# Tibetan Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan. IV: The Khotan Region

BY

F. W. THOMAS

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PART II.—APRIL

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(Continued from p. 94 supra)

IV. PLACES WITH NAMES ENDING IN "-RTSE"

THE word rtse, "peak" or "top", is a very appropriate termination for the names of places in a mountainous region; in Tibet there are innumerable place-names of this type. In the Nob region of Chinese Turkestan we have noticed (JRAS). 1928, pp. 586-8) several such names, e.g. Klu-rtse, Snun-rtse, Gyun-drun-rtse. In the case of the last named we have suggested the possibility that -rtse may have denoted nothing more than a height in a fort. There may have been instances of such a nature; but in general the position will have been otherwise. The numerous names in -rtse will have been due to the occupation of commanding positions by the Tibetan troops for the purpose of observation and control. In the case of Pehu-rtse we shall quote documents which in fact refer to building operations. The actual designations of some of the places, e.g. Stag-sras-dges-gyi-rtse "Young-tigerdelight(??)-peak", Hphrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snan-rtse "Magic-mirror-all-vision-peak", while characteristically Tibetan, may also be set down partly to the fancy of those who established the new military posts. The names are naturally all Tibetan, and will not often have been attached to old sites.

Note may be taken of the manner in which the places are mentioned. We have called attention above to various lists of persons residing in certain *tshars*, or "parishes", or in places whose names frequently end in -rtse. It will be observed

that the two kinds of reference do not intermingle, a fact which clearly indicates that the former lists refer to "parishes" in the Khotan district itself, while the latter have in view the military posts outside. Most, however, of the documents are mere wooden labels, showing either simply the name of the place, or the same with references to supplies (brgyags), or barley (nas) or wheat (gro), or soldiers (so), and so forth—often with line-marks or notches plainly meant to denote numbers or amounts. They are, therefore, labels for articles kept or dispatched for the use of the places mentioned, or of persons belonging, or travelling, to the same. Usually, where there are notches, the wood is cut away for the purpose of a tally, and the hole for the string, which otherwise is at the right, is at the broader end to the left. An example (M. Tāgh. 0564) is figured on plate cxxx of Innermost Asia.

# (a) An-tse.

Mentioned supra, p. 93.

No doubt a place in the Khotan region and quite different from An-hsi (Kva-cu) in distant Kan-su.

# (b) Bye-ma-hdor-gyi-rtse.

Mention of this place has occurred in No. 4, p. 55 supra.

50. M. Tāgh. 0527 (wooden tally; c.  $12 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at right; wood partly cut away; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; c. 12 lines or notches for numbers).

🔏 | | Bye-ma-ḥdor-gyi-rtse

(Quite similar are the likewise complete documents a, ii, 0073; a, iv, 006 (notches, etc.); c, ii, 0051 (notches, etc.).)

- 51. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 0088 (wood; c.  $11.5 \times 1$  cm.; complete, palimpsest; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; hole for string at right).
  - [A] 🐸 | Bye. ma. hdor. gyi. rtse | lo. nan. Mon.
  - [B] bsku.bar.ton.śig.

"Bye-ma-hdor-gyi-rtse. Send the lo-nan Mon secretly (bsku-bar?)."

#### Note

- A. lo-nan: See supra, p. 55 (lo-nan).
- (c) Bye-ri-snan-dan-rtse.

  Mentioned in M.T. 0050 (p. 93 supra).
- (d) Can-lan-rtse.

See above, p. 87 (M. Tāgh. a, iv, 007), and add-

52. M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0066 (wooden tally; c.  $11 \times 1.5$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; 6 notches or lines).

🔏 | : | Can . lan . tshe |

Possibly the Jan-lan-rtse mentioned supra (p. 93, M. Tagh. 0050) is only a variant of this name.

- (e) Dbyild-cun-rtse.
- 53. M. Tāgh. a, vi, 006 (wood; c.  $7 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole at right for string; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
- [A 1] ♥ | mnah . ris . na . [A 2] Dbyild . cun . tsehi [B] brgyags.
- "Supplies for Dbyild-cun-tse on the frontier (or in the frontier country)."
- 54. M. Tāgh. a, v, 001 (wood; c. 8  $\times$  3 cm.; imperfect at left and right; ll. 3 recto + 3 verso of rather neat, cursive dbu-can script).
- $[A\ 1]\ \dots\ [g]sol\ .\ na:su\ .\ la\ .\ gsol\ \dots\ [A\ 2]\ \dots\ \dot{n} and\ .$   $mamchis\ .\ te\ |\ |\ rad\ .\ pa\ .\ dbyir\ .\ n\ \dots\ [A\ 3]\ .\ \dots\ Dbyild\ .$   $cu\dot{n}\ .\ rtse\ .\ khrom\ .\ du\ .\ |\ su\ .\ .\ .\ [B\ 1]\ .\ .\ |\ \underline{h}tshal\ .\ ba\ .$   $las\ |\ |\ [ch]ad\ .\ .\ .\ [B\ 2]\ .\ .\ |\ so\ .\ glas\ .\ stsold\ .\ cig\ .\ .\ .$   $[B\ 3]\ .\ .\ .\ po\ .\ chir\ .\ mdzad\ |\ |$

... "Travelling party . . . to Dbyild-cun-rtse mart. . . ."

It seems therefore that Dbyild-cun-rtse was a market town on the frontier (perhaps only of two provinces or administrations).

- (f) Hphrul-gyi-rtse ("Magic Peak").
- See M.T. 0050 (p. 93 supra), and cf. the following (g) and Mye-lon-rtse (infra).
- (g) <u>Hphrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snan-rtse</u> ("Magic-mirror-all-appearing-peak").
- 55. M. Tāgh. i, 0020 (wooden tally; c.  $9.5 \times 2$  cm.; complete (?); hole for string at left; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
- "Hphrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snan-rtse: received by Glu-gan flour, one load ( $khal = v\bar{a}ha$ ), four bre: later half a bre."
- 56. M. Tāgh. c, i, 0011 (wood; c.  $15.5 \times 2.5$  cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary dbu-can script).
- "Going to Hphrul-gyi-me-lon: send it on quickly. These rapid mountain couriers are to be sent on early or late (sna-phyi) without hindrance (ma-non-par? or non-par 'with effort'?). Before (If?) the first lot have finished (do not suffice?), straightway send others."

Mentioned also in M.T. a, iv, 0026.

#### Notes

- A 2. ri-skyel: "Mountain convoy" (see p. 83 supra).
- B 1. ma-rjogs-sla : = ma-rdzogs-la ?
- sna-rnam: For this use of rnam see JRAS. 1927, p. 832,
  - l. 4 from bottom; p. 833, l. 17.
- (h) Jan-lan-rtse.

See above, under Can-lan-rtse.

- (i) Mdon-rtse.
  - See M.T. 0050 (p. 93 supra).
- (j) Mnah-ris-byin-gyi-rtse ("Two-frontier Peak").

See No. 0564, published in Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 1085.

- 57. M. Tāgh. 0016 (wooden tally; c.  $13.5 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; nine notches or lines recto, one verso).
- [A] ♥ | | Mnah.ris.byin.gyi.tse | [B] nas.bre.bži.rtsis.nod
- "Mnah-ris-byin-gyi-rtse: four bre of barley counted, received."
- (k) Mnah-ris-rtse ("Frontier Peak"). See M.T. 0050 (p. 93 supra, [mnah-ri]s).
- (l) Mon-rtse ("Mon Peak").
- 58. M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0058 (wood; c.  $10 \times 2$  cm.; complete; irregular at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
  - [1] Mon . rtse . gyi . brgyags | [2] so
  - "For Mon-rtse, supplies."
- (m) Me-lon-rtse ("Mirror Peak").

Possibly the same as  $\underline{\text{H}}$ phrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snan-rtse (g, supra).

- 59. M. Tāgh. c, i, 0015 (wood; c.  $10.5 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left broken away; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
  - [1] 9 | Mye.lon.tse.gyi.brgyags [2] [sbah]
- "For Me-lon-rtse, supplies: secret (or remainder, <u>h</u>ba<u>h</u>, or some?)."
- (n) Pehu-rtse ("Pehu Peak", cf. Pehu-mar "Lower Pehu").
  - 60. M. Tāgh. 0615 (wood; c.  $23.5 \times 2$  cm.; nearly

complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can writing).

