

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese
Turkestan. I: the Ha-za

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

As this text, of which an anterior portion exists in Professor Pelliot's collection in Paris, is to be edited in full by M. Bacot, who, after its cataloguing by Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin, was the first to study it, I propose here to make only a few citations relating to the Ha-za people, the subject of this paper. It should, however, be mentioned that¹ 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) ;

¹ Provisionally, in anticipation of M. Bacot's conclusions.

year 39 : reception of the Chinese princess Kim.śeñ Khoñ.co (i.e. Chin-ch'êng), as wife of the Tibetan king Khri.h̄dus.sroñ = A.D. 710 (Bushell, p. 457) ;

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

year 68 : death of the queen Kim.śeñ Khoñ.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 *Śe-ha-za* 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 appears, according to Professor Francke, in Padma-sambhava literature, and, as belonging to a kind of fairies, also in Bon-po writings.¹ 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. 1462). References to Western Tibetan countries are, however, hardly to be expected, and in point of fact rare, in those documents : and Professor Francke's suggestion was promptly countered by Professor Pelliot (*Journal Asiatique*, 1914, ii, p. 124, note), who had previously (*ibid.*, 1912, ii, pp. 520-3) adduced strong reasons, including actual testimony, for identifying the Ha-za with the Tu-ku-hun, a people well known in Chinese history (see

¹ For other literary Tibetan references see below, pp. 82-3.

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. Recently (*JRAS.* 1926, pp. 311-12) I have myself, perhaps without sufficient regard to Professor Pelliot's evidence, proposed an identification of the Ha-ža with (practically) the people of the Shan-shan kingdom, south and south-west of Lop-nor. The means of settling this question exist, perhaps, in the Stein documents, and I propose therefore to cite the references to the Ha-žas which I have found therein. Many of the passages have a general interest in relation to the geography, history and culture of Chinese Turkestan.

TEXTS ¹ AND TRANSLATIONS ²

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

Hdun . ma . dbu . Ru . śod . kyi . Re.skam.du.bsdu.ste |
 Khyu . Hdus . tsan . dañ . Rñegs . Khyi . ma . re . dañ |
Ha . ža . gsum . mchid . śags . htshal . žiñ |

“The assemblage having been gathered in Re.skam of mid Ru.śod, the Khyu Hdus.tsan, Khyi.ma.re of Rñegs, and the Ha.ža, these three, sent letters of complaint (protest?).”

Ru-śod, Lower Ru, seems to be a district in eastern Tibet. *Khyu* 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 (No. 15, ll. 30, 42, 44, below), is not certain; it might mean merely “letter”.

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

² In view of the irregular spellings in the documents and the numerous words not hitherto recorded the translations are offered, especially in the case of fragmentary phrases, with some amount of reserve. In many cases, however, we have confirmatory evidence from other documents.

2. Chronicle, ll. 49–50 : Year 18 (Ox) = c. A.D. 689 :—

Btsan . po . Ñen . kar . gyi . Thañ . bu . ra . na . bžugs .
 śiñ | Btsan . mo . Khri . bañs | Ĥa . ža . rje . la . bag . mar .
 gśegs |

“ The Btsan-po (Khri.h₂dus.sroñ) residing at Thañ.bu.ra in Ñen.kar, the Btsan.mo (princess) Khri.bañs went as wife to the Ĥa.ža king.”

The name Khri.bañs seems to have belonged to more than one Tibetan princess : for an earlier one see below (pp. 63–5).

3. Chronicle, l. 62 : Year 22 (Snake) = c. A.D. 693 :—

Rtsañ . cen . poñi . Ĥbrog . bskos . nas | blon . che . Khri .
 ĥbriñ . Ĥa . ža . yul . du . mcis . par . lo . gcig |

“ After defeating (“levying”?) the Ĥbrog (nomads) of Rtsañ.cen the Great Minister Khri.ĥbriñ went into the Ĥa.ža country—so one year.”

The Great Minister Khri.ĥbriñ is perhaps identical with the Ch'inling of Bushell (pp. 447, 451, 453, etc.). Rtsañ-c[h]en, which is several times mentioned in the Chronicle, cannot be located with certainty. The verb *mkhos*, from *hgas* (?), seems to be confused with another (*bskos*), which means “appointed”; or should we here understand the meaning as “raised levies”?

4. Chronicle, ll. 68–9 : Year 24 (Sheep) = c. A.D. 695 :—

blon . che . Khri . ĥbriñ . Ĥa . ža . yul . du . mcis . śiñ |
 Stag . la . Rgya . dur . du . Rgyañi . dmag . dpon . Wañ . žañ .
 śo . dañ . g-yul . sprade . Rgya . mañ . po . bkum .

“ The Great Minister Khri.ĥbriñ having gone into the Ĥa.ža country, at Rgya.dur in Stag.la a battle was fought with the Chinese general Wañ.žaň.śo, and many Chinese were slain.”

Stag-la and Rgya-dur are not as yet located with certainty; nor have I the means of identifying the Chinese general Wañ-žaň-śo. A place Stag is mentioned in a document from Mīrān (*MI.* xxvii, 002).

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

Btsan . po . Zrid . mdañ . na . bžugs . śiñ | 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 Minister Khri.hbrin defeated the Ha.zas in Ho.kol of Sil.gu.cin in the Ha.za country.”

The places are not known (see below pp. 67–8, 78); but it seems likely that Ho-kol implies a district by a river. Is it perhaps a simple equivalent of *Sil.gu.(cin)* which recurs in No. 6, and in which *cin* most probably means “town” and *sil* may mean “river” (see p 79, below)?

6. Chronicle, ll. 140–2: Year 43 (Tiger) = c. A.D. 724:—

blon . chen . po . Khri . gzigs . gyis . bsduste | Bruñ . pa .
Rdo . hphan . koñ . ni . byuñ | tshes . poñ . Tre . goñ .
bchug . ste | Hbon . da . rgyal . dañ . zañ . Btsan . to . re .
Lhas . byin . gyis | Sil . gu . cin . gyi . Ho . khol . du . Ha .
zahi . mkhos . bgyis.

“The Great Minister Khri.gzigs having assembled (troops), the Bruñ.pa Rdo.hphan.koñ rose, but was repressed by the tshes.poñ(?) Tre.goñ. The Hbon.da king and the uncle (minister) Btsan.to.re Lhas.byin defeated the Ha.zas at Ho.khol in Sil.gu.cin.”

Dbañs 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, 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 perhaps not be corrected to “noble” upon a supposition that a Chinese syllable is represented by *zañ*. In a polyandrous country the position of “uncle” has special aspects: and we need not understand an actual relationship of that king. In the exchange of courtesies and treaties with China the avuncular relationship seems sometimes to imply only a past connexion of families by that relationship; and we can recall the use of the word “cousin” in Old

English. It is conceivable that the Hbon or Dbon Ha-žas were really “nephew” or “grandson” Ha-žas on the above lines and that the Dbon (below, pp. 79, 82) country came so by its name.

The rather strange-looking word *dbaḥs* (Chronicle, ll. 102, 168, 190, 192, 196) is doubtful. Does it signify “magician” or priest of a non-Buddhist religion (cf. *hbaḥ* “magician”) ? That the “magician” should be a minister, as in this case, or a soldier, as in Nos. 7 and 11, l. 51, below), or one who became a Buddhist *kalyāṇa-mitra*, as in a document (Ch. 0021), need cause no serious difficulty. In a Tibetan history (*Rgyal.rabs.gsal.bahi.me.loṅ*) of which a xylograph copy exists in the India Office Library the form *dbas* is found (Lhasa Expedition, F. 1, fol. 30*b*, l. 3).

