

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

BY

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(Continued from 1927, p. 844.)

D. MONASTERIES AND A HISTORIC FOUNDATION

17. Ch. 0021 (670, vol. xxxi, foll. 115; *verso* of fol. 2 of a text in *dbu-can* script; ll. 8 of clear *dbu-med*).

[1] ☉ || Bod . yul . du . byuñ . baḥi . dge . baḥi . bśes . ñen .
gi . rgyud . kyi . rnam . grañs . la . ||

[2] Rgya . gar . gyi . mkhan . po . Bo . de . sva . rva . las .
stsogs . paḥi . slob . ma . ni | Dbaḥ . btsun . ba . Ye¹ . še(s) .
dbañ . po | Dbaḥ . Dpal . dbyañs . | Ñan . lam . Rgyal .
mchog . dbyañs . | Hgo . ḥbom . Rdo . rje . rgyal . po . | Jeñ .
Gsal . rab . rin . po . che . | Myañ . Mchog . rab . gzo . nu . |
Myañ . Gśa (?) . myi . go . cha . | Gleḥu . Gzo . nu . sñiñ . po . |
Lha . luñ . [3] Dpal . gi . rdo . rje | Tshog . ro . Dpal . gi .
señ . ge . | ²Tsog . ro . Byams . paḥi . señ . ge . ² | Cog . ro .
Hchos . kyi . bśes . ñes (n) . | de . las . bsogs . pa . ni . Bsam .
yas . dañ . Hphrul . snañ . yan . cad . kyi . dge . baḥi . bśes .
ñen . lags . sho . ||

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

[4] Wañ . Śes . rab . sla . ba . | Hdan . ma . Bkun . dgaḥ .
dpal . | Nem . Dgaḥ . ldan . byañ . chub . las . bsog³ . pa . ni .
Mdo . gams . nas . brgyud . pa . lags . so . ||

Kam . bcuḥi . chos . graḥi . slobs . pon . | Dbas . Byañ .
chub . rin . cen . | 'An . Dge . lam . | Lañ . ḥgro . Dam .
mtsho . || Lbe (Hbe ? Lce ?) . ži . Rnal . ḥbyor . [5] skyor . |
Hphru . ma . legs . las . bsogs . pa⁴ . ni | byañ . ños . phyogs .
su . brgyud . pa . lags . so . ||

Go⁵ . cuḥi . chos . graḥi . slo . dpon . Myañ . Rin . cen .

¹ Corrected from *yes*.

² *Tsog* *ge* repeated and then erased.

³ Below the line.

⁴ Below the line.

⁵ Corrected from *Gog*.

byañ . chub . || Ža . sna . Hjam . paḥi . sñiñ . po | Hgo . bom .
 Sa . mun . tra . || Hgreñ . ro . Dgeḥi . blo . gros . | Phuñ . Dge .
 rgyas . las . btsogs . Śi . goñ . bu . nas . [6] brgyud . pa . lags .
 sho . || rdzogs . so . |

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

[2–5] I. Pupils of the Indian abbots Bodeśvara and so forth :—

Dbaḥ the reverend Ye-śes . dbañ-po (Jñānendra) ;

„ Dpal-dbyañs (Śrīghoṣa) ;

Rgyal-mchog-dbyañs (Ujjayana (?) ghoṣa) of Nan-lam ;

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

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

Myañ Mchog-rab-gžo-nu (Prāgra(?)kumāra) ;

„ Gśa-myi-go-cha (. . . varman) ;

Gleḥu Gžo . nu . sñiñ-po (Kumāragarbha) ;

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

Dpal-gyi-señ-ge (Śrīsiṃha) of Cog-ro ;

Byams-paḥi-señ-ge (Maitrīsiṃha) of Cog-ro ;

Hchos-kyi-bśes-gñen (Dharmamitra)

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

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

Wañ Śes-rab-sla-ba (Prajñācandra) ;

Hdan-ma Kun-dgaḥ-dpal (Ānandaśrī) ;

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

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

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

Dbas Byañ-chub-rin-chen (Bodhiratna) ;

’An Dge-lam (Supatha, Kṣemamārga ?) ;

Dam-mtsho of Lañ-hgro ;

Lbe-zi Rnal-hbyor-skyor (Yogastambha ?) ;

Hphru-ma-legs ;

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

[5-6] IV. Teachers of the Go-cu seminary :—
 Myañ Rin-cen-byañ-chub (Ratnabodhi) ;
 Ẑa-sña H̄jam-paḥi-sñiñ-po (Mañjugarbha) ;
 Sa-mun-tra (Samudra) of H̄go-h̄bom ;
 Dgaḥi-blo-gros (Sumati) of H̄greñ-ro ;
 Phuñ Dge-rgyas (Puṇyavistara) ;
 —these and others are the succession of Śi-goñ-bu. *Finis.*”

Notes.

1. 2. *Dbah* (l. 6 *dbas*) : see p. 56.

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

Hgo-bom (l. 5 *Hgo-h̄bom*) has been mentioned above (p. 823), and the second element occurs in *Khri-boms*. The name of *Kum-bum*, which might here occur to us, is usually explained as *Sku-h̄bum*.

ll. 2-3. *Lha-luñ* and *Cog(Tsog)-ro* are known, and the *Bsam-yas* and *H̄phrul-snañ* monasteries are the famous early foundations, the latter at Lha-sa.

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

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

Lañ-h̄gro is mentioned in the *Chronicle* (ll. 176, 206, 237).

1. 5. *Go-cu* is not known to me.

H̄greñ . ro is, no doubt, the territory of the *H̄greñ* clan of *Mdo-gams* (p. 87). It is mentioned in *M.I.*, viii, 13, 48, xiv, 113.

Ẑa . sna is ordinarily a phrase meaning presence.

Śi-goñ-bu has not yet been found in the documents.

Concerning the surnames (*Myañ*, *H̄dan-ma*, etc.) see the consolidated list, pp. 91-5.

18. Ch. 73, viii, 5 (705 : vol. lxix, foll. 45-6, and vol. liii, fol. 11 ; 30 × 25 + 30 × 53 + 30 × 25 cm. ; discoloured and fragmentary ; ll. 15 + 31 + 15 of excellent *dbu-can* script ; paragraphs separated by | 's and 〇〇 in red).

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

¹ Bam . Stag . zigs . gyi . khram . tshan la ¹ || Dgaḥ . ldan . ḥbyuñ . gnas . gyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . gyi . yon . bdag . Bam . Stag . gi . skya . | Dgaḥ . ldan . gnas . gyi . gḥal . yas . paḥi . gtsug . lag . khañ . gyi . yon . bdag . Leñ . ho . Siḥu . lañ . gyi . skya .

“ *Account of Bam Stag-zigs.* Crop of Bam Stag, patron of the Dgaḥ-ldan-ḥbyuñ-gnas monastery. Crop of Leñ-ho Siḥu-lañ, patron of the Dgaḥ-ldan-gnas-kyi-gḥal-yas monastery.”

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

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

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

Dri-myed . . .	monastery ;
„ ya-rnam-dag	„
„ -dnos . grub	„
„ -tin . ñe . ḥdzin	„
„ -rgyas . pa	„
„ -don . dam	„

¹ This part in red ink.

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

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

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

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

Dgaḥ-ldan-ḥbyuñ-gnas	monastery ;
„ -gnas-kyi-gḅal-nas	„
„ -pad-mo	„
„ -sprul-pa	„
„ -myi-g-yoḥ	„
„ -mthaḥ-yas	„
„ -rgyal-ba	„
„ -dri-myed	„
„ -byams-pa	„
„ -rdo-rje	„

[B ll. 6–12]. *Khram account of Cañ Si-ka* :—

Rin-chen-ḥod-ḥphro	monastery ;
„ -ḥbar-ba	„
„ -rnal-ḥbyor	„
„ -bla-myed	„
„ -bsam-yas	„
„ -dus-gsum	„
„ -don-dam	„
„ -dkaḥ-thub	„
„ -ḥod-khyab	„
„ -chos-grags	„

[B ll. 13–20]. *Khram account of Li Sehu-lan* :—

Chos-grags-bsam-yas monastery ;

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

[B l. 20–7]. *Khram account of Leñ-ho Zun-zun* :—

G-yuñ-h̄druñ-yañ-dag monastery ;

„	-dam-pa	„
„	-don-dam	„
„	-rdzu-h̄phrul	„
„	mñam-ñid	„
„	-byams-pa	„
„	-bla-myed	„
„	-dge-rtags	„
„	-yid-bžin	„

[B ll. 27–31]. *Khram account of Wañ Stagu* :—

Don-dam-rnal-h̄byor monastery ;

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

[C ll. 1–2]. (Title of account missing).

Dbañ-mchog-rnal-h̄byor monastery ;

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

Bsam-yas-dus-gsum monastery ;

„	-myi-g-yoñ	„
„	-rnal-h̄byor	„
„	-rn-chen	„
„	-btañ-sñoms	„

Bsam-yas-mchog monastery ;

„ -yon-tan „

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

Khams-gsum-grags-pa monastery ;

„ -bla-myed „

„ -rgyal-ba „

„ -mchog „

„ -ži-ba „

„ hph „

„ don-mdzad „

„ g-yuñ-druñ „

The names of these monasteries exhibit, as will be seen, a certain sameness. They consist for the most part of combinations of well-known Buddhist or Indian phrases, such as *dri-med* (= *amala*, *nirmala*), *rnam-dag* (= *viśuddha*), *dgahldan* (= *tuṣita*), *rin-chen* (= *ratna*), *chos-grags* (= *dharmakīrti*), *g-yuñ-hdruñ* (= *svasti*), *don-dam* (= *paramārtha*), *bsam-yas* (= *acintya*), *khams-gsum* (= *triloka*), *bla-med* (= *anuttara*), *byams-pa* (= *Maitreya*), *dños-grub* (= *siddhi*). They are all Tibetan, which, however, may represent Sanskrit or Chinese originals.