[1] . . [s]o . slar . bskyed . par . chad . nas . hdi . nas . s[l]ond. brdzańs . pa ¹ . yań . lags . gyis .  $\parallel$  [2] . . sna (lna?) . na . hbah . Tshehu . chag . gi . so . pa . ni . Bsam. cha[r] . hpos . śig  $\parallel$  Pehu . rtse . sar . pahi . . .

"It having been settled to dispatch back the soldiers . . . have been sent back from here. In five (or First) . . . . some soldiers of Tshehu-cag should be transferred to Bsam-cha. Of new Pehu-rtse . . ."

#### Notes

On Tshehu-cag and Bsam-cha see pp. 266, 279, 282 infra.

- 1. 2, <u>hpos</u>: Doubtless for spos, from spo-ba, which has occurred supra (JRAS. 1928, p. 558, l. 4).
- 61. M. Tāgh. a, v, 0015 (paper, fol. no. 27 of vol., fragmentary at right; c.  $15 \times 25$  cm.; ll. 21 recto + ll. 2 verso of ordinary dbu-can script).
- [1] lain. la

<sup>1</sup> Or ? pra (compendious for par)?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Crossed out.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Compendious for g-yar.

Tran: slebs. kyi. skyin. bar¹. ri. zug. du. mchi...

[13] hdi. bžin. du. spyan. ris. btsa. žin | so. chad...

[14] mdzad || bdag. nan. pa. bro. cun. zad. tha. gi. | so. sla... [15] hdrend. dan. sku. nas. myi. htsal. bar | dusu. phyin... [16] ba. dan. phur. myihi. srid. du. be². mdzad. chin. spyan... [17] ma. stons. pahi. mtshan. ma | spyan. zigs... [18] mchis. na. rma. žin. bžes. par. chi. gnan | ... [19] gñis. thugs. bde. sku. tshe. rin. bar. smon... [20] so. nul. Klu. mthon. mchi. ba. la. han. žib. tu... [21] chi. legsu. mdzad. par. smon. chin. mchis...

Verso: [1] ♥ |. | àan. àan. Khri. bàre ³. dan | nan. rje. po. Lha [2] bzan. la | Du. dun. skyes. kyi. m-i...

[1-4] "That the great Uncle-Councillor Khri-bžer and the Home Minister Lha-bzan, equal to theophanies, while residing at military headquarters on the top of the Zugs-nam, should have written inquiries after my health, whether I am happy or not, what a favour! [4-6] As regards any talk at present going on in the Hu-ten quarter, your humble servant, unable . . . begs merely herein to inquire after your health: so . . . commands. [7-9] The Home Minister Lha-bzan and the leading persons are united and intimate (glo-ba- $[\tilde{n}e]$ ? or glo-ba-rins 'far-seeing'?). At present since in the summer I went to build Pehu-rtse, . . . . sent. [9-12] I am very ill at ease. My house-servant, the gu-rib Tran-slebs, who renders me sick-service and blows the fire (phu-ldir?), being lent to . . . , a soldier-relay coming here, was not sent, and his debtor (substitute?), a regimental man, Hphan-brod of Ña-gram, . . . went. [12-15] Tran-slebs' debtor (substitute), being taken with mountain-sickness . . . thus spying, caused the soldier . . . to be punished. I, being a little convalescent, fetched the soldier back. . . . [15-18]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> r crossed out.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> Compendious for bžer.

Though I did not personally send . . . arrive in time and in token of not having . . . the proceedings of the leading persons . . . a present . . . comes: inquire and favour me by acceptance. . . . [19-21] pray that . . . both may be happy and live long. . . . Also, when the soldier-spy Klumthon comes, I pray you to . . . particularly and do what is good."

[B 1] "To great Uncle Khri-bžer and Home Minister Lha-bzan: letter of Du-dun-skyes."

#### Notes

- l. 1. Zugs-nam-gyi-ltons: See p. 86 supra.
- 1. 7. phur-myi: The phrase, which occurred supra, p. 55, is found also infra, p. 258, and in a, ii, 0089 and c, iii, 0043 (phur-myi-stag-rnams-la).
- 1. 9. phu-ldir: Both phu and ldir seem to have the general sense of "blowing".
- l. 10. gu-rib: A not infrequent phrase (M.I. 108b, xiv, 0019; xv, 0011; M. Tāgh. b, i, 004, 0059; c, iv, 002; Ch. fr. 61), denoting perhaps some occupation (a slave?).

so-res: "Soldier-relay," as supra, p. 89.

- l. 11. skyin-ba: This naturally means a "debtor". Apparently the debtor was required to act as a substitute.
- l. 12. *ri-zug*: See pp. 84, 281, and M.T. 001 and a, iv, 0014, 0019.
- 1. 13. spyan-ris(ras)-btsa: "Watching or spying" recurs infra, p. 274, 278; also M.T. 0516.
  - l. 15. sku-nas: "By myself in person."
  - 1. 17. spyan-zigs: "A present," as on p. 88 supra.
  - 1. 20. so-ñul: "A soldier spy," as supra, p. 86.
- 62. M. Tāgh. a, v, 0020 (paper, fol. no. 29 in vol., fragmentary; c.  $20 \times 13.5$  cm.; ll. 7 of ordinary dbu-can script).
- [1] . . . -i . [m]chid . gsol . bah | [2] . . . g . pa . dan | Dur . ya . p[h]ur . myi . rgod . kyi . gle . gugs . sug . las [3] . . . mchi . ba | gài . nand . pahi . sten . du | sug . las . ches .

pas | g-yar <sup>1</sup> . ga[m] . . . [4] . . . ri . mchis . na | Pehu . tse . rtsig . pahi . bsel . du . yan . mchi . bar . mchid . stsald . . . [5] . . [d]ab . ham . chen . tags | rna . mo . gcig . g-yar . por . gsol . àin . mchis . na . . . [6] . . . à[i]n . g-yar . por . thugs . rje . ji . gzigs ||

"Letter of . . . I and the chief men of Dur-ya went . . . work on wild uncultivated land. The work upon the bad land being heavy, orders were sent that, having gone up . . . we should be engaged in safeguarding those who were building Pehu-tse . . . . . . beg for a camel on loan . . . . have the kindness to lend . . ."

#### Notes

Concerning Dur-ya see below, p. 268. It is evidently to be presumed that Pehu-rtse was in the vicinity of that place. The reference to the building of Pehu-rtse in this and the preceding document is in harmony with the mention of New Pehu-rtse in the one first quoted (M. Tāgh. 0615, p. 256).

- l. 1. rgod-kyi-gle-gugs: Gle is said to mean "a small uncultivated island", and gugs may mean "a corner" (angulus terrae). Cf. p. 266 infra.
- l. 4. bsel: This may mean either "guard" or "clear up". In JRAS. 1928, p. 566, we have had it used, apparently, of defending a citadel.

## (o) Sen-ka-tse

By this name no place is otherwise known. But it seems not unreasonable to equate it to the Śańkā-giri, near to the Śańkā-prahāṇa vihāra, both of which are mentioned in the Tibetan accounts of Khotan (see Ancient Khotan, p. 584; Asia Major, ii, p. 267; and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, iii, pp. 32, 45). We can readily understand that into a native designation Sen-ka the monks may have interpreted the Sanskrit śańkā, though, of course, the Sanskrit may have actually been the prius. Assuming the identity,

we learn, however, no more than the name itself reveals, to wit, that the place lay in the mountains to the south of the Khotan region.

- 63. M. Tāgh. 0574 (wood; c.  $12.5 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of rather square, cursive dbu-can script).
- [A 1] ♥ | . | khyar . mkhan . gyi . hbans . myi . Lo . ci . brgyag [A 2] snod . [myin] . du . Sen . ka . tse . la . mchis : | dbyar . [B 1] sla . tha . chuns . kyi . brgyags . nas . bre . gsum [B 2] dan | | phye . bre . gsum . ma . stsald |

"The lagging slave Lo-ci has come to Sen-ka-tse without the basket of supplies. Supplies for the last summer month, three *bre* of barley and three *bre* of flour, have not been sent."

#### Note

- A1. khyar-mkhan-gyi-hbans: khyar is given in the dictionaries as a synonym of khyams.
- 64. M. Tāgh. 0583 (wood; c.  $13.5 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of rather square dbu-can script, part of verso in a different, round, hand).
- [A 1] | : | brgyags :: snod : pa : Tsa : dan : lhan : dpye : dbyar : sla : tha : cuns : tshes : ñi : śu : bài : gdugs : res : [B 1] na . mchis : so (A different hand) | Gun . beg . Gun | legs | gi.
- "Supply-basket-man Tsa and mate came at noon on the 24th of the last summer month. For Gun-beg Gun-legs."