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

Btsan . po . dbyar . chab . srid . la . Ha . ža . yul . du
 gśegste | śul . du . dbaḥs . Sum . po . skyes . bkaḥ . gyod . la .
 chags | . . . dgun . Btsan . phoḥi . pho . brañ . Jor . goñ .
 sna . naḥ . bžugste | Hbon . Ha . ža . rje . dañ | žañ . dpon .
 gdan . tshom | dbaḥs . Stag . sgra . Khoñ . lod . blon . chen .
 por . bkaḥ . stsald | Ha . ža . phal . po . che . bya . sga .
 stsald |

“The Btsan.po having gone in the summer to the Ha.ža country to assume sovereignty, on the way, the *dbaḥs* Sum.po.skyes attempted to evade orders (*bkaḥ.gyod?*). The Hbon Ha.ža chief and the uncle commander resigned (exchanged ?) their posts. The *dbaḥs* Stag.sgra.Khoñ.lod was appointed chief minister. The Ha.ža for the most part sent presents.”

On the term *dbaḥs* see above (No. 6). *Bya-sga* (*dgah*) 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 . žaḥi . pha . los . bgyis .

“The Ha.ža revolted.”

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

Blon.chen.po.Cuñ.bzañ.Ha.ža.yul.du.mchis.par.lo.
gcig |

“ The Great Minister Cuñ.bzañ being in the Ha.ža country—so one year ”

Cuñ-bzañ-Hor-mañ, of Hbro in Mdo-smad, became chief minister in the year 57 = c. A.D. 728. Concerning other Cuñ-bzañs see below (p. 66).

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

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

“ At Khu.ñe.Mon.gañs the minister Mañ.po.rje defeated 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 34 (Chronicle, ll. 87–8 ; A.D. 702) joined in defeating the Sum-ru and in the year 34 (ll. 101–2, A.D. 705) was first made chief minister and then, displaying discontent, was replaced. That personage may be the Ch'ü-mangpuchi 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 *khvaniya*, *kuhaniya*, etc., of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, which seems to have a local sense without being exactly a place-name. Possibly it means something like “market-town”. *Mon-gañs*, looks as if it meant “ice(-country) of the Mons”, who are known as an inferior tribe in Western Tibet, and also, if I am not mistaken, in the documents from Turkestan. In *gañs*, however, I suspect that we have really not the word for “ice”, but another word, usually written *gam* or *gams*, which we shall discuss elsewhere.

11. This document was handed to me as 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 I should associate with the Shan-shan and Śa-cu regions. It shows affinity to a rather larger form of writing which I have previously (*JRAS.* 1926, p. 508, n. 1) assigned to the same regions.

(1) . . . Gyan.can.mkhar.na.mdz . . . (2) . . .
s.sto (?) .Khri .[g]das .dañ | Cog.[ro] .Cuñ .bzañ .hdam .
koñ . . . (3) . . . Ma.ga.Tho.gon.Kha.gan.la.phyag .
[bgyiso (? bgyiste or bgyisna ?)] || ston.mo.ched.po.gsol
. . . | (4) sras mo (bu.mo ?).pha.hbabs.d[ñul].lña.dañ. |
bya.dgaḥ.ched.po . . . (5) [du.bta] rtaḥi.lo.sor.
dañ. | dbyar.sla.ra.baḥi.[sku.bla].ched.po.gsol . . .
(6) spyān dbyar.Rma.chab.kyi.Mu.to.lyiñ.na.chud.
du.btab. . . . (7) . . . liñs.ched.po.bgyis.te || ri.dags.
kyañ.n . . . (8) khrin.sa . . . s.kyi.pho.brañ.deḥi.dg[u]n.
Sra.bal.gyi.Gya[n.ca]n.mkhar.du . . . (9) de.nas.[deḥi]
. gnam.gi.sras.Ma.ga.Tho.gon.Kha.gan.gi . . .
(10) S[e].t[o].ñahi.khab.tu.bze[s]te.Ha.za.rjeḥi.dpyañ(d?).
[la.gisu (legsu ?)].bkab.nas || . . . (11) [b]daḥi.Lyoñ.jeñ.
du.spar || de.nas.spreḥu.lo.so[r] || Sra.ba[l] . . . (12) po.
yañ.[der].gsol.||deḥi.dbya[r].yumu.Btsan.mo.Khri.bañs.
kyi.žam.rin.du . . . (13) Stoñ.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.Gyañ.[ca]n.mkhar.du.
 bžugste || žaň.Rgyal.tsan.suglas . . . (16) žaň.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.
 toň.du.btab. | de.nas . . . (18) [H]a.ža].sla.yañ.der.gs[o]l ||
 de.nas.hphrul.gyi.lha.Btsan.po[h]i . . . (19) db[e]n.sa.
 Staň.ri.Gnad.[ñ]uň.la.stsogs.pa.mchis.te || hdun.ma
 . . . (20) rkaň.[bkris].sna.drugi.[g]yuň (byuň?).btab ||
 rkaň.ton.daň.rtsis.ched.po.bgyi . . . *kh yi hi*. (21) lo.sor.
 daň. | dbyar.sla.ra.bañi.sku.bla.ched.po.gsol || de.nas.
 zla.ba . . . (22) brtsan.gyis . . . Rgya.rjeñi sras.mo.Mun.
 ś[e]ñ.Khon.co.bže[s] . . . (23) žaň.Btsan.to.re.daň. |
 Hbro.žaň.Khri.bzaň.Kha.ce.btaň.daň. | Cog.ro . . .
 (24) [Sg]ra.ya.sto.mch[is].nas | de.nas.Btsan.mo.Khri.
 baňs.daň. | sras.Ma.ga.Tho.gon.Kha.gan. . . . (25) gśegs.
 nas || yum.sras.kyi.žam.riň.du || Ha.žañi.žaň.lon.[ched.
 po] . . . (26) Da.red.Blon.yi.daň. || Mug.lden.dñi.dbon.
 sor.daň. || [rta].dpon.Wañ . . . (27) [p]on.daň. || phuñi.
 thob.pa. || thabs.can.gi.mchis.brañ.la.stsogs.e . . .
 (28) Muň.šeň.Khon.co.daň.mjal.nas. | phan.tshun.
 phyag.bgyis || ston . . . (29) sna.maň.po.phul || de.nas.
 Mun.še[ñ].Kho]n.co.Dboň.yul.dbusu . . . (30) dur.btab ||
 de.nas.pho.brañ.Tsogi.Rboň.yo.dur.btab.nas || dgu[n]
 . . . (31) sla.ra.bañi.sku.bla.ched.po.yañ.der.gsol ||
 dehi.dbya[r].pho.[brañ].Lda(?).mñ[mj]? . . . (32) Mdo.
 blon.ched.po.(Hbro)¹.žaň.Brtan.sgra.ya.sto.la.stsogs.
 pa | phyag.htshal . . . (33) pha.hbabs.daň. || bya.dgañ.
 ched.po.stsal.te.rlag.brdzaňs | dehi.sto . . . (34) dehi.
 dgun.Ha.žañi.žaň.lon.gyi.geo | Da.red.Poň.yi.guñ ||
 de.nas . . . (35) g-yuñi.yi.ge.ni.dehi.rtsa.rol.du.thob ||
 na[ñ].gi.blon.po.žal.ce.p[o]r.n. *byi.bañi*. (36) lo.
 s[o]r.daň. | 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.baňs. . . . (38) žaň.Ñen.gyi.
 bu(?). | dbaňs.Khri.bzaň.spo.skyes.la.stsal.te.brdzaňs
 *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.baň.dig.žin.du.btags || . . . (41) de.
 nas.[glaň].gi.lo.la. | pho.brañ.Tsha.śod.du.btab.nas ||
 lo.s[o]r.daň.dbya[r] . . . (42) las.bguñ (bkuñ?).ste ||

¹ This syllable is inserted below the line.