It remains to justify the translation of *tshan*, which has occurred already several times (pp. 808, 810, 842), by “account” and to explain the phrase “*khram account*”.

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

England down to the seventeenth century.¹ On two of these tallies the words *tshan* and *khram* in fact occur :—

(a) M.I., xxvii, 8 :—

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

[2] To . tson . gis . phul . bañ . . .

(b) M.I., xiv, 131 a :—

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

[2] o | kog . chas . hlug . khram |

[3] lug ma . mo.

19. Ch. 9, I. 37 (722, vol. xxxii, foll. 88–96 ; 42·5 × 7·5 cm ; fol. 9, numbered 35–41 ; followed by No. 74, another text ; ll. 4 per page of good ordinary *dbu-can* script ; paragraph titles in red ink).

88 (35) [1] ༄ | : | thañ . du . gtsigs . kyi . gtsug . lag .
khañ . bzeñs . par . Mdo . gams . kyi . khams . kyi . dbañ . po .
rnams . kyis . dkon . mcog . gsum . la . mcod . ciñ . yon .
phul . ba . hdihi . bsod . nams . dañ | byin . gyi . rlabs . kyis
[l. 2] lha . btsan . po . rje . blon . hkhor . dañ . bcas . pañi .
sdig . pa . thams . cad . ni . byañ | bsod . nams . dañ . ye . ses .
kyi . tshogs . ni . yoñsu . rdzogs . nas . chab . srid . mjal . dum .
g-yuñ . druñ . tu . brtan . sku . tse . riñ . žiñ . lha . dañ . myihi .
bde . skyid [l. 3] phun . sum . tshogs . pa . la . gnas . te | bla .
na . myed . pa . yañ . dag . par . rdzogs . pañi . byañ . cub . lhun .
gyis . grub . par . smon . to | | ༄ | | ² De . ga . gtsigs .
kyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . žal . bsro . bañi [l. 4] bde . blon . gyi . smon
lam . du . gsol . bañ ² || phyogs . bcu . mthañ . yas . mu .
myed . pa . na . skye . ba . dañ | hgog . pa . las . rnam . par .
dben . ba . yod . myed . dañ . rtag . chad . kyi . mthañ . las .
hdas . pa . dus . gsum . gyi . de . bžin . gšegs . pa (B l. 1) thams .
cad . la . mcod . ciñ . bstod . nas . skyabsu . mciste | gus . par .
phyag . htsal . lo | hjig . rten . dañ . hjig . rten . las . hdas . pa .
na . hpags . pa . thams . cad . mkhyind ³ . pañi . ye . ses . dañ .

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

² Red ink in original.

³ For *mkhyend*.

ldan . pa . ḥgag . la . ci . sñed . bžugs . so . cog [B. l. 2] dan |
 chos . dan | sañs . rgyas . dan | dge . ḥdun . la . skyabsu . mci .
 ste | gus . par . phyag . ḥtshal . lo || Ḥo . lde . spu . rgyal .
 gnam . gyi . lha . las . myiḥi . rjer . gśegs . pa . yoñ . gis . sku .
 bla . gžan || chab . srid . che | chos . bzañ | gtsug [B l. 3]
 lag . che . bas . yul . byuñ . sa . dod . tshun . cad . rjeḥi . gtuñ .
 ma . gyurd . te | chab . srid . g-yuñ . druñ . tu . brtan . žiñ . che .
 baḥi . bkaḥ . drin . chen . pos . phyogs . brgyad . tu . khyab .
 par . khebeste | phyi . nañ . gñis . kyi . Ḥgriñ¹ . myi . ḥo . chog .
 la [B l. 4] mñam . bar . dgoñs . nas . mtho . žiñ . dregs . pa .
 ni . brlabs . dan . thabs . kyis . btul . te . rigs . paḥi . chos . la
 btsud . | dmaḥ . žiñ . rgrad . pa . ni . ḥphral . yun . gñisu .
 dgaḥ . žiñ . spro . bar . gziñs . bstod . nas . gnam . mthaḥ . ḥog .

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

¹ Sic for *Ḥgreñ*.

² Below line, inserted. For *dan* ?

mñah . thañ . tu . byuñste || blon . chen . po [B l. 2] žañ .
 Khri . sum . rje . dañ | chen . po . žañ . Lha . bzañ . po . gñis .
 kyis | dgrañi . séd . smad . de | chab . srid . kyi . phañ .
 bsod . nas . || Rgya . Drug . Hjañ . las . stsogs . pa .
 mthañi . rgyal . po . || bar . du . chab . srid . la . sdo . žiñ .
 rtsol | ba . [B l. 3] kun . kyañ | bkañ . nan . gyi . mthu .
 dañ | rlabs . kyis | bthul . bas . ni . re . thag . bead | yun .
 riñ . por . legs . śiñ . bde . bañi . bkañ . drin . gyis . ni . dad . pa .
 dañ . spro . ba . bskyed . nas | gnam . sa . yid . hbyor . pa .
 dañ . hdra . bar | rgyal [B l. 4] khams . tu . ma . žig . gis ||
 Bod . rje . blon . gyi . bkañ . gus . par . mñan . te | chab . srid .
 mjal . dum . chen . po . mdzad . pa . hdi . yañ | hphral . yun .
 gñis . su . legs . śiñ . bde . ba . ñi . tser . ma . baste | gžah .
 gsañ . gñis . 90 (37) [A l. 1] ☉ || su . chab . srid . kyi . phañ .
 mtho . ba . dañ . smos . śiñ . brjod . pañi . don . kyañ . rab . tu .
 zab | lo . stoñ . rabs . khri . yañ . hbri . ba . myed . par . bzañ .
 žiñ . sñan . te . mjal . dum . gyi . legs . pa . chen . po . mñon .
 sum . tu . mdzad [A l. 2] pa . hdi . dkon . mchog . gsum .
 dañ | hjig . rten . gyi . lha . klu . thams . cad . kyis .
 kyañ . mkhyend . ciñ . gzigs . pas . na | nam . tu . yañ . myi .
 hgyur . žiñ . brtan . bar . smond . to || de . ltar . mjal .
 dum . chen . po [A l. 3] mdzad . pañi . rkyen . kyis . rgyal .
 khams . tu . ma . žig . gi . hbañs . mchon . chañi . khar . ñon .
 moñs . pa . myiñ . myed . par . btsald . te | bde . skyid . pañi .
 gnas . la . dus . gcig . tu . bkod . pañi . bsod . noms [A l. 4]
 chen . po . hdis | hphrul . gyi . lha . btsan . po . Khri . Gtsug .
 lde . brtsan . mched . dañ | chab . srid . kyi , blon . po . chen .
 po . legs . pa . sgrub . sgrub . pa . blon . chen . po . žañ . Khri .
 sum . rje . dañ | žañ . chen . po . Lha [B l. 1] bzañ . lastsogs .
 pa . Bod . rje . blon . hkhord . par . bcas . pa . dañ | sems .
 can . thams . cad . sgrib . pa . rnam . gñis . byañ . nas . bsod .
 noms . dañ . ye . ses . kyi . tshogs . yoñsu . rdzogste . mthar .
 yañ . bla . na . myed . pa . yañ . dag [B l. 2] par . rdzogs .
 pañi . byañ . cub . tu . mñon . bar . rdzogs . par . sañs . rgyas .
 par . smon . to || de . ga . G-yu . tshal . mjal . tum . thañ .
 tu . gtsigs . kyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . mdzad . pa . hdi . yañ .