### Note

- A 1. *lhan-dpye*: Since *dbye-ba* is synonymous with *hbyed*, the phrase may = *lhan-hbyed* "an assistant" or "auxiliary", a "mate".
- 65. M. Tāgh. 0517 (paper; c.  $25.5 \times 10$  cm.; fragmentary at right (ll. 3-9) and left (ll. 3-6); ll. 9 of square, formal, dbu-can script).

- [1] 🐸 | : | jo . bo . Stag . mt[o]n . gyi . sñan . du . | | Myes . tshab . gyi . mchid . gsol . bah | | so . pa . dag . la . rmas . na . jo . bo . sñun . sbagla  $^1$  .  $\dot{z}$ in . [2] ba . de . s[k]ad . g-yar . du . mjald . ste . glo . [b]ah . rab . tu . myi . dgah . žin . mchis . bdag . gsun . mar . mchi . ho . sñam 2 . glo . ba . l . . [3] . . . glah . ni . ma . sñed . bdag . mchi . yan . smad . yon . myi . thog . hdah . yan . sñun . nad . [las] . chun . tha . [kyi] . [yan] . -i . . . [4] . . . . . . pab (par?) . nog . tshil . -wu . [hi]s . dan . hbras . hpul : gan . glo . ba . myi . hrins . pahi . skye . . . . . . [5] . . . [n] . Myes . kol . la . sñan . sñuns.bgyis.ste.yar.gsegs.par.smond.s $[\tilde{n}u]$ n.na[d] . . . . . [6] . . [n]ad . las . gsos . śiń . żal . mjald . par . smond . ciń . mchis | g.....[7] ba.bdagi.hpha.rgan.ñam. nońsu . gyurd . na . rul . bu . ma . khyams . pa . tsham . sñan .  $[\tilde{snun}] \dots [8] \text{ chir. mdzad.} | \text{tsha. bo.}$ Sen . gah . tse . la . | | Lha . lod . gyi . mchid . gsol . bah . bdag . nan . . . . . . . [9] bdag . yas . mchis . na . mzind . par . thugs . dpags . chir . mdzad . àal . bzan . [p]o . . . .
- [1-2] "For the hearing of the chief Stag-mton: letter-petition of Myes-tshab. The tidings having reached me up here upon inquiry of the soldiers that the chief is in anxiety as to his health, I am very uneasy in mind, and I apprehend that I am to be blamed. [3-4] Without having received . . . wages I cannot, even if I come, be of any help at all. When a little recovered from the illness . . . hump-fat and a full offering of fruit. A not very clever person . . . . . . [5-6] With good wishes for health to Myes-kol . . . pray to come up. Illness . . . when cured of illness I pray to meet face to face . . . [7-8] my aged father being in bad health, will you . . . a little note without delay . . . . health."
- [8-9] "To grandson Sen-gah-tse: letter-petition of Lhalod. Will you be so kind as not to . . . . your humble servant . . . is beside . . . self? . . . . your good countenance."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Apparently crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> lkam?

#### Notes

This is one of the not infrequent documents in which a letter from one person shows a postscript in the form of a letter from another, addressed either to the same individual (as in M. Tāgh. 0430, edited in *Innermost Asia*, p. 1087) or to a member of his family and so forth. In some instances the writer of the postscript is a woman, which, since names ending in *lod* are generally feminine, is probably the case here. The person addressed in the postscript as Sen-gah-tse is probably the Stag-mton addressed in the same letter, Sen-gah-tse being a residence name, such as we constantly find (see *supra*, *JRAS*. 1927, p. 79, and *Festgabe Jacobi*, pp. 47, 71-2); or perhaps it is his son.

The term "grandson", as has been suggested in *Innermost Asia*, p. 1088 (M. Tāgh. 0436), need not be taken literally: it may be a politeness on the part of a senior friend, no doubt the wife of the writer of the main letter.

l. 3. smad-yon: For sman-yon (JRAS. 1927, pp. 816, 826).

tha-kyi: = tha-gi.

- l. 4. gan: Cf. the phrases noted in JRAS. 1928, p. 586. glo-ba-myi-hrins (= rins): Cf. JRAS. 1928, p. 557.
- l. 7. rul-bu: I have taken this as  $= \underline{h}drul$ -bu "a short letter".
  - 1. 9. mzind: For ma-zind?
- (p) Snan-dan-hphrul-gyi-rtse ("Vision and Magic Peak"). The name bears a likeness to Hphrul-gyi-rtse and Hphrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snan-rtse, supra, p. 254.
- 66. M. Tāgh. 004 (wooden tally; c.  $11.5 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; three notches *verso*; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).
  - [1] 🐸 | | Snan . dan . hprul . gi | [2] rtse
  - (M. Tāgh. 0158 is similar.)
  - 67. M. Tāgh. a, i, 003 (wood; c. 17 imes 1 cm.; broken

away at right and at bottom (without loss?); l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, clear).

❤ | | Snaṅ . daṅ . ḥphrul . gyi . rtse . na . Bod . bài . tshugs. gcig . la | -yi

"In Snan-dan-hphrul-gyi-rtse for four Tibetans, one squad, . . ."

#### Notes

On tshugs see supra, p. 53.

- (q) Snan-lun-rtse ("Vision-Valley Peak"). Mentioned in c, ii, 0065, infra, p. 281.
- (r) Stag-hdus-dges-kyi-rtse ("Tiger-gathering-rejoicing Peak") and Stag-sras-dges-kyi-rtse ("Tiger-son-rejoicing Peak"). Stag-sras has occurred as a place-name in M. Tāgh. 0050 (p. 92 supra).

It is perhaps doubtful whether in these names the word dges or dgyes really means "rejoicing" (see JRAS. 1927, pp. 817–18, and M.T. 0351, a, ii, 0097, c, ii, 0017). The word Stag evidently alludes to the common application of the term to soldiers.

68. M. Tagh. a, ii, 0043 (wood; c.  $20.5 \times 1 \times 1$  cm.; cut away at one side; ll. 1 + 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; on one side about 19 notches and lines).

[A] Hj-. 'a (ma?): nas | | Stag: hdus: su: gtad: pahi | ri.skyel: khram[B] khram: bu: yan: Stag: hdus: pa: tsugs: pon: la | gtad | do | |

"List of mountain escort supplied from Hj--'a to Stag-hdus. A list-ticket has also been supplied to the Stag-hdus sergeaunt."

#### Notes

On khram in connection with notched lines see JRAS. 1928, pp. 69-70, and supra, p. 65.

Ri-skyel has occurred supra (pp. 83, 254).

Tsugs-pon: See supra, p. 53.

69. M. Tāgh. 0589 (wooden tally; c.  $14 \times 2$  cm.; com-

- plete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, clear; groups of notches recto and verso).
  - [1]  $\mathbf{9}$  | Stag. hdus. dgyes. | [2] kyi. rtse
  - (M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0031 is similar.)
- 70. M. Tāgh. 002 (wooden tally; c.  $12 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; c. 6 notches and lines *recto*, c. 6 *verso*).
  - [1] 🔊 | . | Stag . hdus . dges . gi . [2] rtse | nas
  - "Stag-hdus-dges-gi-rtse: barley."
- 71. M. Tāgh. 0012 (wooden tally; c.  $11 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 recto of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, 1 akṣara verso; 2 notches or lines recto, 2 verso).
- - "Stag-hdus-dges-gi-rtse: barley, flour."
- 72. M. Tāgh. i, 0018 (wooden tally; c. 14  $\times$  2 cm.; slightly broken; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; 6 notches or lines verso).
  - [1] 😕 | : Stag . sras . dges | [2] gyi . rtse
- (s) Stag-rtse ("Tiger-Peak").
- 73. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0025 (wooden tally; c.  $12 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 recto of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; l. 1 verso in another hand; 4 notched lines).
- [1] 🐸 |: | Stag. rtse. Khri. skugs | [2] hjor. | [B]. pye. bre. do. bžag |
  - "Khri-skugs hjor of Stag-rtse: two bre of flour left."
- 74. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 0032 (wooden tally; c.  $13.5 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; 6 notches verso; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
  - ♥ | . | Stag . rtse . Khri . skugs |

<sup>&</sup>quot;Khri-skugs in Stag-rtse."

- 75. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 0031 (wooden tally; c. 13  $\times$  2.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script; clear).
- [1] | Khri. skugs. hjor. gyi. so. pa. Li [2] gchig. chad
- "One soldier of Khri-sgugs hjor, a Khotanī, punished (executed)."

