*chur*), noted by Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue 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. α, vi, 0031 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm.; l. 1 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script: about 12 notches).

☉ | : | Dru-gu. 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-hjon* 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).

[A 1] ☉ | : | Bgya. Sluñs. yan. chad. dañ. Dru. gu. hjon.

(man) [A 2] man . chad . kyī . phur . myi . stag . rnam . laḥ |  
 [B 1] Lhaḥ . mthoñ . gi . gsol . bā . sgya . hu . naḥdi . thugs . pag.  
 [B 2] cig . nas . chig . du . mjed . par . gsol . zin . meli.

"To the Tiger swordsmen (*phur-myi*) up to Chinese Sluñs and down to the Dru-gu-hjon; request of Lhaḥ(Lha)-mthoñ. He requests that these things in the bag (*sgya-hu-naḥdi* ?) be conveyed (*mjed* ?) with care on from one to another."

If this Lha-mthoñ is the *zan-khri* Lha-mthoñ 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 Sluñs and *phur-myi* see pp. 52, 174, 224, 296-7. *Mjed* recurs in M.T., c, iii, 0018.

In the passage last cited, and also in that given *supra* pp. 202-4), there is a question of missives to Šin-šan 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 Sluñs, probably in the mountains further east: elsewhere also Dru-gu are connected with (the mountain hinterland of) Tshal-byi and with the Ḥa-ža, 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-yü-hun: at present the sovereign in that city is the second son (of the king) of the Tu-yü-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-za, if the Ha-za were, as we have reason for believing, a people of Shan-shan, and its hinterland. We may also remark that the name *Mu-li-yeu*, attributed by the Chinese to the Tu-yu[k]-hun king who invaded Khotan, has some resemblance to *Mug-lilen*, which at a later date (c. A.D. 640) we have found in a Ha-za connection (pp. 11 sqq.).

It is, however, the Drug-cun who are in the documents most clearly brought into connection with the Ha-za; 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 (*phyag-hsald*): the context is uninformative. 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] . . . || *hūn.nas.bar.hūi.hi.tshe.ni.spu<sup>1</sup>.skyin.dān.*  
*hbab.pahi.tshe.yin.no* || *hūn.nas.skyin.dān.hbab.pahi* : [46]  
*[dus.lo].sum.brgyah.drug.cu.las.sa.dān* || *Rgyah.yul.gyi.*

<sup>1</sup> Crossed out.

hog | mtshoh.chen.po. zig. pha. rol. nas. rgyal. po. gdon. nag.  
 po. sh. rta [47] nag. po. zon. ba. zig. lo. drug. cuhi. bar. du  
 dar. te | Rgya. mgo. nag. po. de. la. phyag. tshal. zin. des. bkol.  
 bar. hon. noh | rgyal. po. dehi [48] tsh. lo. drug. cu. hda. nas ||  
 Bug. chor. gyi. rgya. sa. hdam. ba. khun. bu. nas. byun. ste ||  
 myi [n. n]i. dan<sup>1</sup>. Drug. chen. po. zes. bya. ba. || [49] Rgya. hi.  
 rgyal. po. gdon. nag. po. dan. | Bug. chor. gyi. rgyal. po. gnis |  
 myed. par. byas. te. Rgya. dan. Bug. chor. gnis | hba. rgyal.  
 po [50] des. bkol. zin. dphyah. hja. bar. hon. no || Drug. chen.  
 po. hi. rgyal. po. lo. bdun. cu. rtsa. gnis. dar. tol | lo. bdun. cu.  
 rtsa. gnis. [51] dar. pa. dan. | ni. ma. sar. logs. kyi. Dru. gu.  
 dan | ni. ma. nub. pa. logs. gyi. Dru. gu. gnis. lthab. ste | thog.  
 ma. ni. nub. phyogs. kyi. Drugu . . .

"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]-

<sup>1</sup> dan crossed out.

him, and being extant in the Tibetan period, he could not be a Hiung-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 Chū-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 Śa-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 Karashahr, established in Śa-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 *Dru-gu* 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 Śa-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 Kham" and the *Geografia Tibeta* mentions (p. 54) a *Gru-gu-dgon* lamasery 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 Śa-cu 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 *Hjañ*, 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 *Śañ-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-Ula* 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,<sup>1</sup> which is separated from *Mongolia* by the *Dzungarian* plateau and the

<sup>1</sup> *Innermost Asia*, pp. 566-588. For authorities see Klaproth, *Sprache und Schrift der Uigur*, pp. 44 seq.; Chavannes, *Toung-Pao*, 1907, pp. 210 seq.; O. Franke, *Eine chinesische Tempelschrift aus Idikstakei bei Turfan* (Berlin Academy Abhandlungen, 1907), pp. 7 seq.

Altai mountains, we see that, though subject to the dominion of the successive great kingdoms to the north, the Hiung-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 Uigurs, with its capital at Karakoram. Sir Aurel Stein remarks upon "the close intercourse which, since ancient times, must have existed between Anterior and Posterior Chü-shih, i.e. Turfān 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 (Kuchā, Khotan, Kāshgar, 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 Tārīm basin and made their influence felt even north of the T'ien-shan, without having at least temporarily secured mastery over the oases from Tun-huang to Turfān, 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 Uigurs, 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 Hāmi and Turfān, in semi-nomadic occupation of the Guchen region . . . Towards the close of 790 a fresh effort was made by the Uigurs 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 Uigurs, 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 Guchen. As regards the actual name, which in its Chinese form *Ku-ch'êng-tzû* 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'üan, which Sir A. Stein crossed on his way from Guchen to Turfan (ibid., p. 555). Further, the town of Pei-t'ing, which later appears in Turkish as *Bëshbaliq* "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-zjang*; 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-zjang*—may seem not to strengthen the arguments from nomenclature connecting Gu-zan with the Guchen-Turfan region. But they do not weaken it: until a preferable alternative is found, the attribution of Gu-zan to the Guchen 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-bśos*, *Śoñ-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 *Šon-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 *Shonā-nor* depression, between *Hami* or *Pichan* and the *Quruk-tāgh* mountains. Also the *Ši-nir* mountain, mentioned in the document *MLI*, 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*",<sup>1</sup> which lies north of the western part of the *Quruk-tāgh* and may have been on a route from the *Lop-nor* district to *Guchen*, *Pichan*, and *Turfān*. That in all times there was regular communication between *Lop-nor-Shan-shan* and the *Guchen-Turfān* country is patent from the historical particulars cited by *Chavannes* and *Sir A. Stein*, as well as in other ways.<sup>2</sup> If these identifications are sound, then quite possibly *Drañ* may be *Taranchi*, which *Sir A. Stein's* map places south of the *Bogdo-Ulā* mountains. *Taranchi* is, no doubt, simply Turkish *taranchi* "land-cultivator", where the *chi* is the common suffix (*Vambéry, Kulatku 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-bšos* might be connected with the lake *Khri-šo*, which, according to a *Bon* book, lies between the kingdom

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> In the passage quoted from the Chinese by *Bushell* in *JRAS.*, 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-sor, or Koko-nor, as seems to be indicated by the Tibetan Geography translated by Wassiliew (St. Petersburg, 1895, p. 55); but *Khri-bśas-khrom*, "the Khri-bśas mart."

The identification of the Dru-gu country with the Guchen-Turfān 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-Turfān 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 *drug* or the Sanskrit *Druh-yu*, 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-su!, 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 Chana* (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 king<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Khotan*, p. 580.

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-ldehu-btsan; it occurs in the *Rgyal-pohi bkahi-than-yig* "Pronouncements concerning kings", being the second part of the *Padma-[bgyu-gnas]-bkahi-than-yig*, the well-known "Pronouncements of Padma[sambhava]", 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 *Bkaḥ-hgyur* (fol. 14a 7, sqq.), where the lines read as follows (fol. 22a of the Padma xylograph shows small variants):—

17. byaṅ.phyogs.Ge.sar.Gru.gu.bzugs.pa.yaṅ ॐ  
 bar.da.bkaḥ.hkhon.byuṅ.nas.bsdo.ba.la ॐ  
 arin.po.Gdon.dmar.Bod.kyi.dmag.g-yos.nas ॐ  
 Gru.gu.yul.gyi.'On.ñu.yan.chod.la ॐ  
 Bod.kyi.dmag.dpuṅ.sbra.nag.phab.nas.ni ॐ  
 yul.brlag.mi.rnams.Mon.gyi.sa.la.bskyal ॐ  
 khyim.mkhar.Mon.gyi.sa.la.btod.nas.kyaṅ ॐ  
 yul.du.mi.ñan.bsten.pa.sun.phyuṅ.ste ॐ  
 spa.bkoṅ.ded.dpon.yul.h(m)khar.htsho.bar.bzag ॐ  
 Gru.gu.Ge.sar.Bod.kyi.bran.du.phyag ॐ

"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-ñu 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,<sup>1</sup> 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."

<sup>1</sup> I.e. among the Mons, a non-Tibetan people, usually associated with the western parts of Tibet and the lower Himalaya. See the dictionaries, and also Schiefner, *Kina tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Ōkjamunis*, p. 328; Laufer, *Klu "Bum bodus pai shin po*, pp. 94 sqq.; A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, vol. I (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 verisimilitude concerning the king Mu-tig-btsan-po, the patron of Padmassambhava, 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 Śarat 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-cu Si-nan*; in the year 741-2 the Tibetans, after capturing the Chinese city *Dar-kha-hayan*, inflicted in Zan-tsal of Zo-don a great defeat upon "Khrom", the Btsan-po himself being present (Chronicle, II. 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-gzig (Tajiks), Ge-gsar (Ge-sar), and Khrom (*Rgya-gar-chos-kyi-rgyal-po*, *Stag-gzig-nor-gyi-rgyal-po*, *Ge-gsar-dmag-gi-rgyal-po*, *Gzugs-mdzes-Khrom-gyi-rgyal-po*, *bzihi-blon* . . .), and in the Bon (schematic) 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 Chû-shih" (Turfan) and "Posterior Chû-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-sar* 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 (*JA.*, 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-za*. He, however, regards the name *Ha-za* 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-za* kingdom long after the overthrow of the Tu-yu[k]-hun) understood by the term *Ha-za* 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 *Drug-cin*.

### *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-byun*, 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-Hung*, *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 Hiuan-Tsang the king of Khotan "had been subject to the Turks" (Abel-Rémusat, *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 Turkî: [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-dbrad-Rgan-pho. (*Repeated verso*).

"The *dbrad* Rgan-pho (or old ?) of the Bzan-Hor regiment" where *dbrad* 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 Bañ-Gsas-byin (p. 141), i.e. "Gsas-byin of the Bañ clan" or "two Hore, Bañ and Gsas", the former being the more probable, since a clan name Bañ has been traced at Śa-cu (p. 113). Further references are:—

19. M. Tāgh. c, iii, 0019 (wood, c. 13.5 × 1.5 cm., complete, hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨོ || སྲི་མོ་ཐག་ཤེ་རྣེ་ལྷ་ཨོ་ཁྲེན་ཏིན་མེ་ [2] རྟོག་པོན་ |

"The *Ñi-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, i, 0058 (wood, c. 12.5 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script, rather smudged).

[1] ཨོ | : | ཨོ་ཐོ་ཐག་ཤེ་ | སྲིལ་ཨོ་ [2] སྲ་གཟིག་ |

"The *Ho-tso-bag* regiment; the *Sñel* *Hor* *Na-gzigs*."

The *Ho-tso-bag* (*pag*) regiment is several times mentioned (pp. 173, 454, 460-1). *Sñel* is probably a place-name, since a *Sñel 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 *Sñel* Hore". But cf. *sñe-lo*, p. 461.

21. M. Tāgh. c, i, 003 (wood, c. 10.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨོ | : | ཨོ་ནམ་ནེ་(འུ་)ལུ་ཞུན་གྱི་མཆིད་ [2] གསལ་[1] [ཐག་]

"Letter-petition of *Ne(o ?)hu-žuñ* in *Hor*" (or "of *Na-ne(o ?)hu-žuñ*, 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-hgyur* (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-chou, *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-baḥi-me-loh* (India Office copy, fol. 14a, 4) the mother of Sroḥ-btsan Sgam-po is said to have been Tshe-spoḥ-bza Hbri-ma Thod-kar, where the last two syllables probably denote her race, while Tshe-spoḥ is a district named in the *Rgyal-poḥi-bkaḥi ṭhan-yig* (see Vol. I, p. 271, n. 3). The Thod-gar mentioned by Cordier (op. cit., i (ii), p. 33) belonged to Spyi-lcogs, which also was in the north-east (see p. 45). In the Life (tenth century) of Padmasambhava and generally in the later literature (e.g. in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, edited by Śarat 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 Ttaugara, which may possibly correspond to the city Thogara, is mentioned in a Saka-Khotanī 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, *Erän-sahr*, pp. 201-2; Chavannes in *T'oung Pao*, 1905, pp. 526-7 and nn. 8 and 1; Franke, *Zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker 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'ien 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 *Thod-kar* 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 *φείος* for *θείος*). 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* ("si") "people of Thod-gar", wherein the *ci* (or *si*) was in Central Asia a common and ancient gentile suffix, the last syllable of the Chinese name need cause no difficulty; the second syllable also we have found in Kan-si in the eighth century A.D. with the value *hgar* (*JRAS.*, 1927, p. 297).

## (d) SLUÑS

The Sluñs 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 Sluñs" (p. 376), but also "Sluñs and soldiers" (p. 52). That they were organized appears from the term "Sluñs-commander" (*Sluñs-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).

☞ | . | Rgya . Sluñs . Hbög . lañ

"Hbög-lañ, Chinese-Sluñs."

Possibly Hbög-lañ is a tribal, rather than a personal name, since M.T. b. ii, 0020 mentions a Stag-sñān (stañ ?) who was a Hbög-lin-pha, the Hbög 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).

☞ || [Š—s] . Rgya . Sluñs . su . Li . ge[i]g cad o o

"Among the Chinese Sluñs of [Šaṅs ?] one Khotanī executed." The Chinese Sluñs 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).

. . . | Slu[ñsu . Ho] . ma . luñ . gi . rj[e] . [la]

"To the Sluñs chief of [Ho]-ma-luñ."

A "Sluñs Ho-ma Bu-lud(ñ)" was mentioned *supra*, p. 64; II J.

The expressions "Chinese Sluñs" (actually used to indicate a region, p. 52), "northern Sluñs" (p. 431), "Sluñs of Hbu-śāñ" (p. 236), "Sluñs, Upper and Lower" (*stod-smad*, *Tibetan Chronicle*, I, 169) suffice to show that the name *Sluñs*

has a topographical implication, while the reference to "nomad *Sluñs*" (*Hbrog-Sluñs*, 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 *Sluñs* properly denotes one of the four customary distinctions of Tibetan territory into flat steppe (*thun*), upland pasture (*hbrog*), defile country (*ron*), and high country (*sgaṅ*), with distinctive populations; see Sandberg, *Tibet and the Tibetans*, pp. 13 sqq. If this is so, the mention of "Chinese *Sluñs*" is in favour of an identification with the *ron* people and of the above (p. 52) suggested connection of the name with *luñ* "valley". The characteristics of the people, as distinguished from the general body of the Tibetans, may have fitted them for only *quasi*-military service.

#### (c) H̄BROG

There can be no doubt that the H̄brog are the modern H̄brog (*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.; ll. 3 (A) + 4 (B) of square *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༩ || jo . co . blon . Stag . bzañ . la | | Kḥn . [B 1] {s} .  
gyi . mchid . gsol . bā || sñun . bžeñs . sam . ma . bžeñs .  
[mchid . y]ig . [A 2] [las] . sñun . gsol . žiñ . mchis . na |  
bkaḥ . stsald . par . [c]i . gnañ | [B 2] [h]di . skad . sñuñs .  
pa . gsol . žes . bkaḥ . ḥbab . myi . ḥbab | :jo . co [A 3] la .  
myi . gs[o]l . naḥ . . . . [B 3]-ḥ . chad . ma . de . tsam .  
žig | bdagi . [b]ul . loñ . pa . dañ . sbyard . te . H̄brog . tu .  
gtañ

[A 4] . . . [B 4] . . . ḥkhor . tu . ni . myi . mchis . sku .  
yañ . myi . nas . žiñ (*sic*) . mchis . naḥ | gtañ . ḥdra .

[B 5, addition to B 4 1] H̄brog . tu . mchisna

[B, verso] Nob . chuñu . ḥi . rtse . rje . blon ||



"To my lord Councillor Stag-bzañ: letter-petition of Klu . . . [Then after compliments, B 3] In regard to my debtor [bu-lon-pa] I will send to the Hbrog . . . Is not in the refinee (or is not returned, *hkhor-tu-myi-mchis* ?). Personally also [I] have a fever (*myi-nas*) . . . will send it seems. Is in Hbrog. [B] The head chief, the Councillor, of Little Nob."

Evidently the Hbrog 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).

[A 1] . . . —s. da. ltar. Phyi. Hbrog. na [A 2] . . . [dr]ug. brgya. sum. cu || Nob [B 1] . . . dan. dgu. brgya. sum. cu. tsam [B 2] . . . [tshi (chi ?)]. bra<sup>1</sup>. dan. sbyar. na || hdi [B 3] . . . [gyi]s. bde. bar. htsho. ba[r]<sup>2</sup>. hdra. zin. mchis.<sup>3</sup>

" . . . At present are in the Outer (*Phyi*) Hbrog [country] . . . six hundred and thirty; in Nob . . . and nine hundred and thirty, approximately . . . these . . . seem to be living happily."

The Outer Hbrog are mentioned also in vol. i, pp. 301-2. The Tibetan *Chronicle* mentions the Yar-Hbrog ("Upper Hbrog", i.e. Yam-dok, ll. 86, 94) and also the Hbrog of Rtsañ-cen (l. 62) and of G-yo-ru (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).

[1] ☉ || blon. Stag. guñ. dan. gsum. gis | . . . [2] glo. ba. bde. ham. myi. bde. yi. ge. las. bro. hdriho || . . . [3] rab. tu. myi. bde. ste || Sod. Hbrog. snam. chis<sup>4</sup>. [rtsa ?] [4] mkhar. pa. la. cha. gsas. yañ. ma. khug[s ?] . . . [5] zin. pa. gzugs. pañi. yo. byad. kyañ. chuñ | nañ. [phrugs ? ?] . . . [6] chin<sup>5</sup> | ri. dags. Sod. na. yañ. yon. myi. phan. [zi] . . . [7] du. stsol. chig | hdi. ltar. mchid. [luñ. su] . . . [8] pas. khums. par. gcad. do || sñer. bu. [ ] . . .

<sup>1</sup> bla ? gra ? gla ?

<sup>2</sup> s below line.

<sup>4</sup> snam, tsam ?

<sup>3</sup> r below line.

<sup>5</sup> tshan ?

"By Councillor Stag-guñ with two others . . . inquiring by letter as to health, happy or unhappy . . . very unhappy. Having gone to Snam in (?) Šod-Hbrog . . . with the townspeople found nothing at all . . . the resident peasants have very slight possessions. Domestic animals . . . From the wild animals also in Šod [*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 × 1.5 cm., complete; l. 1 of ordinary *dbu-can* script).

Mon . Khyi . gu . cuñ

"The Mon Khyi-gu-cuñ (Khyi-gu Minor)."

30. M.I. xv, 0013 (wood, 12 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso*, faint, of cursive *dbu-can* script).

A. | Hor : Mon : Myes (Sgyes?) cuñ ; dañ [B] Hjiñ . [ld ?] ju

"The Turk Mon Myes-cuñ and Hjiñ-ldu." Cf. p. 120, *Mon Tshe-skyes* and M.I., xiv, 131a, *Mon Rtses*.

What a Turk Mon was does not appear; understand a Mon (Myes-cuñ) and a Turk (Hjiñ-ldu)?

31. M.I. xiv, 67 (wood, c. 17 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ☉ || Nag . šod . [rgya] . ñi . šu . dañ . | thor . bu . la . ldeñ . Rma [A 2] bzañ . dañ . Mon . Skyes . cuñ . gñis . ||  
[B] Spu . Nag . šod . la . cab (*then incerted* lo . mu[-dman ? ?]).

[A] " [In] Nag-šod Chinese twenty and separate (*thor-bu* ?) La-ldeñ (?) Rma-bzañ and Mon Skyes-cuñ, those two. Brother, authority for Nag-šod."

Is *cab* = *chab*? On Nag-šod see *supra*, pp. 125-130, 465.

## (g) VARIOUS OTHER PLACES, ETC.

(a) 'A-rko (unknown; possibly connected with the Arka-Tāgh).

32. M. Tāgh. 0266 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm.; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] 𐎧 || gšen . Ji . la . re | [B] 'A . rkoñi . mtshal . bu | la . htshal.<sup>1</sup>

"The gšen Ji-la-re sent (?) to Mtshal-bu of 'A-rko." On gšen see pp. 255, 395, and Index.

33. M. Tāgh. 0350 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm.; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] 𐎧 || Gnubs . Legs . zigs [B] 'A . rkoñi . S(e . ruh) | l(a)h . [tshal]

"Legs-zigs of Gnubs sent (?) to Se-ruh of 'A-rko." Gnubs is a district in Tibet, mentioned in *Bstan-hgyur* colophons, and in the *Tibetan Chronicle*, ll. 108, 138.

(b) 'Aro (unknown; possibly connected with Ptolemy's 'Opośava (vi, 16, 8 = "'A-ro shan" ?), associated with Θόγαρα, etc.).

34. M.I. iii, 2 (paper, fol. no. 13 in vol., c. 24 × 18.5 cm., fragmentary at r.; originally folded horizontally in the middle; ll. 3 + 3 (a different hand), inverted, of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] 𐎧 | : | blon . Rgyal . zigs . gis | | Ca . sto . . . [2] do . cig . lug . rtsis . kyi . tsho . yañ . mo . lags . rah . [n ?] . . . [n . bts] . . . [3] stsal . bar . bgyis . pa . lags . paa || nod . pa . G[s]as . ko[n] . . .

[B] || 'A . ro . Śaṅ . spe . la . sprin . ño [2] . . . gcig . cig | Gsas . koñ . la . stsol . la | alad . kyis . lug [3] . . galo<sup>2</sup> . cig || (trace of seal).

A. "By councillor 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 Śaṅ-spe of 'A-ro. Send to Gsas-koñ some . . . one: afterward please . . . sheep."

*Lug-rtsis-kyi-tsho-yañ-mo-lags* might mean "there is little life in the counted sheep" ?

<sup>1</sup> / below line.

<sup>2</sup> = *god*.

(c) *He-bam* (mentioned, as Dpal-'E-'bam, in a *Bstan-hgyur* colophon; location unknown. The reduplicated form of the name *Leg-leg* favours the Śa-cu region<sup>1</sup>).

35. M.I. xiv, 52 (wood, c. 8.5-9 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[1] ༩ | : | tsogs . dpon . . . . . [s] . rad[n̄ ?] . . [2] | He . bam . Leg . leg . |

"The He-bam Leg-leg . . ."

36. M.I. xiv, 0035 (wood, c. 4 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༩ || He . bam . . . . . [A 2] legs . l . . . . [B 1] [h]bro (blo ?) . rin . . . . [B 2] zig . mchi . . .

(d) *Hon* (a tribe or district in Skyi; see *supra*, p. 48).

37. M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0011 (wood, c. 13.5 × 2-2.5 cm., complete; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script; indications *verso* of erased script ?).

[1] ༩ || Gyi . ſo . Skyi . sna[n̄] . hog . pon . tsham . du . ci . gna [2] n̄ : Hon . do . tsho . lha : dpal . pul . tañ . [d]ra . ba (=phrul . dañ . hdra . ba ?).

"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-hgyur* colophons.

38. M. Tāgh. b, i, 00103 (paper, fol. no. 39 in vol., c. 24 × 7 cm., fragmentary at l.; ll. 3 of square *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . | Li : Śi : rhañ | zañi : mehid : gsol | ba | [2] . . . . . : [yer ? ?] . taham : zig | bdag : mehis | hbrañ : . . . yañ | ma mehis | na [3] . . . n̄ : h[di . tsham] . zig | ma . khyim | du : stsald . par | ji | gnañ | Hon | jo | bo : lha |

" . . . letter petition of Khotani Śi-rhañ-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 ?)."

<sup>1</sup> Also a "Bam Log-log" occurs there; see *supra*, p. 113.



The writer, *Ši-rhañ-za*, is evidently a woman, as, indeed, is indicated by the *za* suffix (= *bza* "woman"), on which see *supra*, p. 73.

(h) PLACES, ETC., IN TIBET

(a) *Cog-ro* (a district in Mdo, N.E. Tibet, sometimes mentioned in *Bstan-hgyur* colophons; see the Index by Mlle Lalou). Cf. pp. 10-15, 271, and Vol. I, p. 279.

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] 𑄣 | Rgu . bon . gi . rje . blas<sup>1</sup> . nas.kal [B 1] bou . | Cog . ro . Ldon . legs . kyis [B 2] hbul . bar . bgyis.

"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 . Rtsaṅ . bžer . Khyi . . .  
[A 2] . dan : Spraṅ<sup>2</sup> . rje . Stag . bzaṅ . H[ch]o[s . ky—] . . .  
[B 1] . . [rt]a . dan . | sa . stoṅ . Šaṅ . rtsaṅ . dan . . .

" . . . ro and Rtsaṅ-bžer Khyi . . . of Chog-ro, and the Spraṅ chief Stag-bzaṅ Hchos-ky— . . . horse and guide (*sa-stoṅ*) Šaṅ-rtsaṅ and . . ."

On the surname *Spraṅ* and *Spraṅ-stoṅ*, a district in S.E. Tibet, see Vol. I, p. 280, n. 7; on *sa-stoṅ*, 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. 0587 (wood, c. 9 × 2.5 cm., complete; ll. 3 *recto* + 2 *verso* (a different hand) of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] 𑄣 || dmag : stoṅ | Do : yul . du [A 2] mehir : gnaṅ | te : hbruṅi : lo : [A 3] hi | stoṅ : sla : hbruṅi pho

[B 1] 𑄣 | hbruṅi : pho : Šal : dan Lāṅ[s] [B 2] hbo : ti [le ?] : dan

"An army of a thousand having been allowed to go

<sup>1</sup> *Šic*! Read bla . lu . nas . 4(h)al.

<sup>2</sup> *Spraṅ*?

(home ?) into the Do country, Dragon year, middle autumn month . . . Middle Nal and Lîns-hbo-li . . ."

Nal is unknown, unless = Gñal in S.E. Tibet, or Mñal, which gave its name to a regiment (see *infra*, p. 464); Lîns-hbo-li also is unknown.

(c) *Gñi-ba* (perhaps = Sñi-ba, a military district in S.E. Tibet: see Vol. I, pp. 280 and n. 5, 284).

42. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 008 (wood, c. 13 × 2.5-3 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script and remains of ll. 3 *verso* in a different, smaller, hand).

[A] ཨ | : | Gñi | ba : Lha . sbyin . gi . pha . tsa . ||

[B 1-3] (*obscure and very fragmentary*).

"Parcel of Gñi-ba Lha-sbyin."

(d) *Hbro* (a well-known tribe and district of Gtsañ, in Tibet: often mentioned in *Bstan-hgyur* colophons; see also *supra*, pp. 15-16, for its regiment, pp. 458-9).

43. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0060 (wood, c. 13 × 2-2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; l. 1 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

ཨ | : | Hbro . hi . Roñ . lîns . yul . bzun |

"Roñ-lîns of Hbro (local government, *bzun* = *gñun* ? or *yul-bzun* a proper name ?)

Roñ-lîns might be = Roñ-glîns of the colophon ap. Cordier, iii, p. 211.

(e) *Hbrom* (a district which furnished a regiment, *supra*, p. 175).

44. M. Tāgh. a. ii, 00101 (paper, fol. no. 9 in vol., c. 28 × 8 cm.; ll. 3 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨ || Hbrom . mañ . po . rjeñi . khral . rta<sup>1</sup> . rgoñ . ma .  
zyu . mo . tsha . bskoñs . pañi . slad . du . gñe[r] . . . [2]  
ñañ . slo . Kl[u] . sbyin . la . stog . g<sup>2</sup>-yon . bskor . na . tsod ||  
dphuñ . dpou . stag . Stag . rjeñi . g-yar . sha [3] . . . . .  
chis . par . gyur . te . stag . gi . dpañ . rgya

" . . . in charge of an untamed tax horse of the Hbrom chief, overheated (*tsha-bskoñs*) through indigestion, having,

<sup>1</sup> *Drgya* here crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> Something here crossed out.

at a time when *šan-slo* = (*šan-lon*?) Klu-sbyin and others (read *lastsogs*) turned recalcitrant, come . . . to the presence of troop-commander Tiger Stag-rje, witness signature of the Tiger."

On *dpuñ-dpon*, *rgod* and *g-yon-b skor* see pp. 274, 375, 424.

(f) *Khyuñ* (a tribe of E. Tibet, noted *supra*, pp. 54, i, 277-8, etc., and mentioned also M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0043, and in *Bstan-hgyur* colophons).

45. M.I. xl, 4 (wood, c. 11 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☉ || Khyuñ . Byi . tsa . Mtsho . goñ |

"The Khyuñ Byi-tsa Mtsho-goñ."

The *Byi-tsa* might be a clan included in the Khyuñ-po tribe.

(g) *Mi* (or *Me*)-ñag (a tribe or district in E. Tibet<sup>1</sup> see the maps—noticed Vol. I, p. 263 and n. 1, and in *Bkañ-hgyur* (Beckh, p. 95) and *Bstan-hgyur* colophons, etc.).

46. M.I. xiv, 24 (paper, fol. no. 41 in vol., c. 15 × 6 cm., imperfect at r.; ll. 6 of rather coarse, squarish *dbu-can* script).

[1] ☉ | yos : lo : la : Yor : boñi : Snam : Šam : bzañ . . . [2] las : hbul : bañi : hdusu : bgyis : ste : hbrugi : lo . . . [3] bgyis : hdusu : ma : phul : na : geig : la : gñisu : b<sup>2</sup>— : . . . [4] tshig : eig : yañ : myi : mchih : bar : bgyis : hdus : leag[s]<sup>2</sup> . . . [5] rmol : Ņa : goñ : dan : rtsig : Lha . tsa . skyes : Myi : ñag : Phyi : spo . . . [6] rgyas : btab : pañ |

"A time in the Hare year having been arranged for delivery from Snam Šam-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 . . . Ņa-goñ and *rtsig* Lha-tsa-skyes and Phyi-*apo* . . . of Myi-ñag . . . attached their signatures."

Yor-bo and Snam are not identified.

<sup>1</sup> It is Hodgson's "Manyak": see also Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, p. 218, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> h<sup>2</sup>?

<sup>3</sup> Baags (11).

(h) *Myaṅ-yul* and *Myaṅ-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).

[1] ཨ | Myaṅ . yul [2] bzo . mḥan<sup>1</sup> . gyi [3] [hbañs ? ?] [4] [de . ñul ? ?]

"Myaṅ-yul artificer (bzo), government servant . . ."

48. M. Tāgh. 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] . . . Myaṅ-ro . . .

M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0037, is the card of a Myaṅ Hphan-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).

[1] ཨ || Pañ . tshab . Hphan . la [2] skyes |

"The Pañ-tshab Hphan-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).