lo . no . gñis [B l. 3] la . rgyal . khams . chen . po . gsum .
 mjal . dum . ba . dañ . gtsigs . chen . po . mdzad . paḥi . sa .
 gzi . ste | ḥdir . bcas . pa . dañ . sbyar . na ¹ | ḥdi . yañ . sñon .
 gyi . ḥphags . pa . rnames . kyis . yañ [B l. 4] dag . par . byin .
 kyis . brlabs . paḥi . sa . gzi . žig . ste | yoñ . yañ . ḥdi . lta .
 buḥi . legs . pa . chen . po . dus . gcig . tu . byuñ . baḥi . don .
 tu . btsigs . pas . lhag . par . yañ . bsod . nams . che . žiñ . bkra .
 śis . par . mñon . te | 91 (38) [A. l. 1] ☉ || bsod . nams . chen . po .
 de . dag . gi . byin . kyis . gtsuñ . lag . khañ . ḥdi . yañ . nam . ñi .
 ma . dañ | zla . ba . yod . kyi . bar . tu . yun . tu . brtan . ba .
 dañ | ḥphrul . kyi . lha . btsan . po . Khri . Gtsug . lde . brtsan .
 gyi . ža . sña . nas | sku . tshe . riñ . žiñ [A l. 2] chab . srid .
 che . ba . dañ | dgoñs . pa . yid . bžin . tu . grub . par . smon .
 to || sñon . Rgya . Drug . dañ ² . chab . srid . la . ma .
 mjald . te . nold . pa . dag . gi . dus . na . lha . sras . dbu .
 rmog . brtsan . po . dañ | blon . po . dpaḥ . ḥdzañs [A l. 3]
 ldan . žiñ . dgra . thabs . mkhas . paḥi . skyims ³ . kyis . dgra .
 la . phog . pa . dañ | dmag . mañ . poḥi . mthu . brtsan . pos .
 dgraḥi . mkhar . phab . pa . dañ | g-yu . bzlog . pa . dañ |
 yul . bcom . ba . dañ | mnañs . bcad . pa . la [A l. 4] stsogste |
 dgraḥi . myi . phyugs . mañ . pho . srog . dañ . bral . ba . dañ .
 ma . byind . par . blañs . phaḥi . dño . sdig . ci . mcis . pa . yañ .
 bsod . nams . chen . po . ḥdiḥi . byin . dañ . zil . kyis . mnand .
 te . žu . žiñ . byañ . bar . smon [B l. 1] to || dkon . mchog .
 gsum . la . mcod . ciñ . yon . phul . ba . dañ | dño . sdig . bśags .
 pa . lastsogs . paḥi . bsod . nams . kyis . rjesu . bsño . žiñ .
 dmyigs . pa . dañ | bzod . pa . dañ . ḥthol . tsañsu [B. l. 2]
 gsol . ba . lastsogs . pa . smon . lam . gžan . yañ | bla . nas .
 mdzad . pa . dañ . mthun . bar . smond . to || ⁴ *De . ga .*
G-yu . tshal . gtsigs . kyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . du . Mkhar . tsan
 [Bl. 3] *khrom . chen . pos . smon . lam . tu . gsol . ba* ⁴ . ||
 Bod . rje . blon . dbu . rmog . brtsan . Sgam . dkyel . chen . poḥi .

¹ s here erased.

Read *Hjañ* ?

³ For *skyems*.

⁴ Red ink in original.

sku . ril . la | bar . tu . Rgya . Drug . dañ . Hjañ . rgyal .
 khams . chen . po . gsum . gyis . chab . srid . kyī . mdab .
 tu [B l. 4] bsños . pa . las | rje . dbu . rmog . brtsan .
 blon . po . rin . po . che . dpah̄ . rtsal . dañ . ldan . baḥi .
 byin . rlabs . kyis . dgra . bkah̄ . hog . du . chud . du |
 gtsigs . bkah̄ . rtsald . to . ḥtsald . tu . mnos . la | nam . za .
 92 (39) [A l. 1] ༄ | : | myi . rabs . kyī . gtam . brjod .
 kyī . bar . tu . legs . paḥi . bkah̄ . drin . dgugs . kyis . zin . to .
 ḥtsal . la . khebs . te . brjod . paḥi . gtsigs . kyī . gtsug . lag .
 khañ . bžeñs . par . rgyal . khams . chab . srid . kye ¹ . la
 [A l. 2] ltod . paḥi . slad . tu . lha . sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde .
 brtsan . gyi . za . sna . nas . thugs . kyī . phrin . las . su . mdzad .
 pa . dañ | blon . chen . po . zañ . Khri . sum . rje . dañ | chen .
 po . zañ . Lha . bzañ . gis . dgra . Rgya . Drug . gi . g-yul .
 [A l. 3] chen . po . bzlog . pa . lastsogs . pa . thabs . ches . phras .
 dgra . la . gnad . par . bgyis . pa . dañ | kh[r]om . Mkhar .
 tsan . pa . lta . žig . Bod . ḥbañs . dpah̄ . sran . la . stend . paḥi .
 tshul . bžin . du [A l. 4] lo . no . gcig . la . g-yul . chen . po .
 gñis . bzlog . paḥi . dpah̄ . baḥi . sna . drañs . pa . lastsogs . ste |
 Bod . rjes . ḥbañs . kyis . chab . srid . la . sdo . baḥi . slad . tu .
 dbugs . chags . la . gnad . paḥi . sems [B l. 1] kyis . mphro .
 btod . ciñ . rma . phyuñ . no . ḥtsal | rtul . tsam . ma . lus . phar .
 byañ . bar . smon . lam . gsolte | Khar . tsan . khrom . kyis .
 yon . dbul . ba . la | ༄ || | ² De . ga . G-yu . tshal . gtsigs .
 kyī . gtsug . lag . khañ . tu . Kva . cu . khrom . chen [B l. 2] po .
 nas . smon . lam . tu . gsol . ba ² || Bod . rje . blon . dbu .
 rmog . brtsan . | Skam . dkyel . chen . poḥi . sku . rin . la |
 bar . du . dgra . Rgya . Drug . Hjañ . rgyal . khams . chen . po .
 gsum . kyis . chab . srid . kyī . mdab . tu . bsdos . pha . las
 [B l. 3] rje . dbu . rmog . brtsan | blon . po . rin . po . che .
 dpah̄ . rtsal . ldan . baḥi . rlabs . kyis . dgra . bkā . hog . tu .
 chud . de . | gtsigs . bkah̄ . stsald . to . ḥtsal . tu . mnos . pha .
 nam . za . myi . rabs . su . gtam . brjod . kyī . bar . tu [B l. 4]
 legs . paḥi . bkah̄ . drin . dbugs . kyī . zin . to . ḥtsal . khebs . te |

¹ Read *kyi*, as below (B l. 4).

² Red ink in original.

brjod . paḥi . gtsigs . kyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . bžeñs . par . rgyal .
kham . s . chab . srid . kyi . la . ltod . paḥi . slad . tu | lha . sras .
kyi . za . sna` . nas . | thugs . kyi .

93 (40) [A l. 1] ☉ || ḥphrin . las . su . mdzad . pa .
dañ | blon . chen . po . zañ . Khri . sum . rje . dañ | chen . po .
zañ . Lha . bzañ . gis . Rgya . Drug . gi . g-yul . chen . po . bzlog .
pa . lastsogs . pha . Bod . rjes . ḥbañs . kyis . chab . srid . la .
sdo . baḥi . slad . [A l. 2] tu . dgra . la . gnad . paḥi . úugs .
kyis . bgyis . so . ḥtsal . bag . tsam . ma . lus . par . byañ . bar .
smon . lam . tu . gsol . te || Kva . cu . khrom . chen . po .
nas . yon . tu . dbul . baḥ || ☉ || | ¹ *Phyug . tsams* . [A l. 3]
stoñ . pon . dpon . g-yog . gi . smon . lam . tu . gsol . baḥ || ¹
dkon . mchog . gsum . la . phyag . ḥtsal . lo || sañs . rgyas . la .
phyag . ḥtsal . te . thams . cad . mkhyen . pa . laḥo || [A l. 4]
chos . la . phag . ḥtsal . te | theg . pa . bla . na . myed . pa .
laḥo || dge . ḥdun . la . phyag . ḥtsal . te | phyir . myi . log .
paḥi . byañ . cub . sems . dpaḥ . rnams . laḥo || bdag . dañ .
g`zan . kyi . non . sgrub . paḥi . phyir . dkon . mchog . gsum .
la . mchod . de | sdig . pa . thams [B l. 1] cad . btsald . nas |
bsod . nams . kyi . rjes . su . yi . rañ . ste | dkon . mchog .
gsum . la . phyogs . śiñ . rton . to || Thugs . skam . dbu . rmog .
brtsan . baḥi . rje . blon . thugs . la . ḥphrul . dgoñs . phas .
Rgya . Drug . Ḥjañ . las . stsogs . pha [B l. 2] bar . tu . bkaḥ .
myi . mñand . pa . yañ . ḥbañs . gñug . ma . dañ . ḥdra . bar .
rnal . tu . phab . nas . dbu . rmog . brtsan . la . chab . srid . che .
baḥi . ḥdab . la . phyogs . par . gsol . nas | mjal . dum . gyi .
gtsigs . bcas . nas . [B l. 3] rdo . riñs . la . bris | gtsigs . kyi .
gtsug . lag . khañ . bžeñs . nas . so . kham . s . kyi . khrom .
ni . dal . | yul . chen . poḥi . dbus . skyid . ciñ . dar . bar .
bgyis . ḥdi . las . bkaḥ . drin . che . ba . ma . mcis . pas . sri .
zu . dañ . bkaḥ [B l. 4] drin . dran² . baḥi . mtsan . ma .
tsam . du . dkon . mchog . gsum . la . yon . baḥi . bsod . nams .
kyis | Bod . rje . blon . ḥkhor . dañ . bcas . pha . sku . tshe .

¹ Red ink in original.