On the expression (Khri-sgugs) <u>hjor</u> see p. 56 supra. It may be noted that in M. Tāgh. b, i, 0031 (p. 269 infra) Khri-skugs is made to be a part of <u>Hbum-rhugs</u>.

- (t) Stag-skugs-bye(gye)-ri-rtse ("Tiger-in-wait-mountain Peak"). Sometimes the name appears as Stag-sgugs (skugs) only, e.g. in M.T. 0050 (p. 93) and infra.
- 76. M. Tāgh. 005 (wooden tally; c.  $11 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; 3 notches or lines recto, 2 (?) verso).
  - [1] 🐸 | : | Stag . skugs | [2] bye . ri . rtse
- (M. Tāgh. 0011 is similar, but seems to have gye in place of bye.)
- 77. M. Tāgh, a, iii, 0038 (wooden tally; c.  $11.5 \times 1.5$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, partly smudged; 4 notches or lines recto,  $4 + 1 \ verso$ ).
  - $\bullet$  | . | Stag . skugs . bye . ri . -rtse | - nas
  - "Stag-skugs-bye-ri-rtse: barley."
- 78. M. Tāgh. 0010 (wooden tally; c.  $10 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 1 recto + 2 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
- [A] | : |Stag. skugs | [B 1] nas. bre. drug. ma. nos. te. [B 2] pyi[su]. nod
  - "Stag-skugs: barley, six bre, not received: deliver later."
- 79. M. Tāgh. i, 0026 (wood; c.  $11 \times 2$  cm.; complete; pointed at left; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

- Stag . skugs . kyi . so . pa
- "Soldier of Stag-skugs."
- 80. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0019 (wood; c.  $12 \times 2$  cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
- [A 1] | [S]tag . skugs . gyi . rgon . yan . cad . du | pehu . lna : | [A 2] . . . bżi . nos . cig . la : hdom . bżi : | gnam : | [B 1] . . . . . m(y ?)an . cad . | drug . ston . bżi [B 2] . . . . . . k(g ?)yi . ñi . ston . |
- "As far up as the wilds of Stag-skugs, five  $pe\underline{h}u$  . . . . four; on one side four fathoms straight (?): as far down as . . . six thousand, four . . . of . . . two thousand."

#### Notes

A1. rgon: Perhaps we should read rgod, comparing the phrase rgod-kyi-gle-gugs, p. 259 supra.

Cf. JRAS. 1927, pp. 817–18?: pehu: the word recurs b, i, 00113 and 0552 infra, also in c, iii, 0087.

# V. OTHER PLACES PRESUMABLY IN THE KHOTAN REGION

- (a) Bsam-cha (Sam-cha). See infra, p. 279, 282.
- bee *ingra*, p. 219, 202.
- (b) Bya-mans-tshal ("Many-Bird Wood").
- 81. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 001 (wooden tally; c.  $12 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; several notches *verso*; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
- "Bya-mans-tshal . . . horse-trappings (or a party of horse?) . . ."
  - (c) Bya-rig-skugs. See infra, p. 269.

#### Note

Bya-rig-skugs can hardly be different from Stag-skugs-bye-ri-rtse, supra, pp. 266-7.

- (d) Bya-tshan-smug-po ("Bird-Copse (?) Reeds").
- 82. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0042 (wood; c.  $13.5 \times 2$  cm.; slightly fragmentary at top left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of ordinary, cursive dbu-can script).
- "In Bya-tshan-smug-po up to Dgrahi-śag mountain three Nam-ru-pag [soldiers], one squad, gone astray—report to the soldiers of the enemy's chance (dgra-thabs?)."

#### Notes

A 1.  $\dot{N}am$ -ru-pag is the name of a regiment several times mentioned (p. 275 infra).

tshugs: See supra, p. 53.

so-tshor: On tsho see supra, p. 65: with dgra-thabs it recurs in a, iv, 0011.

- (e) Byi-glan-pam.
- In M. Tagh. b, i, 0098 (paper) occurs the sentence—
- 83. | Byi . glan . [pam] . ya[n] . khrom . du . ni . khral . phran . . . . bton . . . .
- "Send to the market town Byi-glan-pam also small levies . . . ."

The place is otherwise unknown. On the Keriya river Sir Aurel Stein's maps note a place called Bilangan, which might be \*Byi-glan-gam.

(f) Del-ge or Hel-ge.

See supra, p. 69, and infra, p. 270.

(g) Dmu-mur.

See infra, p. 291.

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(h) Dur-ya.

See *supra*, p. 259. As pointed out in *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 260-1, this is probably the modern Duwa.

- (i) Hbog-la-tham.
- Associated pp. 281-2 infra with Yol-ba-ri and Sam-cha.
- (j)  $\underline{H}brog-lig-yan-cag-tsa.$
- 84. M. Tāgh. 0334 (wood; c.  $20.5 \times 2$  cm.; broken away at right; hole for string at left; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
- [A] [1]  $\$  | . | Hbrog . lig . yan . cag . tsa . gyi . so . pa . la . sprin . no . s-ags . . . [2] yig . hdi | tshes . bcu . dguhi | nam . . . . na (ba ?) . Śin . . . [B] ñin . tsod . mdzan . tsod . dam . | du . zun . śig |
  - "Sent to the soldiers of Hbrog-lig-yan-cag-tsa.
- "This letter . . . when received on . . . of the nineteenth, is to be taken promptly, day-time or night-time, to Sin-śan."

#### Notes

Concerning this place we have no information: it was in some region of nomads (*Hbrog*). Cag recurs in Byehu-cag and Tshehu-cag.

- [B] ñin-tsod-mdzan-tsod-dam-du: See supra, p. 82.
- (k) Hbum-rnugs.
- 85. M. Tāgh. a, iii, 0043 (wood; c.  $14 \times 2.5$  cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
- [A 1]  $\$  | : | Hbum . rhugs . su . Li . Pu . god | myi . hjigsna . mchis  $^1$  [A 2] Ho si (?)  $^2$  | Gyu . mo . na . mcis . Śir . hdo . mgo . śu . [cun] | [B] Ltag . bżi . nah . mcis ||
- "In Hbum-rhugs is the Khotanī Pu-god, under safe-conduct (myi-hjigsna?); Ho-si (?) is in Gyu-mo. Śir-hdo Mgo-śu-cun (?) is in Ltag-bài."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Below line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Above line.

#### Note

The reading Ho-si Gyu-mo, "Gyu-mo West of the river" (supra, pp. 47, 90 sqq.), is incorrect.

- 86. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0031 (wooden tally; c. 13  $\times$  2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
  - ♥ | : | Hbum . rnugs . Khri . skugs | [2] hjor.
  - "Khri-skugs hjor (cor) in Hbum-rhugs."

From this reference to Khri-skugs <u>hjor</u>, which is also in Stag-rtse (q.v., pp. 264-5), it is clear that these two places are in the same region as <u>H</u>bum-rnugs.

# (l) Hbu-śań or Hbu-żań.

Mentioned above, p. 92 (M.T. 0050), and also in pp. 282-4 infra, this name is found in connection with a Yol-ba hill. In the following it occurs along with Śiń-śan and Bya-rig-skugs. It was probably the hill of which Śiń-śan was a part.

- 87. M. Tāgh. 0442 (wood; c.  $18 \times 2$  cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, faint and rubbed).
- [A 1] [Ḥbu . śaṅ . gi . Sluṅ]s : tsun . chad . Bya : rig : skugsu : Ḥor . chig | | [A 2] . . . G[ño]s . Snaṅ . rtsan . [n]i . [sṅ]ar . dgras : gtord . pas . tshegs . che [B 1] . . . [gyis . sṅar] [mchi] : bar . ḥtshol . ch[ig] | Śiṅ . śan . phan . cad . kyi . so [B 2] . . . [Śiṅ] . śan . na . ḥdus . śiṅ . . . . . -na(u ?)ms : | Gño[s] : Snaṅ . rtsa[n] [B 3] . . . . . bar . du . èog : la : gè-n : | |
- "In Bya-rig-skugs this side the Sluns of Hbu-śan one Hor (Turk)... The Gños-Snan-rtsan having first been scattered by the enemy, with great effort (?) make them go forward. The soldiers as far as beyond Śin-śan... being mustered in Śin-śan... leave the Gños-Snan-tsan... between... and..."