ཨ ཨ || Pañ . tshab . Rbeg . cun |

"The Pañ-tshab Rbeg-cun."

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 Ś. C. Das' Tibetan dictionary, "a place on the confines of Ge-sar and Tibet," i.e., Kucā).

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] ཨ || Po . Khro . do (r) . bñi [B] [bab | ?]

<sup>1</sup> = below line.



"The Po Khiro, four teams . . . arrived."

(k) *Sna-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. Tāgh. c. ii, 0013 (wood, c. 8 × 1.5-2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

... Sna-nam . Khir . loñ

"Khir-loñ of Sna-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 *Bksh-hgyur* (Beckh. p. 84) and *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, ii, p. 196) were connected with Sa-skyā and Yar-luñs respectively; as regards the form of the name cf. *Mer-ke* (Chronicle, ll. 100, 103), *Ran-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).

☞ | . | Sud . ke . [Dr]um . [do] . cuñ 6 ( Ha . 2a . god . sdzhi 1 ) ||

"Sud-ke Drum-do-cuñ, of the Ha-2a God regiment."

(m) *Sreg* (probably in Tibet, since the word has a Tibetan meaning, "partridge". The *Bksh-hgyur* colophons mention (Beckh. p. 84) a *Sreg-zin* in Śāna, and a royal palace at *Sre-ga* is named in the *Chronicle* (ll. 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).

[1] ☞ | : | Sreg . Klu . [2] legs || "The Sreg, Klu-legs."

(n) *Tre* (no doubt connected with *Tre-sod* (= *Tre-smad*), which Ś. C. Das' dictionary locates in Khama. 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.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, rubbed and faint).

☞ | Tre . smad . gyi . dpon . sna[s . mchid . gsol . bah]

"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 Mye-slebs* and of a *Thre Mthoñ-rma* (p. 130).

## Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. VI: Government and Social Conditions.

- A. General; B. Documents (1, Officials; 2, Classes and persons; 3, Agriculture and crops, registration, taxation, survey; 4, Travel and animals; 5, Objects and presents; 6, Burial and mourning and other ceremonial; 7, Medicine; 8, Law; 9, Writing and letters).

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, Karaahahr, 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 Šu-lig = Kashgar (p. 260)—not a single reference.

The twin states of "Anterior" and "Posterior" Chü-shih, i.e. Turfan-Kao-chang and Gu-chen at the extreme east of the T'ien-shan, do indeed seem to be indicated as goal of hostile expeditions (*supra*, 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 Kan-su,

to secure possession of them either by diplomatic proposals to China<sup>1</sup> 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 Śa-cu 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 Śa-cu region, where the conditions were mainly Chinese, but the Tibetans were during the period A.D. 781-850 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 Mirān and a number of references in the manuscript *Chronicle*. The area being practically identical with that covered by the Kharoṣṭhi 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)

<sup>1</sup> Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880, pp. 433-4; Chavannes, *Tou-King Occidentaux*, pp. 179-182.

<sup>2</sup> "Tun Huang Lu: Notes on the District of Tun-huang"; *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 703-728; 1915, pp. 41-7; "The Census of Tun-huang", *T'oung-pao*, xvi, 1915, pp. 468-488; "A Chinese Geographical Text of the Ninth Century", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vi, pp. 825-846; "A Topographical Fragment from Tunhuang," *ibid.*, vii, pp. 345-372.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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, Hephthalites, 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

<sup>1</sup> Grenard in Dutreuil de Rhins, *La Haute Asie*, ii, p. 61 ; followed by A. Hermann, *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<sup>1</sup> 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-sed, Ku-sed, and Koñ-sed) has been traced.<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> it 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 (*tshar*)<sup>4</sup> 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" (*Dñar-ldan*), the "Hog's-colour city" (*Phag-gi-mtshon*), and the "Old City" (*Rāñ-ma*) named in the *Prophecy* of Vimalaprabhā. Was Khu-sen "the western city" (Chinese *Hai-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 *Kusala* or *Ksena* rendered in Tibetan as *Dge-ba*, the capital also being *Kusali* or *Kusalavati* or *Ksena-vati* (Tibetan *Dge-ba-can*).

The celebrity of Khotan (according to Firdausi'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,<sup>5</sup> 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 Māhāsaṃghika, partly Sarvāstivādin, but in later times

<sup>1</sup> Abel-Rémusat, *Ville de Khotan*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i, pp. 134-6, 222-3 (*not* alternates with *sen*).

<sup>3</sup> Abel-Rémusat, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 28, 30-1. *Kap-csu* (Chin. *Kan-chou*) in Kam-sed is of the ninth century (*ibid.*, p. 79).

<sup>4</sup> Also a few districts in the vicinity of the capital with names ending in *-tör* (p. 180 and Vol. I, pp. 175-6).

<sup>5</sup> Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 68; Chavannes, *Tou-King Occidentaux*, p. 125.

mainly Mahāyānist.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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" (*kalyāṇa-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 Saṃgha, 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). Hiuan-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*, "*hūtri*") or carpets or fruit, purchase of ribbons, and so on (pp. 179, 379, etc.). The phrase "Khotan provisions" (*Lā-begyags*, pp. 192, etc.) recurs with, apparently, some special sense. One of the constant troubles of the country was incursions of freebooters from Tāshkurghān and

<sup>1</sup> *A. Khotan*, p. 585, and Fa-hian, trans. Legge, p. 16. So, too, Hiuan-Tsang. For evidence see vol. i, pp. 96, 114, 117, n. 3, 311.

<sup>2</sup> Hiuan-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 (*kalyāṇa-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.<sup>1</sup>

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 (*note*, 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, *dhāraṇīs*, 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.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I, p. 129. Similarly in Karamahahr (Grenard, *Deuxième de Rhine, La Haute Asie*, II, p. 246.



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,<sup>1</sup> the Sanskrit *amātya* "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 Mazār-Tāgh, 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 (*nan-rje-po*, pp. 196-8) in the capital may have been merely occasional. The Tibetan headquarters must have been in Śin-śan (Mazār-Tāgh), 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 Khotanī authorities (*Li-mñan*) in Śin-śan and elsewhere collected their own dues from the tenants in detail

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, XI, v, 1915, p. 191.



(*supra*, pp. 209-210). Khotani persons (*Li*) 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 Mazâr-Tâgh, 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 *zai-lem* 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 Stein<sup>2</sup> concerning unexpected smattering of education among children of nomad herdsmen along the Keriya river. For the rest, the Chinese noted<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 311; cf. Beal, *Sik-yi*, ii, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Khotan*, p. 143, n. 25.

<sup>3</sup> 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 (Tsim-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<sup>1</sup> the region must have been definitely under Tibetan rule, except that during an interval of eleven years (A.D. 809-819 (?) ) the city of Śa-cu was held for the Chinese.<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> 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 Śa-cu, who might be a *Hbrug*, received a mission from his Khotan compeer, with a letter which has recently been published.<sup>4</sup> It seems likely that the Tibetans, as their invasions penetrated further into China, took over the administration of the Śa-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<sup>5</sup> organization, but widespread in Central

<sup>1</sup> L. Giles, *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 705-6.

<sup>2</sup> Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880, p. 514: cf. *supra*, pp. 47-8.

<sup>3</sup> L. Giles, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. vi, pp. 844-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Two Medieval Documents from Tun-huang*, by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, Oslo, 1929.

<sup>5</sup> 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 *tonga* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents was really a *shin-dpon*.

Asia. The districts named are Rgod-sar, Stoñ-sar, Spyi-loogs, Sñin-tsoms, 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-ñod 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 *Sñin-tshoms* = Ning-hia?

Concerning towns in the Śa-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, Dan-to-kun, which is, no doubt, T'ien-te Kun<sup>1</sup> 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, Śa-cu, Mkhar-tsan (= Khar-taa-cin, *supra*, pp. 28 sqq.), 'Im-ka-cin, Sil-gu-cin, and Khu-ñe Mon-guñs, and residences Hi-ma-te (p. 57), Ma-ko-cañ and 'O-dol-cu (p. 29). Of these Mkhar-tsan was a great mart. Kva-cu and Śa-cu are well known from Chinese sources, and we need only add that the mention of *tshi-ñi* and *tu-tug* (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 Śa-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

<sup>1</sup> L. Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 834 (T'ien-tê Ch'ing); the *T'ien-tê* of Marco Polo, ed. Cordier, I, p. 298.

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 Tun-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 (*tha-hbans* "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 Mkhar-tsan (in conjunction with other authorities) upon the occasion of the foundation of a great monastery in the vicinity of the Koko-nor lake, to commemorate the pact of peace made between China, Tibet, and other powers in the year A.D. 730.

The two temples Leñ-ho-si and Pho-kvat-si, mentioned pp. 70, 83, 111, we are not in a position to locate.<sup>1</sup> In regard to the curt 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 Śa-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 Mirān documents rather more definite indications of the actual manner of working. And it might be instructive to compare the

<sup>1</sup> Are they the *Ling-hu* and *Pu-kun* of *Documents Chinoises*, pp. 62, 130?



information with what may be elicited from the earlier Kharoṣṭhī documents belonging to the same area. Something indeed may be noted.

The region was divided into Thousand-districts, named respectively Nag-ṣod, Ḥdzom Upper (*Stod*) and Lower (*Smad*), Rgod Upper and Lower, Rgod-Idiñ, and Kha-dro.

Of these Rgod, with Rgod-Idiñ, must, for the reason stated above in connection with Rgod-sar, have been the most easterly. Nag-ṣod, 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 *Caḍōta* (the Niya site) of the Kharoṣṭhī 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 sgraffito in Endere fort.<sup>1</sup> In the Kharoṣṭhī documents Cer-cen (*Calma-dana*) is under a Cojhibo (chief ruler) distinct from the Cojhibo of Caḍōta.

In each of the Thousand-districts we find mention of "the lord's land" (*rje-zin*), and sometimes of special arrangements for its cultivation. Originally these lands may have been private property of the earlier kings (*rje*) or of local chiefs, probably the former, since they were administered by the Tibetans. The phrase occurs thrice (ll. 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, Rtse-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<sup>2</sup> at three days' journey south of the also ruined city of Lop. Rtse-thon, the *Ch'i-t'un* 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" (*mkhar-gsum*, *supra*, p. 136), and this triad together

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Khotan*, p. 569.

<sup>2</sup> *Vorxyth, Mission to Yarkand*, p. 27. Cf. Grenard, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 117.

with Rtse-thon as the "four towns" (*mkhar-béi*, pp. 138, 146) of Nob. Concerning Byéu-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-gams (Kham), (b) the councillors of Bde, (c)-(d) the cities of Mkhar-tsan and Kva-cu, (e) the head of the Phyug-tams Thousand-district, (f) the local people of Hbrom-kbon. Like Mkhar-tsan and Kva-cu in the Śa-cu region, the towns of Shan-shan may have been immediately under a council (*bkaḥ-hgros*, 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 Śa-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-cuñ* (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 *chañ-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 *camkura* of the Kharoṣṭhi documents.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of the towns the officials usually mentioned are the *rtse-rje*, *jo-co*, *nan-rje-po*, sometimes in conjunction with councillors (*blon*) or uncle-councillors (*tan-lan*) or to these

<sup>1</sup> See now *Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 68-79, where an endeavour is made to prove that *chañ-khyur* (*chañ-khyir*, *cañ-khyir*) = *camkura* corresponds to Sanskrit *saṅgura-mukha* or *nāgaraka*. For ref. see p. 452.

separately. In the Kharoṣṭhī documents the instructions are usually addressed to a *cojho* (sometimes plural), often associated with a *sothamgha*, 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 *cojho*, and therefore that the expression *jo-co*, or *rjo-cho*, is in fact identical with *cojho*. *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-gco* (*supra*, p. 9) "*doyen of the Ha-za Uncle-councillors*", it seems likely that the older *cojho*, which was probably only a way of writing *co-zvo*, meant "chief-ruler" and *zvo* 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 *nañ-blon*, *phyi-blon* "councillor for internal, external affairs"<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> This title occurs, along with *nañ-blon* "councillor for internal affairs", in the Lha-sa 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 Kharosthī documents from Shan-shan; see *Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 58-9.<sup>1</sup>

Besides these persons of *blon*, or "Councillor", quality we hear of a number of titles of *dpons* or officials. To the *ston-dpons* and *khri-dpons* we have already referred. The *nos-dpon*,

<sup>1</sup> We must not omit to give reasons for not accepting the view, noticed previously (once, p. 5), according to which *tsa* 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 Divination 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 *tsa* is represented in Chinese writing by *shang*. But let us first note some scruples: (1) if *tsa* 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 *tsa-lon* "tsa councillor"; (2) if *tsa-lon* means "chief councillor", then the common phrase *tsa-lon-chen-po* "great chief councillor" is rather odd; (3) in the Lha-sa edicts several ministers are called *blon* (or *blon-po*)-*chen-po*, and in some cases *tsa* follows, and this is an indication that the *tsa* 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 (*JRAS.*, 1910, p. 1274) of *tsa-lon* as "uncle minister", meaning minister of the blood royal. The employment of *shang* in Chinese as a transliteration of *tsa* 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-blom-Mchims-tsa* "Interior Councillor Mchims-tsa", *phyi-blom-Hbro-tsa* "Exterior Councillor Hbro-tsa". Now *Mchims* and *Hbro* are both tribal names, and the form of the expressions is exactly parallel to *Mchims-tsa*, *Hbro-tsa*, *Tse-spon-tsa* "Mchims wife", "Hbro wife", "Tse-spon wife", meaning [royal] wives from those tribes. Moreover, we have other similar appellations, e.g. *Ma-tsa* "maternal uncle" (*Royal-tsa*, fol. 326, 5, 336, 1-2, 3, 5 of the India Office copy) and *Sna-nam-tsa-dan-Rgya-tsa* "Sna-nam uncle and China grandson", meaning that the person, whose name was Lha-snao, was in avuncular relation to the Tibetan royal house and had a Chinese mother; cf. also the *Hjan-tsa*-Lha-dba who was a son of king Khri-lde-gtang-brtan and had a Hjan mother (p. 107). We may also refer to the *lbon*, "nephew," *Ha-tsa* noted above (pp. 5-6). Preceding a personal name, *tsa* (also *tsa-po*, *tsa-chen-po*) is too common (pp. 5, 9, 19, 94, 245, 436) to be local. Note also *tsa-chen-blom*, 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 *khriṃs-dpon* "law-officer" is a judge—there was one for Tshal-byi—and possibly he was identical with the *bkaḥ-luḥ* and *bkaḥ-blon* mentioned pp. 23.16, 47.10, 149-150, etc.

What was the office of *ngo-rhon* ("additional, or deputy, head" (?)), to which an appointment is made (*supra*, p. 154), does not appear. The *yul-mthoḥ* "country overseer" reports, p. 152: 46, on the year's levy; probably, like the *yul-gzigs* of p. 192: 25, he was a local surveyor. The *rgyal-gzigs*, whose designation translates the Sanskrit *rāja-cakṣus*, 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 *rtse-bla-dan-rtse-smān* "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-smān*, "district" or "village physician", who appears in some ceremonial, not strictly medical, connection. Since here we have an appeal to *yul-tha-yul-bdag-dan-smān* "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 *rtsig* 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 Sron-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-rūh*, *supra*, pp. 139-140) and ancient custom (*rīn-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 (*kha-hdzin* or *khas-len*), who is involved in the obligation. The document terminates with the attestations (seals, signatures, or thumb-marks) of the witnesses (*dpañ-po*), often including councillors or other officials, and of the persons bound. A debtor is *skyin-pa* (also "a substitute") and the debt is said to attach (*chags*) to him. A "pledge" is *glah* (p. 45).

It may here be noted that banishment or exile has always been a feature of Chinese Turkestan. Banished men or refugees (*palāyanaka*) 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.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese sent convicted persons to serve in Turkestan<sup>2</sup>; 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 *emañ-roqs* or *ria-roqs* (= *arivaqa* in the Kharoṣṭhī 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 *riñ-lu(g)s*), porters (*llañ-roqs*), bag-men (*sgyepu-ga*), and wood-gatherers (*sin-thun*). The *sa-mkhan* (pp. 127, 371) may be a guide, as may also *sa-stoñ*, if intended for *sa-ston*; but see p. 343. There were paid workmen or servants (*las-myi*); also slaves (*gu-riñ*?), and "government-servants" (*mān-gyi-hbans*, apparently persons under sentence) and "god's-servants" (*lha-hbans*, slaves belonging to temples?), who might be employed (*karmārita*, *karma kārta* "made to

<sup>1</sup> Forryth, *Mission to Yarkand*, pp. 34, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-8; cf. Huu & Gabet (trans.), i, p. 276.



labour", of the Kharoṣṭhī 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 *srah* ("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 *brgyags-byan* "provision-ticket". We also have the expressions "attested signature of the three times" (*duc-xam-gyi-dpañ-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.<sup>1</sup> The remaining land would be in the hands of private owners (*zin-pon*) or held by official titles. The actual cultivator was called *zin-pa* (Sk. *karṣaka*). The ploughing (*rmo-ba*) 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<sup>2</sup>; the Kharoṣṭhī 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 *chun-pa*. The crop (*rkya*) was usually of wheat (*gro*), barley (*nas*), or millet (*khre*); whether the distinction of "white" (*dkar*) and "black" (*gnag*) was

<sup>1</sup> The *glan-zin* and *dōan-thas* of pp. 139-141, 153.B2, seem to mean "fixed allotments" and "special privileges" respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Grenard, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 182-3, 212. Forsyth, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-1.



between different kinds of wheat or otherwise, does not appear—the white seems not to be the *śuka-masu* of the Kharoṣṭhī 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 *drasga* of the Kharoṣṭhī 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" or "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 (ll. 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 Śin-šan; and the *Gośrīga 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-tshan*) of revenues of monasteries in Śa-cu (pp. 88-91, 368). The Tibetan

*Chronicle* has many references to these *khram's*, sometimes called red (*dmay*) *khram's*, 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-mthoñ* 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 *phyin-ril* "felt circumference", in connection with the *rtsis* of certain "lord's lands"; and it seems likely that a boundary palisade is meant, such as we are told<sup>1</sup> 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 *bre*. Sometimes there is mention of a *rkañ*, "truss," *rkyañ*, "sack." For oil and flesh we have the *phul*, literally "handful", = 4 *khvor*; for wool the *phor* or *pho-re*; for butter (*mar*), etc., the *stan* "ounce" = 10 *zo*. Measured lengths are in fathoms (*hdom*). A roll of silk or paper is *yug*, and a "bundle" of wood seems to be *ris*. A *pa-tsa* or *pha-tsha* 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,<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1889, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> See Grenard, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 87-8.

China to the Greek and Roman east, whereof the *traverse* 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 Manichæans 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'uan 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 Śa-cu, whence he was to make the grand pilgrimage to India. A mission from a Khotan king inspects 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-chen*, *riñ-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*, *ita*) 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,<sup>1</sup> may have been introduced from Tibet. To wheeled transport or to sedan-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 Kuca, 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 archæological explorations of graves.<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Forsyth, *Mission to Parkent*, pp. 492-3.

<sup>2</sup> Sir A. Stein, *Serindia and Innermost Asia*, s.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 Kharoṣṭhī 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 re-duplicated 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 (*snag*) 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 *sgraffiti* 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". *byphrin-byan* "missive tablet". *bsñel* (or *rjed*)-*byan* "reminder tablet". *grang-byan* "number tablet". *bskyel-byan* "convoy tablet".

*brgyags-byan* "provision ticket".

*so-byan* "soldier tablet".

*so-res-byan* "soldier-relay tablet".

*hphar-ma* "pass"?

*hdrul-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 (*za* (*g-ya*)-*sha* = *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" (*mchid-gsol-ba*), comes. Next follow inquiries concerning health (*sñan-sñuñs*) or expressions of pleasure or regret or hope according to news of the addressee's good or bad health, and, *casu obtinente*, of thanks for inquiries or for the favour of a letter, often termed a "command" (*bkañ*, pp. 17, 21, 65 (2), etc.). Then, often introduced by the expression *stan-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 post-script 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" (*mched* = *prīya-bhrātu* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents) or are addressed as "equal to a theophany" or "to a god" (*hphrul-dan-mtshuñs*, *lha-dan-mtshuñs* = *pratyakṣa-devatā* of the Kharoṣṭhī) or *stans-dbyal* "of distinguished station". To write is "a favour" (*ci-gnañ* "what a (or will you) favour!"). Thanks are expressed by *glañ-rag-btshal*. Trouble to be taken is *thugs-khral* "mind-tax"; and "will you be so good as to attend to?" is *thugs-pags-cir-mdzad* (or *gzigs*). Often a present is sent, with a request for the favour of its acceptance (*bzes-par-ci-gnañ* "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 (*śman*) or not proper (*ruñ*)". An underling, servant, or agent refers to himself as "my humble self" (*bdag-ñan-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 *ñān-sñiñs* 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, *bkañ-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 Kharosthī 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.<sup>1</sup> In the Śaka-Khotanī 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 *ocupidus*, Greek *ἀκούριος*, 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 *śārghādhvaja* 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

<sup>1</sup> See *Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 62-8.



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, *rkañ-mgyogs* "swift-foot", *bañ-chen* "great-speed (or leg)", *rin-lu(g)s* "distance-habit (or body)", *rins-pa* "fast", *hḍrul(hgrul)-ba* "traveller", none of them rendering the Kharoṣṭhī *lekha-haraḡa*, Sanskrit *lekha-hāraka*.<sup>1</sup>

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. Lanman*, 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 (*ñu-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 (*tshun-lon* "councillor for accounts", in Śa-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

<sup>1</sup> Or *lekha-hārin*. In a Jaina story (Jacobi, *Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri*, p. 39, ll. 27-8) King Pradyota has a famous *lekhaṛiḡa*, named Lohajaṅgha. The *blañi-phrin-blon* of the Lhasa treaty inscription (*JRAS.* 1911, p. 434) might correspond to the Sanskrit *lekhaṭhikārin*.

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-1). 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 *śad* (|) is used. Omission of the dot is frequent in certain locutions, e.g. *lasbtsogs*, or with particles, e.g. *legspa*, *bzunste*; the reverse in *de-hi*, etc. Compendious writing, common in *dān* (*dan*), *hīre* (*bzer*), *gsol* (*gsol*), occurs also in cases such as *bdag*[*g*]-*is*, *kho*[*n*]-*na*, *du*[*s*]-*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-k[h]ab* mean "note (or account) office", secretariat? Cf. what is said *infra*, p. 341, concerning the *tshan-loñ*.

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.bzañ.sa. | blon.po.gehig |

"Residence (*sa*) of Councillor Mdo-bzañ; 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.dañ.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 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] 𑖦 || ru.ñā.chuā | [2] *dgra.blon*

"Minor *ru-ñā*: War-councillor (*dgra-blon*)."

On *ru-ñā-chuā* see pp. 427, 444. A *dgra-blon* is mentioned further, pp. 337, 342, and in M.I. xv, 0024; M.T. b. i, 0099.

5. M.I. iv, 38 and 39 (wood, two pieces, upper and lower, together c. 9 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] 𑖦 || *Dgra.dog.Rji.rma.staṅ* || [C]u.d[e ?] . . . [2] *phyi.blon.du.bskoṣ*.

"*Dgra-dog* (?) *Rji-rma-staṅ*: Cu-de . . . appointed Exterior-Councillor (*phyi-blon*)."

Possibly the sense is "in place of (*staṅ*) *Rji-rma*"; but *staṅ* is elsewhere (p. 370.D) a complimentary affix. "Exterior-Councillor" means, no doubt, "Councillor for affairs abroad". The phrase *phyi-blon-du-bskoṣ* 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 × 5 cm., torn away at r. and bottom; discoloured and stained; ll. 5 (+ some vowels of a sixth) of neat cursive *dbu-can* script)

[1] 𑖦 || *ṣaṅ.lon.zal.ce.pa.[blon.]Stag.b[ṣ]re . . .*

"Uncle-Councillor, Justice, Councillor Stag-b[ṣ]er."

In the Lha-sa inscriptions (*ibid.*, p. 435) is mentioned a *rgyal-zigs-chen-po-zal-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*, mentioned, pp. 141-2, 406, and recurring p. 300 and in M.I. xiv, 58a, discharged legal functions. The *khriṃ-bon* (*khriṃs-dpon*) mentioned above, p. 124, would be a local judge of lower rank. It would seem that the term *bkah-tuṅ* "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 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❶ || myi.thogs.par.brdzañ.ba.dañ | Be.ce.Stag.legs.dañ.Dol.po.Rma.[st]on.zañ.lon.chen.po.blon.Klu  
[A 2] sgra[hi].lus.kyi.rim.gro.la.rab.tu.rin[s, st]e || Hbrog.yul.gañ.na.mchis,[p]a.ga.tsas(sic).dañ.sbyor.la[A 3] gdug.mtshan.stod.la.gcig.nas.gcig.du.gžen.thob.la.rdzons.sig.ces || zañ.lon[B 1] chen.po.Kh[r]i.dog.rje.dañ | blon.Rgyal.gtsug.sgra<sup>hi</sup>.sprin.ba<sup>1</sup>.las.hbyuñ.bas || hdi.bžin.mjal<sup>2</sup>  
[B 2] rgya.bzuñ.gžen.btah.nas || brdzañ.bar.mdzod.cig ||

"To be sent without delay : in accordance with a message from Great Uncle-Councillor [zañ-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 Hbrog 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 Hbrog, nomads, pp. 297-9. It may be suspected that the persons mentioned are not mere local Tibetans of the Mirān 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 l. A 3 the two imperatives separated by *la* (*gžen-thob-la-rdzons-sig*) exhibit the regular idiom with *la*. On *gžen(n)-thob* see Ś. C. Das' dictionary s.v. *gžen*; on *las-hbyuñ-bas*, see *supra*, pp. 29, 58.

8. M.I. xxvii, 7 (wood, c. 14.5 × 2 cm.; defective at top l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❶ . . . nuhi.dgra.blon.dañ.nos.pon.bži.la | [2] mjal.par.bsgo.ba |

"Ordered to meet (reach 1) the War-Councillor and the four

<sup>1</sup> *ba* below line.

<sup>2</sup> *d* below line



Regional-Officials (*nos-pon*) of [Little Nob]" (or "To the War-Councillor . . . : summons to meet").

The *nos-dpon* seems to correspond to the *anta-pāla* of Sanskrit. He is mentioned further pp. 445 and in M.I. xiv, 7.

9. M.I. xiv, 7 (wood, c. 10 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ || nos.bzi.nos.pon.rnams.la[. . .] [2] gan<sup>1</sup>.re.re |

"To the Regional-Officials of the four regions a carpet (*gan*, erroneous for *ylan*?) each."

On *ylan* see *infra*, pp. 344, 379-80.

10. M.I. x, 5 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, partly erased).

. . . [c]aṅ.khyir.hṭshol.eig

" . . . the *caṅ-khyir* should require."

On *caṅ-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*, *nagara-rakṣa* see *supra*, p. 319.

11. M.I. xii, 3 (wood, c. 9.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of square *dbu-can* script).

༄ : tshar.dpon | Paṅ : kuḥ : tshan. |

"Paṅ-kuḥ, 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 × 1 cm., a slice, broken away at l. and r.; l. 1 of neat, squarish *dbu-can* script).

༄ | : [B]de.gams.gyi.hḍun.tsa.nas . . .

"From the Assemblage of Bde-gams . . ."

In connection with Bde-gams a *hḍun-sa(tsa)* "general assemblage", has been mentioned above, pp. 57-8. The general term for a council consultation, *bkah-hḡros*, occurs *ibid.*, and also pp. 53, 56, and 133. Bde-gams was, no doubt, in Mdo : whereas the *hḍun-tsa*'s in Gtsos-mo-gliṅ (p. 141) and Byeḥu-liṅ (p. 163) and Śel-than (p. 190) were perhaps all

local conferences in Turkestan. As regards the spelling, it is possible that, whereas *hdun-sa* means the place of assembly, *hdun-tsa* = *hdun-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-sna* "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] ཨ || chen.po.dguñ.dañ.hdra.pañi.za.sñu.nas.thugs.  
bde.ham.myi [2] bde.mchid.yi.ge.las.sñun.gsol.zin.mchis.  
na.bkañ.stsal.bar.ji.gnañ || [3] spyan.zigs.dañ | skyes.kyi.  
mtsan.mar.hbras.khañ.phyed.dañ | Rgya.ras.yug.gehig.  
dañ.hdi | [4] gn̄is. | <sup>1</sup> Rañ.ke.Klu.goñ.la <sup>2</sup> gsol.zin.mchis.  
na.bzes.par.gsol <sup>2</sup> zin.mchis || [5] bdag.chag.nan.pa.mchis.  
pas.rno.thog.pa.ma.mchis.par.hdi.skad.sñan.sñuñs.pa |  
[6] gsol.zes.bkañ.hbab.tu.hañ.ruñ.na | rje.blas.gyi.kha.  
tsam.zig.legs.pa.na | [7] bzun.bar.gsol.zin.mchis ||

[8] ཨ || nan.rje.po.blon.Mdo.brtsan.dañ | blon.Mdo.  
bzun.dañ | [9] blon.Khri.hjam.la || [10] Zan.zigs.gyi.mchid.  
gsol.ba | [Inverted] [1] ཨ || Rog.tom.kyi.Thar.kar.nas.  
bkyehi.phyag.rgya.phogste | Sa.chunhi.rtse.rje.dañ [2]  
Rgya.sde.gn̄is.kyi.dpon.sna.la.sprin̄.ño. || hdir.ño.  
phral (phul?) Bde.Saṅ | [3] sñun.gvis.gsol.na

"[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[h]an-na*) I am sending a half-load of fruit (or rice, *hbras*) and one roll of Chinese cotton, these two. I am asking them from Rañ-ke Klu-goñ, 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-na*) for a while (*tsam-zig*)

<sup>1</sup> *re* here crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> Compensatory for *las*.

<sup>3</sup> = *gsol*.

to forbear (*kha-bzuñ-bar*) (or I beg you kindly to secure H.E.'s forbearance . . .?).

"To Interior Councillor Mdo-brtsan and Councillor Mdo-bzan and Councillor Khri-hjam: letter-petition of Zan-zigs.

"[*Inserted*] Despatched from Thar-kar in Rog-tom with signature attached: addressed to the Chief-in-command (*rtse-rje*) of Śa-cu and the leading officials (*dpon-sna*) of the two Chinese districts (*side*). Here on the present date (*no-phral*) Bde Śaṅ-śun submits [it]."

Copy of a letter sent to Śa-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 [*Stoñ*]-*dpon*s of the two Chinese [*Stoñ*]-*side*'s may belong to two of the districts noted *supra* (p. 316). In the last sentence Bde Śaṅ-śun, if it is really a proper name, means Śaṅ-śun of Bde (a province of Mdo-smad), on which see *supra* (p. 319). The person Klu-goñ has a name resembling that of the Tibetan minister Klu-khoñ, 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. *Śul-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 *nañ-rje-po* of Śa-cu.

The letter is an instance of the actually avowed (p. 412) principle of sending a polite letter (*śāṅ-śūñs*) 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 *bkañ-ñab*, "reprimand" (pp. 246, 397), have occurred previously.