skyin. bar. Śud. pu. Khri. gzu. sbur. cuñ. bskos || bguñ (?) . . .
 (43) dehi. dbyar. pho. brañ. Tsha. śod. du. bžugste || leam.
 Khon. co. Gñi. h̄od . . . (44) ched. po. gsol. te || rdzoñs.
 kyañ. nod. du. mchis || slar. yañ. yañ. l [h̄ ?] . . . (45) g[z]la.
 brgyah. dañ | rña. mo. yañ. rña. rdzi. dañ. bcas | rta. yañ.
 rta. dzi. dañ. bcas . . . (46) dañ. bcaste. brdzañs || pha.
 [sde ? . m]chis. pañi. dbaḥs. Dpon. g-yog. ri[l] . . . (47) de.
 nas. pho. brañ. Tsha. śod. du. bžugste. | 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. žin. du. btags || Stoñ. re. Khoñ. zuñ.
 thabs. spar. te. dnul. 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. || dbaḥs. Stag. sgra. Khoñ. [. lod (?). dañ] |
 Cog. ro. na. [o] . . . (52) stoñ. ñen. [. un (sbur ?)]. koñ. dañ. ||
 Mug. lden. dañi. dben. sben. dañ. | Da. red . . . (53) stsal. te ||
 Ĥa. ža. yul. du. mchis. nas || h̄bañs. Ĥa. ža. phyogs . . .
 (54) slar. Ĥa. ža. [yul. du. bs]la]d. de. gśegs. nas || śul. [du. so]
 . . . o . . . (55) . . . e. yuṃ. sras.

TRANSLATION

“ (1) . . . in Gyañ. can fort . . . (2) . . . *Sgra*
 ya. sto. Khri. gdas and Cuñ. bzañ. h̄dam. 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
 great presents. . . (5) . . . the *Sheep* year came and
 the great ceremony of the first summer month was
 celebrated . . . (6) invited . . . In the summer
 entry was made into Mu. to. lyiñ on the Peacock
 river (Hoang-ho) . . . (7) . . . made a great park.
 Wild beasts also . . . (8) palace of . . .

The winter *was spent* in Gyañ. can fort in Sra. bal.
 . . . (9) Then in that *winter* the daughter of . . .
 gnam having by Maga Tho. gon Khagan . . .
 (10) been taken to wife *at* Se. to. ña, *in fulfilment of*
 the Ĥa. ža chief's *design* . . . (11) erected at Lyon.
 jeñ in Bdah (= Mdah ?). Then the Ape year came.
 A.D. 637 *In* Sra. bal . . . (12) also was there offered. In the
 summer, in the presence of the mother Queen
 Khri. bañs . . . (13) lady of 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) staying in *Gyañ.can* fort, the uncle *minister* Rgyal.tsan by letter . . . (16) in accordance with with the letters of these two uncle ministers a great census was made . . . (17) also was there celebrated. In the summer the residence was fixed at Se.toñ. Then . . . (18) invited the *Ha.ža* again there. Then the "revealed divinity", the Btsan.po's . . . (19) Gnad.ñuñ of the hermitage Stañ.ri and others having come, an assemblage . . . (20) made . . . of foot wrappings of six kinds. A review (*rkañ.ton*) and a great census were made. . . . Then the *Dog* (21) year came, and the great ceremony of the first summer month was celebrated. Then month (moon) . . . (22) the Brtsan took to wife Mun.ś[e]ñ.Khon.co, daughter of the king of China . . . (23) sent to Kashmir the uncle (minister) Btsan.to.re and the uncle (minister) Khri.bzañ of *Hbro*; and the Cog.ro . . . (24) *Sgra.ya.sto* arrived. Then Queen Khri.bañs and her son Maga *Tho.gon Khagan* . . . (25) having come, in the presence of mother and son the great *Ha.ža* uncle minister . . . (26) Da.red.blon.yi, and Mug.lden, commandant of the *dñi*, came and Wañ . . . , commandant of horse, . . . (27) commandant and the upper classes (?). The wives and so forth of the people taking part in the occasion (?) . . . (28) having met Muñ.śeñ Khon.co, there were mutual greetings. Festivity (autumn ?) . . . (29) varied were offered. Then Muñ.śeñ 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 great ceremony of the first (summer) month was also there celebrated. In the summer the residence being at . . . (32) the great minister of *Mdo*, the uncle Brtan *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

- . . . (35) put turquoise letters at the foot thereof
 (of the tomb). The Home Minister *was made*
 A.D. 641 magistrate . . . *the Mouse* (36) year came, and
 the ceremony of the first summer month was also
 there celebrated. Then in the autumn . . .
 (37) Then, spending the winter also at Tsha.śod
 (Upper Tsha), Queen Khri.bañs . . . (38) sent to
dbahs Khri.bzañ.spo.skyes, the son of the uncle Ñen,
 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.lye.bañ.dig was given . . . (41) Then
 for the Ox year the residence was fixed at
 Tsha.śod (Upper Tsha). The year came, and in
 the summer . . . (42) arising from . . . , the Śud.
 pu Khri.gzu.sbur.cuñ was appointed steward. . . .
 (43) In the summer, the residence *being* in Tsha.śod
 (Upper Tsha), the princess Khon.co Gñi.hod . . .
 (44) offered a great *feast*. The towns also received
 instructions. 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* Dpon.g-yog, who was in the Pha
 district (who belonged to the parental relatives ?).
 . . . (47) Then, the residence being in Tsha.śod
 (Upper Tsha), the great ceremony of the first
 summer month was celebrated. . . . (48) In the
 mansion of *Maga Tho.gon* Khagan the daughter of
 Khoñ.zuñ of Stoñ.re in Cog.ro, . . . of Cog.ro
 . . . *the name* . . . (49) dig was given. In honour
 of the occasion Khoñ.zuñ of Cog.ro silver letters
 A.D. 643 . . . (50) put. The Tiger year came, and the great
 ceremony of the first winter month *was celebrated*
 . . . (51) courier and the *dbahs* Stag.sgra Khoñ.
 lod and Na . . . o in Cog.ro . . . (52) Stoñ.ñen
 Sbur.koñ and Mug.lden, the *dben.sben* (?) there, and
 Da.red . . . (53) having been sent and having
 gone into the Ha.ža country, the Ha.ža subjects
 revolted (?). . . . (54) While returning into the
Ha.ža country, on the way . . . (55) . . . mother
 and son . . .

This document seems to me to be, in spite of 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-śeñ 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 Körösi, *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 183). The fact that in the document the latter year (639), which may be taken as either correct or at least for this Tibetan document valid, is a "Dog" year accords well with our identification of the first year ("Ape") of the Chronicle with A.D. 672. For upon that supposition a "Dog" year should coincide with the year A.D. 638, and the difference between 638 and 639 may be merely calendrical. The period covered by the document (Horse-Tiger years) corresponds accordingly to A.D. 635-43.

Who then are Queen Khri-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 of a Tibetan princess Khri-baṅs, who in the year 18 (A.D. 689) was married to the Ḥa-ža 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 Ḥa-žas. 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 *Moho* (Iranian *Baga*?) which the Chinese apply to certain Turkish rulers during the period about A.D. 700 (Chavannes, *Documens 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 with the meaning "boundary-stone" (or the like) in a Tibetan document from Śa-cu (Ch. 79, xiv, 5). It is, therefore, 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.

