Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. II : The Sa-cu Region

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IN this article I 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 article ("I: The Ḫa-ża," *supra*, pp. 51–85) may be regarded as no less apposite here, and the reader, comparing the two papers, may find on the whole little dissimilarity in the contents, except that in the former case we have adhered closely to the Ḫa-ża people. In order to show some system in the papers, the references in which I am naturally not in a position to restrict, I 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 I anywhere sought to discriminate the reversed superscript *i*, which is an optional variant without significance. The translations are still provisional,[1] and the notes are kept within a minimum.

[1] The reasons for this are partly: (1) the fragmentary condition of the documents; (2) the fact that Tibetan words, monosyllabic at the best, are irregular both at the beginning and at the end (also in the middle); (3) the numerous words and expressions not known from dictionaries; (4) the lack of indication of proper names; (5) the syntactical vagueness of the language, the interpretation of which (as in the case of English) depends mainly upon familiarity. After these qualifications it seems advisable to state that, apart from the doubts admitted in detail, experience seems to justify some confidence in the renderings. Subsequently the linguistic accessions may be studied. A few additional notes will be found below (pp. 843–4).

A. Places [1]

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 . | Stoṅ . sar . daṅ | Rgod . sar . stoṅ . sde . gñis . kyi . || glaṅ . gi . lo . daṅ | stagi . loḫi | Drug . chun . gy[i] . thag || -s . [2] . . . Kva . cur . ḫdren . bar . chad . nas || blon . G-yu . bżre [2] . gyi . stsaṅ . | Kva . cu . gżi . na . mchis . pa . daṅ | Śa . cu . [3] . . . . las || lṅa . bcu . rkaṅ || Khoṅ . Sban . tseḫi . tshan | Waṅ . Bun . tsoṅ . la . nas . khal . gcig | Caṅ . . .

". . . Chinese Śa-cu, Thousand-districts of Stoṅ-sar and Rgod-sar, Ox year and Tiger year, having been ordered to be conveyed to Kva-cu *after being ground by the* (?) mills of the Drug-chun, from the corn of Councillor G-yu-bżer, which was on the Kva-cu estate, and from . . . Śa-cu, fifty bundles (*rkaṅ*). Account (*tshan*) of Khoṅ Sban-tse; to Waṅ Bun-tsoṅ one load of barley; [to] Caṅ . . ."

Notes

l. 1 : on *stoṅ-sde* "district of 1,000 (estates ?)" see above, p. 74.

Drug-chun(*ṅ*) = "Little *Dru-gu*" (see p. 80).

l. 2 : *stsaṅ* : see pp. 67, 69.

l. 3 : *rkaṅ*, "foot", seems elsewhere (p. 841) to denote "individual" or "item"; cf. *rkaṅ-ton* "review" ("count" ?), p. 66. Here, however, we seem to have *rkaṅ* ii.

tshan "account" : see No. 18 below.

From this fragment it appears likely that the Śa-cu division consisted mainly of two thousand-districts (*stoṅ-sde*), Stoṅ-sar and Rgod-sar, those, in fact, of which we mostly hear elsewhere. But below (p. 820 n. and p. 842) we have Sñiṅ-tsoms.

The personal names will appear in the consolidated list (*infra*).

[1] A list of the places and peoples mentioned will be found at the end of this article.

[2] Compendious for *bżer*, as often.

2. Ch. 80, v, 1 (734, vol. 53, fol. 39: paper document: 28·5 × 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] ꡲ | : || Rgod . sar . gyi . sde | Caṅ . Ka . dzoḫi . tshan | Caṅ . Kun . tses || stsaṅ . mṅan . rñiṅ . lo . Byi . btsan . gyi . gñer [2] rñiṅ . gi . stsaṅ . las . gro . khal . phye . daṅ . gñis . daṅ . bre . bži . chags . pa . las || phagi . loḫi . ston . ḫbul . [3] bar . rtse . rjes . gnaṅ . ste || dkar . chag . spospa . las || phagi . loḫi . dpyid . sla . ḫbriṅ . poḫi . ṅo . laḫ [4] mkhan . po . thub . brtan . la . dmag . dpon . gis . stsaṅ . žig . gnaṅ . baḫi . phyag . rgya . mchis . śes . mchiste | [5]gñer . pa . Dar . Rgyal . ma . daṅ . Tre . Mye . slebs . lastsogs . pas . bdaḫste || gro . khal . phyed . daṅ . gñis . daṅ [6] bre . bži . lan . ḫdi . ḫi . dpyid . sla . ḫbriṅ . po . tshes . bcu . gcig . la . mṅan . rñiṅ . lo . Byi . bstsan . la . phul . [7] te | . | Byi . bstsan . gyi . ḫbul . rgyas . btab . paḫi . dbaṅ . la || Bam . Stag . slebs . daṅ | Dzeḫu . Gog . tsheṅ . daṅ | [8] Caṅ . Klu . legs . lastsogs . paḫi . dpaṅ . rgyas . btab . paḫ || (*several seals, illegible*). *Inverted* [9] bkye . gñer . khums . ste . chags . rgya . śad . kyis . gnan .

(ll. 1–3): "Rgod-sar division. Account of Caṅ Ka-dzo. Caṅ Kun-tse having assigned to Byi-btsan the entire corn of the old year, of the corn of the old year the measure was wheat two and 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 sage 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 and a half loads and four *bre* of wheat, being the entire corn for the old year, were delivered to Byi-bstsan on the eleventh day of the middle spring month of the present year. (ll. 7–8) In witness of Byi-bstsan's receipt seal having been given the attestation

seals of Bam Stag-slebs, Dzeḫu Gog-tsheṅ, Caṅ Kha-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-gnan* ?)."

Notes

l. 1 : *tshan* : see No. 18 below.

Concerning *stsaṅ* = "corn", *mṅan* = "entire" see pp. 67, 69.

gñer "to be in charge of", "to be placed in charge of", and *gñer-ḫgum* (*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 p. 69 and M.I., iv, 71, vi, 7, xiii, 2, xiv, 0016, xlii, 012, xliv, 8, i, 24, etc.

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

l. 4 : I understand "the sage (*muni*) abbot" to be identical with the previously mentioned Byi-bstsan.

As regards the intervention of "the General" (*dmag-dpon*), cf. the document given above (pp. 69–70).

l. 6 : *lan* = "year", as often (e.g. p. 833, and M.I., xiv, 109).

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 *chags-khoṅs* "basket for measuring grain", *chag-tshad* "correct measure", *tshags* "a sieve", *tshags-bu* "a bag attached to a sieve", *tshags-dam-po* "strict care", *tshags-tshad* "to test properly". The word *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 *gnan*, which should mean "pressed", may possibly denote "confirmed" or "reinforced" : or were the signs actually "impressed" upon the measures or bundles or parcels ? As regards the persons, see the consolidated list.

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] . . . stsaṅ . || mṅan . rñiṅ . lo . Byis . brtsan . gyi . sug . pa . na . | [2] . . . dkar . chag . spos . pa . las . || slad . kyis . dmag . pno [1] . [3] *thub* . *br*tan . gyi . nod . du . kha . bstan . no . żes . mchiḭ . nas . || [4] . . . u . . . Kh[o]ṅ . M[a]n . tse . la . gro . khal . phyed . daṅ . gñis . daṅ [2] . lo . ḭdiḭi . dpyid [5] sla . ṅo [2] . ḭbriṅ . poḭi . ṅo . la . mṅan . lo . Byis . brtsan . la . phul . te . | bul . rgya . daṅ | Tre . Mye . slebs . daṅ | Bam . [6] Log . log | Caṅ . Tshe . śiṅ . || lastsogs . paḭi . dpaṅ . rgyas . btab . paḭ || yaṅ . bro . bre . drug . phul . [7] te . rgyas . btab . paḭ ||

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

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

Rev. : Khoṅ . Man . tseḭi . bul.

[ll. 1–3] " . . . entire corn, old year, being in the hand (at the disposal ?) of Byis-brtsan, subsequently, the list having been changed, word came that the General had promised its delivery to *the sage* [ll. 4–6] . . . to Khoṅ Man-tse two and a half loads of wheat, and in the middle spring month of this year the whole year has been delivered to Byis-brtsan. A receipt and the witness-seals of Tre Mye-slebs and Bam Log-log and Caṅ Tshe-śiṅ and others are attached. [ll. 6–7] An additional six *bre* of wheat having been delivered, seals are attached.

Endorsements

[l. 8] Despatch carried out; the weight attached, as impressed with marks.

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

Rev. : Receipt of Khoṅ Man-tse."

[1] Compendious for *pon*.

[2] This syllable is erased.

Notes

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

l. 4: The completion of the proper name is obvious from the receipt (*verso*). l. 6: *bro* is, no doubt = *gro*.

l. 8: *gthugs* is uncertain: the rendering (conjectural) presupposes a connexion with *thogs-pa*; cf. *brtug* and *rtug* in S. C. Das' Dictionary. Or is the meaning "with respects"? Cf. p. 67, and pp. 835 and 842.