#### Note

- A 2, B 3.  $G\tilde{n}os$ - $Sna\dot{n}$ -rtsan: On  $G\tilde{n}os$  as a tribal name see JRAS. 1928, p. 577-8. The G $\tilde{n}os$ - $Sna\dot{n}$ -rtsan may be a regiment.
- 88. M. Tāgh. c, iv, 0024 (wood; c.  $12 \times 1.5$  cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of scrawled cursive dbu-can script).
  - [A] 🐸 | Hbu: śań: pa(?)hi.
  - [B] Hbu: śan.
  - (m) Hel-ge (or Del-ge).

See *supra*, p. 69. No information, except that the place, being associated with Nag, was probably in the Mdo-lo district. It is mentioned in Ch. 73, xiii, 8, as *Hel-ke*.

# (n) Hjag-ma-gu.

Mentioned in p. 92 supra (M.T. 0050). Since hjag-ma is the name of a kind of grass, the place probably exhibited that feature.

- 89. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 003 (wood; c. 13  $\times$  2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
  - 🤒 | Mjag . ma . mgur . na . Bod . gñis . mchis . |
  - "In Mjag-ma-gu are arrived two Tibetans."
- (M. Tāgh. 009, a wooden tally, complete, reads *Mjag-ma-gur* only.)
  - (o) Ho-ni.

Mentioned p. 73 supra and JRAS. 1928, p. 568 (M.I. xiv, 23). It occurs also in M. Tāgh. 0494 a, i, 0012, M.I. x, 9, and p. 278 infra. Whether it was in the Nob region or in the Khotan region does not appear.

- 90. M. Tāgh. 0575 (wood; c.  $14 \times 2$  cm.; broken away at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
  - [1] 🐸 | . | Span . rje . Rgon (rgod ?) . kon . yan . | -i . . .
  - [2] btan . gis . | Ho . nir . mchis . sam . .

- "Span-rje Rgon-kon . . . sent: is in Ho-ni or . . ."
- (p)  $Jeg-\dot{s}in$ .

Mentioned p. 276 infra, where it is associated with Par-ban in a manner showing that it was in the same district and that it was a valley.

- 91. M. Tāgh. 0552 (wooden stick; c.  $32 \times 1.5 \times 1.5$  cm.; somewhat curved, with the edges of the four sides somewhat flattened; several notches, etc.; ll. 1+1+1+1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, faint and partly illegible).
- [1] 💆 | | tsa. bo. Btsan. bère. dan. Ḥphan. bère. dan. . . legs. la. stsogs. pa. la | Rdzi. legs. kyi. gslo. ba: | d...
- [2] Jeg . śiń . gi . laṃ . naḥ . hౖpyu[ṅ . bahi] : laṃ : du: byu[ṅ] : ste . [m]chis | pyu [g] . . pon . . . . . . . . . [gyi] [steń . du] . . .
- [3] su . mchis . pa . las . . . . gy- . . . lag . myi . pehu . stag . par . gyurd | : bdag : cag . brg-g- : m . p- .
  - [4] . . rnamsu . . .
- "To grandsons Btsan-bžer and Hphan-bžer and legs and the rest: letter of Rdzi-legs. I am on the road leading to (?) the Jeg-śiń road . . ." (the remainder too illegible to allow of a continuous rendering).
  - (q) Khri-skugs hjor.

Associated with  $\underline{H}bum$ -rňugs and Stag-rtse: see p. 259 supra.

(r) Lin-sked-chad.

See p. 281 infra.

(s) Lho-lo-pan-ro-rbog-skyes.

Mentioned in M. Tagh. c, iii, 004, as a townlet (mkhar-bu).

(t) Mdo-lo and its town (mkhar).

Mentioned in No. 20 supra, p. 70.

Mdo-lo, always associated with Me-skar, is named in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 583), and also in the two other Tibetan accounts of Buddhism in Khotan

(Sir Asutosh Mookerjee . . Jubilee Volumes, iii, pp. 37 and 48). The two latter rather contradictorily speak of Mdo-lo in Me-skar and of taking from Me-skar the road to Mdo-lo "traversing mountains and valleys". But it is easy to reconcile this by supposing Mdo-lo to be the mountainous, further, part of Me-skar, and the general probability is that it lay in the Polu direction. It was on the route of the Buddhists who fled from Khotan to Tibet, which was perhaps the ordinary route of communications between the two countries.

(u) Me-nu.

Mentioned infra (p. 291) in the name  $Me-nu\ \tilde{N}a-gzigs$ .

(v) Mjag-ma-gu.

See Hjag-ma-gu, supra, p. 270.

(w) Nag.

Mentioned supra, p. 69, where the place appears to be in the Mdo-lo district of the Khotan king's dominions: accordingly it is different from the Nag-sod of JRAS. 1928, pp. 561-2.

92. M. Tāgh. a, iii, 0063 (paper, fol. 13 in volume; c. 27  $\times$  7 cm.; complete; ll. 5 recto of rather small cursive dbu-can script, partly faint; ll. 3 verso in another hand).

[A 1] | [j]o.co.Stag.bère¹.gyi.[èa.snar] | [sr]id.drugi.mchid.gsol.bah | jo.co.lha.dpal.thugs.bde.bar [2] s[m]o[nd.cin].mchis | tses.ñi.[śu].dguhi.nub.mo.|Skyan.ro.nas.|rkya.gsum.dan.rkan.[bcu].gcig.mchis.pas.pho.ña.[Ph]od.kar [3] mtshan.ma.mchis.pa².brkas.te.htshal.nas.|bdag.dan.[tha]n.Nag.tu.mjald.nas³.rkun.por.no.ma.htshal.te.mchis.na[h] [4] rgya[n].kun.tu.glo.ba.cun.èin.mchis.na.èib.bkas.rma.bar.thugs.rje.chir.gzigs | . | htshal.bahi.spu.stag.bèi.khon.ba.-u.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compendious for bzer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> pa below line.

<sup>3</sup> s crossed out.

[5] mtshal . ser . dan . mtshal  $\Im$  (bre?) . dan . [kum] . ser . dan . | [gsum] mchis . [na]g.

[B—a different document.]

- [A 1-2] "In the presence of the chief Stag-bžer: letter-petition of the Six Estates. We pray that His Highness the chief may be happy. [A 2-3] On the evening of the twenty-ninth there came from Skyaň-ro three loads (rkya?) and eleven bundles. Upon our sending orders the messenger, who had the mark of a Phod-kar, joined us in the Nag plain. We do not make him out to be a robber. [A 4-] The . . . is very stupid: have the kindness to question him closely. The persons sent are four soldier brothers: their rations are . . ."

[B 1—a different document.]

"A kinsman of the Hu-ten bande Ro-zan-legs, stated to be the Sum-pa Gsas-slebs, sent on to the noble councillor for examination (or 'as being a spy'?)."

#### Notes

The translation is dubious in places.

1. 2. Skyan-ro: Name of a locality, on the lines of Cog-ro, Hgren-ro, etc. A Skyan-po, i.e. a man of the Skyan tribe of Skyan-ro, was mentioned in JRAS. 1928, p. 562, and another p. 583.

Phod-kar: This local tribe name will come up for consideration later.

- 1. 3. rkun-por: It is interesting to see that a suspicion of robbery (of the grain) was promptly aroused in the Nag district, which above (p. 67) was mentioned in connection with robberies.
  - l. 4. rgyan: ? for rkyan "wild ass"?

Altogether this incident, in which an up-countryman, arriving with a convoy of grain, naturally in the circum-

stances arouses the suspicion of the local Tibetans, is not without a certain human interest: unable to make anything of him and baffled by his stupidity, the embarrassed officials send him on, with an escort, to headquarters—a Tibeto-Turkestan idyll of the eighth century A.D.

- 1. 4. spu: Cf. spun-dmag (JRAS. 1928, p. 581)? mtshal-ser...: This passage is obscure.
- B. 1. ban-nog: For the suffix nog (forming a plural of honour?) used in cases of bandes cf. the document edited in Hoernle's Manuscript Remains, pp. 402-3.

Sum-pa: Cf. JRAS. 1927, p. 85 and reff. The Sum-pas are stated in the dictionary to be the people of Amdo in north-eastern Tibet.

spyan-ras-kyis-btsah-bar: On this phrase see p. 258 supra and p. 278 infra and M.T. 0516: btsah recurs also p. 283.

(x)  $\tilde{N}a$ -gram.

A place-name used as a surname: it occurs in a, i, 0015; a, iii, 002; a, v, 0015 (p. 256 supra).

(y) Par-ban.