There is, however, another possibility which seems to deserve serious consideration. Professor Pelliot has shown (*T'oung-Pao*, 1920-1, pp. 328-30) that the Tu-ku-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-ku-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. I must leave this question in the main to Sinologists, who may be able to decide whether the syllables *Tho-gon* (*Do-gon*?) can in any way be reflected in the name of Mujung No-ho-po. But one or two 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-ku-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 T'ufan families were originally allied by marriage". But the part played by Khri-baṅs and her people in the welcome

of the Chinese princess Mun-śeñ 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-ku-hun, who had then (in A.D. 635) been disastrously defeated by Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's armies; (2) the Ha-ža [king] seems to be "invited" by Khri-baṅs' party in l. 18, A.D. 638. He therefore is not dead,¹ and he is hardly Khri-baṅs' husband. Therefore, if she is a Tu-ku-hun queen, the Ha-ža chief is not king of the Tu-ku-hun. On the other hand, the Ha-ža ministers and others are certainly prominent in her thoughts; (3) the name of one of Maga Tho-gon Khagan's daughters, 'A-lye-baṅ-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 a female name as translation of the Sanskrit *Śrī*; in fact, *baṅ.dig* looks very like *waṅ.tig* "Rājya-śrī"; (4) the places named, while belonging to North-Eastern Tibet, seem to fall not in the sphere of the Tu-ku-hun, but rather to the south of them, in the region where the Chinese recognize a Tang-hsiang kingdom.² They are the following:—

(a) Mdo, North-Eastern Tibet, and its districts Cog-ro and Hbro, which are known from the Chronicle, and also from the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* and *Bstan-hgyur* colophons and from other sources. (Ha-rod-par and Se-toṅ may be reserved.)

(b) Mu-to-lyiṅ and Glaṅ-ma-luṅ, stated to be on the Hoang-ho.

(c) Tsa(Tsha)-śod, "Lower Tsa," often mentioned in documents from Chinese Turkestan.

(d) Sra-bal (Ra-bal), in Cog-ro, mentioned in a document from Chinese Turkestan (Ch. 73, xiii, 8).

(e) The Dboṅ (Boṅ) country, often mentioned in *Bkaḥ-hgyur* and *Bstan-hgyur* colophons.

¹ Possibly, however, l. 10 indicates that he is dead, in which case it is the Ha-ža party that is invited.

² Conquered by the Tibetans soon after A.D. 634 (Bushell, p. 528).

On the whole, while leaving this question to Sinologist and Turkologist scholars, I do not find in the document any certain indication that Maga Tho-gon Khagan was a Tu-ku-hun or that his titles associate him rather with the Tu-ku-hun than with the Turks or that he was himself a Ha-ža king or heir-apparent : he may have been the latter, and he is clearly in some close connexion with the Ha-žas.

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-bzañ of Hbro became in A.D. 728 chief minister of Tibet, has been noted above (p. 57) ; and another (?) is mentioned in a document from Mazār-Tāgh (north of the city of Khotan) (b. ii, 005) ; 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 Śnan-to-re Skyi-zuñ (l. 85), and at Mazār-Tāgh a Tshañ-to-re ; Btsan Sgraya-sto (l. 32), the *žañ.blon* of Hbro, recalls the *žañ* Rgya-sto of the Chronicle (l. 125).

The phrase *rkañ.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. *Śud-pu* occurs as a military title in a document from Śa-cu (vol. 69, pl. 84) and also in other documents (Chronicle, l. 237 ; M.T. a. iii, 00161, c. i, 0068).

Riñ.lugs (*lus*) (l. 51) seems in some places (Chronicle, ll. 187, 254 ; M.I. xxviii, 0036) to mean "courier". *Sku.bla* (ll. 21, 31, etc.) can hardly have here the natural sense of "exalted body" : it seems to denote some solemnity : it recurs, perhaps with varying sense, in M.I., i, 35*d*, iii, 6, iv, 44, 46, 138, xxviii, 3, and Ch. 9, I., 34, 35*a*, 2, 36*a*, 4.

Concerning *dbaħs* see above (p. 56).

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

(1) ལྷོ་མཚོ་ལོང་གཏུག་བཟེན་དམན་ | ལོང་ལེགས་
 sgra. la | : | jo.cho.blon.Gtshug.bzer.dan | blon.Legs.
 gsol.bah || Lha.dpal.mched.kyi.za.sna.nas || thugs.
 rtag.tu.bde.bar.smon.te || mchid. (3) yi.ge.las | snun.
 gsol.zin.mchis.na || bkah.stsald.pa.tsam.tu.chi.gnan ||
 Ha.za.steg.zin. (4) pañi | stsan.las | khal.sum.cu ||
 jo.co.blon.Legs.sgra | pho.bran.nas.gnan.bahi.grans.
 dan | bkum. (5) nas || skyin.ba.Sa.cur.hbul.bar | blon.
 Brtan.bzer.mchid.gyis.htsal.nas || Sa.cuhi.stsan.mnan |
 'Im.ka. (6) cin.dan | Dzehu.Tshin.tshin.gi.snon.tu.
 yan.btab || Steg.zin.pa.yan | God.stsal.lagste || God.kyi.
 phyag.rgya.yan.nos. (7) lags || brgya.la.snar.phulte |
 bul.rgya.mar.thal.na.yan || stsan.mnan.dan | blon.Brtan.
 bzer.tu.btug.cin | (8) slad.kyis. | stsan.rtsis.gyi.tshe ||
 nen.tu.myi.hgyur.bar.mdzad.par.gsol ||

Two Seals

1. 1. Tshan.loñ.

1. 2. Lha.hbrug.brtsansa.

(ll. 1-3) "To My Lords Councillor Gtshug.bzer and Councillor Legs.sgra: respectful letter of His Highness the Hbrug chief. 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 (hay?) of the Ha.za.steg farmers, thirty loads, with the number vouchsafed by My Lord Councillor Legs.sgra from his residence, Councillor Brtan.bzer has sent by letter instructions to deliver at Sa.cu what is owing. (ll. 5-6) Of Sa.cu the entire grain (hay?), and of 'Im.ka.cin and of Dzehu Tshin.tshin, has previously been remitted. That of the Steg farms has been sent to God, and the God signature also has been received. (ll. 7-8) Up to 100 having been delivered before, when the receipt comes down, the grain (hay?) is complete. With respects to Councillor Brtan.bzer we beg to undertake that hereafter, when the grain (hay?) is brought to account, there shall be no shortcoming."

Seals: Tshan.loñ [= °blon, "Minister General"], His Highness the Hbrug king.

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

Dzehu Tshin-tshin, has received from the Tibetan minister, probably residing at God, 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 to God and now notifies the Śa-cu Tibetans, who have furnished their superior at God with the statistics. They shall, therefore, not be expecting delivery at Śa-cu.

This letter proves that Ha-za Steg, 'Im-ka-cin and Dzehu 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"; and it is probably the word represented by the Chinese *ch'êng*, meaning "town", in such names as Sha-ch'êng "stone-town", and so on. It can be shown that Dzehu¹ is probably a tribal, or titular, designation, well known at Śa-cu; and it may be conjectured that Tshin-tshin of the Dzehu 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 (*tshañ.loñ Lha.Hbrug.brtsans*), should be in Tibetan language. For we cannot suppose that by race or name he was a Tibetan. The Hbrug are mentioned in a document from Mirān (xxiii, 007); and clearly their country, which we must now identify with the Śa-cu region, is the *B[r]ug.cor*² or "Brug Province" mentioned by the side of *Dru.gu.cor* or "Dru-gu Province" in a narrative from Śa-cu itself (Ch. 75, xv, 4) and in the Chronicle, l. 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

¹ Chinese *Tsao*, a family at Śa-cu (*Serindia*, index)?

² *Cor* is perhaps identical with the *tch'ouo* (*tchour*) of Chavannes, index?

Sanskrit *yāna*. Since we have already found it 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.ža.steg*, will mean “the [district along the] *Ha-ža* road”. Two other words in the document are likewise of uncertain sense. One of them, *stsañ*, I have conjecturally rendered by “grain”, because for “harvest” or “crop” we seem to have in the documents a different word (*skya*)¹: it might, however, be a form of *rtsva* “grass”. The other word *mñan*, which in ordinary Tibetan means “curse” (*mñah*, which might be a variant, means “power”), may have the sense of “entire” or “complete”.² *Bul.rgya*, apparently = “receipt”, is found elsewhere (Ch. 73, xv, fr. 3, and Ch. 80, vi), and *mar.thal* “arrives below” (cf. *phar.thal* “get through”) recurs in No. 18 *infra*.