4. Ch. 79, xvi, 7 (732, vol. liv, 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] ꠸ | : | Spyi . tshogs . gyi . stsaṅ . mṅan . rñiṅ . lo . Byis . brtsan . gyi . sug . pa . na . mcis . pa . las || Li . [2] Kaṅ . tses . gro . khal . phye . daṅ . gñis . daṅ . bre . bži . žig . sṅa . g-yar . du . mnos . pa || phag . gi . loḫi . dpyid . [3] zla . ḫbriṅ . po . tshes . bcu . gsum . la | ban . de . thub . brtan . gyi . nod . du . kha . bstan . paḫi . tshe | Byis . [4] brtsan . la . phul . te || bul . rgya . daṅ . gñer . pa | Tre . Mye . slebs . daṅ | Khyuṅ . po . Stag . [5] legs . las . stsogs . paḫi . dpaṅ . rgyas . btab . pā || dkar . chag . pyi . mo . bla . na . mchis . pa . ni . slad . gyis . śad . gyis . gnan . [6] par . bgyis ||

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

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

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

(*Seal* (?) *and signature of*) Ḫbyis-brtsan.

(*Endorsement*) [l. 7] Despatch carried out, weight 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-ḫgyur* 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. liii, fol. 50 ; 27·5 × 18·5 cm. ; ll. 12 of ordinary epistolary *dbu-can* script, for the most part legible).

[1] ꠸ || : | bya . gagi . loḫi . dpyid || Rgod . gyi . [L]eṅ . h[o] . *Liṅ* . *lugi* . mchis . braṅ . Soṅ . Sam . ñuṅ . gyis || Leṅ . ho . Śib . [2] tigi . bran . mo | Beḫu . žan . la . brel . te | rjes . phor . pa . bži . daṅ . deb . tse . gs[u]m . daṅ . | ras . kyi . rgyu . bkal . lags [3] pha . rkya . ma . phyid [1] . de . rnams | Śib . bir . la [2] . chags . te || slad . ḫphul . baḫi . [d]us . ni || khyiḫi . loḫi . dphyid . sla . tha . cuṅs . [4] tshes . lṅa. tshun . cu[3] . la || Le[ṅ . ho] . Śib . bir . gyi . sgor . ḫbul . bra[4] . bgy[i]s || dus . dir . ma . ḫp[h]ul : gchig . [5] las . g[ñi]su . bsgyur . de . || khoṅ . taḫi . sgor . nas . saṃ . zaṅ . spyad . haṃ . phor . pa . yaṅ . rṅuṅ (ruṅ) . ste | dphrogs . kyaṅ . [6] z . . . mchis . par . bgyis || yaṅ . ras . chag . phyed . daṅ . bži . daṅ . | nas . rgya . bre . bži . ni | sgo . lcags . [7] *lde* . myig . daṅ . [bca]s . pa . gtaḫ . g-gs . nas || khyiḫi . loḫi . dpyid . sla . ḫbriṅ . po . tshes . bcu . tshun . [8] cad . slad . b-lus . par . bgyis . dusu . ma . b-lus . na | sgo . lcags . g-[khogyi] . sgyu (?) . yaṅ . yal . bar . bgyis [9] paḫi . dpaṅ . la || Caṅ . Gu . gu . daṅ | La Legs . lod . daṅ | Kheḫu . Bzaṅ . goṅ . daṅ | [10] . . . lastsogs . paḫi . dpaṅ . rgya . daṅ . || Soṅ . -i . -ṅ . daṅ || moḫi . khyo . Liṅ . lug . kyi . su[g] . yig . tshad . daṅ | Sam . ñuṅ . gyi . mdzub . tod . btabpaḫ

(*Inverted*)

[1] khyo . L[e]ṅ . [ho] . *Liṅ* . *lu* gi . sug [2] [*yig*] . tshad | [1] Kheḫu . Bzaṅ . goṅ . gyi . sug.

[1] For *phyed*. *d* erased.
[2] Below line.
[3] Erased. Read *cad*.
[4] Compendious for *bar*.

[2] *yig* . tshad || [1] Soṅ . Saṃ | ñuṅ . | gi . mdzub . [2] mo . tshad.

[ll. 1–4] " Spring of the Bird year : the wife of Leṅ-ho *Liṅ-lug* of Rgod, Soṅ Sam-ñuṅ, having agreed with Beḫu-žan, female servant of Leṅ-ho Śib-tig, in consequence four cups, three register-baskets (*deb-tse* ?) and woven (spun) cotton material, half a *rkya-ma*, these, being with Śib-bir, were asked back by the fifth day of the last spring month of the Dog-year. [ll. 4–6] Leṅ-ho Śib-bir made partial deliveries. What was not delivered at the time was to be doubled. Also whatever barley or *zaṅ-spyad* (' copper-utensils ? ') or cups were in his possession were taken and held. [ll. 6–10] As furthermore four and 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, and were not redeemed in time, the iron (*sgyu* ?) of the door-bolt also was exacted ; in attestation whereof the seals of Caṅ Gu-gu, L(h)a Legs-lod, Kheḫu Bzaṅ-goṅ, and . . . and the rest, and the written signature of the woman's husband, (Leṅ-ho) Liṅ-lug, and the finger-mark of Sam-ñuṅ are attached."

(*Endorsement*)

[1] " Hand of the husband, Leṅ-ho *Liṅ-lug*. Hand of Kheḫu Bzaṅ-goṅ [2] in writing. Finger-mark of Sam-ñuṅ."

It will be seen that Leṅ-ho Liṅ-lug, whose surname, no doubt, indicates that he belongs to the " Leṅ River " (River of *Leṅ-cu* " Liang-chu " ?), is described as " of Rgod ". This is, however, hardly sufficient to prove that the Leṅ-ho itself was in the Rgod division.

Concerning the names (e.g. Śib-tig = " Ten-beauty," *daśa-śrī*), see the list, *infra*, and p. 831.

Deb-tse (l. 2) seems to occur in a *Bstan-ḫgyur* colophon (Cordier, Catalogue, II, p. 328) ; *sug-yig-tshad* in M.I., xiv, 109.

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] ꠸ | : | Pho . braṅ . Ḥon . caṅ[1] . do . nas . bkyeḥi . phyag . rgya . phog . ste || ża . sṅar . sñan . du | . . . [2] pos (mos, sos, los ?) . | Śa . cuḥi . skun . kar . ḥbaṅs . daṅ . bchas . su . phyag . du . bżes . te || . . . [3] chab . srid . la . bsdos . te | . | Bod . ḥbaṅs . kyi . mchog . bkum . gyis . śiṅ . || thugs . . . . [4] pag [mag ?] . To . dog . rtse . rjer . bskos . the . dguṅ . lo . bdun . lags . na . yaṅ . || Śa . [cu ?] . . . [5] bkum . nas || slad . gyis . khrom . gyis . mdab . non . pas . lhog . paḥi . [rṅo ?] . . . [6] bdag . spus . bthus . te . rtse . rjer . stsald . nas || dguṅ . lo . bchu . . . [7] naṅ . krug . daṅ . pan . pun . du . ma . gyurd . pha . lags || rje . blas . [kyaṅ . stsaṅ] . . . [8] pa . yaṅ . myi . chad . phar . ḥbul . żiṅ . blar . yaṅ . sman . yon . thogs . pa . bdag . [glo] . . . [9] snas . myi . dbul . bar . phyag . rgya . ḥgaḥ . żig . chi . gnaṅ . żes . gsol . . . [10] dbul . bar . gnaṅ . żes || Bkaḥ | blon . Btshan . bżer . daṅ . blon . [ñ] . . . [11] phyag . rgya . ḥchaṅ . du . stsald . pha : ||

[l. 1] "From the palace Ḥon-caṅ-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 intermission (or order), a highly beneficial gift. [ll. 8–11] Please send a signature that . . . is not to be delivered—upon this petition . . . to be delivered is sanctioned,—to this effect Councillor Btshan-bżer 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, by the Chinese, and a recovery of the place and its retention

[1] Inverted below line.

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 Ḥon-caṅ-do, which therefore must have been situated not too far from Śa-cu. From a colophon in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* (Cordier, Catalogue, II, p. 487), again, we know that Ḥon-caṅ-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-thaṅ (*Chronicle*, ll. 42 and 56).

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

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

Gliṅ-riṅs-tshal (ibid., l. 59, and M.I., viii, 46, M. Tagh, iii, 0016).

Gro-pur (see above, s.v. Dra-tshal).

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

Rgod-gyuṅ (ibid., l. 241).

Śo-ma-ra (ibid., ll. 201, 207, 245).

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

It seems possible that *Ḥon-caṅ-do*, which itself is mentioned in the *Chronicle* (ll. 81, 88, 110, 115, 120), may mean "Ḥon-city-land", the Ḥon being a people known from Buddhist literature and from the *Chronicle* (ll. 12, 52, 75).

l. 3. *chab-srid-la-bsdos-te* : For the phrase see No. 19.

l. 4. *To-dog* chief : This recurs p. 840.

l. 5. *mdab-non-pas* "by a great effort" (?).

spus-bthus : The phrase has been found above, p. 74.

l. 7. *naṅ-krug* (*ḥkhrug*) "internal strife".

pan-pun "dissension" = *phan-phun* ; cf. M. Tagh, a. vi, 0065, *so . pa . rnams . phan . phun . žig . du . gyur . na.*

l. 8. *blar* "highly" : cf. p. 73, l. 1.

sman-yon "beneficial gift" occurs also p. 826.