Mentioned p. 85 (M.T. c, iii, 0025) supra, in an urgent letter directed to be sent down (i.e. no doubt from Tibet) to Par-ban on the one hand and Dru-gu hjor on the other for forwarding to Sin-san. The implication is that for the sake of security duplicates were sent. Since certainly the Dru-gu hjor lay, as will be shown later, to the east, it seems clear that the Par-ban route must have led to a descent via Cer-cen or Polu; and this is confirmed by a document (given below, p. 281) in which Par-ban is associated with [Ho-ton] Gyu-mo. The name does not seem to be Tibetan, and so is probably older than the Tibetan rule. Its nonoccurrence in the Mīrān documents suggests that the place lay rather in the Khotan region than in that of Nob. Might it be the Parvata which in the Kharosthī documents (see now Professor Rapson's index) is several times mentioned in connection with Cadota (Niva region)?

- 94. M. Tāgh. c, iv, 0036 (wood, pointed at left; c.  $12 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

"In the upper toll-station of Par-ban are arrived three of Nam-ru-pag with a ron-rnu (?)."

#### Notes

Nam-ru-pag is a frequently mentioned regiment (and district?): see Innermost Asia, pp. 1084-5, and p. 267 supra.

So-rtsan-hgram: "Toll-granary-bank." The same phrase occurs in 0522 (Innermost Asia, loc. cit.) and in 0015 (chu-hdus-kyi-rtsan-hgram "granary bank of the confluence"): so-rtsan is found in the Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa, fol. 354, ll. 4 and 7. The meaning probably is a granary for storing grain taken as toll at a crossing. On rtsan see JRAS. 1927, p. 69. In some cases hgram is perhaps confused with gam (ibid., p. 57).

ron-rnu: The reading is uncertain. Perhaps the meaning may be soldiers with an officer: with ron-rnu (if correct) cf. ce-rnu or tsa-rnu, JRAS. 1928, pp. 563, 571. The genitive mchis-pahi at the end either implies a continuation in another document (which was not unusual) or is like some genitives in Indian inscriptions and means merely that the wooden tablet belonged, or related, to the persons named. The usage is highly natural, and not rare in these documents.

- 95. M. Tāgh. 0523 (wood; c.  $7.5 \times 2.5$  cm.; broken away at left; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
- "Sent to reinforce  $(snon-sde\ (du?))$  . . . this side of . . . New Par-ban and . . . one squad."

#### Notes

- l. 2. tshugs: See p. 53 supra.
- 1. 3. snon: See p. 65 supra and add M.T. a, iii, 0034.
- 96. M. Tāgh. 0497 (paper; c.  $18.5 \times 9$  cm.; fragmentary at right and below; ll. 6 of rather large rough cursive *dbu-can* script).
- [1] | Nan . rje . po . Khri . bže[r] . las . [sts]o[g]s . pa . la . . . [2] dan . Khyun . bžer . gyi . mchid . gsol . ba | nan . [rje] . . . [3] thugs . bde . ham . myi . bde . mchid . yige . las . g[so] . . . [4] cag . gyan . Par . ban . dan . Je[g] . śin . gi . mdo . [tshun] . . . [5] tog . dpon . [hsog] . . [6] la . śi . . .
- "To Home Minister Khri-bžer and the rest: letter-petition of . . . and Khyun-bžer. [Then after the usual compliments.] We also . . . . as far as Par-ban and the lower valley of Jeg-śin . . ."

#### Note

On Jeg-śiń see p. 271 supra.

(z)  $Pe\underline{h}u$ -mar (cf.  $Pe\underline{h}u$ -rtse).

Mentioned p. 56 supra.

- 97. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 001 (paper, fol. no. 43 in vol.; c. 28  $\times$  13 cm.; rather fragmentary and discoloured; ll. 12 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
- [1]  $\$  | |  $\dot{a}$  in . po . Hphan . b\'at re^1 . la . | Gsas . [sle] bs . gy[i] . [mchi] d . gsol . ba\'at . | mchid . gyis . rmasna | thugs . bd[e] . . . [2] | thos . te . bdag . \'ann . pa . ya\'at . smon . pa . las . ma . gal . te : glo . ba . ra[b . tu] . dga\'at . \'at i[\'n' . m]ch[i]s . | bka\'at . phrin . da\'at . \'at ul . du . mjal . te . | nan . phabs . [gli?] (phri?) . . . [3] dbul . bar . bgyis . pa . | \"aun . \'at as . \'at ig . mchispa . [la]s . | . . d . po . la . g-es . par . mchi . kar . phyag . las . g-o . ma . nas . slar . lus . te . . . [4] bdag . kya\'at . rab . tu . gno\'at . te . bka\'at . chad . \"at htshal . . slad . gyis .

phyogs.gyi... na (cha?).bkah.myi.hbab.[b].... n.ga.cir. [5] mdzad.bdag.....n.cig.ma. mch[i]s.[par].[s]na.s[l]ad.-i...[thu]gs.pag.mdzad. [par] . . . . bskur . cin [6] mch[i]s . | da . yan . hdi . skad . sñan . sñuns . gsol . te . [bkah] . [tsh .] [m]yi . hbab . |bdag . kyan . Pehu . mar . gyi . so . par . mchis . pa . sug . rj[e]d . Li . [g]sum . [7] la . cig . ni . bro . htshal . cig . ni . rin . sdod . htshal . . . . ch[i]g . tshal . ma . nod . du . btan . žin . mchisna . Ho . ni . dag . du . hkhor . bar . rgyur . na . . [8] tshal . brgyags . kyań . gtoń . la . thugste . rab . tu . pońs . śiń . mchis . na . hdi . žal . ta . tsam . mdzade . -re . yan . [r]gyad . dan . sgyu . dag . mchis . [9] śe[s . g]dah . na . sgyu . ma . śor . bar . spyan . ras . gyi[s] . btsa . žiń . [m]noste | lis . ci . theg . pa . . sa (s-a ?) . ma . brtsan . | slad . ma . žan . pohi . phyag . tu . phyag [10] rgyas . btab . te . bżag . nas . slar . len . par . htshal . na | hdi . tsam . žig . spyan . ras . gyis . btsa . bar . thugs . rje . cir . zigs . | ma . | [11] bskyud . gyi . mtshan . ma . sman . sna . gsum . [zi]g . sug . rgyas . btabste . bskur . ba . dan . spyan . zigs . ja . tor . gñis . śig . hbul . ži[n] [12] mchis . na . bžes . par . ci . gnan . chun [b] .  $\delta[a]$ s . bkah . myi . hbab . par . gsol . žin . mchis . |

[1-2] "To Uncle Hphan-bžer: letter-petition of Gsasslebs. [Then after the usual compliments] [2-5] Encountering your missive on the way, I made earnest endeavour to deliver . . . only a little having come, and . . . left of the hemp (? gro-ma) from the present (phyag?) on the occasion of coming to . . . to . . . I am very much ashamed and ought to be reprimanded. Hereafter, if . . . , would you do . . . not sending a reprimand. [5-6] I . . . no . . . having come, first and last giving attention to . . . shall be sending. For the present, merely on this occasion asking after your health, may I not be reprimanded. [6-9] I also am come to the soldiery (as a soldier?) of Pehu-mar. Of the three Khotanīs in the hand-list one is laid up, one is indolent, one, having been sent to get his rations, has (will have?) to return to Ho-ni-dag. Even if he succeeds in getting the food-supplies

sent, he is quite destitute, and, as he is only acting as a servant, it is possible that . . . and deception may come about. [9–10] In case deception may escape, I have determined to keep my eyes open. What a Khotanī is capable of, the earth has not . . . Later having sent him with a sealed letter to the hand of the Uncle, I beg (you?) to receive him back. For the moment will you please be so good as to keep your eyes open? [10–12] As a sign of not having forgotten, I am sending some three medicines with a seal attached, and I am offering as a present two ja-tor. Please accept them. I beg you for a little while not to reprimand (me)."

#### Notes

- 1. 6. sug-rjed: "hand-list" recurs in M.T. 0193.
- 1. 7. Ho-ni-dag: This seems to be a dual or plural of Ho-ni, which in that case would be double. Or can the meaning be "the Ho-ni people"?
- 1. 8. -re-(yan-)rgyad: This might perhaps be for hdre-(yan-)brgyad "eight devils". One of the documents (M.I. xiv, 002) uses the phrase "a hdre is in my mind", meaning "I am depressed".
- 1. 9. lis-ci-theg: Some proverb disrespectful to the native Khotanīs is perhaps intended.

spyan-ras-gyis-btsa: The phrase recurs in l. 10 and pp. 258, 274.