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

(1) ☉ | | blon.Lha.bžer.dañ | žañ.Legs.bzañ.gis |
 | Hdun.tsa.žahi.Bde.sum.tshal.nas. (2) hbrugi.lohi.
 dbyard. | bkyehi.phyag.rgya.phog.ste. | | žañ.stag.
 Rma.Gyu.goñ.la.mchid. (3) stsald.pa. | | hbrugi.lohi.
 dbyar. | | Ša.cu.phyogs.kyi.stsañ. | rtsis.gñer.bkum.
 na. | stsañ.yañ. (4) khal.graṅs.mañ.mo.žig.hgribs.par.
 gyurd. | de.dag.la.sñar.God.pa.yañ. | sgo.sgohi.bya.
 dgaḥ.stsolpho. (5) dañ.sña.skyin.sde.rjes.dañ.nod.dañ. |
 Kham.s.ma.gtogs.pha.dag.nas | bkaḥ.luñ.dam.žag.dañ.
 sbyar.na.hgal.bar. (6) gtad.pa.las | slar.bstu.bar.chad.
 paḥi.bkye.dños.kyañ.stsal.pha.lags || žañ.dños.kyañ. |
 Ša.cuḥi. (7) stsañ.dam.žag.chañ.kyi.htshal.ba.la.gtogs.
 phas | hbrugi.lohi.ston.thog.las.stsañ.ma.htus.gyi.bar.
 du. (8) yañ.man.tu.myi.mchi.bar.chad.de. | dmag.
 phon.la.yañ.sprin.lags.gyis | stsañ.gñer.chags.kyañ.
 bkye.lam. (9) hbyuñ.ba.bžin.htus.par.htshol.chig ||

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

¹ Sir A. Stein records (*Serindia*, p. 716) a word *ts'ang* = “granary”. *Stsañ* recurs below (No. 13) and elsewhere.

² *Mñan* is found with *stsañ* in Ch. 80, v, 1, M.T., b. 1097, and elsewhere.

(ll. 1-2) "By councillor Lha.bžer and the uncle Legs. bzañ, from Bde.sum.tshal in H̄dun.tsa.ža, 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 (hay?) from the Śa.cu district for the summer of the Dragon year, the grain (hay?) has fallen short to the extent of many loads. Of this if we exclude the God crop and what was variously (?) bestowed as presents and that previously owing which is retained by the lord of the district and that of 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) A further important matter: in regard to the delayed dispatch of 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 by the assemblage of worshipful ministers."

Bde-sum-tshal (l. 1) "Wood of the Three Bdes" is not otherwise known to me; but names of similar formation (*Sum-cu-bo*¹) 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 Gyu-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 *stsañ* (ll. 3, etc.) and *bya.dgañ* see pp. 56, 69. In l. 6 I have taken *žañ* as intended for *gžan* "other", since *gžan.yañ* often means "furthermore".

¹ e.g. *Bzañ-sum-tsal*, *Ñin-sum-khol* (Chr. II. 38, 62).

14. Back of Ch. 87, xiii (Paper, two fragments, 30 cm. wide by c. 18 and c. 7 respectively high ; fragmentary at beginning and in middle ; ll. 19 of clear cursive writing) :—

(1) . . . bran.śu (?) . . . (2) lha.dpal.hphrul.dañ.mtshuñs.
pa.hi . . . (3) bkaḥ.stsald.par.ci.gnañ. || slan.chad . . .
(4) lam.ḥtsal.ñiñ.mchis. || sña.slad.bkaḥs.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.Ḥa-ža.yul.dañ. | Kva.cu.khrom.
du.rtog.tu.btañ.ba.rnam.gñis. || ḥthu . . . (7) mchi.nas ?
|| ḥdi.dag.phyogs.phyogs.bzuñ.ñiñ.mchis.pas. || bye.brag.
ma.phyed.gyi . . . -u . . . (8) ni (no ?).mar (mer ?).myi.
mchi || glo.ba.ñan.pa.la.dgons.na.ste ? | de.bar.tsher.
to.śor.pa.yañ. | dpon.snaḥi . . . (9) bžugs.so.ḥtsal.la ||
p[h]yogs.sum.legs.par.dpyad.de || ḥdi.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 (dus).su. || bkaḥ.śags.thugs.la.ci.dgoñs.pa.gdab.pa.
hi.rigs. || rño.thog.pa.mchis (ma.mchis). (13) par.sñan.
sñuns.pa.gsol.žes.bkaḥ.hbab.bam.myi.hbab || spod.sga.
gyer . śas . śig . (14) sñan . sñuns . na . | thugs . dpags—
(20 *akṣaras*, part of leaf lost between ll. 14 and 15) (15) . . .
b.dañ. | Ba(o ?)d.g(a ?)ms.ḥdun.par. || myi.ḥdi.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.ḥdra.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.ḥtul. (19) mañ.rab.pas. || yi.ge.žib.
mo.spriñ.bar.gsold. ||

(ll. 1-4) “ . . . The noble lord, equal to a theophany, has been pleased [previously] to send instructions. Once more we wish for a route. (ll. 4-6) The previous letter 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 ministers downwards, I took into consideration the Ḥa.ža country and Kva.cu fort, 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, dejectedly reflecting, we went on in grief. (ll. 8–13) Some leaders proposing that we should stop, we deliberated upon the three alternatives. In the course of these people's babble, without inquiry on the part of their superiors, a recommendation¹ was made, more or less, as follows: 'It is proper to proceed at once to Rta-zor, to the presence of the uncle Great Minister at his Residence. Going to the great man, there is no harm in presenting a request and asking for an interview (*dbyon̄s*?). 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 Bod.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 daughter, 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 Ha-ḡa country and Kva.cu (An-hsi) 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 Bod.gams (?) are not known.

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

(1) . . . y[i]g.tsañ || (2) . . . [g]s.las. || gser.chu.ṇu. sum.rgyud.du.gnañ | (3) . . . c. 20 *akṣaras* . . . gs.dañ. ma.sbyar.bar || phal.thañ.du.na.phabste.phraḥ | (4) . . . c. 17 *akṣaras* . . . [d]bab.par [g]sol pa.las || bkas.gnañ. ste.yus.ḥdi.dañ || (5) . . . dbab.par.nod.-l.thug.pa.lags || gḡe.niñ.slad.kyis || Ha-ḡa (6) . . . d.g[sa]r.du.ḥdzugs.par.chad.nas || pho.brañ.nas.bkaḥ.luñ.stsalpa.las || bdagi ||

¹ Or "a previously (*bla.nas*) not mentioned recommendation" (?).