² Below line.

dañ . mñah̄ . thañ . g-yuñ . druñ . du . grub . la . Bod . khams .
 na . phas . kyi . dgra . dañ . h̄khrug . pañi . myi . gragste |
 94 (41) [A l. 1] ☉ || lo . phyugs . rtag . legs . la .
 gtsigs . bcas . pa . bžin . yun . du . brtan . žiñ . h̄jig . rten . dañ .
 h̄jig . rten . las . h̄das . pañi . bde . skyid . phun . sum . tshogs .
 pha . dañ . ldan . bar . smon . to || [A. l. 2] ☉ || ¹ *Hbrom* .
khoñ ² . sa . *hi* . smon . lam . du . *gsol* . bañ ¹ || rje . bla . na .
 bžugs . pa . ni . lha | chab . srid . kyi . blon . po . ni . h̄phruld |
 rje . blon . lha . h̄phrul . kyis . gnam . ral . ba . ni . lhañi . byin .
 kyis . drubs . | sa . gas . pa . ni . blon . poñi . rlabs . kyis .
 btsams ³ . te | gnam . sa . ni . yod . sbyar | dgra . [A l. 3]
 zin . ni . mjal . dum . nas | mtha . nas . ni . dgra . myi . sdo |
 byañ . nas . ni . g-yag . myi . rtuñ . ste || Bod . h̄bañs . yoñs .
 bde . skyid . pa . h̄bah̄ . śig . tu . ma . bas . te | ñi . hog . gi .
 rgya ⁴ . khamsna [A l. 4] rgyal . phran . mcis . pañi . rnam .
 sems . myi . bde . žiñ . srid . śor . h̄idu . dogs . pañi . rnam .
 kyañ . srid . la . myi . dbab . ciñ . sems . bde . ba . yañ . | rje .
 blon . lha . h̄phruld . kyi . sku . yon . | h̄di . h̄dra . bar . bkañ .
 drin . chen . po . stsalnas . [B l. 1] Bod . h̄bañs . yoñs . su .
 bde . bañi . dus . ni . ñi . ma . bžin . tu . śard . | ⁵ men . tog .
 bžin . tu . rgyas . nas . yul . Bkra . śis . dbyar . mo . thañ .
 de . ga . G-yul . tsal . tu . | blon . chen . po . žañ . Khri . sum .
 rje . dañ . | žañ . chen . po . Lha . bzañ . dañ . | bkañ [B l. 2]
 h̄khor . dañ . bdag . cag . las . stsogs . phas . gtsug . lag . khañ .
 brtsigs . dge . h̄dun . gyi . sde . gtsugs . rkyen . dañ . bcas .
⁶ par . sbyar . ba ⁶ . pañi . yon . kyis . | rje . lha . sras . Khri .
 Gtsug . lde . brtsan . gyi . sku . tshe . riñ | dbu . rmog . brtsan .
 dañ | [B l. 3] blon . chen . po . žañ . Khri . sum . rje . dañ |
 žañ . chen . po . Lha . bzañ . dgoñs . so . h̄tsal . mthar . phyin .
 pa . dañ | Bod . rje . blon . kyi . gtsug . lag . ñi . ma . dañ .
 h̄dra . bar . nam . žar . myi . h̄gyur . dañ | gcigs . brtan . [B l. 4]

¹ Red ink.

² Inserted below line.

³ *m* inserted below line.

⁴ Inserted below line.

⁵ *mye* here erased.

⁶ Inserted below line.

baḥ . dañ | ¹ bdag . cag . las . stsogs ¹ . sems . can . thams .
 cad . tshe . rabs . kyi , sgrib . pa . byañ . ste | bla . na . myed .
 paḥi . lhaḥi . yañ . lha . sañs . rgyas . bcom . ldan . ḥdas .
 Byams . paḥi . ḥkhor . tu . skye . bar . smon . to ||

[88*a*, l. 1] “ In founding the monastery erected in Bkra-
 śis-dbyar-mo-thañ the authorities of the realm of Mdo-gams
 pray that through the merit and blessing of this donation
 made in honour of the Three Jewels all the sins of His
 Majesty, the Btsan-po, together with his retinue of lords
 councillors, may have been cleansed, and that, their merits
 and wisdom being perfected, the state being established in
 a circle of concord, in the enjoyment of long life and of entire
 felicity on the part of gods and men, they may realize the
 attainment of supreme, perfect illumination.

[88*a*, l. 3] PRAYER OFFERED BY THE NOBLE COUNCILLORS
 AT THE FACE-WARMING OF THE THERE ERECTED MONASTERY.

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

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

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

¹ Erased.

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

[89a, l. 1] Furthermore, established in his place, the pure land, his high kingdom, above great rivers and at the foot of high snow-mountains, His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po, in the counting of the generations of his line equal to the manner of the gods, is beyond other kings manifestly great and permanent.

[89a, l. 3] Of ancestry thus rivalling the gods, furthermore also great sovereign and of high helmet, His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, in body firm knit, in mind divinely endowed, with due foundation of all monasteries, continues the succession of exalted bodies to the joy [of all], beginning with all the gods of heaven and the Nāgas.

[89a, l. 4] At the time when, through his great compassionateness towards us Hgreñ people, the great authority of his government spread and flourished, protecting us with respect in a manner resembling heaven, there came into power certain exalted councillors of state, the Great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje, and the Great Uncle Lha-bzañ-po, these two. Humbling the might of enemies and setting them in the bosom of the state, by the power and influence of their commands they tamed all the border kings, of China, the Drug, the Hjañ and others, till then venturing and making effort for dominion, and cut short their hopes. After long time, when righteous and prosperous kindness had engendered trust and encouragement, as though heaven were realized in men's minds, some several states, respectfully heeding the orders of the high councillors of Tibet, made this great concordat of states ; whereby, to say nought of ephemeral good and happiness both in present and future, there is among friend and foe alike reason profound indeed for extolling and

celebrating the bosom of the state. Through myriad millenniums, unspeakably beneficial and welcome, may this great, publicly enacted concordat, known and witnessed by the Three Jewels and by all gods and Nāgas of the universe, stand for all time unimpaired and firm. The subjects of the several kingdoms, by virtue of the thus enacted great concordat, consigning to oblivion their sufferings during the time of arms, and being united at one time in a situation of felicity, through the great merit thereof may His Divine Majesty, the honoured Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan and the great councillors of State, successful in righteous achievement, the Great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzañ and the rest, together with their retinue of High Councillors of Tibet, and all beings, cleansed from the double darkness, and fulfilling their store of merit and wisdom, finally in supreme, perfected enlightenment attain to consummate Buddhahood.

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

Whereas formerly, in the time when China and the Drug were not in accord and harmony with the State, the firm-helmeted prince and the wise, heroic councillors, in the ardour of their warlike skill, smote at the foe and by the mighty power of large armies laid low enemy cities, won battles, conquered countries, slew the people and so forth, may the sin of severing

the lives of numerous men and cattle and of taking what was not given be altogether dominated by the splendour and power of this great merit and be dissolved and washed away.

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

[91*b*, l. 2] PRAYER OFFERED BY THE GREAT CITY OF MKHAR-TSAN AT THE MONASTERY ERECTED IN THE THERE TURQUOISE-WOOD.

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

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

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

[93*a*, l. 3] PRAYER OFFERED BY THE COMMANDANT OF THE PHYUG-TSAMS THOUSAND, HIMSELF AND HIS SUBORDINATES.

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

PRAYER OFFERED BY THE DISTRICT HBROM-KHOÑ.

The lord stationed on high a god ; the councillors of the state inspired ; the rift of heaven through divinely inspired High Councillors embroidered with divine blessing ; the cloven earth, knitted by the influence of the councillors, a heaven realized ; enemies held fast by concord ; on the frontier no hostile venture ; in the interior¹ the yak not beaten (?)—not enough that thus merely the people of Tibet should be enjoying happiness and felicity : in the realms beneath the sun whatever lesser kings there are, uneasy though they were and apprehensive of loss of state, not being lowered in state are happy. Great kindness such as this having come from the lords councillors, divinely inspired benefactors, a time of universal happiness for the people of Tibet has risen like a sun. Like a flower abloom in the country of the Luck-Summer plain (*Bkra-śis-dbyar-mo-than*), in the there Turquoise-Wood (*G-yu-tshal*), a monastery has been erected by Great Councillor Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzañ and their subordinates and ourselves and others, and furnished with means for the instalment of a brotherhood ; through which benefaction may the lord prince Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan be of long life and firm helmet, may great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzañ attain their purposed ends, may the monastery of the lords councillors of Tibet be imperishable, like the sun, and of firm foundation, and may¹ we ourselves and² all creatures, cleansed from the darkness of generations, be born in the courts of the supreme god of gods, the Buddha, the holy Maitreya.”

From this remarkable record, which by its elevated magniloquence³ and the no less exalted integrity of its sentiment would have done honour to any religious foundation, we may derive an enlarged conception of what

¹ I read *nañ* for *byañ* (“ north ”).

² Erased in the original.

³ The rather frequent occurrence of the word “ great ” is a noticeable feature of similar oratory elsewhere !

was possible to the Tibetan people, and its language, during their period of greatness. While the background is the rigorous intellect of India, we note an accent reminding us that dogmatic systems, when planted among fresh peoples, may be capable of a certain refflorescence. What, however, more appropriately here attracts our attention is the circumstance that the great religious and historic occasion should have been greeted by "messages" not merely from princes and ministers, but from cities and local bodies. This invites a readjustment of our notions of life in north-eastern Tibet and Chinese Turkestan during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.

The occasion was the famous concordat whereby the Tibetans and Chinese sought to terminate a struggle of nearly (A.D. 783), or more than (A.D. 822), a century and a half. An account of these treaties has been given from Chinese sources by Bushell (*JRAS.* 1880, pp. 487 sqq.), and the Lha-sa inscriptions relating to them have been published with translations and discussions by Col. Waddell. This is not the place for an examination of the question whether the treaty inscriptions are two parts of a single document, or the question of the Tibetan dynastic lists; and consequently we do not here decide whether the date of our document is about A.D. 783 or about A.D. 822.¹ What is important for us to note is that the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan of the document is certainly identical with the Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan of the treaty inscription. The fact that in the document he is once styled "prince" (*lha-sras*) is connected with certain dynastic circumstances which may become clearer hereafter. The two ministers named in the document, Khri-sum-rje and Lha-bzañ, are not obviously identifiable with any of

¹ Provisionally it seems to me that the edict edited in 1909 is only the first, or preliminary, part of the treaty of 783 A.D., reciting the previous history. The translations, highly meritorious at the time of their publication, require a thorough revision. We may, however, await the publication of MM. Pelliot and Bacot, who are, it is understood, in possession of new facsimiles of the text.

those whose signatures are appended to the treaty. A probably earlier Councillor Khri-sum-rje is frequently mentioned in the *Chronicle* (ll. 147-85, years 44-54 = A.D. 715-25).