- l. 11. ja-tor: Is this = ja-phor "tea-cup"?
- (aa)  $Rgya-\underline{h}drug-\underline{h}dul.$

This seems to be a place-name infra, pp. 282-3.

(bb) Ron-lins.

This seems to be a place-name in ——

- 98. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0060 (wood; c. 13  $\times$  2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
  - 👺 | : | Ḥbro : hi | Ron . lins . yul . bzun |

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ron-lins in Hbro taken."

#### Note

<u>H</u>bro: In N.E. Tibet; recurs in Bstan-<u>h</u>gyur colophons. (cc) Sam-cha.

Mentioned p. 256 supra and pp. 272-3 infra.

- 99. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0022 (wooden tally; c.  $12 \times 1.5$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; several notches recto; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; a different hand recto l. 2 and verso).
  - [A 1] 💆 | . | Bsam . cha . Mdo . gchod | [A 2] h[bu]l
- "[To] Mdo-gchod of Bsam-cha: offered. By rag Hphan-rogs of the Mnal-hp[h]an regiment, two bre of flour, after the census."

#### Notes

B1. Mnal-hpan-gi-sde: This might be the "sick-assisting regiment": see supra, p. 94.

In another document also (M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0098) Bsam-cha is used as a surname.

(dd) Šel-than.

Mentioned p. 71 supra.

(ee) Snan-hu-ha.

This is described as a townlet (mkhar-bu).

- 100. M. Tāgh. ii, 1 (wood; c.  $13.5 \times 2$  cm.; broken away at top left; l. 1 (+ lower part of another) recto + 1 (+ upper part of another) verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
  - $[A 1] \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots$
  - $[A\ 2]\ \dots\ [la]$ .  $|\ |\ \mathrm{gros}$ . mhan . gi . hbahs . Kho . lho
- [B 1] . . n . Snan . [hu] . ha . mkar : bu . na . | Bod . bài . tshugs [B 2] . . . [h] . [bar . tse . s-ir . tsh-gs . po-.]
  - "To . . . Kho-lho, servant of the authorities in council.

... In the townlet Snan-hu-ha two Tibetans, ... squad ... in ... bar-tse-s-i sergeaunt."

The same place may be mentioned below, pp. 282-3.

# (ff) Sta-gu and Ta-gu.

Some references to this place, which was a *khrom* "mart", have been given in *JRAS*. 1928, p. 589, and Ta-gu, which is, no doubt, the same, has occurred pp. 57–8 *supra*. The fact that the place is mentioned in documents both from Mīrān, where it is definitely brought into connection with Tshal-byi, and from Mazār Tāgh suggests that it lay on the confines of the two administrations, and it seems likely that it was somewhere in the valley of the Cer-cen river.

- 101. M. Tāgh. b, i, 002 (wooden stick; c,  $39 \times 1 \times 1.5$ ; nearly complete; ll. 1 [A] + 1 [B] + 1 [C] + 1 + 2 [D] of square dbu-can script, two sizes).
- [C] . . . zla . Khyi : tsa : n̊an : rjee : pho : Stagu : gans : gram : mkhan : zehu.
  - "Friend Khyi-tsa, . . . żehu of Sta-gu gańs bank (?)."
- 102. M. Tāgh. 0491 (paper; c.  $7 \times 10$  cm.; fragmentary at right; ll. 4 of ordinary square dbu-can script).

This is sent to a councillor in Sta-gu with compliments and good wishes.

- 103. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 0017 (wood, curved; c.  $16 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of rather square dbu-can script, blurred).
- [A]  $\$  | : | Li . Sirdad | Stags : gur . ri . zug | [B] . . . -u . ru . chog . . .
- "Khotānī Śir-dad is in Sta-gu with mountain sickness . . ."

  (gg) Ta-ha.

The existence of a place so named appears from the following

documents, one of which associates it with [Ho-ton] Gyu-mo and Par-ban.

- 104. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0065 (paper, fol. no. 52 in volume; c. 14  $\times$  7 cm.; fragmentary at right; ll. 4 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

"In Ta-ha the Samarkandī Zla-bžer, ri-zug. In Tshu... In Snan-lun-rtse Khyun-po Myes-skyes ri-zug.... In Linsked-chad Gže-ma Sman-lod, ri-zug. In Hbog... In the Dru-gu hjor Po-si-o Phyi-slebs ri-zug."

#### Notes

On ri-zug "mountain-sick" (?) see supra, pp. 84, 258; on Snan-lun-rtse, p. 263; on Lin-sked-chad, p. 271; on the Dru-gu hjor, p. 56; on Sna-nam, p. 291 infra; on Khyun-po, p. 93 supra.

Tshu...is, no doubt, part of a name: <u>Hbog...</u>is very likely the <u>Hbog-la-tham</u> of p. 282-3 infra.

Sman-lod, in virtue of the syllable lod, should probably be a woman, and the name Gže-ma reinforces the probability (Ancient Khotan, p. 582).

105. M. Tāgh. 0064 (wood; c.  $12.5 \times 1.5$  cm.; complete; l. 1 recto of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; some traces of erased writing verso).

[A] 9 | . | Ta . hah |

106. M. Tāgh. 0524 (wood; c.  $16 \times .75 \times 1$  cm.; fragmentary at left; l. 1 of ordinary, square dbu-can script, in 3 compartments; 5 notches in B).

Ta ha | Gyumo : tshugs : ñis | Par : ban | | | | | | "Ta-ha | Gyu-mo, two squads | Par-ban."

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for bzer.

When publishing this document in Sir A. Stein's *Innermost Asia* (p. 1085), I had not realized that both *Ta-ha* and *Par-ban* were certainly place-names, and hence the document was declared "unintelligible". The other occurrences suffice to make all clear.

On Par-ban and Gyu-mo see supra, pp. 90 sqq., 264-6. (hh) Tshehu-cag.

107. M. Tāgh. 007 (wooden tally; c.  $9 \times 1.5$  cm.; slightly broken away; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; 5 notches or lines recto,  $3 \ verso$ ).

❷ | . | Tshehu . chag . |

108. M. Tāgh. c, iii, 0033 (wood; c.  $9 \times 1.5$  cm.; complete; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

Tshehu . cagi . so . pah

"Soldier of Tshehu-cag."

Under the variant form *Rtsehu-cag* this name has occurred *supra*, p. 93, and with the above spelling, p. 256 (M. Tāgh. 0615).

(ii) Yol-ba-ri ("the Yol-ba hill").

The name may retain a memory of Yol (Yeula), the early king of Khotan (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 237). It is associated with Hbu-śań.

- 109. M. Tāgh. c, iii, 0027 (wood; c.  $25/1 \times 1$  cm.; fragmentary right and left, one side (D) broken away for purposes of a tally (?) and showing 6 notches, C also showing a number of independent notches; A, ll. 2 (one compartment), B, l. 1, (6 compartments) of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; C, l. 1 of a strange script, apparently a derivative of Brāhmī).
- [A] [1] sde . rjes . bre . bdun . kyań . [A 2] htshald (also independently) [1] brgyags : [2] htshald.
- [B] | : lyiń : | Hbog . la . tham | Rgya : drug . hdul | Yol : ba : ri | Sam : chah | [S]na[n] . -u . -ya . (-gya, -gra?).

[C] Illegible.

The four compartments probably contain only place-names, although the third name "China- and Drug-taming" or "Six-Chinese-taming" would be more appropriate to a regiment—perhaps it is the name of a hill-station (rtse).

Lyin may have something to do with Lin-sked-chad, while Sam-cha certainly, and perhaps Hbog-la-tham and Snan--u--ya (Snan-hu-ha), have been noted above (see pp. 279-281).

110. Khad. 052 (paper, originally folded in a long slip, like a modern Tibetan letter; complete; ll. 6 recto + 6 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, exceedingly faint).

(A for the most part illegible—a different document.)

[B1] . . m | rta . gi . lohi . dpyid . sla . ra . bahi . no . la | so . btsas . de . Hbu . àan . Yol . ba . ri . hi . byan . g-yog . Li : nan . g[l]eg [B2] hi . Li . Su . dad . ces . kyi . lan . ma[n] . mo . àig . snogs (sphrogs?) . de | Li . phun . du . chad . pas . dgum . àes . bgyis . na . khon . hi . tshe [B3] nas . kyan . dgum . ri . zu . du . yan . gàag . ces . bgyis . na | tshug . pon . las . bsogs . de . rog . po . cha . gsum . la . don . tse . bài . s[t]on . lna . rgya [B4] so . rog . bskan . sna . rold . mo . d[no]s-e . . so . . ru . cha . . . dbul . bar . bgyis . de . [der] . ham . gyu . bgyisna . . [B5] gcig . las . gñisu . bsgyur . ba . [ra]d . gos . yan . chad . phrogs . de . rgya[b] . chad . gyis . gyan . chad . la . ri . zu . du . yan . gàag . par . bgyis . [B6] pahi . dpan . lah | tshugs . skyu . dan . gñis [gya | gya | gya] [la] s . bsogs . pa . hi . dpan . rgyas . bthad.