The above citations illustrate the use of the expressions:—*rje-bla[s]*, "Excellency."

*rtse-rje*, "chief in command" (*chu-ñu*, "minor chief").

*zañ-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]*, *bkaḥ-luā*, also *spyun-ched-po*, "King's Eye", "Justicer", "Great Eye".  
*dpon*, "official"; *ston-dpon* (Sk. *sahasra-patī*), also *ston-sde*, "Thousand-[district]-commander"; *pos-dpon*, "regional commander"; *khriṃs-dpon*, "judge," or *bkaḥ-luā*; *khral-dpon* (p. 161: 58), "tax-master"; *tshar-dpon*, "parish-head"; *can-khyir*, *chan-khyur*, "city mayor," ordinarily a *ston-dpon*.

To these we may add *stom-gyañ* (pp. 128, 160), probably only the old local name (*tonga* of the Kharosthī) of the *ston-dpon*; *jo-co* (*rjo-cho*, etc., pp. 17, 133, 152, 192, 240, 260, 297), a similar equivalent of *rtse-rje*; *yul-uthoñ* (pp. 152, and 469: 104) or *yul-gzigs* (p. 192, and M.T.A.iii, 0070) the local surveyor or overseer.

The *ḥaḥ*, *ḥaḥ-po*, *ḥaḥ-chen-po* is, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 321, n.), the "Uncle" or noble, and the *man-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*, *mān-[d]pon*, *bkaḥ-phrin-blon-chen-kablon* ("correspondence councillor"), *rtsis-pa-chen-po* ("census, or finance, minister") and the *rgyal-[g]zigs-chen-po-zal-ce-don-la* ("minister of justice, or law"). To the *rtsis-pa* might correspond the local *tshañ-loñ* (p. 17) of the Śa-cu state.

The general term for "government" is *mān*, to which belong the above *mān-blon* and the expression *mān-gyi-hbans*, "government subject or convict." We have reference to the *Bod-kyi-mān*, "Tibetan authorities" (M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0066), and to the *Lī-mān* "Khotan authorities". *Chab-srid* is the authority of an official, but especially of the king, who is said (*supra*, p. 6) to proceed to the Ḥa-za country "to take over the government"; metonymously the phrase





15. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0047 (wood, c. 11.5 × 1 cm., cut to a point at l., cut away at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

... m.žes || stsañ. hḍren. Ḥa.ža

"... grain-conveyor the Ḥa-ža ..."

The business of conveying grain (*stsañ-hḍren*) is several times referred to; see pp. 208:43, 355:3. It must have occupied many persons.

16. M.I. ix, 1 (wood, c. 9 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ || z[o]ñ. K[lu]. ḥtus |

"Merchant (zoñ) Klu-ḥtus."

The same person is mentioned in viii, 896 (☞ | : | zoñ. [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.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ☞ | , | Bya<sup>1</sup> . nad . rmañ . rog . ba (rogs?) [B] myi . gñis |

"Bya-nad, horse(camel?)-attendant. Two persons."

On *rmañ-rogs* (cf. *sta-rogs*) see pp. 192, 258.

18. M.I. xiv, 50 (wood, c. 8.5 × 2.5 cm., slightly broken away at l. lower corner; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ || Bag. Mdo.stoñ |

"Bag Mdo-stoñ."

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; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ || sa.stoñ. Šañ.sme |

*Sa-stoñ* 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.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

<sup>1</sup> d here crossed out. Is Bya-na a place-name?

☉ | . | yul . tsan . | geig |

"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).

[1] ☉ || gu . rib . Snañ . la . rgyug || [2] o o

"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).

[1] ☉ || 2aṅ . lon . dañ . yul . myi . las [2] gdan . g-yar . por . baḍu . baḥ |

"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).

[A 1] ☉ | : | ze . dahi . lug . rin . du . kha . bstan . pa |  
Khyi . cuñ . la . bre . do | Kyad . nag . la . bre . gañ | [A 2]  
yañ . Khyi . chuñ . bre . gañ | dge . bñen . la . bre . phye<sup>1</sup> .  
dañ . gsum | Hphan . legs . la . bre . phye . da[ñ] [B]do | Roñ .  
po . ban . de . la . bre . gañ . | Sog . po . la . bre . lña |

"Promised as price of . . . sheep: To Khyi-cuñ *bre* two; to Kyad-nag a full *bre*; again to Khyi-cuñ a full *bre*; to the lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*) three *bre* less one-half; to Hphan-legs two *bre* less one-half; to monk (*ban-de*) Roñ-po a full *bre*; to Sog-po five *bre*."

The meaning of *ze-da* is not apparent: is it = *zed* "damaged". *Roñ-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*,

<sup>1</sup> = *phyed*.

xi, vii (1916), pp. III sqq.), it is possible that *Sog*, which recurs in the documents, denotes a Sogdian (in later times a Mongol). But v. *Sog-day* 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).

[A 1] . . . gnas . gtsug . lag . khañ<sup>1</sup> . gi . rkyen . sa . shon . |  
pye<sup>2</sup> . dañ . heu . gsum [A 2] . | na . n[in] . slad<sup>3</sup> . kyis .  
khrug . pa . dag . gis . btsald . nas . | hba[hs] [B 1] . . dge .  
hdun . [rkye]n . pañi . htsho . ba . khab . sos . ma . hbyor .  
par . gyur . [nas] [B 2] bdag . chag . drug . rkyen . d[r]u[n] .  
[m]chis . nas | sku . yon . htshal [B 3] . . [I] . da . ltar . Lha .  
ris . gyi . dpon . anah (anas ?) . | Lha . ris . gyis . dge . hdu[n]

"The lands belonging to *this* monastery were formerly thirteen less one-half. Last year, owing to disturbances through quarrels (*rtsad-kyis* ?), the rent (*hbabs*) . . . the livelihood of those belonging to the Sangha was not supplied by the householders (?). We six residents (*rkyen-drub*) require a benefactor (*sku-yon*). At present the chief officials (*dpon-sna*) of Lha-ris . . . the Sangha 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).

[1] . . . [k]yab . gyi . sde . yug . pa . mo . Bag . za . Mn—n .  
mo . [2] | . . . [s] . . [m]chid . gslo . bah

"[watch]-tower regiment: widow Bag-za Mn—n-mo . . . letter petition."

On *za* with clan-names of women see p. 73. It is = *bzah* "wife": "wife of Bag (cf. p. 343) family."

<sup>1</sup> *khañ* below line.

<sup>2</sup> = *phyed*.

<sup>3</sup> *rtsad* ?



26. M.I. xiv, 40 (wood, c. 8 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of largish, square *dbu-can* script).

g-yar.po.G[u].c[un]. |

"Borrower (lender ?) Gu-cun."

27. M.I. xiv, 43 (wood, c. 10 × 1.5 cm., complete, rather curved; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

☉ || ce.se<sup>1</sup>.Ba.spoñ |

"Lady Ba-spoñ."

*Ce-se*, which occurs elsewhere in the form *ce-ze*, is perhaps a feminine corresponding to *jo-cho* "chief", etc. In M.I. xxxii, 5m, we read *che-ze-chen-mo-yum-sras* "great lady, mother and son"; in M.I. 0028 *Cun-brdzañ-che-ze-cag*, "Cun-brdzañ 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-bran-dan-ce-ze-Gtsug-Idem*.

Adding to the classes here instanced some others previously exemplified, we may arrange as follows:—

(a) General: *hbañs* (also *dmañs*, p. 32; *mañs*, p. 95 (A. 3), "subject" (in a state); *mān-gyi-hbañs*, "government subject" or convict (pp. 120, 247, 305); *tha-gi-hbañs* or *tha-hbañs* (pp. 70, 111; I. p. 56), "god's servant" or temple slave; *sku-bla* (pp. 16, 108; also in M.I. xliii, 0014; xliiv, 4; M.T. c. iv, 0030), "magnate"; *yul-tsan*, "local magnate"; *khab-so*, "mansion-dweller"; *las-myi* (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-riñ*, "slave"; *spyugs* (p. 51), "banished man"; *ce-ze*, "lady"; *gñer*, "steward" (p. 272); *byan-po*, "cook" (usually military); *yug-pa-mo*, "widow"; *yul-myi* (pp. 140, 344), "local people."

(b) Connected with agriculture: *zin-dpon*, "landlord"; *zin-pa* (p. 139), "cultivator"; *gzi-mkhan* (p. 29), "peasant" (?); *chun-pa* (pp. 140, 161), "field-watchman"; *tsan-hdren*,

"grain conveyor" (*quasi* "carter"); *śin-thun* (p. 149), "stick-gatherer."

(c) Connected with animals and travel : see *infra*, pp. 378-9.

(d) Other professions : on *śman*, "physician," *rtsig*, "lawyer," *yi-ge-pa*, "scribe," see *infra* (p. 359); *glu-myi* (p. 193) should be "singer," *zabs-mgar* (*infra*, p. 385) "coppersmith".

(e) Religious : *mkan-po*, "abbot"; *ban-de* (the usual term), Buddhist *dge-slon* or monk (*bhikṣu*); *dge-bśen*, "lay adherent (*upāsaka*)"; *dben* or *shen*, "hermit" (*dben-sa* "hermitage", pp. 9-10); *spod* or *htul-muā* (*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*(ñ), "painter" (?), *khur-skye* (?), and *ha-pen* (?), see *infra*, p. 393.

In this connection we may take note of the designations of cities and places of residence :—

*mkan*, "city," the general term, perhaps, implying fortification; *skan-khar* (later *sku-mkan*), "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"; *brañ* (pp. 209, 272), "dwelling-place"; *pho-brañ*, "palace" or house of king, noble, or high official (pp. 6, 8, 22, etc.); *brañ-sa*, "station on (mountain) route" (p. 272); *khan*, "house" or "hut" (p. 149, l. [9]); *gtug-lag-khan*, "monastery"; *khab*, "mansion"; *mthoñ-khab* (*khyab*), "watch-tower" (pp. 123, 133, 274); to which we may append *mdad*(ñ), "monument," and *ban-so*, "tomb" (pp. 146-8); *dben-sa*, "hermitage" (pp. 9, 11), *glan* and *glan-sa*, "divān" (pp. 21, 195, 380); *gam*, "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 × 16 cm.,

fragmentary on all sides; ll. 14 of scrawled cursive *dha-can* script).

[1] *dmag* . *pon* . *gi* . *zin* . *dor* . . . [2] . . . *geig* . . . -*ruñ* .  
*g-h* . *dkar* . [phy]e . . . . [R]g[-]d . *ma[n]* . *gi* . *zi[n]* . *dor* .  
*gei[g]* [3] . . . [ph]ye<sup>1</sup> . *dañ* . *gñis* | *Gnag* . *Phru* . *bo* . *dor* .  
*phyed* . *dañ* . *gñis* . [Pa<sup>2</sup> . b]zañs . *kyi* . *dor* . *geig* | *Nag* .  
*śod* . *du* . . . [4] . . . *gi* . [zin . *dor* . *phyed*] | Sp[e] . *brtsan* . *gi* .  
*dkar* . *tu* . *rmos* . *pañ* | *mag* . *pon* . *gi* . *zi[n]* . *do* | *r* . *geig* |  
*Spyan* . *gi* . *zin* . *dor* . *geig* . . . [5] . . . *dmag* . *pon* . *gi* . *zin* .  
*dor* . *geig* | *yar* . *phugs* . *dor* . *geig* | *Nam* . *legs* . *kyis* . *dkar* .  
*tu* . *rmos* . *pa* . . . [6] . . . *dor* . *gñis* | *Li*<sup>3</sup> . *Rgya* . *Lha* . *lod* .  
*kyis* . *dkar* . *tu* . *rmos* . *pañ* | *dgra* . *blon* . *zin* . *dor* . *gñis* |  
*mān* . *gi* . *zin* . *dor* . . . [7] . . . —is<sup>4</sup> . *dkar* . *tu* . *rmos* . *pañ* |  
*bgruñ* . *rdzin* . *nañ* . *dor* . *phye* . *dañ* . *bzi* | *mān* . *zin* . *dor* .  
*gñis* | *Gnag* . *Ra* . *ba* . *dor* . *geig* . . . [8] . . . *gi* . *zin* . *dor* .  
*phyedañ* . *gsum* | *Dpal* . *po* . *legs* . *gis* . *dkar* . *tu* . *rmos* . . . .  
*ñis* | *Gnag* . [Rn]añ | . . . [9] . . . *dor* . *phye* . *dañ* . *gñis* | *To* .  
*nes* . *dkar* . *tu* . *rmos* . *pañ* | *bgruñ* . *rdzin* . *dor* . *gñis* . . . .  
[i] *bgruñ* . *rdzin* . . . [10] . . . *tsan* . *gi* . *dor* . *phyed* | *Gnag* .  
*Kha* . *bzañs* . *gi* . *dor* . *geig* | [R]god . *ch* . *dor* . *g* . . . [11]  
. . . *gs* . *dkar* . *bgruñ* . *rdzin* . *dor* . *geig* | *Gnag* . *Rgod* . *niñ* .  
*gi* . *zin* . *dor* . *geig* . . . [12] . . . *kar* . *bgruñ* . *rdzin* . *dor* .  
*phyed* . *dañ* . *gñis* | *rud* . *pon* . *gi* . *zi* . . . [13] . . . *r* . *phyed* |  
*Grol* . [th]ar . *gis* . *dkar* . [tho]g . *d* — . *st* . . . [14] . . . *Rtse* .  
*rgod* . *do* [r] . *phye* . *dañ* . *gsum* . . . .

" [1] The General's land, team . . . [2] . . . one . . . wheat,  
half . . . [R]g[-]d-ma[n]'s land, one team. [3] . . . one and a half;  
*Gnag Phru-bo*, one and a half teams; [Pa-b]zañs, one  
team. In *Nag-śod* . . . [4] . . . 's land, a half team: ploughed  
by Sp[e]-brtsan for wheat. The General's land, one team;  
the *Spyan*'s land, one team . . . [5] . . . The General's land, one  
team; upper end (?), one team: ploughed by *Nam-legs* for  
wheat . . . [6] . . . two teams: ploughed by Chinaman *Lha-lod*  
for wheat. The Foreign Councillor's land, two teams;

<sup>1</sup> = *phyed*.

<sup>2</sup> *Li* ? crossed out ?

<sup>3</sup> *Kha* ? *Rlu* ?

<sup>4</sup> [gy]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 Rnañ [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-bzañs, one team. Rgod . . . team . . . [11] . . . wheat, 'drained-pond', one team. Gnag Rgod-niñ's land, one team . . . [12] . . . wheat, 'drained-pond', one and a half teams. The Horn-commander's land . . . [13] . . . a half: by Grol-[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" (*dkar*), 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," *bgruñ-rdziñ*, "drained pond"; also *gnag-ra-ba*, and *gnag-rgod-niñ*, which may not be personal names. *Spyan* is perhaps a short equivalent of *Rgyal-gziqs*, "the King's Eye". On Nag-söd see *supra*, pp. 125 sqq.; on the *cu-dpon*, 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 *jāgīr* 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).



[A 1] ❶ || geig | ltañ (lhañ ?) : sogs : gyi : žiñ : dor : g[ei]g] . . . [A 2] kyi : žiñ : dor : phyed | Stag : chuñ . [gyis] : rmos : pa | [Na]g : šo [d] . . . [B 1] kyi : žiñ : dor : gñis | ru : pon : gyi : žiñ : dor : geig | žiñ : [B 2] lag : las : dor : geig | Khrom : phan : gyis : rmos : pa ||

" . . . one. Baleman's land, one team . . . land of . . . half-team : ploughed by Stag-chuñ. [In] Nag-šod, 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, c. 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 1] ❶ | : | Khu : [cuñ (bur ?)] | Khu : rtan : rman[d ?] <sup>1</sup> : pa | gtsan : gi : yi : ge : chu : nu : hi : žiñ : [A 2] dor : gsum | [B, *inverted*] log : myi : geig : . . .

[A] "Tilled by Khu-cuñ Khu-rtan ; small letter corn-land, three teams. [B] One man returned."

The *Khu-cuñ* "Little Khu" would be a subdivision of the Khu tribe, whereof the chieftain was *Khu-Mat-po-rje* : for similar expressions see p. 150, *Rbeg-chuñ*. *Rmat* is doubtless derived from *rmed* or *rmod* "plough" or "till". "Small letter land crop" will refer to a system of accounts ; cf. *yi-ge-ched-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, c. 8 × 1.5-2 cm., rather pointed at l., broken away at r. ; l. 1 *recto* of largish *dbu-can* script + 2 *verso* in a smaller, scrawled hand, rubbed and faint).

[A] Gsas : ko[l ?].

[B 1] . . . [idus : la | dor : gsu[m] . . . [B 2] [hkh]o[n] : gyi : glehu : [k]i[n] : dor : g . . .

"[A] Gsas-ko[1 ?] [B 1] To . . . h̄dus, three teams . . . [B 2] . . . h̄khon's rough land, three teams."

The word *glehu*, which has occurred *supra*, recurs in the Tibetan *Chronicle*, I, 252, *Stoñ-zlehi-glehu-thogala-khral-pa-gu-du-spags*; 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 × 1.5 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; hole for string at r.).

[A 1] ☉ || Dgyes : sde : po . Khri : ma . rjes : la : Yul : skyes : ki : gso [A 2] l : ba : gzi : h̄dir : mehis . pa . Li : gzi : dan : Bod . gzi [B 1] r . rba<sup>1</sup> : myi : h̄thun : na : Lā . gzi : dum : pa : h̄ga : zig : tshold [B 2] te : skur : cig : ra : rañ : ba : h̄ga : btsal : te : ma : hoñs : na : myi : rañ

"To Khri-ma-rjes of the Dgyes regiment: petition of Yul-skyes. I have come to this place. As in the Khotanī land and the Tibetan land the *rba* does not correspond, send demanding a piece of the Khotanī 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 Khotanīs and Tibetans were in joint occupation. What *rba* denotes is not clear; possibly it is a miswriting for *rtseu* "grass". *Ma-hoñs-na* may mean "in the future". On *Dgyes*, see p. 456.

33. British Museum Or. 8212 (194a)<sup>2</sup> (paper, c. 30.5 × 15 cm., complete; ll. 7 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ☉ || khyiñi . loñi . dpyid || Bam . Śaṅ . tshen . kyī . rkya . žiñ . Hve . gu . na . žiñ . ślañ . bu . gsum . la . dor . gehig [2] mehis . pa | Wañ . Bur . h̄do . la . mthun . moñ . du . phyed . mar . khre . rmor . stsal . te || myi . blas . ni . mñam . bar . [3] bgyi . bar . bgyis || rmon . pa . dan . sug . spyad . ni . Bur . h̄dos . shyar . bar . bgyis || khreñi . thog .

<sup>1</sup> *rtseu* ?

<sup>2</sup> Photograph procured with the assistance of Dr. L. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department, who has kindly also given permission for publication.

ni<sup>1</sup> . [4] ji . byuñ . ba . phyed . mar . bgo . bar . bgyis | pañi .  
 dpañ . la | Sag . Dge . legs . dañ . Soñ . Hyve . hdo . [5] la-  
 stsogs . pañi . dpañ . rgya . dañ . žiñ . bdag . Šaň . tšeñ .  
 gyi . sug . rgyas . btab . pañ || ślad . kyis . [6] Bur . hdo .  
 žiñ . snams . ñ<sup>2</sup> bgyiste | žiñ . bdag . gul . na . žig . byuñ .  
 bar . gyur . na | Šaň . tšeñ . gis [7] mchid . gyis . h̄tshal .  
 bar . bgyis || (3 smudged seal impressions).

"Spring of the Dog year: Bam Šaň-tšeñ having in Hyve-gu crop land, one team (*dor*) in three small enclosures, entrusted it to Wan Bur-hdo 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-byuñ-ba*) harvest of millet is to be divided in halves. In witness whereof the attestation-seals (*dpañ-rgya*) of Sag Dge-legs and Soñ Hyve-hdo and the rest and the hand-signature of the landlord (*žiñ-bdag*), Šaň-tšeñ, are attached. Subsequently if any loss (*gul*) shall fall upon the owner, while Bur-hdo profits by (*snams*!) the land, Šaň-tšeñ is to make a demand in writing (*mchid-gyis-h̄tshal-ba*)."

A very clear and complete document. The letting by a landlord (*žiñ-bdag* = *žiñ-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. *Šlañ-bu* may be connected with *šlon*, "erect," and mean "terrace" or "enclosed land"; cf. *šlañ-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, Wan, Sag, Soñ 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.

<sup>1</sup> Crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> *ś*(*ç*) crossed out.

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).

[A] | paḥ . ldum . rā . lhu . brgyad . cig . Nob . chu . nu . na . mcis . pa | ban . de . Byañ . cub . sñiñ . po . rmed [B 1] rmed . pa . las || ban . de . tshe . ḥdaḥs . pa || bdag . nan . paḥi . ston . sde . dañ<sup>1</sup> . zañ . druñ . yañ<sup>2</sup> . lags . na [B 2] ḥdi.

"There being in Little Nob some eight pieces of patrimonial garden land, these were cultivated by the *ban-de* Byañ-cub-sñiñ-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') . . ."

*Ldum-ra*, "vegetable enclosure," garden, or orchard, recurs in M.I. xxi, 6.

The objection to the bracketed rendering is that grammatically it requires *bdag-nan-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).

[A 1] | : | ḥbrug . gi . loḥi . sa . bon . dañ . žiñ . paḥ . brgyags . th[o]g[i] . gro . las . god . paḥ | khal . [phye ?] . . . [A 2] Klu . dgos . gyi . brgyags . khal . phyed | sa . bon . khal . goig . bre . bži | ba . phye . rgyu . bre . do | Lha . le[gs] . . . [B 1] rin . bre . brgyad | sde . rjes . bre . bechu . gñis | ži[ñ] . thog . las . jo . bo . Btsa[n . b]zañ . la . nas . khal . g[su] . . . [B 2] gsum | Nob . chu . nur . khre . khal . gñis . [dr]ans | Ka . dag . khre . las . Lha . [g]uñ . rta . rin . du . [khal] . . . [Between B 1 and B 2] sde [grañ ? t]

"Seed and farmer's provisions for the Dragon year paid from the harvest wheat, loads . . . To Klu-dgos, provisions, half

<sup>1</sup> *dan* below line.

<sup>2</sup> *a* below line.



a load, seed one load, four *bre*, cattle<sup>1</sup> 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-guñ 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 *draṅgas* of the Kharoṣṭhī 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).

[A 1] 𑖦 || *ñin . dañ . sa . bon . nos . žes . [spri]ñ . ba . ma . mnos . sa . bon . na . niñ . gyi<sup>2</sup> . chad . [A2] las . phyis . śig . ces . mchi . | Hgreñ . ro . la . sku . b[la]<sup>3</sup> . gcig . bskur . ba . thob . ma [B] thob ||*

"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 Hgreñ-ro may or may not have received it."

*Phyis-śig* must be an imperative (of *hphyi-ba*). In *sku-bla*, "a magnate," *sku* is an honorific prefix, as in *sku-yon*, "donor," etc. On Hgreñ-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] 𑖦 || *bgyir . myi . bde . na . yañ . gtad . dpañ . poñi . sug . rgya . glan . du . bgyi . ñin | tha . sñad . cis . gtad . geog . pa . tsam . žig . g-yas<sup>1</sup> [2] [g-yosū] . rkyā . g-yar<sup>2</sup> . tshod . mchis . par .*

<sup>1</sup> Or is *ba-päpe* a miswriting for *hop-päpe*. "four" ? <sup>2</sup> *gyin* ?

<sup>3</sup> *ba* ?

<sup>4</sup> below line.

<sup>5</sup> below line.

[bgo<sup>1</sup>] ; bar . gsol . žiñ . mehis || Sñon . cuñ . dañ . Dro . brtsan .  
gyi . dp̄ya . stsañ . rnam . śas . śig [3] mehis . pa . | H̄brog .  
du . S[ñ]o . rñā<sup>2</sup> . la . s[ts]añ . khal . bdun . žig . h̄dren . pañi .  
slad . ma | khre . ba . meh[i]s . na . ci . lom . du . bsgyur |  
khre . [ma<sup>3</sup>] [4] [mehis.ste] || khuñs<sup>4</sup> . bzañ . [po] . la . . . .  
gtañ . žiñ . g[tan] . tshigs . bzañ . por . bgyi . bar . ci . gna[ñ] ||  
Bor . [pha]ñs<sup>5</sup> . kyī . [B 1] rin . chab . srañ . gñis . žig . mehi .  
ba . žib . tu . Leg . leg . las . gsol . pa . lags . na | h̄di .  
tsho . khon . [b]akur . bar . ci . gnañ ||

"Though sorry to do it, yet, as given witnessed signatures must be made good (*glañ* 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-sñad*) to come in right and left (*g-yas-g-yasu*), to the amount of the borrowing (*g-yar-tshod*?). Of the tax corn (*dp̄ya-stsañ*) of Sñon-cuñ and Dro-brtsan some instalment (*rnam*) has come. If millet has come subsequent to the conveying of seven loads of corn to Sño-rña (?) in the H̄brog country, has it been received (*ci-lom-du-bsgyur*?)? If millet not come, as [I] am to send . . . in large amount (*khuñs-bzañ-po-la*?), please make a good arrangement (*glañ-tshigs*?). I have definitely requested Leg-leg that Bor-phañs' 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 obligatees. On *rnam*, = "instalment", see *supra* (p. 79; Vol. I, p. 113, n. 6); *glañ-tshigs* is "proof", "confirmation", "document" (pp. 134.B2, 143.6). *Rin-che-ba* is given in Ś. C. Das' dictionary as = *du-kū-lahi-ras*, "silk-cotton." On *lom* (= *lon*?) see p. 443; *tha-sñad* = Sanskrit *vyavahāra* (pp. 33-20, 145). *Sño-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).

<sup>1</sup> bgyi ?<sup>4</sup> khuñs ?<sup>2</sup> rñā ?<sup>5</sup> yas ?<sup>3</sup> yan ?

[A 1] 𑖦 || blon . Pal . sum . gyis || bkañ . nan . stsal . te |  
 hdi . [n ?]i . Stag . bor . la . brdzañ . ba | [A 2] Myes . kri . la .  
 gro . khal . phyed) . dañ . brgyad || Coñ . stoñ . la . do . cig .  
 gi . thog . chad . khal . [phye ?] [B 1] dañ . gñis . Ru . tsog .  
 la . thog . chad . khal . phyed) . dañ . gsum | Rlañ . K[1]u .  
 sto . la . thog . chad | [B 2] rñiñ . mañ . mo . zig . mehis . pa .  
 las | na . niñ . Šod . du . mehis . pañi . tshe ||

"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 Coñ-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 Šod last year."

On Šod see p. 164.

39. M. Tāgh. 0252 (wood, c. 8 × 2.5 cm., pointed at l. broken away at r.: ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] 𑖦 || Dge . bzañ . gis . drañs . . . [2] yañ . kh . .

"Conveyed by Dge-bzañ . . . 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, *zin-hgod*)"; a "commissioner" (*rin-lugs*) of the land-settlement is there mentioned. Since in the case of the "lord's-land" (*rje-zin*, royal or manorial land, on which see pp. 127, 129, 139, 275) there are special regulations prohibiting fixed holdings (*gtan-zin*) and special rights (*dbañ-thañ*, 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 (*zin-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 *jāgīr*) were usual.

The manorial land of Nob was divided by raised partitions (*bñas-kha*, also in M.I. xxvi, 7) and the water-supply was regulated. The latter was doubtless the case elsewhere also;



in the Śa-cu area there is mention of canals or water-conduits (*yur-ba*, *infra*, pp. 365-6). On *slan-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 (*zin-pa*) may not have been completely free.

A Śa-cu document (*infra*, pp. 361 sqq.) discriminates (a) crop land (*rkyu-zin*), (b) poor land (*phons-zin*), and (c) "juniper-land" (*śug-zin*). 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 *rmed-pa*. The seed (*sa-bon*) seems to have been supplied to the cultivator (*supra*, pp. 353-4). The crop was *rkyu* and the harvest-yield (*thog*; *lo-thog* "year's yield") was "out" (*chad*). Corn was *stsañ*, and "granary" *stsañ-gam* (?); "flour" is *phye*, "mill" *hthag*.

The commonest crops were barley (*nas*), wheat (*gro*), white (*dkar*) and black (*gnag*), and millet (*khre*). There is mention also of mustard or turnips (*stsañ-yuñs*) and cotton (*ras*). Implied in the mention of *yu* (*rgyu*)-*mar* "oil material" is sesamum, and wood (*šin*) is also rendered as material (*rgyu*) for arrows and tablets (*khram*). Perhaps glue-material (*spyin*) 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-tha* (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] ༩ | : | lo . thañ . ḥdir . gñer . bkum . baḥi . rnama ||  
rtsis . paḥi . phrin . [by] . . . [A 2] gi . nañ . nas . myiñ . smar  
[sic] . ḥbyuñ . ba . lagsna . Rgyal . bzañ . la . yañ . de . [bzi] . . .

[B 1] ༩ | : | rtsis . kyañ . sñon . dañ . myi . ḥdra . ste ||  
blon . Mañ . zigs . kyī . g-yar . s[ñ]a[r] . . . [B 2] mcis || khrom .  
phyogs . kyī . bkaḥ . meid . ji . gdaḥ . 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 *gñer-bkum* (pp. 42, 79, 83, etc.), see *supra*; *myiñ-smar* (*miñ-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).

[1] ༩ || log . ba . rtsiḥ . baḥi . tahe . bzi . g-yon . len [2]  
gyi . myiñ . smraḥ ||

"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).

[A 1] Yas . bu . loḥi . ston . [za]ñ . lon . gyi . ḥbañs . žiñ .  
pa . mehi[s] . [A 2] pa[hi ?] . rnama | gyi . thog . bul . god .  
brtsis . nas | cad . paḥi [B] miñ . smra . |

"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; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . [kh]ral . rts[i]s . kyi . yi . ge . pa . Rlañ [2] Rañ . ruñi . žiñ . dor . gñi[s] |

"Land of Rlañ Rañ-ru, tax-account clerk, two teams."

*Rlañ* 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 . bañ . 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; ll. 1 (with indications of a prior one) + 1 + 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] rta | gro

[B] stañ . bañ . khram . na . b[y]añ . phyogs .

[C] pañi . bañ . r[ta] | ?

"[A] Horse: wheat.

"[B] Grain-store-ticket north side store horse."