Another person mentioned as having initiated a war movement against China is a certain "Skam-skyel (or dkyel) the Great", also designated *Thugs-skam*. In the Lha-sa inscriptions (1919, l. 44, 1910, B l. 42) he has hitherto escaped notice as an adviser of the Btsan-po Khri-lde-btsan (= Chinese Ch'ilitsan, c. 780 ?).

The monastery having been erected on the site of the treaty conference, and both the treaties of A.D. 783 and A.D. 821-2 having been concluded at a spot in Tibetan territory near the Chinese frontier and in the region of the Koko-nor lake, it is there that we must locate the "Turquoise-Wood" (*G-yu-tshal*), in the "Luck-summer open pass" (*Bkra-sis-dbyar-mo-thañ*), in the "Phyug-tsams Thousand-District", in "Hbrom-khoñ territory", forming part of the realm of Mdo-gams. The Dbyar-mo-thañ is mentioned in a Lha-sa inscription (*JRAS.* 1910, pp. 1255-67, l. 33 of text); but of the other names none can be identified with the Chinese name (*Ch'ing-shui*) of the place of the A.D. 783 treaty. The *Tsoñ-kha* named in adjacency to Dbyar-mo-thañ in the inscription may very likely be the birth-place of Tsoñ-kha-pa, who was born near the Kum-bum monastery. In the *Chronicle* also a place Tsoñ-ka is mentioned (l. 74). The fact that "messages" are received from the towns of Kva-cu and Mkhar-tsan illustrates the natural connexion which we have already (pp. 72, 78, 82) found between the Koko-Nor region and that part of Chinese Turkestan. The name of the monastery does not transpire; but it is, no doubt, the place referred to in the *Bkah-hgyur* (Beckh, *Catalogue*, p. 74) and *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, i, p. 96) as Phyug-mtshams. Hbrom-khoñ is not known; but cf. *Hbrom-stod*, M.I., xiv, 96.

Of the parties to the treaty, the Chinese, the Drug, the Hjañ, and the Tibetans, who are, no doubt, meant by the

“four exalted kings” (*mtho-bḥi-rgyal-po*) of the treaty inscription (*JRAS.* 1910, p. 951, l. 47 of text), the Chinese and Tibetans demand no comment, and concerning the Drug something has already been said (pp. 68, 80, 85) and it is proposed to return to them later. Of the Hjañ we have hitherto had no printed mention beyond the occurrence of the name in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzañ* (ed. S. C. Das, p. 4) and an entry in S. C. Das’ Dictionary, where *Hjañ-sa* is explained as a “place-name in N.W. (read N.E.) Tibet”. But we may learn from the *Rgyal-rabs . . . me-loñ* (India Office Xylograph, fol. 31a) that the person *Hjañ-tsha-Lha-dbañ* “son of king Khri Lde-gtsug-brtan” (S. C. Das’ Dictionary, s.v.), was so named, “Hjañ grandson,” because the queen, his mother, Khri-btsun, was a Hjañ-mo, a Hjañ woman: and from the same history we may ascertain more of this people.¹ Since their frontier was probably adjacent to the site of the conference, we are tempted to identify them with the Tang-hsiang kingdom, which according to Bushell (*JRAS.* 1880, pp. 450 and 528, n. 12) was east of the Tibetans and south of the Koko-nor. We know that this kingdom was conquered by the Tibetans, whose aggressions extended not only to the north-east, but also to the east and south-east, as well as in other directions. How far the designation Hjañ may have reached, it would be premature to speculate; but it has been observed by M. Bacot (*Les Mo-so*, p. 13) that “le nom des mo-so, *Djung* (*Hdjang*), est relaté dans l’épopée du roi Géser (Gésar) et designe un pays situé entre le *Ling* (*Gling*) et la Chine”. It is possible that the Mo-so in their southern migrations took with them the name Hjañ.²

The extent of the document may not have been as great as might be indicated by the fact that the first surviving

¹ The Hjañ country *Hjañ-yul* is mentioned also in the *Chronicle* (ll. 22, 92).

² The Hjañ-sa-tham of a Tibetan *gsuñ-hbum* (“n. of a place in Kham”, acc. to S. C. Das’ Dictionary) is perhaps the *Sa-dam* of the Mo-so (*Les Mo-so*, pp. 3, 118, 164).

folio is numbered 35. But we naturally incline to believe that the "message" from Mdo-gams was preceded at least by one from the Tibetan Btsan-po himself and perhaps by others. (See No. 21 *infra*.) Of the first "message" we have only the conclusion, and its source is for us therefore unknown.

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

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

88 A, l. 3 : "here (there) erected monastery." It would be possible to take *de-ga* "there" as a proper name ; but upon the whole the other view seems preferable.

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

88 B, l. 2 : *sku-bla*. On this phrase, see above, p. 66.

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

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

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

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

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

the Hgreñ people in the Koko-Nor region, or perhaps makes them include the people of Mdo-gams as a whole.

88 B, l. 4 : *hphral-du* “ in the present ”. So correct p. 76 above.

89 B, l. 4 : *gzah-gsañ* “ friends and enemies ”.

91 A, l. 6 : *skyems*, literally “ thirst ”.

91 A, l. 4 : *srog-chags* . . . The reference is to the two Buddhist prohibitions of killing and of appropriating what is not given (all *adattādāna* being “ theft ”).

91 B, l. 3 : *Sgam-dkyel-chen-po* is below (92 B 2, 93 B 1), styled Skam-skyel and Thugs-skam (see above, p. 84). Both names recur Lha-sa, 1909, l. 44, and 1910, B l. 42.

92 A, l. 1 : *khebs-te-brjod*. This is a good instance of the use of the form with *te* as a sort of infinitive after a word of saying.

92 A, l. 1 : *zin-to-htshal* “ will to grasp ”, literally “ wish grasped ”. The use of the past form with *to* after *htshal* is frequent in the documents.

92 A, l. 1 : *la-ltod* = *la-thod* “ turban ” (S. C. Das) ? I correct *kye* to *kyi* in accordance with the passage below.

92 A, l. 4 : *g-yul-zlog-gñis*. The two great victories are perhaps not identifiable. Concerning the part played by the city of Mkhar-tsan, see above, p. 82.

94 A, l. 4 : *srid-la-myi-dbab-ciñ*. The phrase occurs Lha-sa, 1911, C l. 64.

94 B, l. 2 : *rkyen* “ means ” ; see above, p. 837.

94 B, l. 3 : *nam-žar* recurs in Lha-sa, 1910, C l. 48.

ADDENDUM

20. Ch. 75, xii, 5 (vol. liii, fol. 20 ; 31·5 × 17 cm. ; *recto* ll. 6, *verso* ll. 11 + 1 inserted, of ordinary *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ། || glañ . gi . lohi . dpyid . sla . hbrin . po . tshes .
 bž[i] . la || lha . sras . ky[i] . sku . yon . bla . skyes . nar . ma ||
 Śa . cu . gtsug . [2] lag . khañ . du . žugs . mar . bltam . ste |
 gtsug . lag . khañ . Pho . kvañ . sir | tshes . bžihi . n[u]b . mo |
 lha . hbañs | 'I[m] . [3] Dam . then . hdo . gis . | yu . mar .

phul . lña . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes .
 l[ñ]aḥi . nub . mo . 'Im [4] Dam . then . ḥdo . gis | yu . mar .
 phul . lña . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams ||
 tshes . [dru]g . gi . nub . mo . 'Im . Dam [5] [then . ḥdo] .
 gis . yu . mar . phul . dgu . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha .
 brgyaḥ . brgyad . cu . bltams || tshes . [b]cuḥi . nub . mo .
 'Im . Dam [6] then . [ḥ]do . gis . yu . mar . phul . phyed .
 dañ . lña . phul . the | žugs . mar . kha¹ . dgu . bcu . bltams .
 . . . [verso].

[B 1] žugs . mar . kha . drug . cu . bltams || Li . Kim .
 kañ . gis . yu . mar . phul . bdun . phul . te | žugs . mar .
 kha . brgyaḥ . bži . bchu [B 2] bltams || tshes . ñi . śu .
 brgyad . gyi . nub . mo . blon . Gthug . bžre² . gyis . yu .
 mar . phul . bdun . dañ | khyor . phyed . dañ . do . phul . te ||
 žugs . [3] mar . kha . brgya³ . bži . bcu . rtsa . bdun . bltams |
 . . .⁴ dgun . sla . tha . chuñs . tshes . lñaḥi . nub . mo . Wañ .
 Cvan . cvan . gyis . yu [4] mar . phul . bdun . phul . te |
 žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bži . bchu . bltams || tshes . bcu .
 bžiḥi . nub . mo | blon . Lho . bzañ . [5] gi . yu . mar . 'An .
 Zen . tses . yu . phul . bcu . dañ | khyor . do . phul . te |
 žugs . mar . kha . ñis . brgyaḥ . rtsa . bcu . bltams || [6] tshes .
 bco . lñaḥi . nub . mo | lha . ḥbañs . Hag . Khi . šeḥu . yu .
 mar . phul . bdun . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bži .
 cu . bltams | [7] tshes . ñi . śu . nub . mo | Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ .
 gis]⁵ . yu . mar . phul . bcu . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha .
 ñis . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes . ñi . śu . gñis . kyi . nub . mo
 [9] Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ . gis⁶ . phul . bcu . phul . te || žugs .
 mar . kha . ñis . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes . ñi⁷ . śu⁷ . gsum
 [10] gyi . nub . mo . | Cañ . Kvañ . gis . yu . phul . bcu . phul .