7. Ch. 73, iv, 14 (125, vol. 68, fol. 29, paper; 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 . poḫi . ḫdun . tsa || Leṅ . cu . nas || rtaḫi . loḫi . dbyar . sla . ḫbriṅ . paḫi . . . [2] -gs . kyi . phyag . rgya . phogste || Śa . cu . daṅ . || Kva . cuḫi . tshi . śi . la . mchid . stsal . pa || Phag . Stag . l . . . [3] gsol . na || na . niṅ . khrom . chen . pos || chab . sr[i]d . Daṅ . to . kun . du . mdzad . nas || slar . gśegs . . . [4] śul . du || dor . po . peḫu . gcig || Gir . kis . gyis . btabste || sgyes . pa . pho . gzaḫ . ni . bkum | . . . [5] pa . naṅs . su . ḫtshal . pa . ḫi . naṅ . nas || Sag . cur . Gño . za . Dge . ldem . żes . mchiḫ . ba . |

[ll. 1–2] "From Leṅ-cu (Liang-shu ?), assemblage of the great city of Bog-yas, letter sent, with seal of . . . attached, on the . . . of the midsummer 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 Daṅ-to-kun, on the way back a *peḫu* of teamsmen was attacked by Kirghiz.

[ll. 4–5] The *sgyes-pas*, men and wives, were killed. From among those who . . . one Dge-ldem, a Gño-za, of S-g-cur . . ."

Notes

l. 1 : Since the document seems to begin here, Bog-yas must be the name of the great city (or is Leṅ-cu the city of Bog-yas ?) ; and since *Bog* is a tribal designation, and we have elsewhere (M.I., i, 25*a*) 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 Leṅ-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".

l. 2 : *tshi-śi*. Is this the *ts'e-che* "prefect" of Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 60, 72 ?

l. 3 : *Daṅ-to-kun* is certainly a place ; see the next document.

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

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

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

Sgyes-pa, perhaps = " soldier " or " escort ". *Naṅs* occurs M.I., viii, 43, *thabs . ma . naṅs . par . zind.*

S-g-cur may be the *Sag* or *Sog* " province " (if *cur* = *cor*, *chor*, Turkī *cur*, noted *supra*, pp. 68 and 283).

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

8. Ch. fr. 61 (747, vol. liv, fol. 17, paper ; 26·5 × 17·5 cm. ; ll. 12 of a rather peculiar, clumsy *dbu-can* script, with short lines (*śad*), more often than, but sometimes hardly distinguishable from, points, separating the syllables).

[1] ॐ || Daṅ . to | kun | du | Khri | sgraḫ | daṅ . Khyuṅ . koṅ . daṅ . Bzaṅ . koṅ . gsum | gyis | bran | bgos | te | bran | so | sor | thob | pahi | myiṅ.rus | spi . las . daṅ . khrald . ji | lta[3]r | bya . baḫi : spyi . yi | ger | bris . pa . . . . . .

. . . . . .

[ll. 1–3] " In Daṅ-to-kun the three [persons], Khri-sgraḫ, Khyuṅ-koṅ and Bzaṅ-koṅ, 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 *Daṅ-to-kun*, elicited *supra* (p. 817), 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 Ḫa-ża named Żag-ldom.

9. M.I., xxviii, 0036 (fol. 75; paper, 25 × 8 cm., with a horseman seal impression at top left; ll. 8 of clear, regular *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꠸ || blon . Mtsho . bżer . daṅ . blon . Lha . bżer . lastsogs . pas || dgun . sla . tha . cuṅs . tshes . . . [2] phyag . rgya . phog . ste || pho . ña . Riṅ . lugs . ltaṅ . sogs . H̱doṅ . phreṅ . H̱dor . dgu . daṅ . ṅo . mkhan . . . [3] spyugs . myi (gyi ?) . sde . Tsog . stod . gyi . sde . Mog . Kyem . po (?) . daṅ . Ñan . rna̱hi . sde . Boṅ . La . ku . gñis | Tshal . byi̱hi . Nob . chuṅu . . . [4] gar . slebs . slebs . su . sñegs . śiṅ | Kva . cu . *Khar* . tsan . yan . chad . du . mchiste | ẖtshal . ba . g-yar . . . [5] tshal . ma . thaṅ . mñam . ste | H̱brog . Sluṅs . la . bya . na . gson . lod . spel . ma̱hi . bkaḥ̱ . rims . phye . phul . . . [6] rims . phye . khor . bżi̱hi . thaṅ . | rad . pa . sraṅ (graṅ ?) . [b]rgyad . brgya . ni . skyel . ma̱hi . ste . len . du . ẖgel . to | pho . ña . gżan . daṅ . ẖgrogs . m- -e . . . [7] riṅs . pa . zla . la . khrid . du . myi . gnaṅ || myi . bros . ste . sñe[*g*] . żiṅ . mchi . ba . la : || Sluṅs . daṅ . so . pa . ma . mchis . te | bab . no . . . [8] so . pa . gaṅ . nas . gya . ba . nas | lam . tshor . ldaṅs . . . [g] chi[g] . daṅ . . .

[ll. 1–2] "By Councillor Mtsho-bżer and Councillor Lha-bżer, on the . . . day of the last winter month, . . . seal attached. [ll. 2–4] Messenger Riṅ-lugs (courier), porter H̱doṅ-phreṅ and H̱dor . dgu (or is *ẖdor-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 Boṅ La-ku of the Ñan-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 H̱brog-Sluṅs (the nomad Sluṅs), increased maintenance circular-order-flour allowance (?) . . . circular-order-flour at the rate of four *khor*. [ll. 6–7] The company being for conveyance of 800 *sraṅ* weight, to obtain that [they may] levy. Consorting with other messengers . . . and taking *riṅs-pa* into friendship is not allowed. [l. 7] If the men run

away . . . going to the mountains. If Sluṅs and soldiers have not come, stage . . . having *signalled* (? read *g-yab* ?) soldiers from anywhere, sufficient for a road company (?). . . . . ."

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 (Cherchen) 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. 81), and will be more abundantly shown later, the Tsal-byi district included Cherchen, 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 Ñan-rna district and Ḥbrog-Sluṅs (the Nomad Sluṅs), Tsog has been noted above (p. 61), and with Ḥbrog-Sluṅs we may compare the *Rgya-Sluṅs*, Chinese Sluṅs, of document M. Tagh, c, iii, 0043[1]: perhaps the word is connected with Tibetan *luṅ* " a valley " and means " the people of the Valley ". Ñan-rna has not yet been found: since the word is used in the sense of a " messenger " we might translate " Boṅ La-ka of the messenger division (*sde*) ".

Concerning the names Mog Kyem-po and Boṅ La-ku see the classified list. *Riṅs . pa* (l. 7) = " runner " (cf. M.I. ii, 40) ?

The expression *rad-pa* (l. 6) occurs not very infrequently n the documents: that it means a travelling party (*bgrod* ?) appears from several documents, e.g. M.I. xiv, 109 *rad.pa. gsum.mjald.te* " three parties (caravans) met ". M.T. i, 0027,

[1] Other references for Rgya-Sluṅs are M.T. a. ii, 0092 (a person's ' card ' of wood *Rgya-Sluṅs Ḥbog-laṅ*), a. vi, 003, c. ii, 0047 (*Sdo-Sluṅs*), c. iii, 0024 (*byaṅ-Sluṅs-smad*), M.I. vii, 32 (*Sluṅs* in connection with Sñiṅ-tsom), M.I. xliii, 002 (*Sluṅs*), *Chronicle*, l. 169 (*Sluṅs-stod-smad*).

a. iv, 005, a. v, 006, a. vi, 0020 and 0073, c. ii, 0047. M.I. iii, 21. *Khor* is perhaps for *khyor* " handful ".

10. Ch. xvii 2 (716, vol. lxx, fol. 15, a little torn ; 26 × 7·5 cm. ; ll. 6 *obv.* and 6 *rev.* of ordinary, rather small *dbu-can* script).