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 (*tshañ-lon*) at Śa-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-than*) 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 (*khral-rta*, p. 303:44); and probably again (*infra*, p. 375) a smoke, or house, tax (*dud-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 felts, 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. lxxiii, c. 16 × 16 cm.; torn away at top, bottom, and r.; ll. 10 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨ ལྟོ ལྟོ ལྟོ [2] *brgyad* . *chul* . *ḥdom*<sup>1</sup> . *bži* . *cu* . *rtsa* .  
*g* . . . [3] (*cu* ?) *rtsa* . *drug* | *žin* . *ñi* . *śu* . *rtsa* . *gcig* |  $\frac{0}{0}$  . . . [4]  
*ḥdom* . *ñi* . *śu* . *rtsa* . *brgyad* |  $\frac{0}{0}$  | *nub* . *phyogs* . . . [5] *byañ* .  
*bži* . *bcu* . *rtsa* . *brgyad* |  $\frac{0}{0}$  | *slañ* . *bu* . *ḥdi* . . . [6] *lho* . *byañ* .  
*ḥdom* . *brgyad* |  $\frac{0}{0}$  | <sup>2</sup> *gśon* . *gyi* . *byañ* . *phy* . . . [7] *nub* .  
*ḥdom* . *bcu* . *gñis* |  $\frac{0}{0}$  | *dehi* . *nub* . *phyogs* . *na* . *sl* . . . [8]  
*bdun* |  $\frac{0}{0}$  | *dehi* . *nub* . *phyogs* . *na* . *slañ* . *bu* . *gsum* | *śar* . . .  
[9] *dehi* . *nub* . *phyogs* . *na* . *slañ* . *bu* . *gcig* | *lho* . *byañ* .  
*ḥdom* . *ñi* . *śu* . *rtsa* . *b* . . . [10] <sup>3</sup> *lho* . *byañ* [ *ḥdom* . *bži* ] . . .

" . . . eight *chul*, fathoms forty[one] . . . six: fields twenty-one . . . fathoms twenty-eight. On the west . . .

<sup>1</sup> *ñi* . *śu* here crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> *pañ* . *nub* here crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> *śu* . *ḥdom* here crossed out.

north forty-eight. This small terrace (*slan-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 *slan-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 . mtsams . tho . p[h]yag . . . [3] la[m] . ched . poñi . gram . na . tho . . . [4] Thu . ñi . boñ . tsan . gyi . ñiñ . mtsams . . .

[5] . . . . .<sup>1</sup> ñug . ñiñ . . . [6] s . mtsams . ni || Bor . gan . gyi . ñiñ . dañ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . mois . pa . nas . lho [7] phyogsu . drañ . ste || Thu . kur . ñiñ<sup>2</sup> . gyi . che[h]u . la . thug || de . nas . nub . phyogsu . drañs . the || Tho . gon . Señ . de . boñ | [8] brgya . tsan . gyi | ñug . ñiñ . dañ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . tho . pyag . rgya . can . la . thug || de . nas . byañ . pyogs . [9] su . drañs . te . mya . ñam . la . thug || de . na[s . śar] . pyogsu . drañs . the || Bor . gan . dañ . gñis . kyi . mtsams | [10] tho . pyag . rgya . can . la . slar . thug ||

[11] | ñiñ . th(ñ)añ . du . ma . tshañ . ba . ni . Da . [r]ed . Žal . yi . Rje . gol . rkya . beu | Da . r[e]d . [M ?]ab . sgan . rkya . ħi . sum . c[u] . geig . gi . ñiñ . [tha . ]gru . dañ . blon . tabs . gyi . nañ . na . mchis . pas . bs[na]n . tañ . tshañ . ño ||

<sup>1</sup> Heading in red ink effaced.

<sup>2</sup> ñiñ [sic].



Kh[a]r . g[o] . cañ<sup>1</sup> . [12] . . [ph]oñ . lastso[g]s . pha . rkya .  
 phyē . dañ . lña . yañ . bñi . lña (?) . [yo ?]d . do]

[13] rkya . žiñ . chu . ma . sum . khugs || dor . drug . cu .  
 Khe . to . ho . mod . na . meis . pañi . sa . mtsams . [ni] .  
 šar . Tho . gon . Ņo . ko . [14] cheñi<sup>2</sup> . brgya . tsan . gyi . rkya .  
 žiñ . la . thug | lho . Khar . go . cañ . Do . spoñ . gi .  
 bran . gyi . rkya . žiñ . dañ . gñis . kyi . mtsams [15] [tho .  
 phyag] . rgya . can . la . thug || byañ . Khri . tañ . Hi . na (ni ?)  
 go . khram . tsan . gyi . phoñ . žiñ . la . thug ||

[16] || phoñ . žiñ . chu . ma . dor . beo . lña . Khe . to . ho .  
 mod . na . meis . pañi . sa . mtsams . ni || [lho] . kho . na .  
 khram [17] [tsan . gyi || rkya] . žiñ . la . thug || [nub] . dañ .  
 byañ . mya . nam . la . thug || šar . Tho . gon . Ņo . ko . che  
 (tshe) . brgya . tsan . dañ . gñis . kyi

*Fragments:—*

A [1] nam . dañ . ž-ñ . . . [2] dañ . gñis . kyi . . . [3] . . ni ||  
 Khri . . . [4] tho . p[h]yag . . . [5] . . stsa . . .

B [1] tañ . Thu . ñi . boñ . brgya . tsan . . . [2] rgya . tsan .  
 meis . pa . [m] . . . [3] . . . ms . kyis . . .

"[l. 1] . . . west . . . [l. 2] . . . boundary cairn [with]  
 token . . . [l. 3] on the border of the high road, boundary  
 . . . [l. 4] Thu-ñi'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  
 (*cheñu*) of Thu-kur land. [ll. 7-8] Thence, proceeding in  
 a western direction, reaches juniper land of Tho-gon Šeñ-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

<sup>1</sup> *tiñ . gi ?*

<sup>2</sup> *rkhyas* ?

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 Ōo-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 (*phon*) land of the Khri-tan Hi-na(ni ?)-go *khram* account.

" [ll. 16-7] Boundary of poor (*phon*) 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 Ōo-ko, with one hundred *che*, and . . . of the two . . . "

*Fragments :—*

A " . . . desert and land . . . and of the two . . . Khri . . . cairn with manual. . . . "

B " . . . Khri-tan 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 × 53.5 cm., imperfect at top, esp. l., and bottom : similar to the preceding ; discoloured and dirty ; ll. 28 of good, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . . . -u . gya (mya ?) . . . . . [2] . . . . . r .  
gyi . yur . ba . . . . . [3] . . . . . lña | li . gzin . . . . .  
[4] . . . . . ug | | nub . Khri . tan [5] . . . . . la . thug || lho . my  
. . . . . [6] rkya . zin . chu . ma . sum . khugs . dor . drug .  
cu || Go . na . hi . Khri . ma . bañuñs . na . meis . pañi . [7]  
mtsams . ni || Khri . tan . Bor . to . khu . brgya . tsan . gyi .  
rkya . zin . dan . gñis . kyi . mtshams . tho . p[h]yag . rgya .  
can [8] [th]jug || lho . Hor . gol . bar . kyi . lam . la . thug ||

mub . Stoñ . bśos . gyi . yur . ba . la . thug || byañ . Tho . gon .  
 [9] *Señ* . de . boñ . brgya . tsan . gyi . rkyā . žiñ . la . thug ||  
 || Phoñ . žiñ . dor . bco . lña . Khule . Mo . ñan . na . meis .  
 pañi |

[10] mtañams . ni || śar . mya . ñam . la . thug || lho . Khule .  
 Mo . ñan . gyi . chu . myig . la . thug || nub . Khri . tañ . Thu  
 [11] . ñ . khram . tsan . gyi . śug . žiñ . la . thug || byañ .  
 mya . ñam . la . thug || || śug . žiñ . dor . ñi . śu . rtsa .  
 [12] . . . . . [meis] . pañi . sa . mtsams . ni || śar . Ñam . Kan .  
 mog . la . dwon . khram . tsan . gyi . . . . . Khri .  
 tañ . Bor . go . khram . tsan . gyi . phoñ . žiñ . la . thug ||  
 nub . Da . myi . Boñ . tahe . khram [13] [tsan . kyi . śug . žiñ .  
 la . thug] || lho . Khar . go . mu . sgeñi . lam . pho . che . la .  
 thug ||

[Space. Red seal] *Hbrog . gi . phyag*.

[14] bla (?) . . Khri (?) . tañ . Bor . [N]o . ko (?) . hi . tsan . .  
 bcu (?)<sup>1</sup> rkyā . žiñ . dañ . phoñ . žiñ . dañ . śug . žiñ . dor .  
 bñun . brgya . sum . cu || [15] *Dya* . śul (thul ?) . gyi . Khe .  
 to . ho . mod . dañ . Bro . go . dañ . Sa . dar . Mo . [ñ]an .  
 p[h]yogs . na . meis . pañi . sa . mtsams . ni | Jir . ber . lu .  
 di | [16] [grog] . skam . nas || lam . po . ches . thuñ . zad . [cig] ||  
 nub . phyogs . drañs . te || Tho . gon . No . ko . brgya . can .  
 gyi . rkyā . žiñ . | [17] dañ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . na . tho .  
 p[h]yag . rgya . can . la . thug | de . nas . No . ko . tsan .  
 kyi . rkyā . žiñ . dañ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . kyi | [18] thuñ .  
 zad . cig . byañ . p[h]yogs . su . drañs . the || lam . phra .  
 moñi . hog . na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . meis . pa . la .  
 thug || de . nas | [19] lam . phra . mos || nub . phyogs . su .  
 drañs . te . No . ko . [brgya . tsan] . gyi . rkyā . žiñ . dañ .  
 gñis . kyi . mtsams . na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can | [20] meis .  
 pa . la . thug || de . nas . rkyā . žiñ . dañ . gñis . kyi . mtsams .  
 gyis . lho . p[h]yogs . su . drañ . ste . lam . po . cheñi . hgram  
 [21] na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . la . thug || de . nas . lam .  
 po . ches . nub . p[h]yogs . su . drañ . ste || Sa . dar . Mo .  
 ñan . gyi . lu . ma . rked . du | [22] [h]ead . nas || Tho . gon .

<sup>1</sup> Red ink.

Señ . de . bon . dañ . gñis . kyi . žiñ . mtsams . kyis || lho .  
 nub . kyi . mtsamsu . drañs . te . Khu . le [23] Mo . ñan .  
 gyi . yur . ba . la . thug || de . nas . yur . bas || byañ .  
 p[h]yog . su . bthus . the || San . hdo . cin . dañ . Khe . to .  
 ho . mod || [24] gyi . dkañ . mdo . hdu . pañi . glad . mya .  
 ñam . la . thug || de . nas . Khe . to . ho . mod . gyi . yur .  
 ba . gya . gyus || lho . p[h]yogsu . drañ . ste . [25] yur . ba .  
 gñis . mdo . gyes . pa . na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . la .  
 thug || de . nas . yur . bas . mar . drañs . the . Bye . žo . ja .  
 gañi . yur [26] ba . dkañ . gyes . pañi . mdo . nañ || tho .  
 p[h]yag . rgya . can . la . thug || de . nas . Bye . žo . ja . ga .  
 yur . ba . gya . gyus . drañs . the || [27] yur . bañi . mjug ||  
 tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . mehis . pas . mya . ñam . rked .  
 du . boad . nas . lho . śar . gyi . mtsamsu . drañs . the || [28]  
 Da . red . Žal . yi . bran . gyi . rkya . žiñ . dañ . . . . . [29]  
 na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . [la . thug] . . .

" [ll. 1-5] . . . conduit (*yur-ba*) . . . five . . . ; west, reaches  
 Khri-tañ . . . south . . .

" [ll. 6-9] Boundaries of crop lands amounting to three, not  
 irrigated, teams sixty, in Go-nañi Khri-ma-bśuñs :—Reaches  
 crop land of Khri-tañ Bor-to with a hundred *khu* (huts ?), and,  
 as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. On the  
 south reaches the middle Hor-gol (or Hor-gol-bar) road. On  
 the west reaches the Stoñ-bśos 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-ñan,  
 teams fifteen :—On the east reaches the sand desert. On the  
 south reaches the spring of Khu-le Mo-ñan. On the west  
 reaches juniper land of the *khram* account of Khri-tañ  
 Thu . . . ñ. 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 Ñam-kan-mog . . . , reaches the poor land of the *khram*  
 account [of] Khri-tañ Bor-go. On the west reaches juniper  
 land of the *khram* account of Da-myi Boñ-tshe. On the south  
 reaches the high road of Khar-go-mu-sge.



*Seal of Hbroq.*

" [ll. 14-17] . . . account . . . ten of . . . *Khri-tān Bor-Ño-ko(?)*.<sup>1</sup> Boundaries of crop land and poor land and juniper land, teams seven hundred and thirty, in the region of Khe-to-ho-mod and Bro-go and Sa-dar Mo-nan in *Dgu-sul*:—From the dry ravine Jir-ber-hu-di proceeding by the high road a little way westward, reaches crop land of Tho-gon Ño-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 Ño-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 Ño-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-nan land of 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-nan. [ll. 23-4] Thence by the conduit, where, uniting in a northerly direction, the steep (*dkah?*) lower valleys (*mdo*) of San-hdo-cin and Khe-to-ho-mod join in a head, reaches the sand desert. [ll. 24-5] Thence proceeding by the winding Khe-to-ho-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-žo-ja-ga conduit, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 26-9] Thence proceeding by the winding Bye-žo-ja-ga conduit, and, where beyond (*njug*) 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 *bzens-kha*, with their boundaries (*hishams*) similarly demarked and with regulation of the water-supply. It may be conjectured that such matters were largely the concern of the *yul-nthoñ* or *yul-grigs* as "local surveyor".

The last two documents probably relate to lands belonging to the religious establishments of Śa-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 *Hor-gol*, *Khu-le Mo-nan*, similar to *Ho-khol* and *Khu-ñe Mon-gaüs*, possibly indeed identical therewith. *Rje-gol* and *Hor-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-ño-mod* in *Dyu-ñul*, *Bro-go*, *Ñam-kan-mog*, *Khar-go-can*, *Khar-go-mu-sge*, *Bye-to-ja-ga*, and stream-names *Jir-ber-ñu-di*, *Ston-bšos*, 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 *Tu-huen*, *Tuci-huen*, 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 Poñ-yi and Da-red Blon-yi

of the document and probably meaning "of that ilk". *Du-myi Bon-ishe* 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*. *Dgu-sul* (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 *Hö-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 *Hör-gol* and *Rje-gol*. The *Hör-gol* can hardly help being the Bulungir river, which in the *Life* of Hiuan-tsang, who crossed it on leaving An-hsi | 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 war-magazine (*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 *Ša-cu* district?

In the place-name *San-hdo-cin* the element *cin* must be identical with the *cin* which we have found in *Sil-gu-cin* (p. 5), *Im-ka-cin* (p. 17) and *Khar-tsa-cin | chin* (pp. 25-8) and have supposed to represent Chinese *chên*, "mart" (Japanese *tšin*, *tin*), corresponding to Tibetan *khrom* in *Mkhar-tsan-khrom-chen-po* (p. 95. B2-3). The *can* in *Khur-go-can* may, as in *Ma-ko-can* (p. 29), represent Chinese *ch'êng*, "city," "fort," since a *cag* = *ch'êng* is certain in *Tsehu-cag* = Chinese *Ts'ou-ch'êng* (p. 250), and the alternation *g* | *h* 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-tshan*) see pp. 91-2 sqq., 360. One or two terms—*che*, and *chehi*, *khu*—are of unascertained meaning. "Crop land (*rkya-tiñ*) was mentioned *supra*, p. 352: "not irrigated" (*chu-ma*) is defined in S. C. Das' dictionary as "cultivation which requires irrigation". On *mjug*, "behind," "beyond" (p. 365, l. 27), see p. 151. The word *boñ*, 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-can* script).

[A 1] [☛] | : | Śa . cu . pho . ña . gou . . . . [A 2] khal .  
boñ . bu . rgyab . cha . sga . dan . cha[s] . . . [B 1] gcig |  
myi . gsum . gyi . zla . ba . goi . . . [B 2] do . htshal . bañi .  
than . du . brtsis . te . phye . khal . phye . . . [B 3] ñi . su .  
gñis . la | pho . ñar . mchi . ba | b . . . .

"Śa-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 Śa-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) l at l., large, + 2 at r., smaller, of squarish *dbu-can* script).



[A] 𐰽 | : | nas . khal : bdun . [bcu] . rtsa : lña . dan . dar :  
yug : stoñ . rñul : srañ : dgu : brgya . dan . gser : srañ : drug :  
brgya : ma[r] . . .

[C] [dan ?] : | g[ñand ?] gyi . [men] {tog ?} . dan . [s]pyin .  
dan . [smaller hand] 𐰽 | : | las : kyi . [thab]s | na : rtse :  
rje : hog : dpon : du : lastsald : de : yi | ge . zañs<sup>1</sup> : hstsald |  
to : Rlañ . Khyi : tsa : ñan : rje : pho : Stagu : gañssa : gran :  
mkhan : nañ . [d]ju | . . .

[B] . . . [Khrom ?] bzer . . n . ma : [brid ?] . [rus . ni] :  
Schu : mye<sup>2</sup> : sa<sup>3</sup> mkhan . ni . Brgyal : bzigs . myi .  
ni . [Ña . sle]bs : rus . ni : Hgra : had (har ?) . rad . mkhan .  
ni . Lañ . skyes<sup>4</sup> . myin . ni : Mad . don . rtse | rus . ni .  
Hbre<sup>5</sup> . mkhan : ni : . . . [above had . rad . mkhan] gran :  
dar : [dod]

[D] . . . [sum ??] : glan . [ʿA ?] . —o . [ltsa ??] . Do :  
mñen . Sregs : Rhu . lu : stañ | Dar : Legs : la : hpan | tha :  
bzi : [gyab ?] . [Gsah] ? . glan . ba : mal : [hpan . Ph]o .  
rma | sa : rig | Rma : [lod :] Lañ : Lñag : lñag : r (rma ?) . . .  
[Above line] 𐰽 | : | khy[i] . h[i] . l[o] . la | Bzañ . [Ho]r :  
gyi : sde : Dbyen . Legs . [kheñ<sup>6</sup>] . Šin . ñan . [la] . man : du .  
stsald : pa : hi : tše : gsañ . rnañ (dan ? rmañ ?) . dgor .  
dan . rtshe (??) . dgor<sup>7</sup>

[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 Khyi-tsa, among the accountants of the Interior Minister at the residence of Sta-gu-gañs . . .

[B] . . . [Khrom ?] bzer . . . ma-brid . . . Race, . . . ; name Schu (?); guide, Brgyal-bzigs; man (or read: *myin*

<sup>1</sup> *zāñs* ?<sup>2</sup> Or *myi*.<sup>3</sup> Below line.<sup>4</sup> a below line.<sup>5</sup> *Hbro* ?<sup>6</sup> *kheñ* ?<sup>7</sup> *dgor* below line, under the previous *dgor*.

"name" ?) *Ŋa-slebs* ; race, *Hgra-har*. Caravan-leader *Lañ-skyes* ; name *Mad Don-rtse* ; race, *Hbre* ; master . . .

[D] . . . sum ; *glau* . . . *Do-mñen*. Sregs *Rhu-lu-staŋ* ; banner-bearer (*dar* ?), *Legs-la-hpan* ; quartermaster (*tha-bzi* ?) . . . ; bedding-man, *Pho-rma* ; guide, *Rma-lod*, *Lañ Lnag-lnag* . . .

Dog year : on the occasion of *Dbyen Legs-khoñ* (?) of the *Bzañ-Hor* regiment, sending in quantity to *Šiñ-šan*, 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-hphan*), a guide (*sa-rig* and *sa-mkhan*), and others. The *gran-mkhan* (= *gran-mkhan* "accountant" ?) may not have been of the company. On *hog-dpon* and *nan-rje-po* see *supra*. *Schu, Hgra-had* (?), and *Hbre* seem to be unknown. On *Sta-gu gañs*, *Šiñ-šan*, and the "Good Hor" regiment see *supra*. The district *Sreg(s)* is mentioned in p. 306 : 54 and in a *Bkañ-hgyur* colophon (Beckh, p. 84).

51. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0065 (wood, c. 18.5 × 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).

[A] ॐ || *sol . bor . bañi . pho . tahes . brgyad . gyi . ñi . ma . spam* <sup>1</sup> *na . hphar . ma . meis* <sup>2</sup> [B] *Stag . ri . [khra] . bor . mehis . ma . thag . du . bsgyald . pa . lags* <sup>2</sup>

"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 *hphar-ma*, "missive" see *supra* (p. 148). *Bsgyald* seems to be intended for *bskyald* (p. 202). The sense of *pho* "male" is obscure (error for *no* ?).

<sup>1</sup> *phyam* ? *phyo* ?

<sup>2</sup> \* below line.

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).

[1] 𐎃 | : | ltañ : sog[s] [2] gyi : rgyags . loñ |

"Baileman's provisions arrived (loñ = lon?)." How the "baileman" (pp. 51, 149, 209) or "bale-attendant" (*ltañ-rogs*) differed from the *sgyechu-ga* "bagman" (pp. 125, 136) is not apparent; perhaps the *ltañ-rogs* 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).

[A] H̄jag . ma . h̄gur | [B 1] ri . [zu]g . brgyags | [B 2] ltañ . rogs . pos . nos

"In H̄jag-ma-gu: mountain-sickness provisions received by baileman."

On "mountain-sickness provisions" see pp. 216, 234; on H̄jag-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] 𐎃 | : | cu : rgyad : gyi : ma : pha : [bu] . h̄phon : g-yog : la : ñe : so (*sic*) : pa : hi [*gap* ?] [B] mcis : de : las : [gum (*gus* ?)] : la : dgol : phar : gsol ||

"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 *h̄gol*, "separate", "stray", and is given in Ś. C. Das' dictionary with the meaning "disperse", or keep away; *bgos* might be connected with *h̄go*, "infect", or *h̄gos*, "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)

[1] 𐎃 | Im . kag . rkañ . mgyogs [2] sol[d] . [db]

"Petition of 'Im-kag, the swift-foot (courier)."

*Rkañ-mgyogs* is given in the dictionaries. The more or less synonymous *bañ-chen* (pp. 57, 136), *riñ-lugs* (p. 16, etc.), *riñs-pa* (p. 53) and *hdral-ba*, "runner" (p. 429 n.), have already been noted.

56. M. Tāgh. a. II, 0043 (wood, c. 20-20.5 × 7.5 × 7.5 cm., cut away on one side; some incised lines and notches on one side; II. 1 + 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] H̄j- . ma : nas || Stag : h̄dus : su : gtad : pañi | r[i] : sky[ə]l : khram [B] khram : bu : yañ : Stag : h̄dus : pa (la ?) : tsugs : pon : la | gtad | do ||

"Mountain convoy tally of . . . from . . . to be delivered at Stag-h̄dus. A small tally has also been consigned to the corporal (station-commander) of (at ?) Stag-h̄dus."

On Stag-h̄dus (pp. 215, 229) and *tsugs-[d]pon* (p. 172) see *supra*.

57. Khad. 032 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.: l. 1 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

☞ || r[i] . sky[ə]l . pha . tsa : | rtiñ . non . [tahua] . [ch]ad . bu . bdun . tsam . mehis :

"Mountain convoy parcels: down to (sc. including) the rearguard (or supplementary) as many as seven are come."

On *ri-skyol* (p. 202), *pha-tsa* (pp. 379, 438) and *rtiñ-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; II. 4 of cursive *dbu-can* script, small and in part rubbed and faint).

[1] ☞ || zañ . po . . . . la | | Klu . H̄brug . brtsan . gi . mehi[d] . gsol . bā | | Lha . dpal . thugs . rtad . tu . bde . bar . smon . te . mehid . yige . las . gsol<sup>1</sup> . zin [2] mehis || thugs . pags . mdzad . de . boñ . bu . gyañ . gnañ . ba . glo . ba . dgañ . nas | zal . mthoñ . nas . gtañ . rag . h̄tshal || boñ .

<sup>1</sup> i below line.



bu . ni . bdaḡ . kum . bar . luñ . ba . chan . du . bgyis . nas .  
 skal . d'rmvig . ci . [3] yañ . ma . mchis . bar . stag . Stoñ .  
 rtsan . la | ston . zla . hbrin . po . tshes . ben . bži . la . brdzañs .  
 šin . mchis . || spyi . žal . mthoñ . nas . gtañ . rag . kyañ .  
 hšhal . gla . lastaogs . pa . yañ | der . hbul . [4] žin . mchisna ||  
 dehi . bar . du . thugs . rtag . baprin . bar . chi . gnañ . ||

*Verso* : Klu . Hbrug . [b]rtsan . gi . gdo <sup>2</sup>

"To Uncle . . . : letter petition of Klu Hbrug-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 Stoñ-rtzan. 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 Hbrug-brtsan."

The sense of the expressions *luñ* (also = "strap")-*ba-chan* (= *can*?)-*du-bgyis-nas* and *skal-rmvgis* is not clear; possibly the latter means "lucky hoof" (*bskal-rmig*) and not "lucky fancy, appearance" (*bskal-dmvgis*); cf. p. 273.5, *skal-rmvgig*. The curtness of the last sentence seems nonchalant.

59. M.I. viii. 92 (wood, c. 16 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ☉ || stoñ . bon . sbrum . geig . la . srañ . bži | pho .  
 bon . geig . la | [A 2] srañ . gsum | dgyeñu . thor . geig . la .  
 srañ . gñis | gla . ni . hphral . žag [B 1] du . th[o]gsa . las |  
 ñin . re . bre . rehi . thañ . du . dud . kral . las . bkral [B 2]  
 te . stsal . to <sup>3</sup> | Rgyañ . riser . ba . bon . mehi . ba . ston .  
 gon . ma . dañ . hdra | gla . ni . khla <sup>4</sup> . ph[ye]d |

"For one empty (*ston*; unloaded) ass, pregnant, four *srañ*; for one male ass, three *srañ*; for one *dgyeñu-thor*

<sup>1</sup> *d* crossed out?

<sup>2</sup> *staid*, *to*?

<sup>3</sup> = *gaol*.

<sup>4</sup> = *khāl*.

two *srab*; 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 Rgyaṅ-rtse, empty, payment equal to the above. Wages, half a load."

*Dgyeḥu-thor* = *gyeḥu*°, "bag twist" or = *°tho-re-cig*, "a few small bags" ? *Dud-kral* is perhaps = "house-tax"; cf. *dud-grabs*, "number of smokes (= chimneys)". Possibly the intention is to levy the contribution from the houses *en route*. *Rgyaṅ-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).

[A 1] ༄ || boñ . bu<sup>1</sup> . rgyab . skyin . gyi . [gl]añ . dan . gsum . | mkha[r]-is . nas . myi . hgañ . žig] . . . [A 2] g-yon . bs[k]or . te . m[yur] . du . skyel . du . g[t]añ . bar . sñan . sñuñs . śm . mchis . [t]e . bdag . [kyañ ?] . [A 3] [gr]on (gyon) . gcug(gtsug ?) . bzañ . dag . dañ . hgrogs . te . mchi | sug . rjed . n<sup>2</sup> nan . pa . dag . ran<sup>3</sup> . rños (rdos ?) . śig . par . [B] bkah . stsal . bar . ci . gnañ . ||

"Asses with ox substitute in rear (*rgyab*), three, to be sent quickly as convoy, some men from the city boundary (*mkhar-ris*) 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. *gran* (*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".

<sup>1</sup> *bu* below line.

<sup>2</sup> = crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> *dgorna* ? *dag* . *dan* ?

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] . . . ŋ . bžer . gyis | | Khyeñu . cuñ . la | [A 2]  
sprño | [B 1] . . . —o . . | thenś . ste | gum . la . thug . pa |  
Gu . [mo] . [nañ] <sup>1</sup> hdi (?) . rña . mo | [B 2] . . . rjed . byañ <sup>2</sup> .  
zuñ . ba | . rña . mo . sgul <sup>3</sup> . la | nos . ste | gñis .

"By . . . ŋ-bžer sent to Khyeñu-cuñ. Camel, being lamed, ended by dying. In Gu-[mo] this (?) female camel . . . memorandum obtained. Camel for a move received; two."

On [Ho-toñ] Gyu-mo, 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] 𐎃 | : | cibs . rta . rlañś . na . mchī . bañi . rño . yañ .  
myi . tho[g] . . . [A 2] cab . bzañ . po . dañ . s[byard] . tje .  
bžag . pa . las . diñi . . . [B 1] bšos <sup>4</sup> . na . glo . rgyas . sñin .  
khrag . rlañ . gis . gañ . žin . . . [B 2] bgyis . ste . so . Sluñś .  
la . bthañ . ži[n] . . .

"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 Sluñś . . ."

*Rlañś* seems to be an error for *luñ(s)*: *bšos* (or *bšos*) may be for *bšos* "fed" or "cured". On *Sluñś-la-bthañ* see pp. 423, 446.

For another case of a riding horse (*mchibs*, with attendant *rman-rogs*) see p. 258.

63. M.I. xxi, 1A (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).

[1] 𐎃 || (blank) Btsan . sum . la . sprññ . ŋo || da . ltar . . . [2]  
myi . ba . myed . ces . thoś . te | rab . tu . dgā || . hdi . lan . la .  
Dpal . bžre <sup>1</sup> . Rbeg . chuñ . la . lug . drug . dañ . ra . lña |  
. . . [3] goig | gī <sup>2</sup> . rgyab . lug . sgye . beu . eig . || phyññ .

rgyu . bal . pho . re . gañ . | thud . lu . gu . grod | bu . geig .  
 ha<sup>2</sup> . myu . . . [4] hdir . dblañs . zin (sic) . || Mañ . zigs . las .  
 hbru . kugs . kyañ . zer . ma . ku[g . . ky]añ . zer . na .  
 lug . cig . žes . ham<sup>4</sup> . pa . hdi . ma . thos<sup>5</sup> [5] zer . ba . yañ .  
 ldehi . lan . la . m[a]rdzons || dehi . res . la . ra . lug . hdi .  
 rnams . rgyab . be—<sup>6</sup> . tu . myi . ruñ . | slad . na . hbru<sup>7</sup> .  
 [lu] . . [6] pa . rnams . rtals . te . bžag . | hdir . phyin . log .  
 tu . blañ . | žib . tu . ni . Dpal . bžer . chuñ . las . sprin . dehi .  
 res . thogs . . . [7] na . ma . p(h)an ||

"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-bžer Rbeg-chuñ 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 Mañ-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, *dehi-res-la*) it is not right to . . . back these goats and sheep; later, after reckoning grain and sheep, they were delivered (*bžag*). Here it is taken as error (*phyin-log-tu-blañ*). Delay in replying to that definite communication from Dpal-bžer [Rbeg-]chuñ 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).

[A 1] ༩ | : | beos . nas | khyi . gstsañ . gañ . mjin<sup>2</sup> | rkañ .  
 phyi . bsko | khri . go [A 2] dañ . khri . rtse | tshogs . cher .  
 bgyi | [ph]yug . zan<sup>4</sup> . gyi . rnams | rdziñ . du . chab . htshal .  
 [B 1] du . myi . gñañ . bar | phyug . rdzi . la . yañ . mjal .