¹ *brgyad . cu* here erased.

² Compendious for *bžer*.

³ *ḥ* here erased.

⁴ *dbya* here erased.

⁵ *yu . mar . phul . lña . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes .*
ñi . śu . cig . (8) gi . nu here erased.

⁶ *phul . te* here erased.

⁷ Added below line.

te | žugs . mar ¹ . kha . ñis . brgya . bltam . [11] tshes . ñi .
 sú . bži . ħi . nub . mo . Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ . yu . mar . phul .
 bcu . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . ñis . brgyaħ . bltam |

[*Inverted*] . . . n . . . | Keħu . Lyañ (Syañ ?) . kañ .
 žog . . .

[1-2] “ On the fourth day of the middle spring month of the Ox year, the prince (*lha-sras*) having become an exalted donor in perpetuity, lamp-oil was provided in the monastery(ies) of Śa-cu. [2-6] In the monastery Pho-kvañ-si on the evening of the fourth day the god’s servant ’Im ² Dam-then-ħdo presented five *phul* ³ of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the fifth day ’Im ² Dam-then-ħdo presented five *phul* of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. (*So on the sixth and tenth days 9 and 4½ phul, resulting in 180 and 90 lamp-lights respectively.*)

[B 1] . . . resulting in sixty portions of lamp-oil. Li Kim-kañ presented seven *phul* of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred and forty portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the twenty-eighth day Councillor Gtshug-bžer presented seven *phul* and with a half two *khyor*, resulting in one hundred and forty-seven portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the fifth day of the last winter month Wañ Cvan-cvan presented seven *phul* of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred and forty portions of lamp-oil. (*The remainder of the document, B ll. 4-11, reports similar donations by ’An Žen-tse (for Councillor Lho-bzañ), the God’s servant Hag Khi-šeħu, and Cañ Kvañ-thoñ.*) ”

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

(a) *Pho-kvañ-si* is a monastery, and the word *si* (Chinese, as suggested above) may represent, as Professor Pelliot has kindly suggested to me, the Chinese *ssŭ* “ temple ”.

(b) *lha-ħbañs* is, no doubt, “ god’s servant ”, not “ king’s servant ”.

¹ žu here erased.

² Erased.

³ A measure defined as a “ handful ”.

(c) As the number of lamps is consistently proportional to the number of *phul* presented, namely in the proportion of 20 to 1, and as $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 *khyor* provide for 7 and 10 lamps respectively, it follows that 1 *khyor* = $\frac{1}{4}$ *phul*, which latter measure is defined as “ a handful ”.

(d) The phrase “ with a half two ” (*phyed-dañ-do*) means not “ two and a half ”, but “ one and a half ”, corresponding to Sanskrit *ardha-dvitiya*, German *halb-zwei*, etc. (and analogously in the case of other units ?). Correct accordingly the renderings on pp. 809, 811–2, 814 (but *not* 843) above ?

The expression “ *yu* oil ” has not elsewhere been found. Possibly *yu* is for *rgyu* “ material ”, so that “ *yu* oil ” would be raw or unpurified oil.

21. (Vol. liii, fol. 1 ; 28 + 26 cm. ; ll. 15 of good, cursive *dbu-can* writing ; very fragmentary.)

[1] d [2] . . dpaḥ | . . [3] . . . paḥi || ḥj
 [4] . . . | lha-sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde . *btsan* . gy[i]
 [5] . . . ḅzin . bg[*yi*]s . te || dge . ḥdun . sde . gñis . dañ
 [6] . . s stogs . pa || skye . bo . smos . mañ . po . tshe . dpag .
 d[u] . myed [7] . . [1]ha . sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde¹ | .
*btsan*¹ | . gi . ža . ṣna . nas . || sku . la . ṣñun . nad . myi .
 ṃna[ḥ] [8] bar . che || chab . srid . rtseg² . mar .
 mtho . žiñ . || byin . rlabs . yañ . bas . ḥph [9]
 phyogs . [g]yi . gnod . byed . kyi . bgegs . dañ . || bsam . ba .
 log . par . ḥdabs s[ts]og[s] [10] rab . tu . ži .
 nas || sku . la . sdo . b dbañ . du . ḥdus . par . gyur .
 chig [1] | lha . sra[s] . kyi . ža . [ṣna] . . . [11] rnam .
 gñi[s] . [s]in . [b] l—s . par . byañ | . . . gse . ch . . . s . ni .
 yoñs . su . rdzogs . nas || sañ[s] . . . [12] —u . [n]i . yon .
 tan . sku . tshe . ḥdi . ñid . kyis . bžes . par . gyur . c[i]g || lha .
 s[r]as . kyi . ža . ṣna . nas . ji . lta . s [13] chag . dkyil .
 ḥkhor . tu . žugs . pa . rnams . kyañ || tshe . riñ . nad . myed .
 nas || bsam . ba . yi [14] cig || [m]thaḥ . yas . paḥi .
 sems . can . dañ . Bod . khams . phyogs . su . yañ . da[l] .

¹ Added below the line.

² *g* below line.

hbyor . dañ . bd[e] [15] tshogs . nas || myi . nad .
 phyugs . nad . myed . ciñ . lo . phyugs . rtag . du . legs . par .
 [smon] . to ||

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

INDEX

A

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

'An : *Dge-lam* 17, *Dzañ-tse* 15 (B 11), *Dze-hiñ* 12, *Guñ-legs* 15 (D 20), *Lha-legs* 15 (D 10), *Phab-dzañ* 15 (C 13), *Stag-cuñ* 15 (C 18), *Weñ-tse* 15 (B 11), *Žen-tse* 20. **Bah** : *Kun-kun* 12. **Bam** : *Chehu-hdo* 18 (B 3), *He-he* 13, *Hya-hdo* 15 (D 14), *Hyen-tse* 15 (B 14-5), *Ju-ju* 15 (D 7), 18 (C 4), *Koñ-cu* 13, *Kun-tse* 12, *Li-hvag* 18 (C 5), *Li-tshen* 18 (C 5), *Log-log* 3, *Śib-lug-ñañ* 13, *Si-ka* 18 (B 16), *Stag-legs* 18 (B 17), *Stag-slebs* 2, 15 (C 12), *Stag-zigs* 18 (A 13), *Tig-tse* 13, *Tsheñ* 18 (B 2), *Yiñ* 13. **Bañ** : *Dzin-jehu* 15 (D 3), *Goñ-legs* 15 (C 25), *'I-tse* 15 (D 11), *Legs-ma* 15 (C 24). **Beg** : *Hye-wi* 13, *Khe-śehu* 15 (B 21), *Ti-phor* 13. **Boñ** : *La-ku* 9. **Bor** : *Yon-tse* 10. **Buñ** : *Śun-śun* 18 (B 13), *Hiñ-śeñ* 18 (B 19).