[l. 1] ꠰ Ḫuṅ . g[i] . ḫog . tu . Btsan . po . Khri . Sroṅ . rtsan . gyi . riṅ . la || Khyuṅ . po . spu[n] . sad . Zu . tse . lta . žig . rgalte(ste) . ñi . ma . ḫder . gnaṅ . ṅo || ḫuṅ . nas. [l. 2] Btsan . poḫi . ža . sṅar . | Zu . tse . gsol . pa . || spun . yab . Gnam . riḫi . riṅ . la || bdag . gis . ḫbaṅsu . bkug . pa . lta . žig || ya[b] . [l. 3] kyis . kyaṇ . ma . gzigs | žabs . kyis . kyaṅ . ma . bcags . na. || Btsan . po . sras . kyis | spyan . kyis . gzigs . śiṅ . | žabs . kyis. [l. 4] bcagste || bdag . rgan . poḫi . spum || . pa . Khri . bomsu . dgyes . skyems . ston . mo . gsol . bar . ji . gnaṅ . žes . gsol . nas. | [l. 5] Btsan . po . Khri . Sroṅ . rtsan . gyis. Zu . tse . gsol . ba . bžin . du . gnaṅ . ṅo | Ḫuṅ . gi . rjes . la . || Mgar . yul . zuṅ . pho . braṅ . Ma . ḫ[dri] [l. 6] bar . bkaḫ . stsal . te || Zu . tse . ga[n] . tu . mkhar . Khri . bomsu . mchis . nas. || Mgar . . . gol [?] . bltas . na . | Mgar [l. 1] d[e]ḫi . bkaḫ . gros . la . gtogste . Zu . tse . glo . ba . ñeho . || ḫuṅ . gi . ḫog . du . || Btsan . po . . . Sr[o]ṅ . rtsan . gyi . riṅ . la | [l. 2] Myaṅ . Žaṅ . snaṅ . glo . ba . riṅs . pa . Zu . tses . dku . ḫpel . te . || Btsan . poḫi . sñan . du . gsol . te . | Žaṅ . snaṅ . bkuṃ . nas. Zu . tse [l. 3] glo . ba . ñeḫo . || To . yo . chas . laḫi . rjo . bo . Bor. Yon . tse . brlag . ste . || To . yo . chas . la . lastsogs . te . byaṅ . gi . Žaṅ . žuṅ . thams [l. 4] cad || Khri . Sroṅ . rtsan . gyi . phyag . du . phul . te . || Zu . tse . glo . ba . ñeḫo . || Btsan . poḫi . blon . po . naṅ . na . || spun . sad . Zu . tse . las . glo . [b l. 5] ñe . ba . sṅon . chad . kyaṅ . ma . byuṅ . ṅo || Zu . tse . ḫdzaṅs . so . žes . so || sgyu . che . žiṅ . mkhas . so || dpaḫ . śes . paḫo . | chu . gaṅ . [B l. 6] cheḫo || yaṅ . ba . riṅ . ṅo . || myi . chig . la . tshogs . dgu . tshogs . na | s[pun . sa]d . Zu . tse . la . stsogs . dgu . tshogs . so ||

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

Sroṅ-rtsan, the whole 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 the father of the family I was treated by himself as one of the servants. By the father also 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. Be pleased to invite your aged relative to pleasure, drinking, and feasting in Khri-boms.' [l. 5–B l. 1] The Btsan-po Khri Sroṅ-rtsan assented to Zu-tse's petition. Following upon that, he sent orders to the palace Ma-ḫdri-ba, holding (*zuṅ* ?) 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 those Mgar and was in favour [B ll. 1–3] After that, in the lifetime of the Btsan-po [Khri] Sroṅ-rtsan, Myaṅ Żaṅ-snaṅ, a clever man, being outwitted (*dku-ḫpel* ?] by Zu-tse, petitioned in the hearing of the Btsan-po . Zu-tse killed Zaṅ-snaṅ and [remained] in favour.[1] [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 Żaṅ-żuṅ under the hand of Khri Sroṅ-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

l. 1. *khyuṅ-po* = "in a mass". (But *Khyuṅ-po* is also a clan name; see above, p. 812, and M.T. c. ii, 0065.) *spun-sad* I

[1] Or we might translate "Myaṅ Żaṅ-snaṅ being reported for treachery by Zu-tse in the hearing of the Btsan-po, Żaṅ-snaṅ was killed. . . ."

have translated as if it were °*gsad* or °*b̲sad* : 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 . h̲der* for *ñi . ma . lder* ?

l. 2. I 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, c. iv, 0083. °*boms* occurs further in *H̲go-boms* below (No. 17).

ll. 5–6. *Mgar-yul* and the palace *Ma-h̲dri-ba* (?) are not known to me. But in the Tibetan *Me-loṅ* the famous minister of Sroṅ-btsan-sgar po, Gar-Gdoṅ-btsan, is called (fol. 21 a. 4, 30 a. 5), *Mgar*, which is, no doubt, his tribal name. In the *Chronicle* we have Mgar Guṅ-ston, etc. (ll. 4, 66, 67, 75), and in the *Bstan-h̲gyur* colophons *H̲gar* (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-riṅs* (p. 1276, l. 7, p. 1282, ll. 59 and 62) and M.I. i, 3, and pp. 73–4 *supra* and *Chronicle*, l. 67.

B l. 2. *Myaṅ* is a title or family name of frequent occurrence in the documents ; also in the *Chronicle*, l. 250.

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

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

Since Gnam-ri is the name of the father of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po and also because of the ready admission of Zu-tse to favour with Khri Sroṅ-btsan, it seems probable that Zu-tse himself was related to the royal house (cf. l. 5). The *yab* is perhaps the father of Khri Sroṅ-btsan, not of Zu-tse.

Khri Sroṅ-rtsan seems to be Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, who in

the Lha-sa treaty published by Colonel Waddell in *J.R.A.S.* 1909 (p. 950, l. 26) is called Khri Lde-sroṅ-btsan.

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

[1]꠸ | : | naṅ . rje . blon . G-yu (?) . bžer . la || Khris . legs . mchid . gsol . baḫ || Ḫphrul . daṅ . mtshuṅs . paḫi . ža . sṅa . nas. | sñun . rñiṅ . slar . ma . khyad . cheḫ [byad . ches ?] . [2] thoste . glo . ba . dgaḫ . žiṅ . mchis || sñun . gsol . gi . mchi[d . yi]g . sṅar | rnam . du . ma . žig . gso[l] . na | [slad] . lan . ma . mchis . pa . daṅ . | sbyar . na | Ḫa . ža . ṅan . bdagis . gya . ga . [3] du . ma . phul . ba . lta . žig . [naḫ] | naṅ . rje . po . Kva . chu . paḫi . | Ser . sbyoṅ . gi . spun . du . bsgos . pa | Hi . ma . ter . gdan . gśegste | sgrol (sgol ? skrol?) . bkaḫ . ḫgrosu . mdzad . na . dmag . [pu . . . pyad . lṅaḫ (ltaḫ ?)] [4] las . kyaṅ | dog . sa . [thagstu] . rab . tu . che . žabs . thugs . myi . bde . bas | gdan . gśegs . gyi (bgyi ?] . kyaṅ . ḫphrin . las . mdzad . la . sman . pa . myi . ḫdra . bar (s ?) | riṅ . lugs . kyi . ḫphrin . [by]aṅ . [5] [d]aṅ | chad . paḫi . gži . | Bde . gamsu . mchis . nas | bdagis | bla . ḫog . du . gsol . žes . . . pyuṅ . śig . ches . ḫbyuṅ . ba | riṅ . lugs . kyi . ḫphrin . byaṅ . khamsu . mchis . m- (mchiste ?] [6] . . . la . chad . pas [1] . chod . śig . ches | kha . mar . stsal . nas | rtsi . sar . gthad . daṅ . | khri [m(?) . . . s] . daṅ . sbyar . na | sa . bar . sñad . lo . chig . gi . sna . stsal . . . . . i . . [-ba . rdzug] [7] . . . . . pas . gchad . paḫi . gži . byuṅ . žiṅ . mchis . na | de . las . thugs . myi . chuṅ . ba . tsam . du . gsold || slan . chad . bla . nas . thugs . re. ste | ḫphrin . lasu . b[stos . st . .] [8] . . . . . ḫphrin . las . gzuṅ . bžin . du . mdzad . paḫi . rigs . par . bdag . ṅan . pa . bkaḫ . grosu . gso[l] . žiṅ . mchis || gchen . gcu . po . ma . žiṅ . ni [žon . mo ?) [9] . . . . . gs . žer . gyi . g-yar . du . stsal . pa . ni | sman . yon . ji . yaṅ . ma . bgyiste | ḫdun . sa . snar (?) . spyi (sbyi ?) . yaṅ . myi . gdaḫ . žiṅ . mchis te || bdag . ṅan [10] . . . . . rtag . tu . sñan . sñuṅs . pa . gsol . žes . bkaḫ . bab . bam . myi . bab | Mdo . gams .

[1] *s* below line.

nas | mjal . tsoṅs |d[ru]l . pho . che(?) . dag . gchig . s[ṅa . slad] . . . go . . . . . [11] . . . . . rdzas . daṅ | sga . g-yer . phal . mo . che . žig . mchis . śes . gdaḫ . ba | mchid . gyi . chab . sgor(ṅ ?) . phal . cher . ḫphus . śes . bkaḫ . mchid . ltos(?) . na [12] . . . . . sñuṅs . gsol . žiṅ . mchis . na | phyag . rgya . stsald . te | baṅ . chen . ḫdi . las | brdzaṅ . ba . tsam . du . thugs . dphag . jir . mdzad ||

[ll. 1–2] "To the Minister of the Interior, Councillor G-yu-bžer, 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 (no great falling away from your old health ? [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 Ḫa-ža have sent various presents: Minister of the Interior, styled of the Ser-sbyoṅ 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] With 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 dejected. [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 ?) . . . A sending up . . . of no advantage whatever having been arranged, and in the meeting nothing at all being accomplished, it was ordered more or less that your humble servant should [simply write] inquiries as to health. 'From Mdo-gams, the business of the meeting, a great despatch, former and

later . . . matters and general indifference (*sga-g-yer* ?)', so it was said. Having regard to the written orders to (*h̲phus*) generally by way of a letter, we have sent a signed letter of inquiries as to health. I am taking care to send by this messenger (or 'I am anxious at sending merely . . .')."