<sup>1</sup> bter.<sup>2</sup> gri ?<sup>3</sup> For la.<sup>4</sup> Below line.<sup>5</sup> hos ? ho(a)-l ?<sup>6</sup> lde-g ?<sup>7</sup> hbu ?<sup>8</sup> glab . hjin (= tin ?).



par | bsgo . zin | rdzin . pa [B 2] ba . yañ . g-yon . bskor ||  
 bar . zig . nas | bañ . phrugs . dañ | phyug . zan |

"... having been arranged, setting a dog-house (*khyi-gstah* = *khyi-tshah* ?), put the bundle outside. Bed-door (*khri-[s]go* ?) and bed-head are to be made with great care (*tshogs-cher*). Carnivora of the different kinds (*rnam*s) 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", sc. "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-mkhan* (p. 371), "caravan-leader", *rad-gos*, "travelling-clothes", *rad-pa*, "traveller" or "caravan". In addition to the phrases (*sa-mkhan*, "guide", *ri-skyel*, etc.) noted above we may mention *lam-htshal* (*supra*, p. 21.4, and *Two Medieval Documents*, p. 124, l. 3, *lam-gsol*, also in M. Tāgh, α, i, 0021, c. i, 0062), the real meaning of which seems to be "to take leave". We have found also *sa-rig*, "guide" (*uo-mkhan*, p. 51.2), [*m*] [*th*] [*h*] -*bz* (p. 371), "four ends," "quartermaster," *mul-hphan* (?), "bed-man," as well as the *ltan-sogs*, "porter," *gye-hu-ga*, "baleman," *rkañ-mgyogs*, *bañ-chen*, *hdul-ba*, "courier" previously recorded.

The animals named are ass, camel, horse, sheep, goat, dog :

<sup>1</sup> 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 *sta-rogs*, *rmah-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 . baḥ . gñis . | drgyal .  
pa . che . cuñ . ben | Hel . ke . . . [2] drña . bal . ki . pha .  
tsa . geig | ra . bal . pha . tsa . geig . khe . te . re . geig |  
thag . pa . bži . | me . . . [3] char . | [symbol] | | o | |  
| | | | | o

"In (On t) 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-tsa*) of camel-hair, one; parcel of goat hair, one; each of one *khe-te*; ropes, four . . ."

The spellings *drgyal* (= *rkyal*) and *drña* (*rña*) are unexampled; but cf. *dblans*, 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).

[1] ☞ || Khro . la . rton . la . men . thri . yug . [2] geḥig ||  
"To Khro-la-rtion, silk, one roll."

*Men-tri* (*dri*, *hri*) 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.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ || Buñ . lod . la . gdan . geig

"To Buñ-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).

[1] | : | Po (So ?) . gseñ . | [2] gdan . sa |

"Po-gseñ : *ḡdān*".

69. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 0025 (wood, c. 10 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[1] ☉ | : | Lha . goñ . gyi . śiñ . sug . ma<sup>1</sup> [2] mch[is] ||

"Lha-goñ'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 ?) . gñah . ba . can . lña | rkyañ  
phugi<sup>2</sup> . ko . ba . gcig || [B] rkyañ . lvo (wo ?) . gñah . ba .  
ma . mchis . pa . dgu ||

"Pitchers (*rkyañ*) 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).

cañ |

This is perhaps for *chan* "barley beer".

72. M. Tāgh. 0507 (paper, fragmentary at left, c. 13 × 6 cm.; ll. 4 of rather clumsy *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . Legs . tshan . gyi . mchid | gsol . ba | jo . bo .  
l(h)a . dpal . [2] . . . n . gs[o]l . žiñ . mchis . | žib . du . ni .  
mkhan(r ?) . las (?) . gsol [3] . . . leb . lña<sup>2</sup> . che . pra . lña .  
ž[i]g . Tshes . lod . la . skur . žiñ . mchis . [4] . . . du . bde .  
žiñ . žal . bzañ . po . myur . du . mtoñ . bar . smon .

*Verso* : [1] Legs . tshan . gi . mchid . gs[o]l . bah |

[2] jo . bo . Stag . [Rgy]al . bžer . gi . ža . śnar . |

[1-2] "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.

*Verso* : "Letter-petition of Legs-tshan : to the presence of my lord the Tiger (Stag) Rgyal-bžer."

<sup>1</sup> ma crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> phrugi ?

<sup>3</sup> Crossed out.

Tshes-lod is probably the wife of Stag Rgyal-bzer.

73. M.L. xxviii, 3 (wood, c. 17 × 2.5 cm., somewhat broken away at r.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

[A 1] ༄ | : | sku . bla . spyān . dbyed . bañi . rkyen . so .  
sor . bab . ste | sbyor . ba . la || blon . Khri . rma . . . [A 2]  
la . ka : śaḥi . rin . nas . bre . bži : | blon . Mtsho . bžre <sup>1</sup> .  
mu . tig . hbru . bre <sup>2</sup> . gchig : | [bl]o . . . [A 3] Stag . bzañ .  
sman . sna . tshogs . zañs . ltags <sup>3</sup> . || Mdo . bžre <sup>4</sup> . da . du  
. . . [B 1] chig . | Rgyal . zigs . la . byu . ru . gchig : | Lha .  
bžre <sup>5</sup> . la . g-yu . sar <sup>6</sup> . chig <sup>7</sup> . . . [B 2] [Mgar] . [G] . bu .  
sto . la . gse[r] . [gyi] . dañ . kh[añ] <sup>8</sup> . meñis . paññ . blañ  
[B 3] Htshug . snañ (stañ ?) . la . dar |

"Sum of 'grantees-eye-opening' property (*rkyen*) delivered severally: To councillor Khri-rma, from price of a ring (*ka-sa*), barley four *bre*; councillor Mtsho-bžer seed pearl, one *bre*; coun[cillor] Stag-bzañ various medicines, copper —; Mdo(*for* Mtsho ?)-bžer furthermore one . . .; to Rgyal-zigs (the King's Eye) one coral (*byu-ru*); to Lha-bžer one turquoise . . .; to Mgar G — bu-sto, though a *dañ-kh[añ]* (?) of gold has gone, not (?) received; to Htshug-snañ (stañ ?) silk (*dar*) . . ."

Of the doubtful terms in the above, *zañs-ltags* perhaps means a "copper-container", *sar-chig* (*sor-tshob* ?) should possibly be read *sor-gdub* "finger-ring", and *dañ-kh[añ]* might be a *tanka*.

An "eye-opening" gift would have the object of securing general attention or regard; cf. *spyān-gzigs* "offering" or "present".

On *sku-bla* = "grantee", "magnate", see *supra*, pp. 346, 354, and Index.

74. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0096 (paper, fol. No. 37 in vol., c. 28 × 9 cm., nearly complete, discoloured; ll. 6 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

<sup>1</sup> = *bžer*.

<sup>2</sup> *sor* ?

<sup>3</sup> *hbru* . *ba* ?

<sup>4</sup> *tshob(y)* ?

<sup>5</sup> *lung* ?

<sup>6</sup> *khub* ?



[A 1] || Dpal . ḥḍus . kyis | Rgyal . bžer . Legs .  
 tsan . la . sprin . ŋo | [A 2] sña . phyir . so . pa . dag . la . rmas .  
 na || ŋe . žo . dag . myede . th[ɪ]ŋ[ɪ]gs . bde . [že]s . thos . te ||  
 glo . ba . dga | [A 3] alan . cad . gyañ . ŋe . žo . dag . myed .  
 par . amon . to || sña . slad . kyī . yi . ge . sprin . ba .  
 dañ || [A 4] śog . śo[g] . dañ . mye . rdo . bsar . ba . sug .  
 par . meis . te | gtañ . rag . [h]tshal | khro[m . nas] | [A 5]  
 ḥḍrul . ba . dag . ḥoñs . na | stoñ . sde . la . ŋe . žo . slad .  
 ma . ni . myed | sña . ma . dag . ni . sñar . thos . [pa] [A 6]  
 tsam . du . bas || [B] Dpal . ḥḍas . Legs . tsan . la .  
 [spri]ño.

"[A 1-3] By Dpal-ḥḍas sent to Rgyal-bžer Legs-tsan. 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 flint-stone apparatus (*me-rdo-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-ḥḍas. Sent to Legs-tsan."

On paper as a present see p. 383. *Me-rdo-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 . bzañ . gi . ža . sñur |  
 Legs . tshan . gi . mehid . gsol . ba . | Lha . dpla<sup>1</sup> [2] gi .  
 ža . sña . nas . sñun . bžes . sam . ma . bžes . | meid . yi . ge .  
 laa . sñun . gsol . žiñ . mehis | skyes . rgyi . mtshan . ma<sup>2</sup> .  
 śog [3] śog . yug . lña . žig . | Gliñ . bžer . la . | bskur .  
 žiñ . mehis . na . bžes . par . chi . gnañ . |

<sup>1</sup> Compendium for *dpal*.

<sup>2</sup> For *gyi* . . . *mar*.

"[1-2] To the presence of my lord Councillor Lig-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."

l. 2, *bzes*: This may be an error for the more usual *bzens*, "health recovered." *Skyes-kyi-mtshan-ma*: For the phrase see also *infra*: *skyes* = "present" occurred pp. 259, 339.

ll. 2-3, *soq-soq-yug*: Cf. pp. 67, 82, n. *Glin-bzer*: This is perhaps a son of the addressee.

76. M. Tagh. a. iv, 00160 (paper, fol. No. 26 in vol., c. 23.5 × 6.5 cm., discoloured; ll. 6 *recto* + 5 (very obscure) *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . Lha . la . rton | . kyi . gsol . bah | so . pah . h̄drul .  
bah . la . rmas . na . thugs . [2] . . . | ca . gañ<sup>1</sup> . lags . la .  
skyes . kyi . h̄tshan : n̄ar . soq . soq . skur . zin̄ . mchis . na  
[3] . . . m . | Stag . bzer . Khlu . la . gzis<sup>2</sup> : la . mye : rdo : nan .  
pah . | skur . bah . tshes : mchis<sup>3</sup> . sam | dah [4] . . . ñe . soñ<sup>4</sup> :  
la . me . rdo . bzan̄ . po : deñ . bu . rdzi . bzan̄ . po . hgum .  
bah̄i . rdzi . h̄di . rnam̄s : mah̄ . skur . nah̄ . [5] . . . mah̄ :  
mchis | de . las : nah̄ . thugs . la . gdags . par . gsol | slad̄ .  
kyis . skyes . slah̄ (?) [6] . . . hgah̄ . dañ<sup>5</sup> . phabs | h̄dr- | :  
bretan . po . la . skur . zin̄ . mchih̄o ||

"... 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, *gdags-pa*) in mind. Afterwards, if I fall in with any ... suitable for a present, I will send by a reliable runner."

<sup>1</sup> *gñe-gñe*?

<sup>2</sup> For *gzis*?

<sup>3</sup> *m* here crossed out.

<sup>4</sup> *toñ*? *La* here crossed out.

<sup>5</sup> *ph* here crossed out.



ma . bzard . ces . tho[s] . nas [2] glo . ba . rab . [t]u . dgah .  
 zin . mchis . || [g ?]oñ . par . gyañ . [sñ]an . sñuñ . h̄bah .  
 ōig . gso[1] . te . bkah . h̄bab . bam . myi . h̄bab . [3] tshal .  
 ma . h[ts]a[7 ?] . [ba]hi . s[n]od . cig . gi[s] . rab . tu . bre[ld ?] .  
 te . dgog . zug . pa . spyod . cin . [m]chis . na . | zañ . lon .  
 Lha . sbyin [4] zañs . ba . dgog . h̄di . gsum . las . [ʒab]s . dan<sup>1</sup> .  
 b[zed ?] . po . stan . bre . phyed . tsam . sññ . ba . zig . zañs .  
 mgar . [b]ga[2] . [5] hog . na . ni . mchis . sna (na ?) . sdu .  
 gu . zig . thu[g]s . pags . [cir] . gzigs . | 1—spyan . ras . kyis .  
 b[ts]a[s] . te . lag[s] . nam . hu<sup>2</sup> [6] sna . ba . geig . la . phyag .  
 [rgy]as . mnan . te . s[k]ur . [bar . ci ?] . gnañ . || ʒal<sup>4</sup> .  
 myur . du . [m]thoñ . ba . dan . ya[b] . sras . stan . sbyal .  
 thugs . [t ?] . . [7] bar . sm[o]nd . chin . mchis ||

"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-mg-pa*). The Uncle-Councillor, Lha-sbyin, the copperman—of these three meditations, could you, if under your orders (*bkah-hog-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-btsas-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: stay-tu-bde-bar*) happiness of the eminent father and son."

*Bzard* seems to come from *gzer-ba* "suffer". *Bkah-h̄bab-myi-h̄bab*, a common phrase, = "perhaps you may reply or have replied." On *thugs-pags-cir-gzigs* (*mudrad*) see *supra* (pp. 58, 227.9) and on *spyan-ras-btsas*, pp. 224, 246, etc.; on *stan-sbyal*, *ibid.*, p. 189; *hu-sna-ba* is obscure in reading and in sense (= "quickly" ?): it might conceivably be connected with *hu-lag*, "pressed service".

<sup>1</sup> a below line.<sup>2</sup> *blag ?*<sup>3</sup> *zab*.<sup>4</sup> / below line.



79. M.I. xxxiii, 2 (wood, c. 22 × 2.25 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, *verso* much rubbed and faint).

[A 1] \* || tshal . bgyags | zla . ba . gcig . la | dkar . [bre] . drug . gnag . bre . bži [A 2] dguñ . sla . phye . dan . druggi . tshal . ma . brtsis . na . dkar . khal . gcig . dan . bre . [bcu] [B 1] [bdun ?] | nag . bre . bro . bgyad | de . hu . nan<sup>1</sup> . gi . b[rgya]gsu . [bre ?] | do | sku . bla . gsol . bañi [B 2] khar<sup>2</sup> . bre . dgu[ho ?] . gnag . [br]o . gsum | lug . rim . [gro . khal . ?] [bre ?] . gsu[m ?] | h[?]as . lu<sup>3</sup> . rg[u] . [bre] . g[s ?]

[B 3 *a different hand*] | bañ<sup>4</sup> . chañ . be<sup>5</sup> . la |

[Between B 1 (*nag-bre*) and B 2 (*bre-dgu*)] [sus<sup>6</sup> . sgyñ ? ?]

"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 (*bañ-chen*) (?) 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-hu-nan* = *dehu*, "small," + *nan* ?

80. M. Tāgh. 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).

[A 1] . . . l . bā | de . bar . thugs . bde . ham . myi . bde . mchid . yi . ge . las | [A 2] . . . bkañ . stsal . par . chi . gnañ || nañ . po . hi . snam . mchid || bdagi [B 1] . . . bgyis . par . bgyis . te . lags . šin . mchis . nañ || h[?]rui . brtan [B 2] . . . [sk]ur . bar . h[?]aal . zin . mchis || de . las . žal . mjald . gyi . bar . du [B 3] . . . žin || chos . gyi . chab . srid . mtho .

<sup>1</sup> *re . sla (su ?) . nan ?*

<sup>2</sup> *h[?]aham ? h[?]ahald ?*

<sup>3</sup> *so ? bre ? bro ?*

<sup>4</sup> *r below line ?*

<sup>5</sup> || *da ?*

<sup>6</sup> *gus ?*

bar . yi . ge . las<sup>1</sup> . smon . lam . gus . par . htshal . zin<sup>2</sup> .  
mehis |

" . . . petition. Meanwhile I am favoured by your having sent your . . . commands 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" (Kharoṣṭhī *namata*; see Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 367); cf. *snam*, "a woollen blanket".

St. M.I. ix, 4 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[A 1] ॐ | | spreñu . lo . la | sku . bla . gsol . ba . hi | lha .  
phug . rin . dan | sta<sup>3</sup> . dkañ . gla . [la . stso]gs . pa ||

[B] bkral . pañi . gzi |||

"Ape-year; price of radishes (*la-phug*) for entertaining the grandees, *sta-dkañ* (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 (*yug*) 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 Kharoṣṭhī *namata* and the modern *numdah*; also the fruit, including apricots and dried grapes (*kham-rgun*, 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<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> s below line.

<sup>2</sup> *atra* ?

<sup>3</sup> s below line.

<sup>4</sup> *mo-rdu-baar*.

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 (*bal*), hair (*skra*), and ropes (of hair or wool, no doubt, pp. 415-6) occur, though more rarely than might be expected; raw oil (*rgyu-mar*) and the same refined for lamps (*zug-mar*) are more frequent. In transactions of all kinds the cereals play the greatest part. Wood (*šin*) is mentioned as material (*agyu*) supplied for arrows (*mdah-šin*) and also for wooden tablets (*khram-šin*): a bundle of firewood is probably *šin-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-cha*) recalls the experience of the Forsyth mission, that European winter clothes are not suitable for the climate of Chinese Turkestan. *Rud-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, *rkau-bkris*, pp. 9.26, 425) are of the cloak (*slag-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 (*phor-pa* or *ritzhu*), bowl or basin (*bced-po*), pitcher (*rkyan*), basket (*deb-tse*), bag (*pha-tsa*), sometimes a "Khotan bag" (*Lhi-pha-tsa*), ladle or spoon (*skyogs*), wine (or water)-skin (*thul*), sack (*rkyal*), net (*dra-ba*), pipkin (*tse-gu*), couch or chair (*khri*). *Snod* 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 *tinduka* fruit), radishes and mustard; perhaps also barley beer (*chan*).

# 6. BURIAL, MOURNING AND OTHER CEREMONIAL

82. M.I. xix, 002 (wood, c. 9 × 2 cm., broken away at L; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . [n ?] . n̄in . ji . h̄chi . gthol . ma . mchis . pas .  
slar [A 2] . . . dag [dgra ?] . dan . Nob . che . chuñ . nas .  
sto<sup>1</sup> . pon . gyi[s ?] [A 3] . . . sto . ston . [h̄b—t] . sla .  
h̄brin . po . tshes . ŋi . [šu] [B 1] . . . g . dan . Nob . che .  
chuñ . gi . [rts]e . rgod . [dan] . mkhar . [B 2] . . . [s ?] .  
rtse . rje . la . [han] . sprin . na . de . las . ston . sla [B 3] . . .  
[gta ?]b . par . gsold | | [h̄bi ? ?]

"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, *bzi* (*bzihi*) "the four towns", or *gsum* "the three towns". In the passage quoted p. 452 also *h̄thol* may mean "burying".

83. M.I. vii, 3 (wood, c. 14.5 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, rather faint and dirt-encrusted).

[1] \* | . | dro (dre ?) . tshos . phan . cad | btol . gyi .  
myi . h̄d[u]s . gi . leam . skyo . la [2] [thu]g<sup>2</sup> . pa . tshum .  
chad . chus . pa . dpon . g-yog . gis . h̄dren . pañi | : |

"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."

<sup>1</sup> For *don*.

<sup>2</sup> *sing* ? *shing* ?



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 *hdre* "devil", and the case would be one of disease ascribed to possession. *Chus-pa* (from *hchu*) is not elsewhere found with a technical sense. *Hdren* 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 *dbu-can* script, rather faint).

[A] ༩ || btol . gyi . myi . hdu . . . [B] dan . rdzhehu . ban |  
" . . . 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 *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

[A 1] ༩ | . | [th]ugs . gral . rnam . gñis . la . bon . po .  
bdun . dan | bon . rje . gñis [A 2] dan . dgu . than . bñam .  
ste || lcam . akyo . la . thug . gi . bar . du . | gdug . gehig  
[B 1] la . myi . chig . kyañ . drug . [thul] . gyi . rab . las .  
skyogs . yams . bou . [B 2] bou . stsald . pañi . sdom | sky[e]m[s].  
thul . gsum ||

"Second care: Seven Bon-pos 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-gñis* "a second matter" (pp. 79, 355), *than-bñam* "equal measure" (p. 51.5), see *supra*. *Thul* probably denotes a wine-skin, and *skyogs* (*skiyams*) "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).

[A 1] . . . *śu . rtsa . bdun || thañ . bñam . ste | myi . chig . kyañ . skyogs . yams . l[ñ]a |* [A 2] *lña . žim (ñim ?) . bañ | drug . thul . gyi . hbrin . thul . phyē . dañ . dañ<sup>1</sup> . lña | las . myi . brgyaḥ . rtsa . g[ñis] [B 1] chal . nan . ya<sup>2</sup> . skyogs . yams . gsum . gsum . stsal . pañ | spyir . bsdoms . [B 2] . . . gyi . kha . chab . las . thul . beu . dañ . [phy]e[d] . do . h[re]n ||*

" . . . 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-hdun*, clergy, not necessarily Buddhist. *Chal-nan* ("belly-strong" men; cf. *Harṣa-carita*, trans., p. 138) and *kha-chub* ("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).

[A 1] <sup>3</sup> | : | *dge . hdun . ñi . śu . rtsa . geig . thañ . bñam . ste . myi . [ci]g . kyañ . . . [A 2] bsdoms . na | skyems . thul . phyed . dañ . b[zi] | phañs<sup>4</sup> . dbu . [gtus ? btus ?] . la . [skyems] . . . [B 1] [e]ad . žal . ta . pa . stod . rims . ñi . śu . rtsa . b[zi]h | thañ . bñam . ste | myi . cig . kyañ . [dru] . . . [B 2] yams . beu . beu . gsol . [bar] | bsdoms . na | thu<sup>4</sup> sky[e]ms . thul . brgya . . .*

"Clergy twenty-one, with equal measure, each man required . . .; drink, skins three and one half. [Adding together the expense (?)] drink . . . Administrants, upper row, twenty-four, with equal measure, each man being required to drink ten spoonfuls of . . . six; drink, [eight] skins . . ."

*Phañs-dbu-gtus-la* = "summing up the expense?" *Žal-ta-pa* recurs in the sense of "administrant", *supra*, p. 384, and also *infra*.

The readings in the above three passages are in some points

<sup>1</sup> *Sic for phyed . dañ ?*

<sup>2</sup> *phañs ?*

<sup>3</sup> Crossed out.

<sup>4</sup> *thus* 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] 𑖦 | : | nas || thugs . klud<sup>1</sup> | . kyī . bśos . cha . gaig .  
gis . srod . [A 2] g<sup>1</sup> . thugs . dbab || de . nas . thugs . phebs .  
kyī . yams . btsal [B 1] te | gdugs . tshod . nar . ma . dan |  
nas | stsañ . nan . [y]ams . gsum . gs—l | [B 2] ñam . pag .  
yams . gehig<sup>2</sup> . htsugs . nas | gor . bu (ba ?) . yal . sar . [B 3]  
drans . te . g-yal . spyī . 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 (*nar-ma*) noon three spoonfuls mixed with barley meal are to be drunk. Having with mind intent (*ñam-pag* = *ñams-bag*?) inserted one spoonful, proceed to the place of the courtyard brushwood and suspend it (the *klud*) from the mass of brushwood, rapidly pronouncing scolding words (??)."

For the rite of filling a *klud*, 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 Ś. C. Das' dictionary, s.v. *glud-tshab*.

Several expressions are here obscure. We have taken *yal* as = *yal-ga* "branch", sc. brushwood heap; in *ñam(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-hdri-ba* "revile", "scoff", 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).

<sup>1</sup> *g* crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> *gchag*?

[1] . . . i . st[od] . rims . dañ . [gr]al . ñi . śu | thañ .  
mñ[a]m . ste . gehigi . thañ . la | bśos . [2] . . . [bži] | khur .  
skya . ho . peñ | s[d]o<sup>1</sup> . tsal | skyu . rum . zal . bu |

"Upper line and row, twenty, with equal measure, in each measure, victuals (meals) . . . four; *khur-skyu*, *ho-peñ*, *śo-tsal* (?), condiment, a small phial."

Here *khur-skyu* and *ho-peñ* are not separated by "and"; *Bśos* is, no doubt, *bśos-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] ☉ | : | gt—r . m— . ch—<sup>2</sup> . [g]sum . | thañ . mñ[a]m .  
st[e] . geh[i] . . . . [2] khur . skya . ho . peñ | bog (cog ?) .  
ran | [g]lañ . rna | pañ . ki | [gro (gyo ?)] . . .

"Scattered oblation" (*gtor-ma*), three parts (or distributions, *chud* ? or rains, *char* ?), with equal measure, each . . . *Khur-skyu*, *ho-peñ*, *bog* (cog ?) *-ran*, *glañ-rna* ("ox-car" ?), *pañ-ki*, *gro* (*gyo* ?) . . ."

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).

[A 1] ☉ || tshos . khur<sup>3</sup> . sna . gpum<sup>4</sup> . las . sna . beo .  
lña . beo . lña | [A 2] khur . sk[y]a . dañ . ho . peñ . sna .  
cig . ky—ñ<sup>5</sup> . ñi . śu . rtsa . lña . lña | kham . sgun [B1]  
phul . gsum . gsum | phye . mar . srañ . gsum . gsum | za .  
phul . re . re | [B 2] stsañ . phye . bre . phye . dañ . drug ||

"Of the three first *tshos-khur* each (receives) fifteen; the first *khur-skyu* and *ho-peñ* each twenty-five; peaches and grapes (*kham-sgun*, dried grapes (*rgun*, p. 387)), three handfuls each; flour and oil, each three ounces (*srañ*); *za* (flesh ?), each one handful; corn-flour, five and one half *bre*."

This<sup>6</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *śo* ? *śaho* ?

<sup>2</sup> *ch*—*l* ?

<sup>3</sup> *khun* ?

<sup>4</sup> Read *gsum*.

<sup>5</sup> *ky—r* ?

<sup>6</sup> M.I. vii, 90 is almost identical with this.



are obscure. Can *tshos-khur* = *tshos-mkhan* "painter", a painter being mentioned in connection with a Buddhist monastery in Khotan (Chavannes, *Documents Chinois*, p. 214)? The *khur-skyä* is here distinguished from the *ho-pen*, 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 = *sa* "flesh" (used with *phul*, p. 438: 21).

92. M.I. iv, 60 (wood, c. 18 × 1 × 1 cm., edges cut away, pointed at both ends, complete; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 + 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, blurred and in part faint).

[A] 𑖦 || rtse . bla . [rtse] . sman . dan . g-yañ . gsol . bañi .  
 žal . ta . pa . dpon . g-yog . tu . [B] bskos . pa | Gy[a]b .  
 Stag . rtan<sup>1</sup> . žal . ta . pa | Ya . sto[d] . ḥdren<sup>2</sup> . lha . bon .  
 po | [C] Phy[i] . mth[o]ñ . māon . pa | Gsas . la . b[rtsa]ñ .  
 rtshu (mu ? gyu ?) . ḥdzud (hrñu ?) | Myes . koñ . phyag .  
 tshañ [D 1] Dro . brtsan . sug . zuñs | rtse . bla . rtse . sman .  
 dan . g-yañ . g[u ?] . dan [doñ ?] . sn[a] . tsho . .<sup>3</sup> [D 2] [Sta]g .  
 b[z]añ . [spy(?)o] . [rañ ?] | Stag . [Khr]ji . gdas . dan . [tso .  
 lha . Dpal (Tse . sna . Pal ?)] . b[ä]er . . .

"Appointed ministrants, master and servant, in supplicating (or feasting, *gsol*?) the high chief, the chief physician and *g-yañ*. Ministrant, Gyab Stag-rtan; Divine-Bon man, Ya-stod-ḥdren; *māon-pa*, Phyī-mthoñ; *rtshu*(?) . *ḥdzud*, Gsas-la-brtsan; cook, Myes-koñ; hand-taker, Dro-brtsan. The high chief, the chief physician and *g-yañ* . . . ; . . . various purposes, Stag-bzañ; *spyo-rañ* (?), Stag Khridas and Tso-lha Dpal-bzer . . ."

A Bon-po (Shamanist) ceremony is here in question, but several of the designations are unknown; *lha-bon-po* and *sug-zuñs* recur in the next document; *g-yañ* "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-*

<sup>1</sup> *rtahñ* ?<sup>2</sup> *stod . rtan* ?<sup>3</sup> For *dan-sna-tshogs* ?

(*stod*)-*hdren* does not look like a proper name and may mean "upward drawing" (*lha*); cf. *yar-hdren*, 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* (*gu* 'respect'?) and various offices (*don-sna-tshogs*) for the high chief . . ." *Tso-lha-dpal* recurs in the phrase *Hon-do-tsho*<sup>2</sup>, p. 301:37. On *tal-ta-pa* see *supra*, p. 384.

93. M.I. iv, 121 (wood, c. 18.5 × 1 × 1 cm., complete, pointed at ends, edges pared; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, blurred and rubbed).

[A] [ \* ] yul . lha . yul . bdag . dan | sman . [gsol] . bañi .  
 žal . ta . pa | sku . gś[en] [B] las . myin . bsgrom . pa | gy—d .  
 [sad ?] . žal . ta . pa | Gsas . chuñ . lha . bon . po | blo .  
 [co : tshel . no ?] [C] [ces ?]<sup>1</sup> . Spe . rtsañ . sug . zuñs | La .  
 [ta]ñ . rtsol . sug . zuñs ||

"Ministrants in supplicating (or feasting, *gsol*) the local deity, local master and physician; the *gśen* in person (attended ?) by servants. Gy—d-[sad ?], ministrant; Gsas-chuñ, divine-Bon man; . . . Spe-rtsañ, hand-taker; L[h]a-[ta]ñ-rtsol, hand-taker."

Connection with the preceding document is obvious. *Gśen* is a Bon-po term, which in mundane usage means "executioner". *Las-myi* = "workman", "servant", as *supra*.

94. M.I. xxvii, 15 (wood, c. 10.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 (partly an addition in a second hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] \* : | : | yul . lha . yul . bdag . dan . [sma]n . [A 2]  
 gsol . bañi . žal . ta . pa | dan . sku . gśen [B 1] dpon . yog |  
 | . | (A fresh hand) blon . Mañ . g(z)igs [B 2] blon . Mdo :  
 bzañ . ||

"(Beginning as in the preceding; then) the *gśen* in person, master and servants.

"Councillor Mañ-gzigs Councillor Mdo-bzañ."

Of the four Tibetan methods of disposing of the dead only

<sup>1</sup> *tsa-sna* ?

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-Rémusat, *op. cit.*, p. 22).

The water(?)-drinking rites in connection with mourning are probably, despite the term *dge-hdan* 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 *yakṣas*, also characteristic of Chinese Turkestan, are very possibly of a different origin. The technical terms *khur-skyā*, etc., await explanation. The *glud*, 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).

[1] | : | Lha . dpal . gyi . za . sna . nas | | thugs . rtag . tu . bdeh . ba . dan . zal . myur . du . mthoñ . bar . smon

[2] [la m] . gsol . zin mehis || phyag . na . smyan . tu . ci . mñah . | phyag . na . myi . mñah . na . yan . Rgya . skugs : [3] [tshun t] . chad . btsal . te . dpyid . sla . ra . ba . la . bdag . Nob . chu . fur . mehis . pa . tsam . na . hrñes . 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 *smān*, is irregular, the

*y* being usually inserted only before *i* and *e*: *brñes-pa* should be past tense, not future (*brñed*).

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-can* script).