Cañ : Beñ-ñañ 13, *Bstan-bzañ* 15 (C 15), Cin-hañ 13, Ciñ-hñi 15 (B 5), Dig-hdo 18 (A 12), *Dpal-legs* 15 (C 15), Dze-tse 12, Gen-tse 12, Gu-gu 5, Hbye-tig 12, Hgem-tse 13, Hig-tse 15 (B 1), *Hphan-legs* 18 (C 9-10), Hva-hva 12, Hye-na 15 (C 1), 'I-tse 15 (D 13), Ka-cin 18 (B 12), Ka-dzo 2, 12, 15 (C 7), 18 (C 2, 6), Keñ-keñ 13, *Klu-legs* 2, Kun-tse 2, 12, Kvañ-thoñ 20, Kyin-tshe 15 (D 11, 13), La-tshir 12, *Legs-stsan* 15 (C 9), Leñ-cin 12, *Lha-khri* 15 (C 5), *Lha-legs* 18 (A 6-7), Lyañ-hgi 15 (C 17), Peñ-peñ 12, *Rma-legs* 15 (D 9), Rya-hdo 18 (A 1), Śañ-ñañ 13, Señ-señ 12, 15 (C 4), Śeñ-ñañ 13, Si-ka 18 (B 6), Śim-hgo 13, Śiñ-man 13, Śiñ-ñañ 13, *Stag-snañ* 15 (C 14), *Stagu* 15 (C 4), Theñ-cuñ 12, Tsheñ-tsheñ 12, Tshe-śiñ 3, Tsin-tse 18 (A 11), Tsin-tsin 18 (B 5), Yeñ-yeñ 13, Zañ-tse 12, Žun-žun 18 (A 2). **Cheg** : Beñ-ñañ 13, Bo-de-sim 13 (a woman), Žir-cin 13. **Cin** : Tam-ñañ 13. **Dañ** : Kheñ-kheñ 15 (B 19). **Dar** : *Rgyal-ma* 2. **Dbah** : *Ye-śes-dbañ-po* 17, *Dpal-dbyañs* 17. **Dbas** : *Byañ-cub-rin-cen* 17. **Den** : *Stag-legs* 15 (D 12), *Tshar-tiñ* 15 (D 18). **Do** : *Stag-cuñ* 15 (B 3), Syañ-hdo 18 (B 11), Theñ-beñ 18 (B 12). **Dvan** : Bur-ži 15 (C 25), Hig-tse 15 (C 8), Hiñ-dar 12, Keñ-ži 12. **Dzeñ** : Cu-cu 18 (B 26), Cvan-cvan 15 (D 22), Gog-tsheñ 2, Kve-kve 12, Lañ-tshe 15 (D 22), Mun-ba 15 (D 24), Śib-tig 12, Śiñ-śiñ 15 (D 24), Tsin 18 (B 2). **Gleñ** : *Gzo-nu-sñiñ-po* 17. **Gño** : *Dge-ldem* 17. **Gños** : Ho-se, p. 818. **Ha** : *Stag-slebs* 15 (D 7). **Hag** : Dzeñ-śun 12, Khi-śeñ 20. **Han** : Then-tig 18 (A 12). **Hba** : Ko-lon 15 (B 13). **Hbah** : Bur-hdo 18 (B 23), Ji-tsañ (woman) 13. **Hbeg** : Deñ 18 (B 6). **Hbu** : *Bstan-legs* 15 (D 1), Kvañ-ži 18 (B 4). **Hdan-ma** : *Bkun-dgañ-dpal* 17. **Heñ** : *Legs-koñ* 15 (D 9). **Hgo** : Kañ-gañ 15 (C 21), Śeñ-han 15 (D 12), Śiñ-tse 13, *Stag-po* 15 (B 9), *Stag-tse* 15 (C 20), Yem-ñañ 13. **Hgreñ-ro** : *Dgeñi-blo-gros* 17. **Hva** : *Stag-legs* 15 (B 1). **'Im** : Bur-hdo 15 (D 15), Dam-then-hdo 20, Dzi-hvan 15 (D 6), 'Eñ-tse 15 (D 6), *Gtsug-legs* 15 (C 10,11), Hbi-ñañ 13, Him-tse 15 (D 17, 21), Hiñ-hun 18 (A 9), Hiñ-rneñ 18 (A 10), Hi-yir-yañ 13, Ka-tsin 18 (B 24), Kvañ-wen 13,

Kveh-señ 13, Pho-cin (a woman), 13. **Jehu** : *Br̄tan-koñ* 15, *Kog-tsheñ* 15 (C 25), *Tshe-tshe* 12, *Tsin-thoñ* 18 (B 18), *Zi-ñañ* 12. **Jeñ** : *Deñ-h̄do* 18 (B 4), *H̄go-h̄go* 15 (C 23), *Gsal-rab-rin-po-che* 17, 'I-tse 15 (B 18), *Legs-rtsan* 15 (C 22), 'On-tse 15 (B 20), **Jiñ** : *H̄do-tse* 15 (C 27), *Hig-tse* 15 (C 3), *Ho-ho* 15 (C 19), **Keñu** : *Dras-koñ* 18 (B 26), *Ko-lon* 15 (D 15), *L (S) yañ-koñ* 20, *Rgyal-slebs* 15 (B 6), *Śib-tig* 15 (B 7), *Smon-legs* 15 (B 16), *Stag-cuñ* 15 (D 23). **Khañ** : *Bstan-legs* 15 (D 4), *Bstan-slebs* 15 (B 4), *Dpal-legs* 15 (C 2), *Stag-slebs* 15 (D 3), *Stag-tshab* 15 (D 1), *Ten-h̄ba* 18 (B 25), *Tsin-khvañ* 18 (A 29), *Weñ-ñañ* 13. **Khehu** : *Bzañ-goñ* 5, *Yem-ñañ* 13. **Khoñ** : *Man-tse* 3, *Rtsan-tse* 15 (C 10), *Sbañ-tse* 1, *Smon-legs* 15 (C 11), *Thehi-ñañ* 13. **Khyuñ-po** : *Stag-legs* 4, 10 (?). **Koñ** : *Tshe-tshehi* 18 (B 30). **Kvag** : *Ji-lim* (a woman), 13, *Keñu-zi* 15 (C 16), *Tam-tam* 13. **Kyer** : *Chañ-kog* 15 (B 13). **La** : *Legs-lod* 5. **Lbe (Hbe ? Lce ?) -zi** : *Rnal-hbyor-skyor* 17. **Lbehi** : *Kvañ-h̄do* 18 (B 9). **Len** : *Hva-sim* (a woman), 13. **Leñ** : *Señu-señu* 13, *Siñu-siñu* 13, *Thehi-cin* 13. **Leñ-ho** : 'An-zi 18 (B 21), *Don-tshe* 15 (B 1), *Khrom-stañ* 15 (D 17), *Hva-hva* 18 (B 1), *Liñ-lug* 5, *Señu-chon* 15 (B 19), *Śib-bir* 5, *Śib-tig* 5, *Siñu-lañ* 18 (A 4), *Yeñu-yeñu* 13, *Žun-žun* 18 (B 20-1). **Li** : 'An-tshe 15 (D 26), *G-yu-legs* 15 (B 9), *He-he* 13, *Hva-kog* 18 (B 31), *Jiñ-'an* 12, *Kañ-tse* 4, *Lha-skyes* 15 (D 5), *Mcheñu-za Siñu-h̄ju* 13, *Señu-lañ* 18 (B 12), *Señu-señu* 18 (C 1), *Stag-skyes* 15 (D 2), *Tsin-dar* 15 (B 13), *Tsun-h̄do* 18 (B 10), *Wañ-jeh̄u* 15 (C 2), *Yen-h̄do* 18 (B 10). **Lihu** : *Bun-h̄de* 18 (B 8), *Man-tse* 18 (B 8), *Stag-sña* 18 (B 19). **Lne** : *Hva-cañ* (a woman) 13. **Lyañ** : *H̄go-h̄go* 18 (C 2). **Mcheñu** : *Siñu-h̄ju* 13. **Mog** : *Kyem-po* 9. **Myañ** : *Gśa-myi-go-cha* 17, *Mchog-ro-gžo-nu* 17, *Rin-cen-byañ-cub* 17, *Žañ-snañ* 10. **Nem** : *Dgañ-ldan-byañ-cub* 17. **Phag** : *Stag-l[egs]* 7. **Phu** : *Tan-myin* 15 (D 16). **Phuñ** : *Dge-rgyas* 17. **Sag** : 'An-sab 13, *Dge-legs* 15 (C 19, D 10), *Dpañ-brtsan* 15 (B 13), *Hbe* 18 (C 3), *Hehi-jeh̄u* 18 (C 12), *H̄gven-h̄gven* 18 (C 8), 'In-tse 15 (C 26), 'I-tse 13, *Jeh̄u-jeh̄u* 18 (C 7). *Keñu-ce* 13, *Kog-tsheñ* 18 (C 14), *Kun-tse* 15 (C 26), *Kvañ-wen*

18 (C 11), *Legs-skyes* 15 (B 14, 15), *Lha-bžer* 15 (C 6), Pa-tshe 18 (C 13), Tsin-beñ 18 (C 13), Weñ-kog 18 (A 8). **Šaṅ** : Dza-rga 13. **Seg** : *Lha-ton* 15 (B 18). **Šeg** : *Dge-brtsan* 15 (B 5), *Lha-ston* 15 (B 4). Hyen-hyen 15 (B 7), Tsheñ-tsheñ 14 (B 15, 20). **Ser** : Dzin-'in 12, Kheñ-kheñ 12, Kun 12, *Legs-ma* 15 (D 8, 28), *Mdo-skyes* 18 (B 14). **Ser-sbyoṅ** : *G-yu-bžer* 11. **Šig** : *Dge-brtan* 15 (D 19), *Hgi-tig* 15 (B 6). **So** : *Legs-tsan* 15 (D 29). **Son** : Hyen-tse 15 (B 16), Šin-ḥdo 15 (D 27). **Soṅ** : *Bstan* 15 (B 17), *G-yu-legs* 15 (C 1), *Hgin-ḥgin* 13, Rñeḥu-tshe 18 (A 11), Sam-ñañ¹ | (a woman) 5, Šin 12, *Stag-ma* 15 (C 10), Tsin-hvi 18 (A 9). **Tañ** : Pho-briñ (a woman) 13. **Then** : Ben-'em 13. **Toṅ** : Phug-man 12, *Stag-cuñ* 15 (C 7), Thoñ-thoñ 12, Wañ-ḥdo 12, Yu-tsheñ 18 (B 10). **Tre** : *Mye-slebs* 2, 3, 4. **Tsah** : Bur-ḥdo 18 (B 22). **Tsehi** : Hig-tse 15 (D 7). **Tsoṅ** : Dze-ših 12, Dze-tsheñ 12, Tsheñ-tsheñ 12. **Tsyañ** : *Legs-ḥdus* 15 (C 12). **Wañ** : Beñ-ñañ 13, Bun-tsoṅ 1, Chaḥ 13, Cvana 15 (B 15), Cvan-cvan 20, Deñ-tse 15 (B 18), Dzin-šen 12, Hig-tse 15 (B 12), Hiñ-tse 15 (C 16), Hva-kun 18 (B 28), Hyen-hyen 15 (B 5), Kog-ne 12, Kun-tse 12, Kvañ-hiñ 18 (A 5), Kvañ-cheḥu 18 (B 17), Kyen-man 13, Kyva-yin 18 (B 29), *Legs-brtan* 15 (D 24, 25), Man-tse 13, Sa-ḥdo 18 (B 29), *Šes-rab-sla-ba* 17, Šib-ñañ 13, Šib-si-ñañ 13, Šib-tig 18 (B 7), Šin-si-ñañ 13, *Stag-cuñ* 15 (C 16), *Stagu* 18 (B 27), *Stag-zigs* 15 (D 26), Šun-thoñ 15 (B 10), Tsheñ-tsheñ 12, Tyam-si 13, Weñ-jehu 15 (B 11). **Wehi** : Ciñ-ñañ 13. **Yam** : *Hgi-ñañ* 13. **Yañ** : *G-yu-tshe* 12, Kog-buñ 15 (B 18), Phu-cu 13, *Stag-legs* 12. **Yehu** : Lañ-lañ 15 (D 8). **Yem** : Šim-si-ñañ 13. **Yun** : 'An-tse 15 (B 20). **Zen** : Khyam-tse 15 (C 23). **Zim** : Hiñ-tse 12, Ju-ju 12, Kvon-hiñ 12, Li-theḥu 12. **Za-sna**² : *Hjam-dpal-sñiñ-po* 17.