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

Notes

l. 2. On *daṅ-sbyar-na* = "as regards": see p. 79.

l. 4. *h̲phṛiṅ-byaṅ* or *byaṅ* alone seems to be in these documents one of the expressions denoting a letter. Some wooden documents refer to themselves as *byaṅ-h̲di* "this communication". M.I. vii, 32, xiv, 109 *b*, M. Tagh, a. iv, 0073, vi, 0025, etc. *Byaṅ-bu* is "label" or (wooden) "post-card". The *Chronicle* also has *byaṅ*.

l. 5. *Bde-gams* has perhaps occurred already (p. 72; cf. p. 838).

h̲byuṅ-ba: see p. 79.

l. 9. *sman-yon*: see above, p. 816.

l. 10. *sñan-sñuṅs* "a letter of inquiries after health" seems to mean merely a formal letter of that nature (cf. p. 72). We have several among the documents.

Mdo-gams: see below, No. 19, and M.I. iv, 57.

l. 11. *chab-sgor* "by the door of" or "an opportunity of" (?). *sga-g-yer*, "indifferent" (?); cf. p. 71.

l. 12. *thugs-dpag* (or *pags*) and *thugs-dpag-jir*(*cir*)-*mdzad*, asking or stating attention, are common in the documents.

B. Clans and Nomenclature

12. Ch. 73, xv, 10 (fr. 12, vol. lxix, foll. 62–3, originally a single roll; 76 × 15 cm.; fragmentary at the beginning; ll. 53 *recto* of ordinary *dbu-can* script, l. 2 *verso* in another (hand)).

[1] . . . . . .

Pho . kvaṅ . s[i]ḫi . [l]ha . ḫbaṅs ; J-ḫu | Żi . ñaṅ . ḫphoṅs |
Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Soṅ . Śiṅ . dgon |
Pho . kvaṅ . siḫi . lha . ḫbaṅs . Yaṅ . G-yu-tshe . ḫphoṅs |
[5] Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Bam . Kun . tse | dgon . g-yon | ru . ḫbriṅ . śud . pu . Legs . zigs . kyi . dar . tshan . 'An . Dze . ḫiṅ . daṅ . sbyor . ||

[8][1] ꠸ | : | Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | ru . ḫbriṅ | śud . pu . Legs . gzigs. [9][1] pon . g-yog . bżi . bcu . tshar . gcigi . yul . yig . la | . |

[10] Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | 'An . Dze . hiṅ . ḫphoṅs | g-yasu . ru . cuṅ . || Caṅ . Ka . dzoḫi . dar . tshan | Bam . Kun . tse . daṅ . sbyor ||

Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | ban . de . Toṅ . Thoṅ . thoṅ . dgon ||
,, ,, | Caṅ . Hva . hva . ḫphoṅs |
[15] ,, ,, | ban . de . Tsoṅ . Tsheṅ . tsheṅ . dgon ||
,, ,, | Caṅ . Kun . tse . ḫphoṅs |
,, ,, | Caṅ . Seḫu . seḫu . dgon |
,, ,, | Caṅ . Ḫbye . tig . ḫphoṅs |
,, ,, | ban . de . Dvan . Keḫu . żi . dgon |
[20] ,, ,, | Baḫ . Kun . kun . ḫphoṅs |
,, ,, | ban . de . Toṅ . Phug . man . dgon |
,, ,, | Żim . Li . theḫu . ḫphoṅs ||
O ,, ,, | ban . de . Caṅ . Leḫu . cin . dgon ||
,, ,, | Żim . Kvon . ḫiṅ . ḫphoṅs ||
[25] ,, ,, | ban . de . Caṅ . Peḫu . peḫu . dgon ||
[26] Pho . kvaṅ . siḫi . lha . ḫbaṅs | Jeḫu . Tshe . tshe . ḫphoṅs ||
Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Dvan . Hiṅ . dar . dgon ||
,, ,, | Żim . Ju . ju . ḫphoṅs ||
,, ,, | Ser . Kun . dgon ||
[30] ,, ,, | Ser . Kheṅ . kheṅ[2] . ḫphoṅs . ḫdzin . pa |
,, ,, | śud . pu . Legs . dgon ||

[1] ll. 8–9 in red ink.
[2] Corrected from Tshen . tse.

Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Caṅ . Tsheṅ . tsheṅ . h̲phoṅs | drod . pa |
,, ,, | Waṅ . Kog . ne . dgon ||
,, ,, | Caṅ . Żaṅ . tse . h̲phoṅs ||
[35] ,, ,, | ban . de . Caṅ . La . tshir . dgon ||
O ,, ,, | Żim . Hiṅ . tse . h̲phoṅs ||
,, ,, | ban . de . Dzeh̲u . Kve . kve . dgon ||
,, ,, | Caṅ . Theh̲u . cuṅ . h̲phoṅs ||
Pho . kvaṅ . sih̲i . lha . h̲baṅs . Hag . Dzeh̲u . śun . dgon ||
[40] Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Waṅ . Tsheṅ . tsheṅ . h̲phoṅs |
Leṅ . ho . sih̲i . lha . h̲baṅs | Waṅ . Kun . tse . h̲phoṅs ||
O Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Waṅ . Dzin . śen . dgon ||
,, ,, | Toṅ . Waṅ . h̲do . h̲phoṅs ||
,, ,, | ban . de . Li . Jiṅ . 'an . dgon ||
[45] ,, ,, | Ser . Dzin . 'in . h̲phoṅs ||
,, ,, | Caṅ . Dze . tse . dgon ||
,, ,, | Caṅ . Gen . tse . h̲phoṅs ||
,, ,, | ban . de . Kun . tse . dgon ||
,, ,, | Tsoṅ . Dze . tsheṅ . h̲phoṅs ||
[50] ,, ,, | Tsoṅ . Dze . śiṅ . dgon . g-yon
[51] tu . dbuu . ruh̲i . ru . h̲briṅ . yaṅ . Stag . legs . kyi . dar . tshan || Dzeh̲u . Śib . tig . daṅ . sbyor ||

Verso (*in another hand*).

[1] żus . lags | ṅa . ba(u) . spud |
[2] Pho . tshon . bris ||

[1] "The god's (king's) servant of Pho-kvaṅ-si, Jeh̲u Żi . ñaṅ, *h̲phoṅs*. Rgod-sar division, Śoṅ Śiṅ, *dgon*. The god's servant of Pho-kvaṅ-si, Yaṅ G-ya-tshe, *h̲phoṅs*. Rgod-sar division, Bam Kun-tse, *dgon*, along with 'An Dze-hiṅ, *dar-tshan* of *śud-pu* Legs-gzigs, middle left horn.

. . . . . .

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

[10] Rgod-sar division, 'An Dze-hiṅ, *h̲phoṅs*, along with Bam Kun-tse, *dar-tshan* of Caṅ Ka-dzo, little right horn.

[41] The god's (king's) servant of Leṅ-ho-si, Waṅ Kun-tse, *ḫphoṅs* . . . . . .

[50] Rgod-sar division, Tsoṅ Dze-śiṅ, *dgon*, along with Dzeḫu Śib-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 *ḫphoṅs*. Most of the persons belong to the "Rgod-sar division (*sde*)"; but four are "god's servants" ("king's servants?") of Pho-kvaṅ-si and Leṅ-ho-si respectively, these being, no doubt, the *si* (probably Chinese) of Pho-kvaṅ and of Leṅ-ho respectively (since we already know Leṅ-ho).

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,[1] often with some complimentary adjunct: 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, we have here the term *tshar*, elsewhere evidenced (along with its *tshar-dpon*) as a sub-division of a regiment. Consequently the *dar-tshan* "silk-badge" (*mtshan*) will very likely be the banner-bearer. Of the two alternating terms attached to most of the names, *ḫphoṅs* 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

[1] A list of the regiments may be given later. On *śud-pu* see p. 66. Note that not one of the 10 *ban-des* is a *ḫphoṅs*.

have, however, a person's (wooden) 'card', which reads *Dgon Mon-cuṅ*, i.e. 'Mon-cuṅ, a *Dgon*' (M.I. vii, 88).

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. *Caṅ*, *Dzeḫu*, *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 *Ḥbyeḫu-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*, *Tsheṅ-tsheṅ*, *Seḫu-seḫu*, *Kun-kun*, *Ju-ju*, *Kheṅ-kheṅ*, is extensively followed, and in other cases the syllable *tse* seems to be in high favour as final element in the names. A further study of the names might reveal other factors in the population. Concerning *Żi-ñaṅ* see p. 832.

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

[1] dge . sloṅ . ma . Kvaṅ . ḫgam || Śa . cu . [pha] . Rgod . . . . baṅ . Śaṅ . za . Dzaḫ . ch- || dge . sloṅ . ma . L[a]ṅ . c[a]ḫu | Śa . cu . pha . Dar . phaḫi . sde . Beg . za . Hye . wi[ḫu ?] | [dge . sl]o[ṅ] . 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 . Leṅ . za . Seḫu . seḫu || dge . sloṅ . ma . Theḫi . cin || "Śa-cu, Rgod division: Leṅ-za Seḫu-seḫu; *bhikṣuṇī* (nun) Theḫi-cin."