[A 1] ཨ || blon . Skyes . bzañ . la | | Stag . legs . gyi .  
mchid . gsol . ba || mchid . gyis . rmas . na . | thugs . myi .  
bde . bañi . sñun . rñin . slar . ma . [2] hñred . ces . thos .  
te | glo . ba . dgah | slan . cad . kyañ . yah . sras . stans .  
byal . thugs . rtag . tu . bde . bañi . zal . ñe . bar . mthoñ .  
bar . smon . chin . mchis || do . eig . bsku . bañi [3] sman .  
zig . bskur . bar . bgyis . pa . las . hñrul . ba . beugs . pa .  
ma . m[chi]s . te | aña . ma . snar . ma . brdzañs | pa . bkañ .  
myi . hñab . par . ci . gnañ || sman [4] sug . rgyas . btab . ste |  
Mdo . rma . las . brdzañs . pa . lags . ma | sman . hñdi . las . lug .  
ril . phyed . tsam | chu . ñun . śas . tsam . gi . nañ . ñu . |  
tshe . gu . śig . gi . nañ . du . [smye<sup>1</sup>] [5] la . bñus . bskol :  
te . zu . ba . ñañ . | mar . | . bam . tseg . tsam . zig . banan .  
te . zu . ba . ñañ . nas . hñres . pa . ñañ . | ñron . poñi . śa .  
bzod . ts[h]lam . hñbras . b[u] . ñañ . gar . myi . bde . bar<sup>2</sup> .  
bsku . ñiñ . [6] ñi . ma [hi]ñ . ñron . hog<sup>3</sup> . ma[r]ñ | mye .  
mar . [l]—g[s]ñ . bñro . ñin . khoñ . [du]ñ . so[r] . po . [che] .  
m[e(th)]ñumste | hñdi . ltar . lan . bñi . lña . tsam . yul . dro .  
bañi . tshe . [bgyis] . na | [sma]ñ . [blar . mchi] . [7] de .  
las<sup>4</sup> . ci . ltar . gyur . ba . las | hñrul . ba . la . [yigo] . hga<sup>5</sup> .  
sprin . du . [g]sol .

"To Councillor Skyes-bzañ: 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

<sup>1</sup> *rmgs*—<sup>2</sup> *aggs*—<sup>3</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *a* below line.

<sup>2</sup> *can*?

<sup>3</sup> *hug*? *cig*? *hug*?

<sup>5</sup> *ñi*? *cig*?



at once; for which please do not reprove me. The medicine has been sent from Mdo-rma 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 (*tse-gur*), boil it over the fire (*read: nye-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 (*hbras-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 *bkab-hlub* "reprimand" see *supra*, p. 340. *Tshe-gu* is, no doubt, = *tse-gur* "a small tube", and *hbras-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 *dba-can* script).

[A 1] 𑄣 | - | *yu(l)* . *smān* . *gyi* . *mañ* . *thañ* . [*ma* . *shin*] . . *bzin* . *geig* . | *phyē* . [*dañ*] . *mar* [A 2] *sra(ñ)* . *phyed* . | *geheñs* (*gtshen* . *ma?*) . *rdzūhu*<sup>1</sup> . *gañ* | *sug* . *rgod* . *dar* . *ani*<sup>2</sup> . *chan* . *gcilg* [B 1] *gza* . *nas* . *khy[or]* . *gañ* | *cog* (*tsog*) . *skyem(s)* . *rdzūhu*<sup>3</sup> . *gañ* . *hbrin* . *sky[o]g.lān*

"To the great authority of the local physician one like a mother's heart (*presents*) flour [and] oil, half an ounce (*srañ*); *geheñs* (?), 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. 112), [*g*]za, *cog* (393-90), and also the expression *hbrin-skyogs* "medium ladle", have occurred *supra*. *Geheñs* (?) is obscure. On (*g*)za see p. 394.

The *yu-smān* recurs below. On p. 152, we have mention of a "chief physician" (*rtse-smān*) of Little Noh.

<sup>1</sup> *rdz[e]hu?*

<sup>2</sup> : crossed out? The form *dar-ani(asa)* occurs pp. 440:22; 441:26.

<sup>3</sup> *rdz[s]hu?*

(b) *Divination*

98. M.I. xv, 0016 (wood, c. 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] ༩ || yul, sman, la, ma, sññ, bññ. (b) zañs, gchig.  
[A 2] gis, gsol, ste, lag, dgra, la, žal, bñe[n], tam, m[yi]  
[A 3] bñen: soggs . . . . . [yo]s, hu [B 1] lo, hñ, ston |  
dkar, gnag, gi, [gro t], srul [B 2] hcoñs, sam, myi . . .

"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; *tal-bñen* ("us") 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 *soggs*, "shoulder," see *infra*, p. 400.

99. M.I. iii, 7 (wood, c. 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] . . . hñ(l t), dgra, la, žal, bñen, tam, ma, bñen |  
. . . [A 3] mkhar, Nob, chu, ñu, yul, risu | slad, nañ  
. . . [B 1] myi, mchi | lo, g-yañ<sup>1</sup>, hñbabs, sam, myi . . .  
[B 2] . . . chñ, ham, myi, mchi ||

"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-bñan-bññ-bññ-gis-gsol* "petition by one mild as a slaughtered sheep", which occurs (*bñan-lug*<sup>2</sup>) in p. 401. *Lo-g-yañ*, which has been rendered as if it were *log-yañ*,

<sup>1</sup> = *log, gñ*, as in M.I. i, 14.

might mean "year (se, harvest)-blessing". With *yul-ris* "country boundary", cf. *mkhar-ris* "city-boundary".

100. M.I. iv, 79 (wood, c. 12 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and rubbed).

[A 1] 𐎧 | : | sogs . pa . g-yas . la |

[A 2] n[a]<sup>1</sup> . chu . srid . yod . dam . mye[d] . śa . nad<sup>2</sup> .  
hoñ . [ñ]am<sup>3</sup> . myi . [hoñ] [B 1] mchin . pa . la . srid . pya  
(risa t) || srid . m[n t o]s . bzan | so (po t lo t) . phyogs  
[B 2] nas . rman . ari . dan | — ur<sup>4</sup> (ñ t) . srin . gi . ño . che |

"On the right shoulder.

"Is there — water or not? Is disease of the flesh coming or not? In the liver a lucky (*pya t*) state? State considered good: on the part of the teeth (? *t so*, *p[h]o*, *lo t*) indications (*no-che t*) of *rman-ari* (?) 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, c. 15 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] 𐎧 || sogs . pa . g-yas . la . | gsin . dra . ma . hrtsan

[A 2] gehags . dan . brai . lam . ma . brai || gdon . gehags[u t]  
[B 1] tsha . che . |

"On the right shoulder.

"Of the poise of death (*gsin-rjehi*)-dra-[ba] "net"; or read *gsin-hdre* "a ghost" not (*ma t*) firmly attached [shall I] be rid or not? Of demon (*gdon*) possession (*gehags*) great apprehension." On *dra-ma*, "net," see p. 404.4.

We have taken *tsha-che* "great heat", as equivalent to *tsha-sna* "anxiety"; cf. *ñam-drool*, pp. 32, 342.

102. M.I. iv, 3 (wood, c. 9.5 × 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 2 (much blurred) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

<sup>1</sup> *wa* (*ma t*) perhaps preferable.

<sup>2</sup> Corrected from *ham t*

<sup>3</sup> *cul t* *hstun t*

<sup>4</sup> *cūwū t* *aur t* *lhar t*

[A 1] . . . sman . la . | bšan . lug . bžin [A 2] . . . [gi]s .  
 gsol . te | lag . dgra . la . žal [A 3] . . . n | aogs . g-yon .  
 dan | [B 1] . . . No[b . chu . nu . na] . phyi . dgra . mchi .  
 ba[m] [B 2] . . . —e . le . myi . [chin] . . .

[Between B 1 and B 2 at r.] . . n . dgra . . .

"[Beginning similar to M.I. iii, 7, *supra*; then] Left  
 shoulder . . . Is a foreign enemy coming into Little  
 Nob? . . ."

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-yan*  
 "luck", and often *yul-lha* "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 *dbu-can*  
 script).

[A 1] § | . | ces . dgañ . ba . || hdi . ltar . mad . nañ || khyi .  
 mo . rtseñi . [ak]o . yus . sdams . la . ma . chad . par || nañ .  
 po . [A 2] cag . gis . mchid . nan . cher . stsol . te | hphral .  
 du . gñer . bgums . su . sol . cig || ma . lags . [B 1] b  
 sñad . nag . hdogs . nañ || h<sup>1</sup> thon . myig . dan . byor . bañi .



myi . khirms . bzin . gū[ə]r . s[ts]ol [B 2] . la . dpañ . po .  
gañ . nañ . mehis . pañi . sar . thus . zig ||

"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 *ska-gus-slams-la* (cf. pp. 23, 20, 29, 75, B12, 79, where *ska*, "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-hdogs-pa* = "make malicious accusation". On *gñer-bqums* 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).

[A 1] ༄ | . | pañ . sdu . las . slad . nas . [gso]l . pañi . bzin .  
du . jo . b[ö] . Zla . bžre<sup>1</sup> . dañ . Hphan . ñen . gyis . [A 2]  
thu(g)spags . mdzad . de . kha . bzuñ . [g<sup>2</sup>]ñiñ . nas . bžag .  
pa . ni . bdag . ñan . pa . yañ . [gl]o . ba . | [B 1] dgañ . zin .  
mehis[am t] . smyin . zigs . snañ . hga . tsham . bs—n  
(bägyur ?) . [b t]añ . d—s . lha . la . s[ñ]iñ . rten [B 2] po .  
ma . mehis . ste . slad . kyis . gso[l] . [h]di . las . bkah .  
[spy]i . bab (thab ? jab ? (h)dzab ?) . par . gsol .

"In accordance with a subsequent petition from my father also, the chief Zla-bžer and Hphan-ñen 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-brun* might mean "accepted" (the petition); but the technical sense of

<sup>1</sup> = *bter*.

<sup>2</sup> [m t]

"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 *snan-hgañ-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).

[A] <sup>☉</sup> || sgo . gsol | . spyan . ched . pos . mchid . kyis . bead .  
de | [B 1] [N]ob . ched . poñi . rtse . rje . dañ | . ža(ñ) . lo (n)  
[B 2] la . gthadpa |

"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-caṅśus*), 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).

[A 1] *bdag* . ñan . pa . yañ . ño . skyon . dañ . glo . bañi .  
myi . dgah . bañi . bag [A 2] [tsha ?]s . pañ . las . | sñiñ .  
du . hñre . žugs . ste . | yul . Hñru (nu ?) . [B 1] . . . [h]ros .  
par . bgyis . pañ . las . hñphral . du . | rtse . rje . hog . pon .  
gyi . [B 2] . . . bzah . ste . bkri . bar . bgyis . pa . las . śor .  
pas . | bya . theñs . pra<sup>1</sup> .

"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, *gsor-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] <sup>☉</sup> || rta . hi . lo . hi . dpyid . sla . ra . ba . nas . Dge .

<sup>1</sup> = par.

brtsan . kyi . rkya . la . rje , blas . bgyis . pha . . . [2] bgyis .  
 pa . la . zag . lña . [San . ho] <sup>1</sup> . btson . sruñs . bgyis <sup>2</sup> | 'In .  
 tse . yañ . sñā . bran . la . btson . sruñs . zag . l[ñ] . . . [3]  
 bzañ . gi . bser . Sa . Ti . puñ . zag . lña . bgyis || sgo . g-yog .  
 zag . lña . 'In . tse . bgyis || gtehu . . . [4] gcig . dañ . sñā .  
 gcig . bsruñ . ba . zag . lña . Sa . Ti . puñ . bgyis || Jañ .  
 lag . du . dra . ma . drañ . ba[h]i . . . [5] srañ . brgyad .  
 htshla <sup>3</sup> | nas . phul . phyed . dañ . bži : htshla <sup>3</sup> | sa . ka .  
 pa . btson . sruñs . Kvañ . šeñ . gis . yañ . . . zag . beu .  
 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' (*sñā*) servants; observation of . . . bzañ was made during five days by Sa Ti-puñ; 'In-tse acted during five days as private servant; guarding of one . . . guarantor (*gtehu*) 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?) Śa-ka-pa was performed also by Kvañ-šeñ . . . during ten days."

It seems possible that *rkya-la* = *brgya-la* (*brgyal-la*) "dispute" or "fine", on which see pp. 145, 189.5. *Sñā* is clearly = *gñāñ* "witness"; *Śa-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 × 28.5 cm.; ll. 5 of cursive *dbu-can* script + 2 columns of signatures, r. 3 (4 more having been cut out), l. 3 (1 more having been cut out)).

[1] gyur . na | Rgya . lcags . beo . lña . rdabs <sup>4</sup> . par . bgyis ||  
 chad . lhag . byuñ . ba . dañ . | byasur . byuñ [2] phoñ . rnags .  
 pa . nas | ma . ñe . bar . yod . na | chad . pa . cher . bear ||

<sup>1</sup> Added below line.

<sup>2</sup> For *htshla*.

<sup>3</sup> *bgyis* crossed out.

<sup>4</sup> *e* added below line.

bka . hñ . hdi [3] ma . ñan . nas | 2a . la . byuñ . ba . .  
 na . | chad . pa . gser . srañ . gsum . dañ | [4] sñon . mo .  
 khal . gsum . dañ | myi . re . re . Rgya . lcag . bcu . lña .  
 rdab . par . bgyis | [5] 2a . la . 2ugs . pa . yod . na . bñan .  
 lug . gcig . gyi . ston . mo . sbyar . bar . bgyis |

...	(mark)	2a . myi . Tan . tse .
		'ab . dzi   (mark)
...	(mark)	2a . myi . 'An . sin . 'ab .
		dzi   (mark)
2a . co . Dzeñi . si . 'ab .		2a . myi . Dzeñu . sam .
dzi (mark)		'ab . dzi   (mark)
...		...
2a . myi . Li . Lha . sto .		'Yim . dziñi . 'ab . dzi
'ab . dzi   (mark)		(mark)
...		Ha . Šib . tig . 'a(b) . dzi
		(mark)
Dbyuñ . Ju . tse . 'ab .		Ho . Khrom . pa . 'ab . dzi
dzi   (mark)		(mark)

"... 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 (2a-la ?) had been done, the penalty should be three ounces (srañ) of gold and three loads (khal) of vegetables (sñon-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.

...	(mark)	plasterer (2a-myi), Tan-tse,
		finger-mark (mark)
...	...	plasterer (2a-myi), 'An-sin,
		finger-mark (mark)
Plaster-master (2a-co ?)		plasterer (2a-myi), Dzeñu-sam,
Dzeñi-si, finger-mark (mark)		finger-mark (mark)



Plasterer Li Lha-sto, finger- mark (mark)	'Yim-dzihi, finger-mark (mark)
...	Ha Šib-tig, finger-mark (mark)
Dbyuñ Ju-tse, finger-mark (mark)	Ho Khrom-pa, finger-mark (mark)

That *za-la* (*zal-la*) here means "plasterer" and *za-co* "plaster-master" is far from certain: also the phrase *byuñ-phoñ-rnags-pa* is obscure. 'Ab-dzi is perhaps Chinese *hao-chih*, (or, as Dr. L. Giles suggests, *hao-tzu*), 'mark.' The clan-names 'Yim ('Im), Li, Ha, and also the personal names are characteristic of the Ša-cu region: see *supra*, pp. 113 sqq. On the *Bkañ-luñ* see *supra*, p. 336.


109. M.I. xiv, 61c (paper, fol. No. 43 in vol., c. 13.5 × 3 cm., a fragment; ll. 2 of square *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . dpañ . la . rts[i]g . Lha . rtsa . sky[e]s . dañ .  
rgyal . zigs . Legs<sup>1</sup> . . . [2] . . . rgya . dañ . Ldoñ .  
koñ . s . . .

" . . . in witness the [signatures] of *rtsig* Lha-rtsa-skyes and the King's Eye Legs . . . and Ldoñ-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, c. 10 × 2 cm., cut and broken away at r.; ll. 3 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1]  | | gsol . ba | khyed . kyis . rin . lugs [2] gcad<sup>2</sup> .  
du . gdañ . [na(ni<sup>1</sup>)] . [rtse] . rjes . chod . eig | rg . . [3]  
khye(o<sup>1</sup>) . šig . ||

"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. 598, 664.

The above citations relate to disputes, offences, and appeals. Previously we have had instances of prosecution for assault

<sup>1</sup> ? below line.

<sup>2</sup> *gtsed?*

(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 (*grwa-tus* = *parisad*). The officials concerned with dispensation of justice (*khrims-dpon*, *rgyal-gzigs*, *zal-ce-pa*, *bkañ-luñ*, 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 Sroñ-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 × 7 cm., a fragment; parts of ll. 6 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨ | : | Ska . ba | Bog . yul | na . mchis | pa : l[ | ]  
 a[—]ñ (hi ?) [ | | hphral<sup>1</sup> | stag | y[i] . ge . . . [2] gser . gyi |  
 yi . ge | ched . po : dan | stag | gi | stod | blon | Btsan |  
 sum | gser . . . [3] . . . —i . —i . . . . . blon | Dge | bñre<sup>2</sup> |  
 dñul . gyi : yi . [g]e . . . [4] . . . gañ<sup>3</sup> . gi | sram<sup>4</sup> . . .  
 [5] . . . —e . su | skyab[s] . . . [6] . . . [hañi].<sup>5</sup>

"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-bñer silver script . . ."

<sup>1</sup> *hphul*?    <sup>2</sup> = *liter.*    <sup>3</sup> Corrected from *gam*.    <sup>4</sup> *sum*?    <sup>5</sup> *kañi*?

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 (*zās*), 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 sqq.), 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. Tāgh. 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).

[A 1] ལྟོགས་གཉི་ལོའི་སྐྱོན་སྤྱོད་ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་  
[tshes] . ŋi . lo . i . st(?)on . sla . ra . [bah]i .  
pas . yi . ge . gsar . bsk[u]lde . rñi[ñ] . [dañ] . —e . Li . S[o]r .  
dad . gyi . . . . . [B 1] bgyis . pa . hi . dpañ . la .  
Preg . po . Khrom . le[gs] . gyi . rg[y]a . dañ . Sor . dad . gyi .  
sug [B 2] gyis . btab . | pa . |

"Ox year, first autumn month, day twenty-three, in the morning a new letter, required (*bakuld*) by a soldier relay arrived (*so-res-bab-pa*), 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."

<sup>1</sup> Read *so-res-bab*.



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 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of square *dbu-can* script, the *verso* partly erased).

[A 1] ༄ | . | dru . bu , hdi . Khri . gdas . gi . mdun . du .  
goal<sup>1</sup> . na . srañ . bco . lña . kha . bz[u] [A 2]ñ . mchis . de .  
bdag . gi . sug . rgyas . btab . ste . Khri . gdas . la . gtad<sup>2</sup>  
[B 1] pa . hi . dbañ . po . la . Śaṅ . sde . hi . d . . . . — e . . s .  
las b[sta]ogs [B 2] pañi . dbañ . rgya . dañ . Khri . gdas .  
gi . su[g . mdzug] . gi . hchad . gis . btab . pā . |

"In witness that this wrapping, weighed in the presence of Khri-gdas and containing fifteen *srañ*, has been consigned to Khri-gdas with his own seal attached the witness signatures of . . . and others of the Śaṅ 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-bzuñ*) 15 *srañ* for conveying the parcel. *Goal* seems to come from *hjal* (*gtsal* might be from *htshol* or *stsol*?); *dbañ-rgya* is probably = *dpañ-rgya* "witness signature"; *sug-mdzug-gi-hchad* seems to be identical with the *sug-yig-tshad* of pp. 45-6. On the Śaṅ regiment see *supra*, pp. 467-8.

114. M. Tāgh. 0264 (wood, c. 12 × 1 × 1 cm., four sides; handle with hole at l.; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, clear).

[1] ༄ | . | jo . cho . Mdo . rma . la . | Legs . tshan .  
[gyi] [2] gsol . bañ . | jo . cho . brgya . la . bñud . na . | snam .  
[3] bu . la . yi . ge . hdi . bthagste | slad . na . su . la . gtad .  
[4] . pa . la . | Lho . bragi . sde . Sluñ . Legs . tshan . la . stsal |

"To the Lord Mdo-rma: petition of Legs-tshan. In case my lord has departed, in that alternative (*brgya-la*), this

<sup>1</sup> *gtsal* ?

<sup>2</sup> Corrected from *gts-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 Sluns (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. Tāgh. b, i, 0095 (paper, fol. No. 36 in vol., 28.5 × 8 cm., originally folded in the form of a modern Tibetan letter; ll. 5 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script + 1 in a different hand, inverted).

[1] ཨོཾ་མཆོག་ལྷ་མོ་རྒྱལ་བཟེད་གྱི་ཟ་སྐྱུ་ལྷ་  
 Lha . ri . skyes . kyi . mchid . gsol . ba | bar . du .  
 thugs . bdeh . [2] ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་  
 gsol . zin . mchis | khrom . na . yañ . Cuñ . tsan .  
 dañ . Snañ . bžer . dañ . Lha . bzañ . las [3] ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་  
 noñ . zo . ni . ma . mchis || Rgyal . zigs . Lha . rtsa . skyes .  
 kyañ . sos . kyis . yul . du . mchi . zes . mchi . na | bkah .  
 yi [4] ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་  
 du . yañ . sk[u]r . bar . gsol | mchid . yi . ge . hdi .  
 gsold . slan . chad . kyañ . noñ . [zo ?] [5] ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་  
 bdeh . bar . smond . cin . mchis || [6] ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་  
 [sa ?] | la

"To the presence of the chief, Rgyal-bžer: 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 Cuñ-tsan and Snañ-bžer and Lha-bzañ and the rest are free from illness. The King's Eye, Lha-rtsa-skyes, 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-bžer."

116. M. Tāgh. 0512 (paper document, complete, originally folded in long strips like a modern Tibetan letter; c. 28 ×

\* la crossed out. Was *bdag-la* "to me" intended?

\* = *hber*.



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 *divān* 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-bzañ: Stag—

[2] "... receipt.

[3] "To — [Ma]ñ-bzer."

On the "Great Eye" see *supra*, p. 403. The phrases *gdan-glegs* (M.I. iii, 6), *khör-zag* "leave" (p. 436), *bkañ-mchid* "gossip" (p. 198), and *bkañ-rma* "question authoritatively" (p. 245), also occur elsewhere. *Zabs-hdren* = "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-can* script, rather faint and l. 2 of *verso* partly erased).

[A 1] ༩ || [rje] . b[lo]n . | chab . arid . gyi | (d)bañ . bdag .  
la | myi . gsol . na | su . la . [gsol] [A 2] na . | bdag .  
nan . pañ<sup>1</sup> . pu . bo<sup>2</sup> . rñin (sic) . chen | yul . du . mchi .  
na | bdag . cag . nan [B 1] ma . spun . gson . gñin | hbrañ .  
bañ . | dan . hdra . zin . mchis . na . | g—y— . [B 2] [lha . rje ?]  
... —o ge (the ?) . tseg . oig | mchi . htshal . na . | rje .  
blon . bla . riñ . la . smo[nd ?]

"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

<sup>1</sup> myi (?) here crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> 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 (*blarin(s)*) lord councillor."

The petition relates apparently to military service, which would be explicit, if the reading in A 2 were *pu (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. xlii, 6 (paper, fol. 87 in vol., torn and partly fragmentary l. and r., c. 27.5 × 19 cm.; ll. 16 of cursive *dbu-can* script, somewhat scrawled).

[1] ༄ | : | Nañ . rje . po . chen . po . blon . Rma . bzer .  
la | Beom . ldan . h̄das . dan | Sde<sup>1</sup> . [2] [Ña . legs . dan] . . . . .  
. . . brtan . dan | Tshe . yañs . kyī . mchid . gsol . bañ ||  
mchi[d . kyī]s . [rmas] [3] . . . . . [sri]d . gcig .  
pañi . dam . pa . rga<sup>2</sup> hi [?] khar . sgor . ci . yañ . legs . . .  
[4] . . . . . mthu . chuñs . ste || thugs . ñan . zab .  
mos . mchir (mtshar) . ltar . . . [5] . . . . . bdū .  
gcags . te | | g-yra . ñan (sic) . cher . htshal . žiñ . mchis |  
. . [6] [se] [ms] . can . rañ . bžin . gyis . myi . rtag . la . dan |  
chos . ñid . la . dgoñs . šin . | thugs . ñan [pa ? <sup>3</sup>] [7] tsum .  
žig . mdab . kyis . bskyun . ba . tsam . du . ci . gnañ | | slan .  
cad . thugs . rtag . tu . bde . ci . yañ [8] legs . pañi . žal .  
ñhar . mthon . bar . smon . te || sñun . gsol . žiñ . mchis .  
na || bkā . stsalpa [9] tsam . tu . ci . gnañ || rño . thogs . ma .  
mchis . par . bkā . luñ . sñan . pas . bro . rmaspha || [10] glo .  
ba . dgā | . | da . ltar . bro . ma . htshal . žiñ . mchis || Nob .  
chu . ñu . hi . sna . ma . gzuñ . bañi . slad . nas [11] do . cig .  
snams . sbyor . mtsudpa<sup>4</sup> . yañ . malegs || da . slan . cad .  
chis . h̄dir . gzuñ . bar . mchi[bā]<sup>5</sup> [12] gros . chad . ciñ .  
mchis || phyag . rjed . rñams . pa . myi . gcag . par . | gtso .  
bo . gži . la . mchis [13] pañi . g-yra . tu . stsal . ciñ . mchis ||  
Beom . ldan . h̄das . kyī . sgo . gsol . žo . ša . dan . ma . [14]  
sbyar . bar . sñan . sñuñs . par . gsol . žes . bkā . h̄bab . bam .

<sup>1</sup> Or *pe* crossed out ?

<sup>2</sup> *rga* crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> *l* ? crossed out ?

<sup>4</sup> *m-tsūd-pa* ?

<sup>5</sup> *bā* below line.



myi . h̄bab || dgun . gyi . tshal . brgyags [15] kyi . mthud .  
ma . stsañ . yuñs . śas . tsam . žig . bsgral . bar . gsol . žin .  
mohis na || thug[s] [16] pags . ci . mdzad

"To the great Inner-Minister, Councillor Rma-bzer: letter-petition of Bcom-ldan-h̄das and Sde-n̄a-legs . . . brtan and Tshe-yañs. [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-ñid* = *dharma-tā*), [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 *bkañ-lun* made inquiry after [our] health, we were glad. At present we are free from illness.

"Since we first took charge (*sna-ma-gzuñ*) 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 Bcom-ldan-h̄das: '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 (*snañs*) (in the revenues? p. 136, 352), and they are considering who should be put in charge (*gzuñ*). Not trusting the wisdom of the holders of different commissions or appointments (*phyag-rjed-rñams-pa*), they refer to the minister.

*Mdab-kyis* (l. 7), doubtless = *h̄dab-kyis*; on *snañs* (l. 10) and *zo-śa* (l. 13) see *supra*. *Phyag-rjed* (l. 12) = *sug-rjed*

(*supra*) "a commission", and *mtshud-ma* (l. 15) is for *hthud* "supplement" or "addendum", cf. p. 192: 26.1; *bsgral* (l. 15) is from *syrol*, in the sense of "transport"? *Gcag(s)* (l. 12) = "comprehend". The *bkañ-luñ* has been mentioned *supra*.

119. M. Tāgh a, iv, 00122 (paper, fol. no. 16 in vol., c. 24 × 6 cm.; ll. 5 *recto* + 6 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faded and obscure).

[1] ॥ jo.chö. Kri.bžer.dañ. Rgyal.bž[er].dañ. Hbrig.bžer. la[s]. bs[tsogs]. pahji. ʒa. sna[r] | . . . [2] s[gra]. gī. gsol. ba | h[drul]. ba. la. rmas. na. thugs. bde. ʒes. thos. te. [glo. ba]. d[ga]. ʒiñ. mchis [3] tshes. bcu. gchig. la. ʒul. du. ʒugs. te. mchi. na. [khrom. na. [sku. bla. . gsol. ba]. ba. b[—]. su ?] [4] bla. btshon. [blañ ?]. so—. rdo. ha. [c]a[ñ]¹. mchi[s]. skyams kal. hga. tsham. bskal. bar. gsol [5] [kh]rom. na. phrin. phuñ [n ?]. mchi. [st]e². gžir. kyañ. [bzañ(?). du]. skr—gs. mdzad || bdag. [kyañ ?] [B 1] sna. Bžer³. gyi. bsñel. [kh]yab. du. tsh. . || chibs. pon. gyi. hbañs. Pu. rig. [Gu]ñ. legs. Li. dñul. [srañ] [B 2] bol. ña. sa. toñ. la. bal (?). chi. bskur. ba. blañ. | thag. bar. Hpan. khri. la. bal. di. gchig. [bla]ñ. [ste]. ʒiñ. bzuñ [B 3] Bžer. gyis. ba. [boñ. hkum. skra. nas ?]. phyugs. kal. gñis. mchisgis. srañ. chig. gis. ba. [do. chu. arun ?] kyī. gla [B 4] Bžer. gis. phyugs. hga. skra. [srañ ? ?] phyed. gyis. | ra. po. mo. chi. skra. [thob ?] | mar. srañ. drug. tsham. chad | [sla. nas ?] [5] chad. chi. sñed. btshal | phyis. kyañ. nas. phyugs. kal. gchig. sbyar. || mkhar. pa. Gumpin. du. ru. lañ⁴. [byed ? ?]. po. sto. chi. tañ (?). [6] mdzad. par. chi. gnañ. hon.

[A ll. 1-2] "To the presence of My Lord K[h]ri-bžer and Rgyal-bžer and Hbrig-bžer and the rest: petition of —sgra. Having learned upon inquiry of the runner that you are happy, I am glad. [A ll. 3-4] Having taken to the road on the eleventh, I am on my way. [Feasting the magnates] in the town. . . I beg you to send some loads of drink. [A l. 5-B l. 1] There being troubled news (*phrin-phuñ* ?) in the town, considerable alarm (*skrags*) is caused in the country

¹ *rad* ?² *ñe* (?) here erased ?³ *btir* ?⁴ *pu-ra-lon* ?

also: I have previously sent a reminder to Bzer (or I have sent a reminder to the four leaders, *sna-bzir*). [B ll. 1-2] The wool sent to . . . by the pony-master's man, Pu-rig Guñ-legs . . . Khotan silver *srañ* . . . 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] Bzer having made two animal-loads of hair from oxen and asses killed (?), with one *srañ* wages of . . . Bzer has made half a *srañ* of hair of some animals. [B ll. 4-5] What hair of goats, male and female, has been obtained, cost (*chad*) about six *srañ* 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 (*stō*?) 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), *chibz-[d]pon* (B 1, pp. 426, 445), *thag-bar* ("mid-rope", B 2, pp. 215: 46, 423) *phyugs-k[h]al* (B 3, 5, p. 411.8), *śul-du-zugs* (A 3, pp. 137.6, 157.1) have occurred *supra*. What follows *gsol-ha* (A 3) is possibly *babs-su-bla-btshon-blañ*, 'on opportunity fine (or high-priced) goods were obtained': the next words are rather clearly *sol-rdo-ha-can-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) = *skyems-bsgal*; *chail* = "paid" or "cost"; *du-ru-lañ-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, Personalalia; 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 north-east belong to a region which, since the overthrow (A.D. 1226) of the Tangut kingdom by Čingiz 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 Ugurs of the Tien-shan and Altai regions and even with the Arabs in Transoxiana,<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>; and the Chinese notices extracted long before by Dr. Bushell<sup>2</sup> 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 (*sde*) 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<sup>3</sup> 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, I. 77) and "record-keeper" (*yig-tshans-pa*) 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

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS.*, 1909-1911.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS.*, 1890, pp. 435-541.