(7) myes.po.Led.koñ.sñon.gum.gis.kyañ || blar.žo.śa.cher.phul.baḥi.rjesu || rje.blon.hphrul.gyis.dgoñste.thugs || (8) phags.mdzad.nas || tham.žin.chin.gsar.btsugs.kyi.stoñ.pon.tu || Led.koñ.gi.bu.tsaḥi.nañ.nas.rño.thog | (9) pa.las.bsko.bar || bkaḥ.luñ.myiñ.gis.stsal.nas || bdag.cag.bu.tsa.kha.cig.gžon.ba.dañ.rje.blas.gyis.bskal. (10) paḥi.skabsu || bde.blon.gis.Khye.stug.bskoste || Khye.stug.dguñ.lo.lña.drug.tsam.na.gum.nas || da.ltar.kha.rño.bar || (11) blon.Koñ.gsol.baḥ || rje.blas.hdi.blon.Koñ.spad.gyis.žo.śa.phul.baḥi.bkaḥ.drin.sgor.gtshigsu.gnañ.baḥ | (12) ma.lags.te || myes.po.Led.koñ.gi.bu.tsa.rño.thog.pa.las.bsko.ho.žes.hbyuñ.ste || khoñ.ta.myiñ.gis.smos.pa | (13) ma.mchis.paḥi.steñ.du.rño.thog.pa.las.bsko.ho.žes.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.rĩns.te.žig.ciñ.ñi.dog.tu.śor.paḥi | (15) dpon.sna.dañ.g-yon.khrin.la.ma.gthogs.pa.dañ || bdagi.pha.Ma.ko.cañ.gis.hdamste.gsolpaḥi.bkaḥ.drin | (16) stsalpa.dañ.sbyar.na || Led.kon.gi.bu.tsa.las.rño.thog.ciñ || blar.dpen.paḥi.žo.śa.phul.bas || bkaḥ.luñ | (17) luñ.stsal.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.paḥ || Dbon.Ha.ža.rje.chis(ches).la.gthogs.pa.dañ. || Ha.ža.blon.thugs | (19) ches.pas || bkaḥ.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.rnams.dañ.sbyar.žin || stoñ.pon.tu.bdag | (21) bsko.bar.ci.gnañ || blon.Koñ.gi.gsol.tshig.rnam.chig.las || bdagi.phu.bo.Klu.bžer.khar.Tsachin | (22) rñiñ.paḥi.stoñ.pon.htshal.žes.gsol.ba.ni || bdag.cag.pha.tsan.spyir.gnañ.baḥi.rje.blas.ni.ma.lags || bdagi.(23) pha.Ma.ko.cañ.sgos.žo.śa.phul.baḥi.rje.blas.Koñ.tsar.htsal.ba (bu?).tsam.tu.paste | | bdag.chag.pha.tsan.spyiḥi.bkaḥ.drin.tu || (24) thob.pa.ham || blon.Koñ.gsol.ba.ltar || Led.kon.gi.bu.tsa.rje.blas.sgo.ltañ.tu.btsir.myi.gdah.ba.dmyigs | (25) kyis.gsol.pa.lagste || rje.blas.hdi.la.sñad.myi.gdags.śiñ || bdag.bsko.bar || bkas.gnañ.ba.dañ.dpon || (26) sna.bthu.baḥi.bkaḥ.luñ.dañ || rje.blas.hdir.bdag.cag.Led.koñ.gi.bu.tsa.rño.thogs.las.bsko.bar. || bkaḥ.luñ.las. (27) hbyuñ.ba.dañ ||

Dbon. Ha.ža.rje.dañ || Ha.ža.blon.gis.žu.ba.gsol.pa.
 dañ || bdag.ñan.pa.rje.blas.gyi.rño.thog.myi.thog ||
 (28) dbyañs.pah̄i.gži.dañ.thugs.tshod.tu.sbyar.žin.sgo.
 yus. hdi.rnams.zur.hdi.bžin.btod.de || dmyigs.gyi.nañ.
 tu. (29) rmos. śin̄ || bdag.bsko.bar.mol.bar.ci.gñañ |
 | Thir.bul.blon.Koñ.gis.gsol.pah̄. | . . . (30) gi.mchid.
 śags.las. || khar.Tsa.cin.sar.pa.glo.ba.rin̄s.pah̄i.dpon.
 sna.dañ | | g-yon.khrin.la.kho . . . (31) gthogs.pa.dañ.
 dños.rño.thogpar | | Dbon.Ha.ža.rjes.spus.bthus.pa.
 dañ || bkas.gñañ.že . . . (32) bdagi.myes.po.'O.dol.cu.
 dañ.lo.stug.spad.khar.Tsa.cin.sar.pah̄i.stoñ.pon. htshal.
 ba.las || sug.rjed . . . (33) tshor.nas || blar.gsol.pa.las ||
hphral.tu (du).dñul.ched.po.pho.ña.las.sgor.stsal || legs.
 [mo] . . . (34) las.kyañ || ma.noñs.par.gyur.te || khar.Tsa.
 chin.sar.pas.gži.bzuñ.ste || tham.žin.stoñ.sde.gc[ig] . . .
 (35) la || stoñ.pon.tu.yañ.Led.kon.gi.bu.tsa.las.bsko.
 bar || bkah.luñ.stsal.nas || rgyud.bžin.'O.dol.cuhi. (36) bu ||
 bdagi.pha.Khye.stug.bskos || myes.po.'O.dol.cu.la.yañ.
 thabs.gser.stsal || slad.kyis.b[dag]i.pha.Khye (37) stug.
 la.yañ || phu (phra).men.stsal.te || bkah.drin.rim.pas.nos.
 pa.dañ.sbyar.na || noñs.skyon.ma.mciste.bye (38) bug
 (brag).phyed.pa.dañ || Ha.ža.rjes.žu.ba.gsol.pa.las.ni ||
 Led.kon.gi.bu.tsar.bstuste || Khye.dpal . . . (39) myi.
 bži.rño.thog.par.gsol.pah̄ || Led.koñ.gi.bu.tsar.
hdrahis.kyañ || khar.Tsa.chin.gsar.rñin̄.gi.stoñ.pon.
 (40) 'O.dol.cu.dañ.Ma.ko.cañ.spun.gñis.re.re. htshal.
 te || bdag.chag.phu.rgyud.gyi.rje.blas || khar. Tsa *chin*
 (41) stoñ.sde.myin̄.tsam. || tham.žin.tu.bsgyur.bar.
 paste || bkah.luñ.las.kyañ.hbyuñ.ba.lags . . . (42) la.
 Khye.dp[al].myi.gthogs.par.ni || dños.gyi.mchid.śags.
 las.hbyuñ.bas.[kya]ñ . . . (43) gñañ.ba.yañ.sgyus.gsol.
 pas || sgyus.gsol.pa.myi.brtsan.bar.mdzad.pah̄i.bkah.
 [l]uñ . . . (44) Thir.bul.Khye.dpal.gi.mchid.śags.las ||
 bdag.chagi.myes.po.Led.kon.blar.glo.ba.ñe.n . . . |
hbañs . . . (45) phyag.tu.phul.bahi.hgel || gser.myi.rabs.
 gsum.tu.gñañ.ba.dañ || khar.Tsa.chin.sar.pah̄i.stoñ.
 pon.chañ | (46) khyur.gñañ.ste || myes.poh̄i.mchid.drin.
hdi.rnam.gñis.las.ma.mchis.pah̄ || bdag.chag.spad.khu.
 mtshan.gis | (47) mnoste || bkah.drin.pham.rgyal.tu.gyur.
 ches.gsol.ba | dañ.po.bdag.chagi.myes.po.Led.koñ.
 bkah.drin || (48) gser.rgyud.gsum.[dañ] || Ha.ža.khar.
 Tsa.chin.gsar.rñin̄.stoñ.sde.gñis.gyi.stoñ.pon.chañ.

khyur.gnañ.nas || *bdagi* | (49) myes.po.'O.dol.cu.dañ |
 nu.bo.Ma.ko.cañ.spun.gñis.re.re.bskos.te || khar.Tsa.
 chin.rñiñ.pahi.stoñ.pon || nu.bo.Ma.ko.cañ.ḥtsal || (50)
 ba.las.gum.nas||rgyud.bžin.Khye.dpal.gi.phu.bo||K[lu].
 bžer.da.ltar.ḥtsal.ba.lags || khar.Tsa.cin.sar.pahi.stoñ ||

(ll. 5–10) It having been decided to post him next year to New . . . *Ha.ža* . . . and the order having been sent from the palace, my grandfather *Led.koñ* died beforehand. In consequence of his having previously (?) sent in a large contribution (in payment for the post ?) the noble Minister, 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 commandant of the 1,000 stationed in New City as a whole (or is *tham.žin.chin* a proper name ?). We, the family, being at the time some youths and under the tutelage (?) of His Excellency (or Reverence), the worthy Minister appointed *Khye.stug*. (ll. 10–17) *Khye.stug* having after five or six years died, upon that opportunity the Councillor *Koñ* petitioned. Your Excellency, the contribution paid by his (?) father should not 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 competence, be appointed”, we brothers being of the family of *Led.koñ* and not incompetent; and the several officers of New *Khar.Tsa.chin*, intelligent men, come for the summer solstice and persons not belonging to (*gyon.khrin* “wrong judgment” ?),¹ having, when admonished (assembled ? chosen ?) by 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 contribution,² are entitled to the issue of this order. (ll. 17–29) Whomsoever of us His Excellency on the present occasion should appoint, he being competent, it is highly convenient: it is agreeable to the *Dbon Ha.ža* chief, and the

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

² The phrase *dpen.bahi.žo.śa* recurs in M.I. x, 2, which also has the *chañ.khyu* of ll. 45–6 and 48 below.