These names, if we omit those in italics, which are Tibetan (perhaps translations), seem to be in the main Chinese, and in many cases their meanings are certain or probable. A careful scrutiny from a Sinologist standpoint may explain

¹ So read in text (in place of *Sam-ñuñ*).

² This phrase usually means "presence".

the majority and indicate those, if any (e.g. some under **Beg** and **Šan** ?), which may be extraneous. It seems probable that the 'Im clan gave its name to the town 'Im-ka-cin, mentioned above (pp. 67-8). The natural suggestion that the **Li** clan consisted of people from Khotan is not confirmed by the personal names of its members.

B

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

Be <u>h</u> - <u>ž</u> an 5.	Hyen-cher 13.
Bode-sim (Cheg-za) 13.	„ -tig 13.
Byan-ce <u>h</u> u 13.	
Ce <u>ñ</u> -se <u>ñ</u> 13.	Ji-hva <u>h</u> i-man 13.
„ -sin 13.	„ -'i <u>ñ</u> 13.
Cin- <u>h</u> go 13.	„ -lim (Kvag-za) 13.
	„ -tsa <u>ñ</u> 13 (H <u>h</u> ba <u>h</u>).
De <u>ñ</u> -ci 13.	Jin-hye <u>h</u> i 13.
„ -man 13.	
„ -tse <u>h</u> u 13.	Kag- <u>h</u> byi <u>h</u> u 13.
	Khye-wen 13.
H <u>h</u> bu-nem 13.	Kim-hyen 13.
H <u>h</u> bye <u>h</u> - <u>h</u> dzi 13.	Kvag-hye <u>h</u> i 13.
„ -kag 13.	Kva <u>ñ</u> - <u>h</u> gam 13.
„ -na <u>ñ</u> 13.	Kyen- <u>h</u> gi 13.
„ -sin 13.	Kye <u>ñ</u> - <u>h</u> go 13.
„ -tsh <u>ñ</u> 13.	
„ -wen 13.	La <u>ñ</u> -ca <u>h</u> u 13.
„ -yu <u>ñ</u> 13.	Le <u>h</u> -cin 13.
H <u>h</u> byi <u>h</u> - <u>h</u> gi 13	
„ -ji 13.	Me <u>ñ</u> -ge 13.
„ -me <u>ñ</u> 13.	„ -hin 13.
H <u>h</u> gim- <u>š</u> i <u>ñ</u> 13.	„ - <u>h</u> yve <u>h</u> i 13.
Hva-ca <u>ñ</u> (Lne) 13.	„ -kag 13.
„ - <u>h</u> gem 13.	„ -lur 13.
„ -sim (Len) 13.	„ -tig 13.

Pho-brin (Tañ-za) 13.	Śin-tsañ 13.
„ -ci 13.	Śvan-kvañ 13.
„ -cin (‘Im) 13.	
Phu-za-sim 13.	Thehi-cin 13.
Phyañ-ceñ 13.	„ -ciñ 13.
Po-śvan 13.	Thoñ-cehu 13.
	Tig-hbyihu 13.
Sam-ñañ (Soñ) 5.	„ -nem 13.
Sihu-hgehi 13.	„ -śin 13.
Śin-ci 13.	
„ -cin 13.	Wen-hgo 13.
„ -hgo 13.	
„ -kag 13.	Žu-señ 13.

C

List of places, peoples, and countries mentioned in documents Nos. 1–21 and in connexion therewith :—

Bde-gams 11, 14 (B 18).	Gro-pur, p. 816.
Bkra-śis-dbyar-mo-thañ 19 (94, B 1).	G-yu-tshal 19 (90 B 2, etc.).
Bog-yas 7.	Ha-ža 8, 11.
Bra-ma-thañ p. 816.	Hbrog-Sluñs 9.
Bsam-yas 17.	Hbrom-khoñ 19 (94 A 2).
Byar-liñs-tshal, p. 816.	Hgo-bom 17.
	Hgreñ-ro 17, 19 (89 A 1, etc.).
Cog-ro 17.	Hi-ma-te 11.
	Hjañ 19 (89 B. 2, etc.).
Dañ-to-kun 7, 8.	Hon-cañ-do 6.
Dbyar-mo-thañ 19 (94 B 1).	Hphrul-snañ 17.
Dra-tshal, p. 816.	
Drug 19 (89 B 2, etc.).	
Drug-chun 1.	Kam-bcu 17.
	Khri-boms 10.
Gir-kis 7.	Khar-tsan 9, 19 (91 B 2, etc.).
Gliñ-riñs-tshal, p. 816.	Kva-cu 1, 7, 9, 11, 14, 19
Go-cu 17.	(92 B 1).

Lañ-hgro 17.	Rgya 1, 19 (89 B 2, etc.).
Leñ-cu 7.	Rgyod 5.
Leñ-ho 5.	
Lha-luñ 17.	Śa-cu 1, 6, 7, 14 (B 15-18).
Lhas-gañ-tshal, p. 816.	Sag-cur 7.
	Śi-goñ-bu 17.
Ma-hdri-ba 10.	Skyi, p. 816.
Mdo-gams 11, 17, 19 (88 A 1)	Sluñs 9.
Mgar-yul 10.	Sñiñ-tsom(s), p. 808.
Mkhar-tsan 9, 19 (91 B 2, etc.)	Śo-ma-ra, p. 816.
	Spyi-tshogs 4.
Ñan-lam 17.	Stoñ-sar 1, 15 (B 1, etc.).
Ñan-rma 9.	
Nob-chuñu 9.	To-yo-chas-la 10.
	Tsog(Cog)-ro 17.
Pho-kvañ 12.	Tsog-stod 9.
Phyug-tsams 19 (93 A 2).	Tshal-byi 9.
Rgod-gyuñ, p. 816.	Žañ-žuñ 10.
Rgod-sar 1, 2, 12.	Zar-phur, p. 816.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

p. 813. *Sam-ñuñ*. Since *ñu* is hardly distinguishable in the writing from *ña*, this name should doubtless be read *Sam-ñañ*, thus falling into line with the other names in *ñañ* preceded by a numeral (pp. 831-2), in this case 3 (*Sam*).

p. 817. *tshi-śi* = Chinese *ts'e-che*. Professor Pelliot has kindly favoured me with the observation that the latter is an ancient *ts'ik-śi* = Uigur *čigši*. *Tshi-śi* also may be for *tshig-si*, since we have had evidence of weakness of *g* at the end of a syllable (*a-nog-a-la* = *anuttara*, 1926, p. 508, and Theḥu-kyig-si = Chinese *Tu-k'i-she*, i.e. Turgäsh, supra (p. 283).

p. 816 and p. 840. *To-dog*. Professor Pelliot points out that this will be *tu-tu* "governor", originally *tu-tuk*, and borrowed by the Turks of the Orkhon in the form *tutuq*.

p. 829. *Pho-kvañ-si* and *Leñ-ho-si*. Professor Pelliot

proposes to understand the former as *P'u-kuang-ssü*, i.e. "P'u-kuang temple". Some difficulty arises, however, as he points out, since this sense of *si* does not perhaps quite suit with *Len-ho*, which he finds to be "the 'double surname' *Ling-hu*, fairly common in Northern China in the Middle Ages".

pp. 831-2. *ñan̄*. Professor Pelliot suggests that in the feminine names this represents Chinese *niang* "daughter", "(unmarried) woman."

p. 65: *Mdo-gams* is the name transcribed *To-kan* (i.e. *Do-gam*) under the Mongols and the Ming; see Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii, pp. 203, 224 (Professor Pelliot).

p. 84. *zan̄ Khri-sum-rje*. This is the name transcribed *Shang Ch'i-hsin-êrh* in Chinese texts of the T'ang (Professor Pelliot).

p. 87. *Hgreñ*. This may be the native name represented by the *Ch'iang* (*K'iang*), which the Chinese apply to the Tibetans of Kan-su, SSü-chuan and Koko-Nor (Professor Pelliot).

p. 92. 'Im. This is the Chinese *Yin* (*Yim*), a family name common at Tun-huang, though rare elsewhere (Professor Pelliot).