(*b*) Śa . cu . pha . Rgod . gyi . sde . Then . za . Beṅ . 'em || dge . sloṅ . ma . Ḫbyeḫu . ḫdzi || Śa . cu . pha . dge . sloṅ . ma . Kvag . za . Ji . lim . gyi . bran . mo . Kvag . za . Tam . tam . dge . sloṅ . ma . Thoṅ . ceḫu.

"Śa-cu, Rgod division : Then-za Beṅ-'em; *bhikṣuṇī* Ḫbyeḫu-hdzi; female servant of Śa-cu *bhikṣuṇī* Kvag-za Ji-lim, Kvag-za Tam-tam, *bhikṣuṇī* Thoṅ-ceḫu."

In a portion of the instances the "division" (*sde*) specified is not Rgod, but Dar-pa. In most cases the mistress of the female servant or slave (*bran-mo*) is described not merely as *bhikṣuṇī*, but as "*bhikṣuṇī* of Śa-cu or of a Śa-cu man" (*Śa-cu-pha-dge-sloṅ-ma*). One woman is called "subject of the Śa-cu queen" (*Śa-cu-pha-Btsan-moḫi-ḫbaṅs*); one is servant not of a *bhikṣuṇī*, but of a Śa-cu man; and one is not a servant at all, but granddaughter (*tsha-mo*) of a *bhikṣu*.

In all cases the name of the *bhikṣuṇī* (but not of the mistress) is preceded by the name of a man, who is not stated to be, and does not seem always to be, a *bhikṣu*; and in the case of the servant women the man's name is introduced in a way which would involve grammatical difficulty, if the name were not inserted as a simple prefix to that of the woman. We therefore conclude that the document is essentially a list of *bhikṣuṇīs* only, with explanatory mention of other persons.

What then is the relation of the *bhikṣuṇī* to the man whose name precedes? The obvious interpretation is that the relation was marital or filial or some kind of guardianship, or that the designation itself had come to mean no more than "woman". Of the two explanations the former seems the more probable, since it is only in the quality of *bhikṣuṇī* that we find any reason for cataloguing the women at all.

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", *Meṅ-tig* "*Prabhā-śrī*", *Tig-nem* "Obtain-memory", *Hva-ḫgem* "Flower-mass", *Bo-de-sim* "*Bodhi-hṛdaya* (*citta*)", we infer that the majority will be recognizable as Chinese. These feminine names lack for the most part the clan-prefix.

The masculine names are partly of the same appearance as those in the other documents. But in about a score of

cases the second syllable is *ñaṅ*, which has not a highly Chinese appearance. Instances such as *Śib-ñaṅ*, *Śib-lug-ñaṅ*, *Śib-si-ñaṅ*, *Śim-si-ñaṅ*, commencing with what we can prove to be the Chinese for "10", "16", and "12", suggest that *ñaṅ* is nothing else than the Sanskrit *jñāna*, so that the names are of the form *Daśa-jñāna*, *Ṣoḍaśa-jñāna*, *Dvādaśa-jñāna*, no doubt religious appellations.

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 *Caṅ* and *Sag*, but *Caṅ-za* and *Sag-za*. The phenomenon has presented itself before (p. 818) and we find it in the *Chronicle* (l. 82, *Gser-za*). Plainly it performs the function of Sanskrit *ja*, Iranian *zā*, *zāda*; but its actual etymology may, of course, be quite different.

All the names will find their places in the general list.

C. Paper and Copying of Manuscripts

14. (Vol. lvi, foll. 73–4; 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] . śig . . r, n(?), ṇ ?, gy?, by(?) ; ḫth(?)ur . k(g?)yi . phyag . rgya . žig . nod . tu . gsol |

[2] ꠸ || Kva . cuḫi . khrom . rkyen . gyi . dar . ma . sde . gcig . yo . byad . daṅ . ḫtshaṅ . bar || blon . Rgyal . khyi. [3] daṅ . blon . *Ldo*ṅ . bzaṅ . gi[s |] ban . de . Dpal . gyi . bzaṅ . po . la . brdzaṅste | da . ltar . yaṅ . [4] khrom . sar . bžugs . na | [b]ul . rtags . kyi . phyag . rgya . ni . ma . mchis || bla . go[d] . [n]i . —ṅ . stsald [5] dar . ma . daṅ . yo . byad . gyi . rgyu . dpyaḫ . las . god . pa . mṅan . rna*ms* . gyis . chad . du . bdas | m . nap(s ?) [1] . | ma . [6] b *das* . par . [s]g[y]a . god . kyi . phyag . rgya . rnam . gchig . nod . du . gso[l] | [d (?)]e . ltar . ma . gnaṅ . na . [7] dar [ma] . . . bla . nas . slar . bstu . baḫi . phyag . rgya . nod . du . gsol . ||

[8] ꠸ | | *rtaḫi* . l[oḫi] . [d]us . gcig . tu . sku . yon . tu . bsṅos . [te] | blaḫi . mdzad . —ya . las . byuṅ . ba | [B]o[d] .

[1] *Read* bdas . sam.

kyi . Śes . rab [9] h̲[b]u[m] . pa . sde . brgyad . daṅ || Rgyah̲i . H̲bum . pa . *bam* . po . [d]rug . brgyah̲ . [pa] . sde . gsum . ris . śig . ches . byuṅste [10] Rgya . H̲bum . pa . sde . gchi[g . na [1]] | Bod . kyi . H̲bum . pa . sde . gñis . gyi . [g]od . chod . cig . pa[r] | bla . luṅ . stsal [11] pa . bžin . bris . *lag*s . nas || Śa . cuh̲i . mdzod . tu . *m*dzub . tshi*gis* . tsis . na | de . yaṅ . god . gyi . graṅs [12] gyi . ž—ṅ . phyag . [rgya . n]od . tu . gso[l] || Rgyah̲i . H̲bu[m] . pa . sde . gsum | Bod . kyi . H̲bum . pa . sde . drug [13] gi . tshal . ma . stsa[ṅ] . [kh]al . bži . *brgya* . btu*n* . *bc*u . tsam . daṅ | yon . khal . drug . cu . tsam . daṅ | snag [14] śog . gyi . rin . lastsogs . pa . *bla* . nas . ma . stsal . te | dar . ma . lags . nas . stsa[l] . -o . . . . . [15] m[c]is . nas || yi . ge . pa . myi . tshal . ma . [ma] . thob . nas | sku . yon . tu . yaṅ . myi . h̲gyur . na | dk—. [16] daṅ | sbyar . | god . kyi . *phyag* . rgya . dṅos . gyaṅ . mchis . pah̲i . rigs || de . daṅ . gtugs . chiṅ . *mchi* [17] ste . -yiṅ . g[o]d . gyi . ph[ya]g . rgya . rnam . gchig . nod . du . gsol ||

[18] ꣾ | | Bod . kyi . H̲[bu]m . pa . sde . brgyad . h̲dri . bah̲i . tshal . ma . de . h̲i . tshe . nas . || Śacuh̲i . dphon . sna . . . . . [19] śigi . kha . na*s* . phy[e]d . phyed . h̲phriste | Rgyah̲i . [d]ar . ma . h̲dri . bah̲i . yi . ge . [pa] . brgyad . [cu] . daṅ . | žu . che . . . . [20] ñi . śu . la . stsal . te || de . rnams . kyi . skyin . ba . ni . Rgyā . dar . ma . bri . bah̲i . tshal . ma . mchis . n . . . . [21] s[ts]al . ces . | dphon . snas . mchid . stsal . te | slad . kyis | blon . Khoṅ . bžer . last*sogs* . [22] mṅan . rnams . dbaṅ . po . la . khuṅs . phyuṅ . ste | da . *duṅ* . tu . Bod . kyi . dar . ma . h̲dri . bah̲i . [y]i . ge . . . . [23] p . . . th̲ob . ste | phyag . rgya . nod . tu . gsol ||

[24] ꣾ | . . . [d] py[a]d . [m] . . . byaṅ . byuṅste | Rgyah̲i . Tshe . dpag . tu . ma . m[chi]s . pa . . . [25] ris . *śig* . ches . byuṅ . ba . [de] . . daṅ . gtugs . ciṅ . bris . na . bam . po . gchig . l . . o . . . [25] m-i-e-i-o-e . gyi . god . chod .[de | de . . .

[B 1] gyi . g-y . . . . . [pa] . daṅ | [c]u . bžin . yo . byad . h̲tshaṅ . ste . tshad . *ma* . *byuṅ* . cu . gsum

[1] For *ni* or *daṅ* ?