Ha-za minister has in addition to his kind recommendation given a testimonial to our competence. Considering the order given to appoint us by name as commandant of 1,000, and the special pleas proffered above, be pleased to appoint us commander of 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.kon cannot be individually selected 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 various 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.ž a chief and the Ha.ž a minister, 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 deliberate as to our appointment.

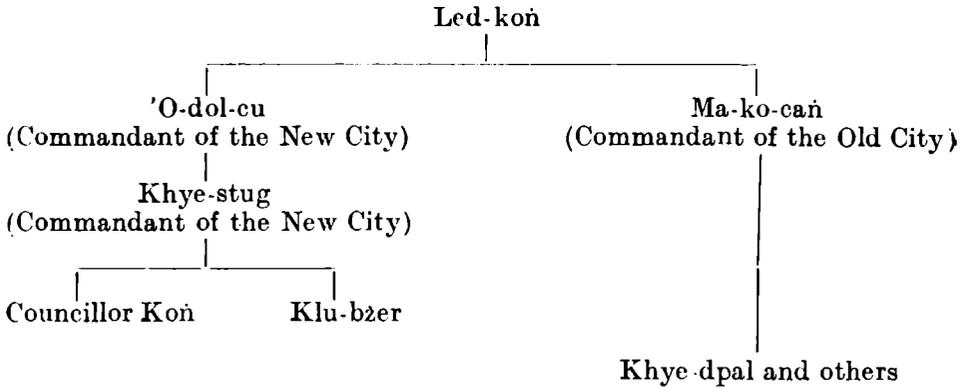
(ll. 30-5) Respectfully presented petition of Councillor Koñ: According to *the above* letter of complaint we have the various intelligent officers of New Khar.Tsa.cin, and the persons not belonging to (*gyon.khrin*) . . . , the testimonial of the Ha.ž a chief as to actual competence and the orders issued. . . . My grandfather 'O.dol.cu and (*dañ.lo.stug.spad* ?), being appointed commandant of 1,000 at New Khar.Tsa.cin, on hearing of the . . . honour, petitioned further and separately (*hphral.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, on occasion (on other occasions?) 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.cañ, two brothers, were appointed *commandants* of 1,000 for New and Old Khar.Tsa.cin respectively. To pass over the fact of His Excellency, of our elder line (?), having been nominally over the Thousand District of Khar.Tsa.cin, but really over the whole (*tham.zin* ?), we have also the application of an order. . . . That Khye.dpal does not belong to . . . since it appears from the actual letter of complaint . . . the grant is falsely pleaded. An order invalidating the false plea *should be sent*.

(ll. 44-6) Respectfully presented letter of complaint from Khye.dpal: My grandfather Led.koñ being a great friend, in addition to placing in his hands . . . subjects, gold was granted to three generations of men (Led.koñ and his sons and grandsons), and he was appointed general (*chañ.khyu* ?) 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 with three gold chains and the general (*chañ.khyu* ?) command of the 1,000 of New and Old Khar.Tsa.chin, two Thousand Districts. (ll. 48-50) My grandfather 'O.dol.cu and his junior Ma.ko.cañ, two brothers, were severally appointed. As commandant of 1,000 for Old Khar.Tsa.chin the junior Ma.ko.cañ was sent. He having died, in due succession Khye.dpal's senior, Klu.bzer, should now be sent. As *commandant* of 1,000 for New Khar.Tsa.cin. . . .

The complicated family connexions 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 copy of a communication to the Tibetan prime minister. It relates to the military command of two places in the Ha-ža country, old and new Khar-Tsa-cin, occupied by the Tibetans. That a Ha-ža country was adjacent to the Śa-cu territory we have already seen.

The name Khar-Tsa-cin contains two words meaning "fort" or "town", the first *khar* (*mkhar*) being Tibetan, and the second *cin* (? = *ch'êng* in Sha-ch'êng "stone town" and *cañ* in *Hon-cañ-do*, etc.) 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* would mean "the town Tsa" or "town of the Tsa-people", and clearly it should be associated with—

(1) Tsha-śod, "Lower Tsha" mentioned above (p. 65).

(2) Tsa-bo and Tsa-bo-steg, mentioned in documents from Mirān (viii 40) and Mazār-Tāgh (a ii 0065, a iv 00128, a vi 0065).

(3) Tsha-na (Mazār-Tāgh, a ii 0097).

(4) Tsa-steṅs in Ho-yug (Chronicle, l. 51).

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

Two of the persons mentioned as governors of the forts are designated by what are clearly place-names, 'O-dol-cu (where 'O, as in other cases, means "river") and Ma-ko-caṅ (with caṅ = "city"). That such was a common practice in Turkestan has, it is hoped, been proved (*Festgabe H. Jacobi*, pp. 47 sqq.): the present case is interesting as indicating, by contrast with the names of the other members of the family, that dignitaries were specially liable to be thus designated. It is so in Europe. The place-names will have referred either to birth or to residence.

The language of the document is formal and long-winded, with many repetitions and clichés, such as *steṅ.du* "over and above", *daṅ.sbyar.na* "as regards", *hbyuṅ.ba* "what arises from". It is very modern in its official or legal parlance. *Chaṅ.khyu* (ll. 45–6, 48) recurs in M.I. x, 2.

The Ha-ža chief here mentioned can hardly have anything to do with the Tu-ku-hun of the Koko-nor region, who disappeared into China about the year A.D. 670.

16. M.I. xxiv, 0031 (Wood, 15 × 21 cm.: ll. 3 of clear cursive writing, 2 on obverse, 1 on reverse: complete).

(1) ☉ || Ha.ža.skya.ba.las.gži.mkhan.ji.mchis. (2) pa.rmos.na.mchis.na.so.paḥi.graṅs.chode.thoṅ. (R. 1) śig.

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

This is evidently a message to the commandant at Mirān. Whether the Ha-žas in question were the local peasants or whether, as is now usual in Tibet, they travelled with their yaks or oxen from place to place—which seems more

likely, as giving a reason for the supervision of the soldiers, who would prevent brawls—a not remote situation of the Ha-ža country is implied. *Chode* is for *chod.de* and *thoñ* is imperative of *gtañ*.

17. M.I. xxviii, 1 (Wooden document, cm. 12 × 2, 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) ☉ || Ha.ža.khri.sde.stod.pa.¹ Rgya.la.gthogs . . .
 (2) rnams || skya.re.gcigi.re.stsha.sbyar.te | khri . . .
 (R. 1) gyis.Drug.cun.gyi.nas.rña (dña = dañ ?).bsre.ži(ñ)
 . . . (R. 2) kha.cig.lug.du.ma.hbyor.te.Gnag.du.
brdzañ(s) . . .