<sup>3</sup> 2,860,000 men: another passage speaks of an army of a "hundred myriads". The Chinese state that Sron-bisan Sgam-po threatened Sñ-ch'uan 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 *sva-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 (ll. 8, 57) under the designation *zugs-lon(n)*, "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.<sup>1</sup> 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;

<sup>1</sup> *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 *nañ-rje-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 Śa-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 Śin-šan (Mazâr-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 Śin-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 Tshal-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 Ha-za country to take over the government (*chab-srid-la*). There would be garrisons in the fort or forts and also town-garrisons (*mkhar-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 feudatories, mercenaries, guild levies, and wild tribes, is here apparent. One passage refers to a "commandant of horse" (*sta-dpon*) and a "commandant of camels" (*dñi-dpon*), in the *Ha-za* kingdom; and a "commandant of riding horses" (*[m]chibs-[d]pon*) is mentioned both in a document and also in the Chronicle (l. 152), which speaks further of "four regiments of horse" (*chibs-sde-bzi*, 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. 385). 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. Tāgh. α, 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,<sup>1</sup> 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-sod*, *Hdzom*, and

<sup>1</sup> 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 = *Seriadica*, pp. 1460-8.

Kha-dro, while at Mazâr-Tāgh 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 *Sluñs*. That *Sluñs* was a tribal designation is, as we have seen, certain (pp. 52, 296-7). In connection with soldiers the *Sluñs* 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 *Sluñs*" (*Sluñs-la-btan*, *infra*, p. 446). It is to be inferred that the offices discharged were those of police, camp-servants, camp-followers, etc., and that the *Sluñs* were a people who had established an aptitude for such work.

Some particularity is involved, no doubt, in the expressions *spun*(!)-*dmag* (p. 148), "brother-army", and *mun-dmag* (pp. 270, 435, Chronicle, ll. 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-sraz-dgyes-kyi-rtse* "Tiger-son-dgyes-peak". It may have denoted some *corps d'élite*. An interesting feature is the existence of a separate ambulance corps, *Mñalid-pañi-sde* (from *mñel* or *gñel*, "be sick") or *Mñal-hphan-gyi-sde* ("Fatigue-benefit corps").<sup>1</sup> 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,

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 464.

224, 248 and M.T. *b*, i, 0059, etc.) expression is *ri-zug*, 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 *bsnan* "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(gtin)-non* "rear-guard (reserve ?) man". The general term for a body of soldiers seems to be *tsho*, whence *mkhar-tsho* (p. 432 and M.T. *a* ii, 0076) "town-garrison" and *so-tsho* (pp. 432, 447: 44) "soldiery". A "troop" of cavalry is *cha* (pp. 273.A 2, 435). A small body detached for a special purpose is *tshugs* (pp. 232: 82, 249: 106); a *dpuā* is a larger force, perhaps of indefinite size (since we have the expression *ce-dpuā* (M.I. xvi, 0010) "large force"—but note *dpuā-dpon* "commander of a *dpuā*")—while an army is *dmag*.

The fort, *sku-mkhar* (or *skun-khar*), is properly "citadel": we have also (p. 184) *dgra-zun* "guard-house". The watch-tower, *mithon-khyab* (p. 446: 40 and M.I., xliii, 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 *ñin-ra* (*infra*, pp. 447, 451); at night it would perhaps be a *mtshan-ra*. A watch (eighth part of the 24-hour day) is *thun*, while *mel(myel)-tshe*, "watch" or "sentinel" (= *mel-tshe-pa*) is perhaps more technical (*infra*, p. 448). "Provisions" is *brgyags* (*Labrgyags*, "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-ba* (pp. 160, 206: 41, etc.; Chronicle, ll. 58-9, 62,



etc.): the man "joins the soldiery or service" (*so-la-sdu-ba*, pp. 196, 454).<sup>1</sup> When excused on ground of health or for other reason, he may have a substitute *skyin-pa* (or debtor, p. 224); and bodies of men in forts or other employment may (like assessment lists, etc.) be changed (*spo-ba*) 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-ridzhu*); 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-zu* (p. 252): cowardice in face of an enemy is, naturally, punishable by death (*infra*, p. 453); to desert or run away is *hbro* (or *ior*)-*ba*.

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* "helm-and-corslet" (in one piece?)<sup>2</sup> and of a *Rgya-khrab* "Chinese buckler or coat of mail" (*infra*, p. 442). We have also found the *zub-chen* (*zub-can*), "coat of mail," and the *rkan-bkris* "foot (leg)-wrapping", i.e. puttee. Among weapons of offence we have, of course, the sword (*ral-gri*), spear (*mduh*), and dagger (*phur*); but no doubt the bow (*gzu*) and arrow (*mdah*, sometimes a "poisoned reed-shaft") were the most usual, for which reason a list reproduced *supra* consists almost exclusively of archers (*hphons*) and their supports (*dgon*, p. 441, and M.I., vii, 88a).

<sup>1</sup> Note *phyi-ma-hi-so* (p. 238) and *so-lad-ma* (a. iii, 0050) "later" or "subsequent" service; also *khos-zag* (pp. 308, 453) "leave".

<sup>2</sup> According to the Chinese (Bushell, *JR.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 *dgon*, 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 <sup>1</sup>—

*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);

*dpuh-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.);

*hog-dpon*, "subordinate commander," second to the *tshugs-dpon* (pp. 129, 256, 301, 403, and M.I., xiv, 0070, etc.);

*mechibs-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);

*yg-tshahs-pa*, "record-keeper" (*supra*, p. 418).

To the second group belong—

*gyab* (pp. 126, 444, and M.I., xiv, 37);  
or *egab* (p. 418);

<sup>1</sup> Several of these are noted (but *ru-dpon* as "master of a clan") by Dr. A. H. Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

- bag-rñu* (M.I., xiv, 125†; M.T. a. v, 008);  
*bag-(r)ñu-sñva* (pp. 445-6);  
*ce-rñu* (pp. 127, 161, 273, and M.I. xiv, 46);  
*ron-rñu* (p. 243);  
*bag-ra* (p. 446);  
*dbrad* (pp. 208, 292, and M.T. 0439);  
 or *sbrad* (p. 180);  
*glan-sum* (p. 177); *glan-myi* (p. 172);  
*g-yer-lo* (p. 172) or *gyerd* (p. 458);  
*go-ñan* (M.I., xiv, 007);  
 or *ko-ñan* (pp. 457, 468, and M.I., xiv, 0059; M.T. a. ii, 0031);  
 or *kho-ñam* (pp. 155, 466);  
*h̄jor* (p. 469);  
*lo-nan* (pp. 174, 219);  
*lo-nal* (pp. 131, 170, 460, and M.I., ii, 27; vi, 6; xiv, 58a; xxvii, 11);  
*ra-saṅs* (pp. 171, 175, 196, and M.T., a. i, 0031; ii, 003); *\*rje* (p. 196);  
*ru-ña* (pp. 336, 443), *\*cuñ* (p. 444);  
*se* or *señu* (pp. 456, 465, 468);  
*gñen* (pp. 255, 300, 462, 468);  
*sña-ñur* (pp. 174, 446, 454, 467, and M.T. a. iii, 0070; c. i, 0061);  
*sñe-lo* (p. 461);  
*sro* (pp. 174, 444, 457);  
*atom-k(g)yañ* (pp. 128, 160);  
*su-tu* (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-rñu*, *bag-(r)ñu-sñva*, *ce-rñu*, *ron-rñu*, the syllables *bag* and *ce* may mean respectively "little" and "big", while *ron* might represent *rom-po*, "big," "massive," "deep" (of sound): hence it is possible that *rñu* is an old form of *rña* "drum", so that the persons in question would be drummers, while the *bag-rñu-sñva*, who

is once styled "left-hand" (*g-yon*),<sup>1</sup> 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*, *zman-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-saṅs* (which with *ra-saṅs-rje*, "*ra-saṅs* chief," occurs in the Chronicle, II. 19, 22), and *g-ye-lo*, which may be = *ager-pa*, "a private landholder" (*ager-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-tsa*, *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, *rkaṅ-ton*, which may be *rkaṅ-hdon* "giving out of bundles" (but *rkaṅ* also = "foot"), and in part by the *rtsis-mgo* "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, *byān* or *byān-bu*, when conveyed by the soldier, is *so-byān* (pp. 252, 260, 463, and M.I., xiv, 0019, 126), while a "soldier pass" seems to be *so-hphar-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-byān* becomes *so-res-byān*, sometimes *so-ris-byān* (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.<sup>1</sup> When dispatched on secret service the soldier is *so-ñul* (pp. 224, 446, and M.T. 0257, 0380; a. iii, 0039); in one instance (p. 205), where the expression is *so-rdzu-ñul* (also in M. Tāgh 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 (*spasa*, 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 Klu-khoñ 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 Hjañ,

<sup>1</sup> 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 *ñirul-ba* as = *ñgrul-ba*, "the runner," which, however, should be *ñirul-ba-po*. The sense of "post-runner" would indeed suit those passages where we seem to have the phrase *ñirul-ba-la-rmas-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-hdzin*, 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 Hsiung-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 unreceptive of civilized arts. They take quickly to literary and other culture and develop the formalities and graces of society. The encampments of the Hiung-nu, the Ephthalites, and the Turks are described by Chinese visitors as exhibiting much splendour<sup>1</sup>; 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<sup>2</sup>: these matters, however, being not specially military, have been exemplified in another connection.

## B. DOCUMENTS

### 1. *Services, Departments, and Divisions*

1. M. Tāgh. c, iii, 0022 (wood, c. 15.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ || thag . bar . Mes . tshab<sup>3</sup> . gyi . so . la | byañ .  
 slu[ñ]s. [A 2] sma<sup>4</sup> . pa . hi (for smra . bañi ?)<sup>5</sup> . hbañs .  
 Rya . sdug . skyes . bzag . [B] bañ (bar ?) . gsol ||

"To the 'mid-rope' soldier Mes-tshab: petition for handing over (*bzag*) a subject (servant, slave ?) Rya-sdug-skyes, stated to be a northern Shuns."

<sup>1</sup> In regard to the last two see Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, pp. xci-ii, *Life of Hsuan-Tsang*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See Francke, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-1.

<sup>3</sup> s here crossed out.

<sup>4</sup> d here crossed out.

<sup>5</sup> āpañ here crossed out.



"*Ńam-ru-pag* rearguard (reserve ?) soldier in River-confluence-bank."

### Notes

On *chu-hdus-kyi-rtsañ-hgram* and the *Ńam-ru-pag* regiment see pp. 243, 465. On *gññ-non* (= *rtññ-non*) see p. 424.

5. M. Tāgh., 0522 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., pointed at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | : | *Ńam . ru . pag . stai*<sup>1</sup> . *rtññ . non . gi . Ńo .*

[2] *rtsañ . hg[r]am . gyi . so . pa* |

"*Ńam-ru-pag* rearguard soldier at *Ńo* river-bank."

On *Ńo* 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] ༄ || *Sbal . pa . ri . hi . so . bži . tsu[g]s . gchig*

[A 2] *hbrugi . lohī . dbyar . zla . h [brññ (?) . po[h]i (?) . tshes :*

[B] *dru[g ?] . la . hrdzañs . pa[h]i . so . byañ*

"Soldier ticket of four soldiers of *Sbal-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., xxvii, 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).

[A 1] ༄ | : | *Sbal . pa . rihi . so*<sup>2</sup> . *anon . du . Ńa . rton . dguu . [z]la .* [A 2] *hbrññ . po[h]i . tshes . behu . g[sum ?] | la . [gth]añ . ba[h]i*

[B] *dgra . thabs . d[añ ?] d[e ?] . . —s . su . bg[y]ñ |*

"*Ńa-rtion* having been sent on the thirteenth day of the middle winter month to reinforce the soldiery of *Sbal-pa-ri*, he is [to take part in] the fighting."

<sup>1</sup> *stai* crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> Below line.





"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 × 2.5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[A 1] . . . spuñ.sde.myi.hdzin.cha.cig.gtañ.chad (bar?)

[A 2] . . . [s].mñam.du.mchi.ba[r ?].za[n.l]on

[B 1] . . . zes.dgos.chef[s].pa.l . . .

[B 2] . . . [h ?].[m]un.mag.amad.du.h[ž.s ?] . . .

" . . . force regiment, one man-capturing troop ordered to be (?) sent . . . to go with . . . Uncle Councillor . . . highly necessary . . . the *mun*-army . . . below . . ."

On *myi-hdzin-cha* "man-capturing company" and *mun-mag* see *supra*, pp. 273, 430.

12. M.I. xxvi, 1 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., broken away at l. and r. and somewhat rotten; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . [my]ñ.gsol.na.su.la.gsol . . . [A 2] . . . chis. ||  
dbus.pa.ru.yañ.lag.pah.khrom.[m] . . . [B 1] . . . Nob.  
[che]d.po.na.mchis.pah | Rgod.g-yu-[gyi ?] . . . pañ su (?)  
. . . [B 2] . . . [pha]b.la.[stsol].cig.bar.bkañ.[gy] . . .

Too fragmentary for continuous translation, the document speaks of a person belonging to a "brigade-division" (*ru-yañ(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-yañ-lag*, p. 146: 42-4).

13. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0019 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ॐ | brgyaḥ : la : [b]dag : khor : žag : du : [A 2] gnañ.  
[ste ?].stag : brtsan : Gyer bu : chuñ : [B 1] gis : ston : sla :  
ra : bañi : bdagi : so : res : bgyis [B 2] te : bdag : gi[s] :  
Gyer : bu : chuñ : gi : so : res [B 3] [b]gyis : [na] : ruñ : nam.  
m[y]ñ. ruñ : cha : sp[r]ñ :

"Or else, I having been granted leave (*dhor-zag*), Stag-brtsan 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-tex* 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.nan.pas.rno.thogs. [B] . . . kho.la.so.ris.byān.myi.hba.na.tsheg.gelrig [1].

"A humble person like me [*not being*] able, . . . if he has no soldier-relay ticket, it is a difficulty."

On *so-ris-byān* 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).

[A 1] ☞ || žaŋ : Stag.bžer : | la | skyin : Tshi : kruŋ : gyi : gdo<sup>1</sup> [A 2] ba : žal : . . . kaŋ : g[stsa]l : [ba] : [n]i : | sug : [B 1] rgyas : btab : ste : la : la : bskur : žiŋ : mehis |

"To Uncle Stag-bžer: Petition of substitute Tshi-kruŋ. Orders regarding dispute (?) have been sent, signature attached, to Khotan."

On *skyin* "substitute" see *supra*, p. 425. M.I. xiv, 0037, seems to speak of "four soldier substitutes" (*so-skyin-bži*).

16. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0038 (wood, c. 13 × 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] ☞ | : | dbyar.sla.hbrin.pho | takes.bco.brgyad  
A 2] la | so.nul | [Gž-ms.Khyeŋu.[e]uŋ | slar [B] mehiste.  
| gñer.hgum.la.

"Middle summer month, day eighteen. Soldier-spy Gž-ms Khyeŋu-enŋ returned, with task performed."

On *so-nul* and *gñer-hgum* see pp. 42, 429.

17. M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0028 (wood, c. 18 × 2 × .75 cm.,

<sup>1</sup> Compensious for *gdo*.

cut away for a tally ; incised lines *recto* ; ll. 1 (on side) + 2 (*recto*) + 1 (on side) of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ༩ | : | 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

[B 2] . khram.[ma ?].bur.bgos.te.bu.yan.

[C] . yan.spah.sa.de.la.stsald. |

"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 *spah-sa*."

The translation is in part uncertain. On *spah-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[ño]rl (?) dpon.sna.la.myi.skyin.  
[A 2] . . . [ms].mchi[s].h[b]rel.mo.skyes.la.gcig(gan.g-?)  
[B 1] . . . yañ ?].[med].na || bran.mo.[mañ].rtse.rjes [B 2]  
.. phral.du.gtad.[par].htshol.cig ||

"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 × 1-1.5 × 1 cm., burned away at r. ; "neck" for string at l. ; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 + 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ༩ | : | jo : co : Btsan : bañi (biñ ?) : rmañ : s[tsi ?] . . .  
[B] Li : ri : zug : chañi : brgyags . . . .  
[C] las : phañ : tsa : blañs : s[t]e . . . .  
[D 1] so : la : byon : [s]na : kyab : . . . .  
[D 2] no : de : las : thugs . . . .



"A camel (horse ?)-man (*rmañ-rdzi* ?) of the chief, Btsan-ba, having received a package from . . . Khotan mountain-sickness company provisions, is come to the soldiery . . ."

*Pha-tsa* (in various spellings) "a package" recurs several times (p. 38, M. Tāgh. 0245, etc.). On *Lā-ri-zug-chahī-brgyags* see pp. 192, 216. In M. Tāgh. 0440 occurs *so-pa-hi-brgyag[s]*, "soldier-provisions."

20. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0036 (wood, c. 22.5 × 2.2-2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ || Khri.mñes(ol ?) gy[is ?]: glañ.sā.lhu.cig.zos. bañi . myi | rñams | myiñ . smrar . bris . pa | Stag [A 2] Btshan . ra | Khyi . hbrin | Śa[g]. Hphan . hbrin | Stag . b[2][r]e | Skyes . legs [B] Myes . tsab | Ma[n].rtsan . myi . hdi . rñams . la pul . bu . b[2i] . b[2i] | hjal . ba . lags.

"Written by Khri-mñes(?), 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 *htshal-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 *zans-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 Khotani of p. 251 is stated as 4500 *don-tse*; and in civil life the luckless pony-man of p. 258 incurs losses of "three *srañ* of copper" and of "seven *to*", and the shirking plasterers of p. 405 are fined "three *srañ* 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 *srañ*.

What was signified by the expression *par-sa-ris-ma* (p. 201 : 34, *dehi-tsal-ma-ni-par-sa-ris-ma-lastsogspa-sha-mas-litshald*, "His rations, *par-sa-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. Tāgh. a.vi.0056 (fragmentary) it is asked "Has *par-sa-re-si-ma* been received?" The expression is not Tibetan; and since in p. 201 : 34 the messenger in question was a Khotanī, it is possible that he was not serving as a soldier and that *par-sa-ris-ma* denoted something requisite for non-military Khotanī persons and was an expression in Saka-Khotanī language.

### 3. Armature

21. M.I., vii, 59 *bis* (wood, c. 18 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1]  | : | blon . Gtshug . bzañ . la | ya . lad . stod . |  
gsum || blon . [A 2] Phya (Dgra ?) . bžer . la . ya . lad . stod .  
gñis | stag . Gtshug . bzañ . la [B 1] ya . lad . stod . gñis ||  
Guñ . Rgya . legs . la | ya . lad . st[o]l . gñis | [B 2] blon .  
Stag . sgra . la . g-ya . lad . stod . gchig || stag . Stag . rtsan .  
la | ya . lad . stod . gchig | Dpal . bžer . la . ya . lad . stod .  
gchig ||

"To Councillor Gtshug-bzañ upper helm-and-corslets three; to Councillor Phya-bžer upper helm-and-corslets two; to Tiger Gtshug-bzañ upper helm-and-corslets two; to Gun Rgya-legs upper helm-and-corslets two; to Councillor Stag-sgra upper helm-and-corslet one; to Tiger Stag-rtzan upper helm-and-corslet one; to Dpal-bžer upper helm-and-corslet one."

<sup>1</sup> *g* crossed out.

## Note

*Ya-lad* is given in the dictionary with the meaning "helm and corslet", "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).

☞ | mdaḥ.dar.sni (for sne or rñi ?).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 lviii, 007 (*infra*, p. 441).

23. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0053 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ || mda : ḥu.thuñ.gi.gzu.gchig

"Bow for short arrows, one."

*Mdeḥu* recurs M.T. a. iv 0026, c. iv, 0025 (*mdeḥu-thuñ-mkhan*, "short-arrow man").

24. M. Tāgh. 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] ☞ || Nen.kar.gyi.sde.De.ga.Lha.skyes | phub |

[A 2] rje . blas . dgon . gi . bsar . byañ

[A 1] ral. | ral. | mdaḥ : | gzu.rgyud

[A 2] gyu.ma | gyu.bea | ḥchan | dañ.chas

[B] | do.sgye | ḥurdo | mdaḥ.ral.[kh]od(ñ ?)

"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."





"Of ... *lha*, one government balance, large, in the form of a he-goat (!); drinking-cup, one, full; *co-ga* drinking-cup, full; flour, a full *bre*; oil, one ounce; wood, one bundle (!); arrow with silken string, one."

#### Notes

The meaning of *co-ga* ("lark": in pp. 393, 398, *cog* or *tsog*) 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.  $12.5 \times 1.5-2$  cm., somewhat burnt away at l.; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of square *dbu-can* script).

☞ || Rgyaḥi.mduñ.rtse.bcu

"Chinese spear-points, ten."

28. M. Tāgh. c. i. 0026 (wood, c.  $13 \times 1.5-2$  cm., complete; somewhat curved; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ☞ || Rgya.khrab.ma.hbrin.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 mail-coats, both of which senses are given in the dictionary.

29. M. Tāgh. c. ii. 0021 (wood, c.  $12.5 \times 1.5-2$  cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ || Byi.byar.gyi.khrab.ma

"Buckler of Byi-byar."

Apparently Byi-byar is a personal name.

30. M. Tāgh., 0353 (wood, c.  $15 \times 2$  cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 (mostly erased) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ☞ || spaḥi.gñer.las.cag.grugs.su.byuñ.ste.ma. [A 2] lom.baḥ | mdeḥu.thuñ.gi.gz[u].gñis | Li.gz[u].[y]aṇ [B] [mo].gsu[m]

"From the man in charge of ornaments (!), broken and

unservicable (?) bows for short arrows, two; light Khotan bows, three."

#### Notes

*ma-lom-bah* appears to be unknown: possibly it means simply *ma-lom-pa*, "not arrived." Cf. *ci-lom*, p. 355.

#### 4. Grades and Commissions

3L. M.L. vii, 33 (wood, c. 20 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ཨ། བལག་ལྷན་པཱ། ཨ། སུག་ལས་ཁྱེད་ལ་ཁྱེད་ལ་  
bskos . pa las || sug rjed kyī . sr[ō]h . ma . zin [A 2] nas || da .  
duñ . gi . bar . du . || sug . rjed . ma . thob . pa || bkah .  
[drin] . yan . chad[u] . hchal . par . gyur . na || [B 1] Hdzom .  
stod . kyī . sde || ru . ña . cuñ || do . eig . yul hbro . mchi .  
mchi . [ba] . las || slar . babs . nas . || [B 2] gñi . la . mchis pa  
|| bdagi . sug . rjed . stsald . par || bkas gñad par thugs  
page ci mdzad ||

"Your humble servant, when appointed in succession to a duty, did not receive a *sroh* (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-ña* of the Upper Hdzom regiment, who at present, after going about roaming the country, is returned and is on the spot, should send my commission."

#### Notes

A 1, *lyheb-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, *bkah-drin-yan-chad[d.d]u*: This might mean "to ratify the kindness"; but *bkah-drin* seems sometimes to be used adverbially. Is *hchal* from *hchel* "desire" or *hchol* "appoint"?

B 1, *Hdzom-stod-kyi-sde*: Concerning this regiment see p. 460.

*ru-ña-cuñ*: Cf. p. 336. Since the term *ro-ña* occurs elsewhere 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 l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 4 *recto* + 3 (a different hand and subject) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] *Legs.khri* : *hī.mchid.gsol.bah.bkañ.yig.sprñs* [A 2] . . . *d.bro.rmas.pa.dg.r.ñtshal.de.bro.ni.ma.ñtshal.bar.ches* : so : *rjed.phyis.de.ñtshal* [A 3] . . . [*ciñ*].*mehis.len<sup>1</sup>.len.du.gtañ.ba.lagsna.de.las.na.der.skur.bar.thugs.spag.* [A 4] [*cñr.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-ñtshal* . . . *ñtshal-bar-ches* : The phraseology is unusual.

*so-rjed* : "Soldier-memorandum" (or commission); see p. 428. In a. ii, 0048 we read *gsañ-skyold-du-mchis-na-so-rjed-mchi-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.; ll. 3 *recto* + 1 *verso* of inelegant cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ☉ *gyab.Lha.ston.gyi.glañ*. [A 2] *gelhig || Myes.bo[r]* [A 3] *dañ || Myes.mthyoñ* [B] *la.kha.bstan ||*

"One ox belonging to *gyab* Lha-ston, promised to Myes-bor and Myes-mth(y)on."

On *gyab* see p. 426-7.

34. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0048 (wood, c. 9.5 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☉ | : | *sro* : *Dgyer* : *sto* |

"*Sro* *Dgyer-sto*."

<sup>1</sup> a below line. *len* seems to be repeated in error.

On *sto* see pp. 427, 457.

35. M.I., xli, 0013 (wood, c. 8.5 × 2.25 cm., broken away at l.; in two pieces of equal size; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script),

[A 1] . . . pan . skyes . dba[n] . hgyid . pa . las [A 2] . . . blas . Tshla<sup>1</sup> . byihi . ru . dpon . du . bskos [B 1] . . . hbragi . lo . la . ni | Ña . bzañ . gis [B 2] . . . rmos | sbrul . gi . lo . la . ni | Lañ.

"After the administration of [H]p[h]an-skyes . . . appointed by [His Excellency] brigade-commander of Tshal-byi . . . In the Dragon year ploughed by Ña-bzañ; in the Serpent year, Lañ . . ."

On *ru-dpon* "brigade-commander" see pp. 418, 426; on Tshal-byi, p. 119, . . . *blas* is perhaps for *rje-blas*.

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).

[1] ༄ | . | mehihs.[d]pon | g-os [2] kyo.Yor.go |  
"Horse-commandant *g-os-kyo* Yor-go."

On *mchabs-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] . . . dpuñ.pon.chen.po ||

[B 1] . . . bul(dul?) . rtsaṅ[s] (snaṅs?) . chuṅs.[m] . . .

" . . . major troop-commander . . ."

On *dpuñ-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).

[1] ༄ || ños . pon . mthoñ . khyab . gyi . sde | bag . ñu . sñva . ma (ñ . chad?) . ro . ña . pra . mo . yan . [2] chad . | so . ñul . du . mehi . ba . sug . las . bgyi . bañi . rtsis . mgo

"Region-commander-watchtower regiment: list of work to be done by *bag-ñu-sñva* up to minor *ro-ña* going on secret service."

<sup>1</sup> *Compendious for Tshal*.



## Notes

L 1, *nos-pon*: "commander of a direction" (i.e. of a frontier in one of the four directions). Recurs pp. 337-8.

*bag-nu-shva* and *ro-nā*: See *supra*, pp. 427-8. *pra-mo* = *phramo* "little".

L 2, *so-nul*: See p. 429.

*etsis-mgo*: 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).

☞ | . | bag.no.shva.g.yon. |

"Left-hand *bag-(r)no-shva*."

40. M.I., lviii, 001 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ | mthob.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).

☞ | : | bag.ra.Bza(i t)hi.mchiid.gsol.ba |

"Letter-petition of *bag-ra* Bza (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 ☞).

[A 1] ☞ | . | Stag.skugs.na. | sñā.sur.Baṅ.tshe. |  
ri.zug [A 2] paḥi.brg(y)ags. | so.S[ā]ṅs.la.btaṅ.ba.  
riṅsu. [B] skyol.chig |

"Mountain-sickness provisions for *sñā-sur* Baṅ-tshe in Stag-skugs; to be handed to [a] *Sluṅs* soldier and conveyed in haste."

On *sñā-sur*, *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. Tāgh. a. v. 002 and 0031 (wood, two adjoining pieces, together c. 11.5 × 2.5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . rtsald . pa : | dbyard . sla . tha . cūns . tshes . gsum

[A 2] . . . -u . rtsig . pañi : dusu : bsñeñs : par : thugs : [A 3] . . . d : | bag . ma : h̄dor . bar : | ñin : ra . sa : mtho . žiñ : ||

[B 1] . . . [da]ñ : | rdul . mgo : ji . gdrañ (gdrañ) . ba : brtag : | mtshan . žiñ : [B 2] . . . -om : ji . grag . pa : yañ : ñin . gyi : ñin : ra . dañ : | [B 3] . . . r(n ?) : mthoñ . tshor . na : | Ñam . 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 Ñam-ru-pag . . ."

*Notes*

A.3, *bag-ma* seems to be = *bag-med*. *ñin-ra* = "day-enclosure", here and in B 5. In Khad. 037 we read *mtshan-yañ-rkañ-ra-dmadu-gzu[ñ]* "at night again the bundle-enclosure (*rkañ-ra* 'foot-enclosure' ?) to be taken on low ground (*dmadu* ?)".

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. Tāgh. a. v. 007 (wood, c. 13.5 × 2.5-3 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] | ༩ . | stso(so ?) : sa : h̄di : rñams : gyi . tshugs : pond : so . tshor . . . [A 2] la : so . sa : gžir : phyind . par . mchi . la : | do . cig . Pe[h̄u ?] . . . [A 3] chuñ . bañi : | śas : gyañ . mchis : pas : | le . lo : ma . bg[y]i . . . [B 1] gs[o]ñ : ba : nas . | ñin . žiñ . yul . gyi . dbyañs : [p?] . . . [B 2] my (rgy ?)—. hur . tsag . tsig . dañ : | rta . agra . lhañ . b[tsh]er : dañ : dgra . g . . . [B 3] mtshan . gyi : mye[ñ] . tse . dgu : dam . du . tsungs : la : | dgra . byuñ . [b] . . .

"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 Pehu (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". *Taug* (from *ldzugs*) = "halt" is conjectural.

45. M. Tāgh., 0485 (paper fragment, c. 21.5 × 3.5 cm.; ll. 4 *recto* + 3 *verso* of clear, regular, *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . *śāa.nas* . . .

[A 2] *bdaḥste* | *gdugs . mtshan . spy[odna . . . -y]* . . . (*bsl-bṣ-mu . chā*) || [*r]ka . tsam . gbug (gnag ?)* . [*ciā*] . *na* . . . .

[A 3] *bžin . drug . du . mehi* || *lag . pon . dañ . mtshon . cha . dañ . ldan . ba . thab . mo . pa . dag . ni* || *dgra . mgo . ci . ltar . g* . . . .

[A 4] *pon . kyi . cha . skad . sdod . chin* | *ḥbroṣ . khu[n]* . *dañ . thab . sa . tsam . dag . kyañ . btsal . te . gži . na . bsdad . la* || . . . .

[B 1] *bgyi . ḥtshal* <sup>1</sup> . *baḥi . skad . chig . mehis . na . yañ* || *śna . la . rta . pas .* | *dgras . śul . du . tshog . myi . rñzis . paḥi . chos . [su]* . . .

[B 2] *mchi* : | *myi . bśar . dañ . gnag . [-o . . . — i . . .]* [*dīā (chin ? riñ ?)*] *la.thug.ste.[śu].nañs.su.mchi[s (n ?)]* . . .

[B 3] . . . [*mī . chi — (mī ?)*]

[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

<sup>1</sup> I below line.

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-gbug*: "sleep only for a moment"?

A 3, *ngo-ci-ltar*: On "seeing heads" cf. p. 157.

B 1, *dgras-sul-du-tshog-myi-rdzis-pa*: An obscure expression, *tshog* = *rtsoq*?

B 2, *bsar*: On this word see pp. 440-1.

*sul-nams-su*: "On the road of retreat"? Concerning *nams-su* see pp. 49-50.