[B 2] khrom . rkyen . la . bżugs . paḫi . dar . ma . glegs . thags . ḫdom . tshad . ḫtshaṅ . ba . gcig . la . | l[o] . bcu . [B 3] lhag . tsam . spyad . nas | sraṅ . la . gcal . de . | g[l]egs . thag . dṅos . żo[1] . sraṅ . gñis . daṅ . | [B 4] żo . [b]tun . byuṅ . baḫi . steṅ . du . gron . ma . brtsiste | gron . brtsis . na | chad . ma . mchis || gron . du . [B 5] gsol . ba . ni | thog . ma . srin . baḫ . bśigste | bkal . baḫi . tshe . lag . rtsub . pos . sbyar | [B 6] nas . żo . gcig . chad | bżus . lags . nas . drul . te . gc[i]g . chad | drul . lags . nas . [gr]an [B 7] paḫi . tshe | byaṅ . myig . tu . lan . sum . cu . bskor . te | żo . phyed . chad || btags . paḫ[i] . tshe . [ża]g . [B 8] bco . lṅaḫi . bar . du . drul . drul . nas . żo . gñis . chad || lags . nas . brduṅs . bcags . bsgral . pa . [B 9] daṅ . [mgo] . mdzug . mtho . gaṅ . lhag . tsam . żig . bcad . pa . (*below line* żo . gcig . chad) . rnams . (*below line* kyi . chad) . brtsis . na || glegs [B 10] gcig . gcig . la . żo . drug . drug . gron . tu . stsal . pa . | sṅa . slad . du || khams . gyi . gnas . brtan . daṅ [B 11] *m*khan . po . lhun . grub . daṅ . | rtse . rje . lastsogs . pa . dam . żags . brtsis . nas . gron . stsal . [B 12] *s*[t]*e* | bdag . cag . ṅan . pa . rnams . sgo . yus . tsam . żig . khoṅ . subs . te . stams . las . chad . [B 13] chiṅ . mchis . na . | bkas . sbyaṅ . żiṅ . mṅan . gyi . mchid . śags . myi . brtsan . bar . chad . [B 14] myi . stsal . pa . tsham . tu . thugs . rje . chir . gzigs ||

[B 15] ꠸ | | rtaḫi . lo . la . bri . baḫi . dar . ma .sde . gñis . || Śacuḫi . pho . ña . Rgya . Śeg . Tsheṅ . tsheṅ . la . brdzaṅste | [B 16] bul . rtags . kyi . phyag . (*below line* rgya) . ni . ma . mchis . nas || (*below line* sṅa .) slad . tu . | bla . nas . dar . ma . chad . żes . rma . ba . | khoṅ . tas [B 17] su . la . phul . yaṅ . ruṅste | sgo . bul . tsam . yaṅ . sku . yon . sar . gñer . myi . khums . te | dguṅ . [B 18] lo . bżiḫi . bar . tu . | Bde . gamsu . gñer . khums . żiṅ . | bul . rtags . [kyi] . phyag . rgya . nod . tu . [B 19] gtaṅ . bar | ban de . Khyam . żaṅ . gis . gżan . gdabs . na . mchisu . ma . btu[b] . ste | dar . ma . s[d]e . . [B 20] gñis . po . ḫdi . | bla . nas . sde . graṅs . goṅ . tu . gnaṅ . na . ni . | spyi . god . las . | Śeg . Tsheṅ . *tsheṅ*

[1] This syllable erased.

[B 21] myiṅ . gis . smos . te . god . stsal . gsol | god . tu . [m]a . gnaṅ . na . | Tsheṅ . tsheṅ . dar . ma . . .

[ll. 2–4] " Councillor Rgyal-khyi and Councillor Ldoṅ-bzaṅ having sent to ban-de Dpal-gyi-bzaṅ-po for a scripture (*dar-ma*), one division, complete with appurtenances,[1] 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 has been already (*bla*) sent. [ll. 5–7] Whether a levy has been made or not made to meet the total (*mṅan*) expenditure upon material (*rgyu*) and costs (? *dpyaḥ* ' tax ') (*chad . du . bdas . sam . ma . bdas . par*), we beg to receive a signature, one part, for the expense of material (*sgya* ?). If that is not granted, we beg to receive a signature returning the scripture and appurtenances.

[ll. 8–9] A donation having been undertaken sometime in the Horse year, arising from the previously made . . . , the total comes to a Tibetan *Śes-rab-ḥbum-pa* (*Śata-sāhasrika-Prajñā-pāramitā*) in eight divisions, and a Chinese *Ḥbum-pa* in six hundred chapters, three divisions. [ll. 10–12] In accordance with a previous order to make the expenditure for a Chinese *Ḥbum-pa*, one division, and a Tibetan *Ḥbum-pa*, two divisions, the copying has been done. Upon finger-count in the store of Śa-cu, we beg to receive a signature of *žuṅ* (acknowledgment ?) of the reckoning of the expenditure. (ll. 12–15] For the Chinese *Ḥbum-pa*, three divisions, and the Tibetan *Ḥbum-pa*, six divisions, the rations (*tshal-ma* = " wages in kind " ?) is some four *hundred and seventy* loads (*khal*) of corn. The donation is some forty 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 (? *dkaḥ* . . ?), as the scribes have not obtained their rations, there being no donor, it is right that we should receive forthwith a signature for the expense. Upon this plea we beg to receive a signature, one part, for the expenditure.

[1] No doubt, such wraps, labels, and boards as are usual with Tibetan MSS.

[ll. 18–21] The rations for the copying of the Tibetan *Ḥbum-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 Khoṅ-bžer and the rest having all entered upon power, thereupon we beg to receive a signature for obtaining scribes copying Tibetan scripture.

[ll. 24–5] . . . total a Chinese *Tshe-dpag-tu-ma-mchis-pa* (*Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtrā*) . . . upon that plea having been copied, 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 *sraṅ* and seven *žo*, 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 . mdzub . mos . sbyar . nas*, ' upon comparison (measuring) with a finger of the hand ' ?), one *žo* 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 *žo* was fixed (deducted). [ll. 7–8] If at a fixed time, after an interval of fifteen days, the rotting had gone on, two *žo* 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 *żo* was fixed or deducted '), for each volume six *żo* 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-żags*), our humble selves, having received orders restricting us to sending in merely a private representation (*sgo-yus*), have discharged our task. [ll. 12–14] For the kindness of merely not sending orders invalidating the whole (*mṅan-gyi* ?) letter, how do we regard it ?

[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 Tsheṅ-tsheṅ, 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 delivered at Bde-gams, bande Khyam-żaṅ, 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) has been sanctioned, we beg you out of the general expense to send the expense upon them, mentioning the name of Śeg Tsheṅ-tsheṅ. If the expense is not sanctioned, Tsheṅ-tsheṅ *should return* the scripture. . . . "

Notes

A l. 2. I translate *rkyen* (Sk. *pratyaya*) as meaning " on behalf of " ; but in the next occurrence (B 2) the meaning " possession " seems more apposite.

l. 3. *bul-rtags* = " receipt " : see pp. 67, 69.

l. 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 *goṅ* ; it usually means " loss ". I must here retract the interpretation as a place-

name (= *Rgod*), adopted for the document printed above, p. 67.

l. 5. *mṅan-* " entire ", " complete " : see pp. 67, 69.

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

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

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

l. 6. *rnam . gchig*, " one part " or " one specimen ", seems to be used here, and l. 17 and elsewhere, of part settlements of accounts.

l. 13. *stsaṅ* = " corn " ; see pp. 67, 69.

l. 16. *dṅos, dṅos.kyis, dṅos-kyaṅ* = " at present ", " forthwith ". See p. 74.

l. 18. *dphon-sna* (translated " several leaders ", pp. 71, 73), means perhaps only " chief leaders " : see M.I. iv, 93*b*, xxiii, 008, xxxiii, 1, M.T. a. ii, 0076, a. iii, 0024.

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

glegs-thags seems to denote the extent of the collection as merely measured.

B l. 3. *sraṅ* = " scales ", and also a certain weight. *żo* also is a weight.

B l. 11. *dam-żags* has occurred *supra*, p. 69 ; cf. M.I. xliv, 8.

B l. 12. *khoṅ-subs-te-stams-las* is obscure : *stams* occurs in M.I. i, 23, and vi, 1 : cf. *bsdoms*, M.I. vii, 2.

B l. 13. *mchid-śags* : see p. 53.

B l. 14. *thugs-rje-chir-gzigs*, " how do we regard the kindness ? ", is a phrase recurring in the documents.

B l. 15. Rgya Śeg Tsheṅ-tsheṅ. 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.ḥgum* (past *gñer-khums*) means to " discharge a task ", " deliver goods ".

Bde-gams : cf. *supra*, p. 826.

l. 19. *gźan-ḥdabs-na* "on another business".