“ When the Ha-ža farmers of the Upper Royal district appertaining to China have put together the separate grain from each several crop, the royal *officers*, having combined it with the barley of 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 royal Ha-ža district to Mirān, since it comes within the purview of the officials there. But this district “ appertains to or adjoins China ”,² 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.

In case Drug.cun, which occurs also in Ch. 83, vi, 5 (*°chun*), M.I. iv, 57, means Dru.gu.chuñ “ the little Dru.gu ”—and Drug as short for Dru.gu can be attested—the location of the Dru-gu would be placed beyond doubt.

Concerning Gnag I have little doubt that it is identical with the Nag.śod “ Lower Nag ”, which is often mentioned in documents from Mirān (ii, 16 and 32 ; iv, 138 ; viii, 37 ; xiv, 67, 76, 115, 129 ; xxv, 001) ; and obviously, considering

¹ Is there a *ru* or *du* here below the line ?

² That this translation is open to no doubt will be shown below (p. 82).

the destination of the corn, it is either in the Ha-ža country or on the Lha-sa side of it.

As regards the language of the document, I have taken *stsha* as equivalent to the *rtsaṅ* or *stsaṅ* 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 *bžre* for *bžer*.

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) ☉ || žib.tu.rtsis.mgo.goñ.du.stsald.pa.lags | phan.tshun.du.m. . . (2) gdugs.mtshan.spyade || mchi.baḥi.dusu.[sṅa.ma].dañ.phyi.ra (phyi.re ? phyir ?).dañ . . . (3) tsher.bgyis.nas || mar.thal.baḥi.rjes.ñan.ma.byuñ.[na] (R. 1) súl.du.gar.ḥtubs.par.btsugs.nas || ye.myeg (myig ?) . . . (R. 2) par.bgres.te | sñon.nas.stshus.la | drind.ciñ.lcebs . . . (R. 3) cig | rjes.ñan.Tshal.byi.ltar.byuñ.na | Ha.žaḥi.steñ.du.[b] . . .

“ A detailed account total (*mgo* ?) has been sent above. To and fro . . . occupied noon and night, and, while coming (or while so engaged, *spyade.mchi.baḥi.dusu*), grieved *by* former and later . . . *even* if there were no bad omens of my arriving down there, *yet* on the way putting up where I could ; having grown old in complete . . . ; from former times crippled (*stshus.la* ?), in kindness let me commit suicide. With bad omens having come within sight of Tshal.byi, up to Ha.ža . . . ”

The important point here is the adjacency of the Ha-ža country to Tshal-byi, which, as I shall show elsewhere, was a district comprising Cherchen and 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. *myeg* or *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 M.I. iv, 93b (l. 2), and xiv, 0012 ; and that *rjes.ñan* means “ bad omen ” is proved by the occurrence elsewhere (M.I. xxvii, 21, l. 12) of *byams.paḥi.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.ciñ . Khar . tsan.phyogs.su. (27) thog . ma.drans.paḥi . dmag . dpon. (28) du . bkaḥ . stsald . gyis . kyañ . dgra . lha . (29) thabs. mkhas.la.gros.gyis.soñ.ste. (30) Rgyaḥi.khams.su.gtogs.paḥi.Ha.ža. (31) . . . bsdus.Rgya.las.mañs(bañs). phal. (32) po.che.bsñad.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 Ha-ža’s appertaining to the Chinese country, he detached (?) from China the subjects generally and gave China a fright.”

That the Ha-ža people is here mentioned (Col. Waddell had read *ža.ža*, p. 1258) was suggested with reserve by Professor Pelliot in 1912 (*Journal Asiatique*, ii, 1912, p. 522, n. 5) All doubt is removed by the phrase *Rgya . . . gtogs.pa*, which we have now found in the same connexion (above, p. 80) : 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 Ha-ža’s were the instruments in the Tibetan aggressions upon China is in accord with known facts. For in the Chronicle the Dbon Ha-ža king plays a prominent part in the campaigns against the Chinese. Now we are told of the Pailan, the western neighbours of the Tang-hsiang (and Tu-ku-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 suggests an identification of the Ha-ža’s with the Pailan, a point to which we shall recur below. The rôle hardly suits the Tu-ku-hun.

Khar-tsan can hardly be other than the Ha-ža town Khar-Tsa-cin, with which we have already met (above, pp. 78).

The above are not all the passages containing a mention

of Ha-zas : and, in particular, we may adduce the fact that the *Rgyal.rabs.gsal.bahi.me.loñ* credits king Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po with a Ha-za wife—

btsun . mo . Ha . za . bzah . Kho . hjo . mod . Khri . dkar . ti .
 śags . bya . ba . khab . tu . bžes . pas . sras . Mañ . sroñ . mañ .
 btsan . hkhruñs (I.O. Xylograph, fol. 28a, ll. 1–3).

“ he having taken to wife a noble Ha-za lady, named Kho . hjo . mod . Khri . dkar . ti . śags, there was born a son Mañ . sroñ . mañ . btsan.”

But the other references, inasmuch as they are either without geographical implication or are at present too fragmentary for use (although they seem to bring the Ha-zas into connexion both with the Dru-gu and with Nob-chuñ-ñu, i.e. Charklik), may for the present be reserved. What we have so far definitely ascertained may be summarized as follows :—

Geographical.—Ha-za country was certainly adjacent on the one hand to the region of the Shan-shan kingdom (comprising Cherchen, Charklik, and Mīrān) and on the other hand to the Śa-cu district. It included places named Sil-gu(-cin), 'Im-ka(-cin), Khu-ñe Mon-gañs and Old and New Khar-Tsa(-cin), which is probably identical with the great stronghold (*khrom.chen.po*) of Khar-Tsan in the Śa-cu region.

Historical.—The Ha-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 Ha-za chiefs, called Dbon (or Hboñ or Hbōn) Ha-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 Ha-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 Ha-za country. The Ha-zas were sometimes at variance with their Tibetan allies or suzerains, and we hear of their being defeated in A.D. 696, A.D. 724, and A.D. 742.

Cultural.—More than one passage mentions Ha-às in connexion with agriculture, and this applies both to Mirān (Nos. 16–17) and to Ša-cu. We may now add a passage from a document from Māzār-Tāgh, north of the city of Khotan (to be quoted hereafter in full), where a Ha-à is mentioned as conveying “grain” or “hay” :—

stsañ. hdren | Ha. à. Gyu. brtsan. gyis |
 “Grain (hay)-conveyor the Ha. à Gyu. brtsan.”

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

Of Ha-à personal nomenclature the only at present citable examples are the above-mentioned Gyu-brtsan, the name of queen Khri-dkar-ti-śags, and that of the writer of another document (Ch. 77, x = vol. lv, fol. 20), who describes himself as a “humble Ha-à” (*Ha. à. ñan. 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 chief *Lha-zuñ* and others; it may be simply Tibetan. It therefore appears that all the Ha-à 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 *Haṅguya* of Khotan. The people’s own name rhymes with *Bru-à*; if it is really represented by the *Ajha* of the *Kharoṣṭhī* documents, the date of the latter would perhaps exclude the *Tu-ku-hun*.

It is now time to adopt an attitude towards Professor Pelliot’s identification of the Ha-às with the *Tu-ku-hun* (*Journal Asiatique*, ii, 1912, p. 124; ii, 1914, 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-ku-hun seem to have lost all significance after their overthrow by the Tibetans in A.D. 663 and 670, and their country does not appear to have extended so far westwards as to include the hinterland of Śa-cu, Mirān, and Charklik. It seems possible therefore that in the literary equivalence $\underline{H}a-\dot{z}a = Tu-ku-hun$ 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-ku-hun, and which seems a good equivalent for $\underline{H}a-\dot{z}a$; also the equation $\underline{D}rug-gu = T'\ddot{u}-chueh = Turk$ of Professor Pelliot (*loc. cit.*) as against the $\underline{D}rug-gu = Tu-ku-hun$ 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.