### 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-can* script, in part faint).

[A 1] ༄ || brgyags . byañ . ma . mehis . ḡgum . ltogs . la .  
thug . paḥ || mñah . bdag . chen . [A 2] poḥi . añan . myi .  
slebs . po<sup>1</sup> . la | bla . ḡog . [na]s | dbu . yugs . smad . la .  
dnānsu (?)<sup>2</sup> [B 1] bgyid . de || [sno ?] . gze . dan . glan<sup>3</sup> .  
ḡtahal . dag . kyañ . mehis . na . | sdum . bt[ab] . dgra[sla] . . .  
[B 2] ba . [b]usmad . [g]coñs<sup>4</sup> . kyi . bar . du . || bla . ḡog .  
[nas] . sus . kyañ . myi . gtse . žiñ . | ph[a (phra ? pha ?) .  
miñ . dar] [B 3] [stoñ . sdeḡi] . [ḡo]g . du . mehis . su . stso[1] .  
[c]ig . pa [r ?] | Nob . ched . poḥi | rtse . rje . la . bkās . gtad .  
pra (par) . ci . gnañ

"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

<sup>1</sup> poḥi ?

<sup>2</sup> glon ?

<sup>3</sup> dnāñ-can ?

<sup>4</sup> gtsen yo ? gtsen [so ?



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, *bryyags-byān*: No doubt, a ticket authorizing receipt of provisions.

A 2, *sāan-myi*: This may mean either "friends" (*sāan*, "dear") or servants (*sāan*, "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-miñ-dar(s)*: Can this mean "with their little brothers"?

*stoñ-sde*: This may be the *governor* of the Thousand-district, as p. 151.

47. M.T., 0488 (paper, c. 22 × 5 cm., fragmentary at 1 (3), r., top and bottom; ll. 5 *recto* of good *dbu-can* script + 1, 1 *verso* in an inferior hand).

[A 1] . . . n d-ñ . ch . . . . . [g] . . . y- . [s]l-r . ḥduste . m[clis] . . .

[A 2] . . . žugs . gy- . g-y[o]n . l-nd . to | ḥog . pon . ni . mye . skrad . gth-ñ . pañi : žal . ta . dan . ñin . rañi . sto . . .

[A 3] . . . tshugs . pon . geig . bu . ḥtshal . pa . dmyig . skyo . pas . so . [ye] . myigis . myi . tshor . par . [mehis . pa] . . .

[A 4] . . . ni . ḥog . pon . man . cad . pyan . g-yog . yan . cad . rta . sor . [byed] . [pañi . myi . de] . las . -e . . .

[A 5] . . . pa . sug . las . gžan . ni . mamehis . [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 *ñin-ra*, *tshugs-pon*, *ye-myig*, *hog-pon*, and *byan-g-yog* see *supra*. *Mye-skrud* (from *skrod*), "put out" the fire, is probable; *dmyig-skyo* "fancy-quarrelsome (or sorrowful)".

48. M.L., x, 2 (wood, c. 15.5 × 2 cm., slightly cut away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, *verso* in part very faint).

[A 1] ༄ || dpen . bañi . zo . ša . hbul . hbul . bañi . dgras . bkum . bañi [A 2] [bu ?] . smad . hkhor . yul || chis . [skagsu] . chañ . khyur . spyen . gyi[s] . htsho[l] [B 1] cig . ce[s] . ž[añ . lon] . ched . poñi . nichid . kyis . kyañ . bead || khri . dpo[n] . dañ [B 2] stoñ . pon . da[g . g] i . . || [žig] . la . -e . ma . ži[ñ (g ?)] || chi . . . gy- [B 3] htshal . bas || gu[m] . kya[ñ] . my[i] g[tsi] . bar . || Nob . ched . poñi . rtse . rje . [b]la . hog

"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 *chan-khyur*: 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 1, *dpen-bahi-zo-sa*: See pp. 25, 151.

A 2, *hkhor-yul-chis-skagsu*: We have translated *hkhor-yul-mchis-skabsu*. *Hkhor*, however, could be taken with *bu-smad*, in the sense of "and belongings". *Skagsu* could mean "in ill-luck".

*chan-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 || zig . la . gtse . ma . zig || chis (cis) . gtse . bgyir . hthol . 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 . zin . tog . du |  
[A 2] . . . [y]as . gtse . an . glan . ka . bgyid . du . yan . glo .  
ba [B 1] . . . [-i(e ?)] . du . mchis . pa | hthol . zin . mchis . na .  
[B 2] . . . [-i]s . myi . gtshe . bar . chi . gnan . zes . gsol . te .

" . . . in the fields (*zin-tog* = "thog ?) outside the fort are being harmed by . . . and are tempted (*glo-ha-ne-du*) to make reprisals (*glan-ka*). Being engaged in digging (*hthol*), . . . beg [you] to allow no [one] to harm . . ."

On *skun-kar* (*sku-mkhar*) see p. 424. *Hthol* (with *btol*, *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] . . . gsol . ba . thugs . bde . bar . smon . mchid . yi . ge .  
las . anun . gsol [2] . . . n . so . nul . [las] . gsan . ba . tsam .

rabs . bdag . nan (sic) . pa . yañ [3] . . . [ch-d . s-g ?] tsha . bo .  
 hi<sup>1</sup> . rgyags . su[o]l . gal . du . nan . mtshal (= nan-rtsal ?) .  
 skrad . hdi [4] . . . myi . las . Mes . slebs . Hu . ten . [du] . . .  
 [B 1] . . . [khor] . žag . du . mchis . pa . mchis : || yañ . ri . zug .  
 dag . ni . mañs . pa . dañ . dgra [B 2] . . . [n . chad . du .  
 myi] . bzañ . bas . yar . byün . na . ruñ . ba . hdra || mchid .  
 yig . sña . phi . gsum [B 3] . . . n . mchis . sam . ma . m[chis] :  
 žal . m[ja]l . gyi . bar . [du] . thugs . bde . žin . la . žal . myu[r .  
 du] [B 4] m[ja]l . [bar . smon . cin . melis] | |

" . . . 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 (Šin-šan ?)".

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).

[1] ☉ | . | dgra . byuñ . šor . dag . | [2] chad . |

"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).

<sup>1</sup> ni (?).



[A 1] 𐰽 | : | Ho . tsho . pagī . sde . Ho . ru . Pyi . tshab .  
 | so . la . btus . pa . las [A 2] bro . ḥtshal . nas | so . la . m[ch]i .  
 baḥi . rño . mi . tog . nas . ko . [B 1] na . stoñ . sde . nañ . du .  
 sña . śur . slog . ta . dan . so . sña . pyir . sde . [B 2] brjes . te  
 | slog . ta . res . la . Pyi . tsab . mchi . bar . bgyis . |

"Ho-ru P[h]yi-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 sña-śur returning to the Thousand-district and that P[h]yi-tshab should go in place of the returning man."

### Notes

A 1, *so-la-btus*: On the phrase see p. 425.

*stoñ-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 sña-śur see p. 427.

53. M. Tāgh., 0019 (wood, c. 14-14.5 × 2.5-3 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of squared *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] 𐰽 | . | jo . co . Khri(o) . bzer . dan . tsa . bo . Cuñ .  
 ra . dan . Cuñ . ḥbrin . la . | Ḥpan . s[ky]e . [A 2] s . gyi .  
 mehid . gso<sup>1</sup> . ba . Stag . cuñ . gi . tsal . ma . tsam . žig . na  
 [A 3] r . ma . skur . na . kho . yañ . lbegs . ste . ḥgum . žiñ .  
 mehis . b [B 1] dag . cag . ḥi . ḥtsal . ma . la . yañ . gnod . ciñ .  
 mehis . na . skur . [B 2] bar . gsol . yar . gtañ . du . ni . mehi .  
 baḥi . rño . myi . thog . ciñ . [B 3] mehis . | da . lta . ni . tsal .  
 ma . su . nmar . ciñ . mehis . na . |

"To lord Khri(o)-bzer and grandsons Cuñ-ra and Cuñ-ḥbrin: letter petition of Ḥpan-skyes. Stag-cuñ's rations, any at all, not having been sent down, he has died by suicide (hunger, *ltogs*?). 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."

<sup>1</sup> I omitted.

## Notes

A 1: On *tsa-bo* "grandsons" see p. 228. Cuñ-ra and Cuñ-hbrin are, doubtless, sons of Khri-bzer.

A 3, *lbeys*: = *lebs*, found *supra*, p. 31 f

B 3, *su-mnar-ciñ* ?

54. M.I., vii, 46 (wood, c. 14.5 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.: ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ || byi . ba . bgyis . pa . khrims . che . la . thug . pa .  
|| dmag . pon . dan | [2] spyan . gis . dbyodñ . dkyigs . [la] .  
gsol . cig ||

"One who, for adultery, has met with a heavy sentence begs for a personal interview with the general."

## Notes

*spyan-gis-dbyodñ*: "interview with sight." On *dbyodñ*, from *hbyon-pa*, see p. 22.

*dkyigs*: This is perhaps the word *dkrig*, given in S. C. Das' dictionary as meaning "personally".

55. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0030 (wood, c. 13.5 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ || nan . rje . po . blon . Lha . bžre<sup>1</sup> . gi . za . śnar ||  
Gyi . na [A 2] rin . gi . mchid . gsol . ba . Mars . Lha<sup>2</sup> . rma .  
ñi | [B 1] rkub . bead . bar . ci . gnañ . Gyi . na . rin .  
gyañ . rkub . bead . [B 2] bar . gsol ||

"To the presence of Lha-bžer, minister of internal affairs: petition of Gyi-na-rin. Thanks for (or Do you allow) the *rkub-bead* of Mars Lha-rma. Gyi-na-rin also petitions for *rkub-bead*."

*Rkub-bead*, which in Sanskrit would perhaps be *pāyū-ccheda*, is perhaps some surgical operation: since the request comes from the person concerned, it can hardly be disciplinary.

8. List of Regiments (*side*)

(N.B.—Regiments certainly belonging to Tibet proper about twenty in number, are distinguished by a \*.)

*Bar-khohi-side* (Bar-kho unknown).

<sup>1</sup> Compensious for *bžer*.

<sup>2</sup> *Lag* (?)

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] བ | . | Bar, khoḥi, sde | Rlañ, Gyer, bu, cuñ,  
[B] bži, beuḥ, rtsa, lña, chad |

"Bar-kho regiment: Rlañ Gyer-bu minor punished forty-five (stripes ½)."

*Broñ-tsham-gyi-sde*. See *Hbroñ*°.

*Bzan-Hor-gyi-sde* ("Good Hor regiment").

On the Good Hor and on the *Hbroñ-tshams* 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 *Drags*)-*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.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

ཨ | . | Dags, po, sde | Se, Khlu, rton

"Dags-po regiment: *Se Khlu-rton*."

*Se* is perhaps a military title: see *supra*, p. 427.

*Dgyes-sde* (Perhaps a special kind of troop; on *dgyes* or *sgyes* 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).

[1] ཨ | : | Dgyes, sde, [po], Chuñ, ra, dañ, [Snañ],  
bžer, la, . . . [2] gyis, rmas, na, ph[y]ogsu, thugs, b[de],  
ba, zes, . . .

"To Chuñ-ra and Snañ-bžer 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.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

❧ || Dor . tehi . s[d]e | H . . .

"Dor-te regiment: H . . ."

- \* *Gad-sram-gyi-sde* (Gad-bkram, a Thousand-district of Hgos, in Tibet: see Vol. I, p. 277).

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 . simon . leg |

[B 1] Gad . sram . gyi . sde | sro . Tshes . mtho.<sup>1</sup> [B 2] phyē . bre . gsum . ltshal . |

"... Gad-sram regiment: sro Tshes-mthoñ 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).

[1] Gad . sr[am] | gtad . My[e]s | Hb[r ?]eñu . gzig[s] | ...

[2] s[d]e . la | [stshab] . . . | cad .

"To the Gad-sram regiment sent [by] Myes-stshab: Hbreñu-gzigs executed . . ." Also in a. iii, 0019, *infra*, p. 458.

- \* *Gcom-pa-hi-sde* (Beom-pa, a Thousand-district of Cog-ro in E. Tibet: see Vol. I, p. 279).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0096, quoted pp. 170-2.

*Glah-san-sde*

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. i, 0021 (fragmentary).

*Gom-pa-hi-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 : hi : sde : ko : nan : Pan : legs

"Gom-pa regiment: ko-nan 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).

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for *mthoñ*.



... Gom-pa<sup>hi</sup>-sde phu-bag Mu-ne-stan |

"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* (= *Drän-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] གྲུང་བློན་གྱི་སྡེ་གཡེར་ | stag.Khri. {e} . . .

[2] སྤྱི་ཤོ་ཁྱེད་ | Tro.ki.Min.phan.dan | . . .

"Gran-brtsan regiment: officer Khri-e . . . sñān-nen: *Tro-ki* Min-phan 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).

[1] གྲུང་བློན་གྱི་སྡེ་གཡེར་ | [2] ཁོ་ཁྱེད་ . . .

"Gran-brtsan regiment: *gyerd* Khoñs . . ."

*Gyerd* is perhaps an official title: see *supra*, p. 427.

\* *Grom-pa<sup>hi</sup>-sde* (= *Hgrom-pa<sup>hi</sup>-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. 14 × 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).

[A 1] . . . [l ?] . Khyun . dan . | Bro . tshams . gyi . sde .  
Rgya . Dred . po . dan . | Hbro . [rgya ?]

[A 2] . . . [kh ?]—ñ . gyi . sde . Dgro . Legs . [z] [gs] | dan .  
Ga . sram . gyi . [sd ?] e . [Rgya ?]

[B 1] . . . bñer . gyis | | Skyan . po . lha . goñ . dan .

[B 2] . . . | gy — . lha . ky—[s] . Rma . . . khri . la .  
[sprīño ?]

" . . . Khyun, and of the Bro-tshams regiment Chinaman Dred-po, and of the Hbro . . . kh—ñ regiment Dgro Legs-zigs,

and of the Ga[d]-sram regiment Chinaman (?) . . . bzer : along with Skyañ-po Lha-goñ . . . : by [these] five sent to Rma . . . khri."

*Khyun* and *Skyañ-po* are, like *Hbro*, tribal designations (noted *supra*). *Hbro* . . . *kh—ñ* is perhaps = *Hbrom-khoñ*, and *Ga-sram* is the *Gad-sram* recorded in this list. *Dgro* is perhaps the *Sgro* Thousand-district of Tibet (Vol. I, p. 277).

*Hbrom-gi-sde*

Mentioned p. 175.

\* *Hbroñ-mtshams-kyi-sde* (= *Hbrin* (sic)-*mtshams* of Vol. I, p. 279 n. 4).

67. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0019 (wood, c. 12-12.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r. : l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ༄ || Hbroñ.tsams.khyi [sic].sde.Po.yoñ.Htus.rma. | [B 1] dños.Huteu.na.mchis.na.dmag.skyin.nas.g[la] [B 2] thud.hbul.lam.myi.hbul.rma |

"Hbroñ-tsams regiment: P[h]o-yoñ Htus(Htus)-rma, at present in Huteu, inquires whether from what is owing to the army (*dmag-skyin* ?) extra wage (*gla-(h)thud*) is, or is not, paid."

The place-name *Pho-goñ* (*g-yoñ*) is known as surname of a Tibetan queen : see Ś. C. Das' *Diet*.

68. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0046 (wood, c. 11.5 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at l. : ll. 3 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script + 2 *verso* in a more cursive hand).

[A 1] ༄ | . | Bzañ.Hor.gyi | sde:Hjañ.Ma.brid || Śañ.sde:Brin. [A 2] legs.Mon. | Bron | tsham:gyi:sde:Be:sna.

[A 3] Mñal.pan.Mu.Śañ.doñ.

[B 1] ༄ || Bzañ.Hor | Hjañ.Ma.brid

[B 2] gyi.[ad]e |

[A] "Of the Good Hor regiment Hjañ Ma-brid; of the Śañ regiment Brin-legs, a Mon; of the [H]broñ-tsham regiment Be-sna : a Mñal-p[h]an Mu Śañ-doñ."

[B] "Good-Hor regiment: Hjañ Ma-brid."

## Notes

On the Good-Hor, Šaṅ, and Mñal-phan regiments see in this list. Be-sna is perhaps identical with the Ba Snañ-rma (of the same regiment) mentioned above (p. 63: 11F).

*hdzind-byar-sar-lha-mtshohi-sde* (title imperfect ?)

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0096, quoted p. 172, l. 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).

[A 1] ༄ || Hdzom.smad.kyi.sde | ho.na[1] . . . [A 2]  
mkhar.du.hph(b ?)yuh.ba.las | so.[pa] . . . [B 1] tsan.na.  
mchis.pa.dañ | bcu . . .

"Lower Hdzom regiment: the *ho-nal* . . . having been into . . . town, soldier . . . was in . . . tsan and ten . . ."

Mentioned p. 131 and in M.I., viii, 17; xxiii, 009b.

On *ho-nal* see *supra*, p. 427.

*Hdzom-stod-kyi-sde* ("Upper Hdzom" regiment, Nob region: possibly the Hdzom-lom-stod of *Ancient Khotan*, p. 569).

70. M.I., ii, 38 (wood, c. 14 × 1.5 cm., complete; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ || Hdzom.stod.kyi.sde | Tshe.spoñ.Mthoñ.skyugs

"Upper Hdzom regiment: Mthoñ-skyugs of Tshe-spoñ (in Tibet)."

71. M.I., ii, 37a (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ || Hdzom.[stod.kyi].sd[e].Ldu.Rmol.tsa |

"Upper Hdzom regiment: Ldu Rmol-tsa."

Mentioned pp. 131, 443.

\* *Hgrom-paḥi-sde* (Grom-pa, a Thousand-district of Hbro, 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).

[1] ཨོ་ཤོ་པག་ཤེ། | སྐ་གམ་ལྷ་པུ་ས་།  
[2] བླ་ག་།

"Delivered by Lha-brtan of Na-gram, Ho-tsho-pag regiment."

On Na-gram see pp. 223, 242. *Brag* in the same sense occurs p. 272. B3 and in M.I. iv, 71, M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0048, etc.; cf. pp. 431, 468.

73. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0010 (wood, c. 11.5 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, smudged and partly erased).

[1] ཨོ་ཤོ་པག་ཤེ། | སྐ་པུ་པོ་སྐ་ལོ་སྐ་ལོ་།  
[2] བླ་ག་པོ་།

"Ho-šo-pag regiment: Khyu-po Snañ-koñ, corporal."

*Khyu-po* is the name of a Tribal division of Tibet.

74. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0031 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

ཨོ་ཤོ་པག་ཤེ། | སྐ་ལོ་སྐ་ལོ་སྐ་ལོ་།

"Ho-tsho-pag regiment: the sñe-lo Na-gzigs."

*sñe-lo* is apparently a military title or connected with the *sñel* of p. 293 (the same *sde*).

Mentioned also pp. 293, 454.

*Kha-dro-hi-sde* (Kha-dro, a district in the Nob region).

Mentioned p. 130 and in M.I., xliii, 3.

*Khar-sar-gyi-sde*. See Mkhars°.

\* *Khri-boms-kyi-sde* (Khri-boms, in Tibet: see *supra*, p. 55).

75. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0033 (wood, c. 11 × 1.5-2 cm., cut away at bottom: hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨོ་ཤོ་པག་ཤེ། | སྐ་པུ་པོ་སྐ་ལོ་སྐ་ལོ་། [2] བླ་ག་པོ་།

"Khri-boms regiment: Dbyen Hphan-la-rtan."

Mentioned also in M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0063 and H. 6. *Dbyen* is an unknown surname: *dben* means "anchorite".

\* *Khri-dan(tan)-gi-sde* (Khri-tha, a Thousand-district adjacent to Hdre, in Tibet (Vol. I, p. 277) or Khri-tan of p. 368 ?).



76. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 009 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete as new; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☉ : | : | Khri : dañ . gi : sde : | Hbre : Pan : legs : |

"Khri-dañ regiment: Hbre (error for Hdre or Hbro?) 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.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

☉ || [Khri]:dañ.gi.sde.gšen.Ci[s].[pā ?] |

"Khri-dañ regiment: the *gšen* Cis-pāh."

On *gšen* see *supra*, pp. 255, 395, 427-8.

\* *Khri-goms-kyi-sde* (Khri-dgoñs, a Thousand-district of Hbro, in Tibet).

78. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0382 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 (+ upper parts of another) *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ☉ | Khri.goms.gyi.sde.Hol.god.Byañ.bza[ñs]

[A 2] na (cha ?):[bar ?].[par].gtogs.te.so

[B] . . la.myi.bthus ||

"Khri-goms regiment: Byañ-byaṅs of Hol-god . . ."

\* *Lañ-myi-sde* (Lañ-mi, a Thousand-district of the Pa-tsab, in N.E. Tibet: see Vol. I, p. 278).

79. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0077 (wood, c. 13.5-14 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script; *verso* 1 *akṣara* of the same).

[A 1] ☉ | : | Lañ.myiḥi:sde:rtsi:Klu:lod:nañ [A 2] gcheg:myi:chad:par:rjes:gtaho [B] . . . d

"Lañ-myi regiment: *rtsi* Klu-lod writes requesting . . . not to be punished (?)."

The meaning of *rtsi* and of *gcheg* is unknown; but cf. *tsheg* in pp. 413, 436: 14 (*tsheg* = *tshegs*?).

80. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0034 (wood, c. 10-10.5 × 2 cm., somewhat cut away at bottom; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, somewhat faint).



- [1] མཁ་སར་གཉི་ཤེ་ | Mon.chuñ.la.  
[2] གསལ་པཎ་ | pa.

"Mkhar-sar regiment: petition to Mon-chuñ."

*Mñal-hphan-gyi-sde* ("Fatigue-benefit" regiment) and—

*Mñal-paḥi-sde* (possibly connected with the Gñal Thousand-district of S.E. Tibet; but see *supra*, pp. 423-4, and compare *mñald-paḥi-khri-thag-bar*, pp. 215-16).

86. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0075 (wood, c. 12 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

མྱལ་པཎ་ | Mñal (?) . paḥi (?) . sd[e] . thag . bar . Rtses . phyan.

"Mñal-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] སྐྱི་སྲོད་གཉི་ཤེ་སེ་ཤོན་ལ་གསལ་ |  
[A 2] རྩི་—[ch ?]en (tshug ?) |

[B] མྱལ་པཎ་ལྷི་སེ་ | Mñal: pa: ḥi: ste:

"Upper Skyi regiment: S-e. tñal land . . .

Mñal-pa regiment." Also in c. iii, 0078 (paper).

On the Upper Skyi regiment see *infra*, p. 468.

*Mthoñ-khyab-kyi-sde* ("Watch-tower" regiment; cf. *Nas-dpon-mthoñ-khyab-kyi-sde*)

Mentioned p. 446 and in M.I., xxv, 003.

\* *Myaṅ-roḥi-sde* (Myaṅ-ro, a tribal district in S.E. Tibet; see Vol. I, p. 280).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. b. i, 0095 (p. 174).

*Nag-khrīd-kyi-sde* (no doubt related to Nag-sod, 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).

[A 1] ལྷ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་གྲག་སྡེ་བཞུག་གི་མཚན་། [A 2] གསལ་བཤམ་།  
 "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 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ལྷ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་གྲག་སྡེ་བཞུག་གི་མཚན་།

[2] ལྷ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་གྲག་སྡེ་བཞུག་གི་མཚན་།

"Nag-sod regiment: *Ha-kog* Bor-rtsan."

Further mention pp. 126, 130. On the surname *Ha-kog*, see p. 463.

*Nag-tshvehi-sde*

90. M. Tägh., 0573 (wood, c. 13.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; l. 1 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

ལྷ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་གྲག་སྡེ་བཞུག་གི་མཚན་།

"Nag-tshve regiment: *rna* Hbur-lod."

*Rna* = "drum" or "camel" man? Cf. p. 427.

91. H. 3 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* of square *dbu-can* script; l. 1 *verso* in a somewhat different hand).

[A 1] ལྷ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་གྲག་སྡེ་བཞུག་གི་མཚན་། [A 2] ལྷ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་གྲག་སྡེ་བཞུག་གི་མཚན་།  
 res. kyi.s[na].thūs [A 2] Lde . . . gyi.ana.thus.khyihi.lo.pā | [B] ལྷ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་གྲག་སྡེ་བཞུག་གི་མཚན་།

"Nag-tshve regiment: with Skyar Klu-gzigs in succession first called up Lde . . . the first called up of the Dog year. *Šin-šan*."

\**Nam-ru-pag-gi-sde* (Nam-ru district in Tibet = Gnam-ru, N. of the Tengri-nor; see *Geografia Tibeto*, p. 32).

92. M. Tägh., c. i, 007 (wood, c. 13.5-14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

ལྷ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་གྲག་སྡེ་བཞུག་གི་མཚན་།

"Nam-ru-pag regiment: *sehu* Klu-brtan."

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.



\* *Nen-kar-gyi-sde* (Gñen-dkar, a Thousand-district of Lañs, in N.E. Tibet, Vol. I, p. 278).

93. M. Tāgh., 0193 (wood, c. 14.5 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] Nen . kar . gyi | kho . nam . Na . legs |

[A 2] sde |

[B 1] rtse . rje . chu . ñuñi . sug . [rje]d . htshal . ñin . khrom .  
du [B 2] mehis |

"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 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.: 1. 1 of square *dbu-can* script).

☉ || Ñen . kar . gyi . sde . Ldog . ge . Lha . skyes |

"Nen-kar regiment: *Ldog-ge* Lha-skyes."

*Ld(R)og-ge* is a surname, recurring elsewhere.

95. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0029 (wood, c. 12.5 × 2 cm., slightly broken away at bottom; hole for string at r.: 1. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☉ || Ñen . kar . gi . sde . Dbah . Kha . myi |

"Nen-kar regiment: *Dbah* Kha-myi."

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-mthon-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.

*Rgod-tsan-smad-gi-sde* (Lower Rgod-tsan district in the Noh region).

Mentioned pp. 127, 129, 441.

*Rgod-tsan-stod-kyi-sde* (Upper Rgod-tsan district in the Nob region).

Mentioned pp. 128, 144.

*Klan-gi-sde*

Mentioned p. 211.

*Risal-mo-pag-gi-sde*

96. M. Tāgh. 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] རྩ་མོ་པག་གི་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཡོད། | Rtshal.mo.pag.gi.sde | sñah.śur.Stag.la.re

[B] Pyi,rtse [

"Rtsal-mo-pag regiment: *sña-lur* Stag-la-re. Pyi-rtse  
(a place-name)."

On *sñah-śur* see *supra*, p. 427.

Another mention p. 174.

*Rtse-thon-gyi-sde* (Rtse-thon, in the Nob region: see pp. 160-1).

97. M.I., xvi, 22 (paper, fol. No. 57 in vol., c. 26 x 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.

Rtse, hthon, gyi, sde, Tor, hgu, Mañ, skyes, la

"To Tor-hgu Man-skyes, of the Rtse-lithon regiment."

*Tor-hqu* is probably a surname.

Further mention in M.L., xv, 0012 (quoted p. 160).

*Sau-sde* (named, perhaps, after the Lop-nor kingdom of  
Šaṇs or Mo-Šaṇs or the Tibetan Šaṇs Thousand-district :  
see Vol. I, p. 278).

98. M. Tāgh., i, 0025 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm. complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dhū-can* script)

☞ | Śaṅ.sde.Dbaḥ.Myes.tshab |

"Śaṅ regiment: the Dbaḥ Myes-tshab."

Further mention in pp. 175, 409, 459, and M. Tāgh., c. iii, 0044).

*Skyi-stod-kyi-sde* (possibly = Skyid-stod, a Thousand-district in Tibet, Vol. I, p. 279; but see p. 48, Skyi).

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).

☞ : | . Sky[i].stod.gyi.sde.kho.nan.Chas.zigs<sup>1</sup>

"Upper Skyi regiment: *kho-nan* Chas-zigs."

On *kho-nan* see *supra*, p. 427.

Further mention in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0078 (p. 215 and p. 464).

\* *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).

[1] ☞ : | Ste.hjom.[sde ?].gšen.Phan.legs.gyi

[2] slag.pā.thum.po.bzag |

"Ste-hjom regiment: thick (*lthug-po*, or packed, *thum*) fur-coat of *gšen* Phan-legs delivered."

On *gšen* see pp. 427-8; on *bzag*, pp. 431, 461.

*Spyiṅ-rtsaṅ-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).

☞ | Spyi[ṅ ?].rtsaṅ.gi.sde. | se.[G]u.btsan.bā

"Spyiṅ-rtsaṅ regiment: *se* Gu-btsan-ba (or *se-gu* Btsan-ba ?)."

On *se* see *supra*, p. 427.

*Tshaṅ-myi-sde* (Perhaps = Rtsaṅ-mi, i.e. Chitrāl).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh., 0513 (quoted *supra*, p. 177).

*Yañ-rtsaṅ-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).

[1] ☞ || Yaṅ.rtsaṅ.gi.sde : gu.rib.Nags.rye.sgor |

<sup>1</sup> \* below line.

[2] had.la.sí.pa |

"Yañ-rtsaṅ regiment: in the house of *gu-riḥ* (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 1] ☞ | : | Yaṅ.rtsaṅ.gi | h̄jor.Myes.slebs |

[A 2] sde

[B 1] ☞ | : | Yaṅ.[rtsa]ṅ.gi.sde.-e...n.mchi . .

[B 2] naṅ.rje.po<sup>1</sup> m[ch]id.gso(l)

"Yañ-rtsaṅ regiment: *h̄jor* Myes-slebs.Yañ-rtsaṅ regiment: letter petition of . . . [to the] Home Minister."

*H̄jor* is probably a title: see p. 427.

Further mention pp. 174, 179, 190 and in M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0021; a. vi, 0075.

*Yar-skyañ-gi-sde* ("Yarkand regiment").

104. M. Tāgh., 0544 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ || Yar.skyañ.gi.sde. | Pu.bag.yul.mthoṅ. |

"Yar-skyañ regiment: Pu-bag, local surveyor."

On *Pu-bag* see *supra*, p. 458. *Yul-mthoṅ* 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.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

☞ | . | Yar.skyañ.gi.sde.spun.drug.Legs.

"Yan-skyañ regiment: six brothers Legs."

(So 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.; l. 1 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

☞ | : | Ye[l].rab.gyi.sde. | Lo.Legs.sroṅ.la (sroṅs ?)

"Yel-rab regiment: (to) Lo Legs-sroṅ[s]."

Further mention in M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0038.

<sup>1</sup> Three syllables apart and in a different hand.



\* *Zom-sde* (High Zom, a Thousand-district in N.E. Tibet: see Vol. I, p. 278).

107. M.I., xiv, 0061 (wood, c. 7.5 × 2 cm., broken away at r. and at top; remains of hole for string at r.; traces of l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script.)

[ ༩ || Zom.sde.bl- n | ?]

"Zom regiment . . ."

Note that Zom seems to be different from the *Hdzom* of the Nob region: see *Hdzom-smad(stod)-kyi-sde* (*supra*).

. . . *dan-phyin-baŋi-sde*

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0097.

. . . *mkhar-gyi-sde* (= *Man-khar-gyi-sde* ?)

Mentioned in M. Tāgh., 0289.





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