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

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

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

15. Ch. 73, xv, 5 (558, vol. lxix, 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 | ꝏ | 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] ꝏ | : | Rta . daṅ . lug . gi . lo . la || lha . sraṣ . kyi .

sku . yon . dar . ma . Śes . rab . h̲bum . pa | bri . ba h̲i . yi . ge [2] rnams . kyi . khoṅ . na . śog . chad . ci . mchis . pa || riṅ . lugs . Stag . bzaṅ . Tsi . dam . daṅ | G-yu . bżer [3] Bstan . koṅ . gi . g-ya . sṅar || śog . śog . mnos . pa h̲i . dkar . chag . daṅ | dar . ma . phul . ba h̲i . bu*l* [4] yig . tu . brtsis . pa . las || ro . gron . daṅ . glegs . tshas . bton . pa h̲i . slad . na . | yi . ge . pa h̲i . khoṅ . na [5] śog . śog . chad . yaṅ . dag . pa h̲i . myiṅ . smras || blon . Rgyal . zigs . daṅ | To . dog . blon . Btsan . bżer [6] la . żus . pa . las || śog . chad . h̲di . rnams . sde . tshan . so . so h̲i . lṅa . bchu . rkaṅ . daṅ . h̲og . sna . la . [7] gñer . par . gtan . pa . chos . la || rub . ma . pa . Je h̲u . Brtan . koṅ . gis . ni . sṅon . tu . skoste | spre h̲u . lo [8] ston . sla . ra . ba . sum . tshun . chad . kyis . gñer . h̲bumsu . stsol . cig . ces . mchid . gyis . bcad . nas [9] gñer . yig . dkar . chag . tu . bris . pā || gñer . pas . kyaṅ . ṅo . zlog . phod . par . h̲tshol . te | śog [10] śog . h̲byor . na . dṅos . su . bstu | śog . śog . ma . h̲byor . ram | raṅ . reṅ . h̲tshal . ba . żig [11] mchis . na || phu . nu . ñe . tuṅ . gcig . zuṅste | btson . car . stsol . la || sku . yon . sar . btson . tu . żo*g* [12] ste | yige . pa . dṅos . kyis . ni | śog . śog . gi . gñer . h̲gumsu . stsal | gñer . ma . h̲khums [13] gyi . bar . du . phyugs . nor . la . stsogs . pa . gta h̲ . ñi . ri . phrogs . la | rub . ma . pa . la . gton . [14] cig | gñer . pas . ṅo . zlog . ma . phod . dam | gñer . ma . gtus . par . gyur . na | [1] li . ceṅ . [15] rnams . kyaṅ | śog . śog . yug . re [2] . lcag . bcu . bcu h̲i . thaṅ . tu . rgyab . chad . gyis . chod . par . gcado . | [16] li . ceṅ . gi . rnams . kyaṅ . gtugs . re . lan . re . sku . yon . sar . h̲phyan . cad . sñogs . la | śog . śo[g] [17] h̲bul . stobs . che . chuṅ . yaṅ . rtsi . żiṅ . mchis . śig ||

[B 1] ❧ || Stoṅ . sar . gyi . sde . la || Leṅ . ho . Don . tshe h̲i . tshan | Hva . Stag . legs . la | rta h̲i . lo . la [B 2] śog . śog . yug . lṅa || lug . gi . lo . la | yug . suṃ . chu . rtsa . drug . chad || Caṅ . Hig . tse . la . rta h̲i . lo h̲i [B 3] śog . śog . yug . bcu . chad | . . . . . .

. . . . . .

[1] *gñer-pa* here erased.

[2] A second *re* here erased.

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

[ll. 2–6] After reckoning in the presence of courier Stag-bzaṅ Tsi-dam and G-yu-bżer Bstan-koṅ 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 Bstan-bżer 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 (*rkaṅ.daṅ.ḥog.sna* ?), of several divisions and accounts, the *rub.ma.pa* Jeḥu Brtan-koṅ was from the first appointed. [ll. 7–9] He gave orders by letter that delivery 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 (*ṅo-zlog-phod* ?): if supplies of paper [1] should be available, he should collect it; 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 deliver at once the supplies of paper entrusted to them: until delivery 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-ceṅ* should punish him by whipping at the rate of ten lashes per roll (*yug*) of paper.

[1] *śog . śog*, reduplicated, occurs frequently as, perhaps, a sort of plural.

[ll. 15–17] The *li-ceṅ* people also, while in each case of complaint and reply referring (*sñogs* ?) for certainty (*ḫphyan(ṅ)-chad* ?) to the residence of the donor, should take account of capability, great or small, of delivering the paper.

[B 1] Stoṅ-sar division. Account of Leṅ-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 Caṅ 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 Stoṅ-sar division (sde) as far as C l. 1, where begins the Rgod-sar division, followed at D l. 1 by the Sñiṅ-tsoms division, which is mentioned in M.I. vii, 32, *Sñiṅ-tsom-l(h)a-kyi-ḫbaṅs*.

Notes

A l. 2. *riṅ-lugs* = "courier": see pp. 66 and 818.

l. 6. *rkaṅ . daṅ . ḫog . sna* = 'bundles et cetera'?

l. 6. *tshan* "account": see No. 18, below.

l. 7. The Ape year is that following the Sheep year.

l. 8. *gñer-ḫbumsu*. This seems to be an error, or variant, for *gñer-ḫgumsu*.

l. 9. *ṅo-zlog* "turn the face" is stated to mean "oppose".

l. 11. *sar* "to the residence of": see p. 558.

l. 13. *gtaḫ.ñi.ri.phrogs* = "pledge, twice value, taken".

l. 14. *li-ceṅ*: a Chinese official title?

l. 16. *gtugs* is given in S. C. Das' dictionary as having the meaning of "sue" (perhaps originally supplication, or

representation, as *supra*, pp. 812, 835–6). *sñogs* is literally "follow".

h̲phyaṅ-chad, 'doubt-deciding': cf. S. C. Das' Dictionary, S.W. *phyaṅ-chad* and *h̲phyaṅ*.

16. (No. 735; wood, 16·5 × 2 cm.; ll. 3 *obv.* + ll. 2 *rev.* of ordinary *dbu-can* script; clear and complete.)

[1] ꠸ | : | Stag . Su . tam . daṅ . Bran . ceḥu . gyi . grar (gur ?) . brtsis . pa | bam . thum . ḥdi . [2] ḥi . naṅ . na-yug . gsum . pa . bam . po . bdun . cu . rtsa . dgu . | yug . bżi . pa . baṃ . po [3] bcu . gsum || yug . phyed . daṅ . lṅa . pa . bam . po . gchig || yug . phyed . [B 1] daṅ . bżi . pa . bam . po . bdun | spyir . brtsis . na . bam . po . brgyaḥ . la | śog . śog . [B 2] yug . sum . brgyaḥ . rtsa . bco . brgyad . byuṅ ||

"Counted in the school of Stag Su-tam and Bran-ceḥu. In this bundle of chapters *are*: in three rolls, chapters seventy-nine; in four rolls, chapters thirteen; in rolls five and a half, chapter one; in rolls four and 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 *gra* occurs in the next document (No. 17, ll. 3–5); but possibly the word written is *gu*, which might have the sense of "room". It is a fortunate chance which, after preserving to us records of the ordering and paying for copying of MSS. and of the method of employing and rewarding the labour, has in this complete and legible wooden tablet given us a label relating to a parcel placed ready, no doubt, for transmission.

It will be noted that the number of chapters is correctly added (100), whereas the number of rolls should be 17, not 318. For plainly *yug-gsum-pa* must mean "having three rolls" and not "third roll", since "five and one-half-th" is not intelligible. We must, therefore, understand the figure 318 as denoting the total number of pieces in the 17 rolls.

Additional Notes

I may utilize a spare page for one or two additional notes upon matters which have arisen in what precedes :—

(1) *ye-myig* (*myeg*) left untranslated above, p. 81, occurs in M.I. viii, 4, *de . phan . chad . sña . ra . daṅ . phyi . ra . ye . myig . cher . bgyis . nas*, " thence onward making great . . . before and after," and M. Tagh. b. i, 0094, *ye : myig . daṅ . rim . gro . cher . ḥtshol*, " great . . . and service (attendance) are required." It is clear that the general sense of " exertion ", which would admirably fit the passage p. 81, is in these two occurrences also very apposite. Hence we can hardly err in taking *ye . myeg* (*myig*) as an old equivalent of *ye-med* " leisureless ", " continually at work ".

(2) For *dbyoṅs* (p. 72) the meaning " interview " (cf. *ḥbyon . pa* " arrive ", *ḥdir . ḥbyon* " come here ") seems also to fit M.I. vii, 46, *spyan . gis . dbyoṅs . dkyigs . la . gsol . cig*, a request for a personal meeting.

(3) *bkaḥ . gyod*, understood (p. 56) as " evade orders ", occurs in the Lha-sa inscription, *JRAS.* 1910, p. 1281, ll. 24–5 : the sense might be " show disaffection ".

(4) *ñam . drod* " troubles (?) " (p. 82), is found in a wooden document M.I. xiv, 0011 (*sug*) . *lasu . bgyag . ñam . drod . kyaṅ . mtshal.*

(5) *ȝabs . kyis . bcags* " trampled under foot ", " disciplined " (p. 822). Compare the *Me-loṅ, blun . ȝiṅ . mthaḥ . khob . ston . pas . ȝabs . ma . bcags* " stupid savages not disciplined by the teacher ".

(6) As regards *dam . ȝag* " a fixed date " (p. 838) we may take note of M.I. viii, 92, *gla . ni . ḥphral . ȝag . du . tha(o)gs . las* " having got (?) wages on the present day ", and M.I. xliv, 8, *dam . ȝag . tu . mdzad . du . gsol* " I beg you to do it on the fixed date ".

(To be continued.)