[B 1-2] "At the beginning of the first spring month of the Horse year, on examining the soldiers, a Khotanī gleg, named Su-dad, one of the Khotanīs serving as cooks in Yol-ba-ri in Hbu-žan, having many times caused annoyance(?), it was decided that he should be put to death in the Khotanī troop. [B 2-4] It being decided that even after his death (though he must die?) he should be put in the ri-zu, his comrades, the sergeaunt and so forth, three parties, agreed to pay one thousand five hundred don-tse as ransom of their comrade, the first quota at once (?) . . . [B 4-5] In case the parties prove tricky, for each [don-tse] two shall be substituted,

and they may be deprived of everything down to their travelclothes and punished as far as flogging and also put in the ri-zu. [B 6] In witness whereof the signatures of the squadleader and the two . . . and the rest are appended."

#### Notes

This is one of the not infrequent cases where we have mention of punishment or execution of Khotanīs by the Tibetan authorities; cf. *supra*, p. 49. They show that the Tibetan control was sternly maintained.

- B 1. byan-g-yog: The phrase is found also in M. Tāgh. b, i, 0059, "cook-service," and M.I. xiv, 124, 0070.
- 1.3. ri-zu: Sense uncertain. Is it "torture" or "prison", of "left in the mountains"? Recurs in c, iv, 0038.

don-tse: A frequently named coin.

gyu: Usually gya-gyu "trickery"; cf. sgyu "deceit".

- 111. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 00131 (paper fragment, fol. no. 21 in vol.; c.  $15 \times 6$  cm.; ll. 5 of clear dbu-can script).
- [1] . . tshuns . tshes . ni . śu . la | chab . rgyud . ched . pohi . so . pa . bthus . te | dgun . sla . . . [2] . . dan . | Stag . Klu . bzer . dan . | blon . Mtsho . bzan . gis . | so . bskos . nas . | m . . . [3] . . . gs . chig . dan . | rna . dkog . nul . tshugs . bzi . ni . so . byan . gi . . . [4] . . Mtsho . bzan . Śin . śan . du . mchis . nas . | rna . s-o . . . . [5] . . śan . Yol . ba . ri . . .
- [1] "... on the 20th day of the last ... the soldiers of the great government having been called up, in the winter month ... [2] ... and Stag Klu-bžer and Councillor Mtsho-bzaň having made the levy of soldiers ... [3] ... one company and of secret camel spies four companies. Of the soldier missive ... [4] ... Mtsho-bzaň having come to Śiń-śan, the camel ... [5] ... Hbu-śaň, the hill Yol-ba."

#### Notes

- 1. 4. so-byan: See supra, p. 84, and infra, p. 292.
- l. 5. . . śań-Yol-ba-ri: This is, no doubt, Hbu-śań, on which see supra, pp. 269-70.

We have the impression that the Yol-ba hill and Hbu-śań belong to the hills of which Śiń-śan is the most easterly part, abutting on the Khotan river.

# (jj) Zugs-nam.

On this place see supra, pp. 86, 248.

# VI. PLACES OR STATES ADJACENT TO, OR CONNECTED WITH, THE KHOTAN REGION

# (a) Bru- $\dot{z}a$ .

Assuming that it was proved in Asia Major, ii, pp. 258-9, that the name Bru-za was originally attached to a part of the Khotan territory, it may still be a question what the term denoted in later times. In the Tibetan chronicle we have the following notices:—

- 112. Chronicle, ll. 223–4; year 66 (Ox) = A.D. 737: blon. Skyes. bzań. Ldoń. tsab. gyis | Bru. ża. yul. tu. drańs | dgun. pho. brań. Brag. mar. na. bżugs. te | Bru. żaḥi. rgyal: po: phab. ste. phyag. ḥtshald |
- "Councillor Skyes-bzań Ldoń-tsab having marched into the Bru-ża country, in the winter, when (the Tibetan king) was residing in the palace at Brag-mar, the Bru-ża king was reduced and sent homage."
- 113. Chronicle, ll. 230-1; year 69 (Dragon) = A.D. 740: Btsan. po. chen. po: po. bran | dbyard. Mtshar. bu: snaḥi. Nan. mo: glin. na. bàugste | je. ba: Khri. ma. lod. Bru. àa. rje. la. bag. mar. btan |

"The Btsan-po being resident in his palace in Nań-mo-glin of Mtshar-bu-sna during the summer, the princess (je-ba?) Khri-ma-lod was sent to be wife to the Bru-za king."

The facts made known from Chinese sources by Chavannes (Documents, pp. 149 sqq.), and summarized in Ancient Khotan, pp. 6-7, especially the marriage with a Tibetan princess, make it plain that the above quotations relate to "Little P'olü" or Gilgit. The slight difference, if any, in date may

be explained on another occasion. But this circumstance does not in the least invalidate the definite evidence of the Khotan chronicle attributing the name  $Bru\text{-}so\text{-}lo\text{-}\tilde{n}a$  (= Bru-zal) to a part (at least) of the Khotan territory, namely that in which were Mdo-lo and Me-skar. In that district is Polu, through which passes one route to the great north-western Tibetan plain, the Byan-than; and the name reminds us of the Chinese  $P'ol\ddot{u}$  and the Paloyo, which Sir Aurel Stein reports as applied by the Dards of Gilgit to the people of Baltistan. This may be remembered in support of the other indications previously ( $Asia\ Major$ , pp. 25, 270;  $Festgabe\ Jacobi$ , p. 73) cited in favour of some early ethnic connection between populations of Western Tibet and of Khotan.

(b) Glin-rins ("Long Meadow"), Glin-rins-tshal ("Long-Meadow Wood"), Glin-rins-smug-po-tshal ("Long-Meadow-Bamboo (Reed? Cane?) Wood").

A reference to a Glin-rins has been quoted supra (p. 84). Such a name might occur anywhere in Tibetan territory; but the additional terms tshal "wood" and smug-po-tshal "Bamboo (or Reed or Cane) Wood" justify us in identifying the place so named with the Glin-rins-tshal mentioned previously (JRAS. 1927, p. 816), as noticed in the Tibetan chronicle (ll. 59, 101) and in a document from Mīrān. It belonged to the district of Skyi, which must have been a region of northern Tibet communicating with Mīrān and, as we see, also with Khotan. In spite of its not belonging to the latter country the number of references to it, suggesting that it was a centre for relations with Khotan (via Cer-cen or Polu?), no doubt justify a citation of some or most of them here.

- 114. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0041 (wood; c.  $17 \times 3$  cm.; complete; ll. 3 recto + 3 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, faint and rubbed).
  - [A 1] 💆 | Stag. btsan. dan. Mdo. btsan...
  - [A 2] [Gyu] l. st[ag. sog]s. bah. la: | . . .

[A 3] l. bah. phyogs.su.[th]ugs.[bde]...

[B 1] yi . ge . las . sñun . gsol . żiń . mchis . Gliń . [rińs].
[B 2] gi . Li . la . nas . bre . gań . skur . ham . ma . skur.
[B 3] | Stag . rtsan . gi . Ma[n] . żu . stagi . sbul . sbur . tsir . s . . .

"Petition of . . . to Stag-btsan and Mdo-btsan, [Gyu]l-stag and the rest. [Then after the usual compliments.] To the Khotanīs of Glin-rins has a full bre of barley been sent or not? Offering of Man-zu Stag of Stag-rtsan [regiment]. . . ."

#### Notes

- 1. A 3. phyogs-su: This phrase, which recurs, means "on [your] side", "on [your] part".
  - 1. B 3. sbur-tsir: "chaff and millet"?
- 115. M. Tāgh. 006 (wood; c.  $11 \times 2$  cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
  - [1] 🐸 | : | Glin . rins . smug | [2] po . tshal.

Similar are M. Tāgh. a, iv, 0045 (notches recto) and 0017 (8 notches or lines recto); also 0016, which, however, omits tshal.

- 116. M. Tāgh. 0151 (wood; c.  $15.5 \times 1$  cm.; complete l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
  - 🔏 | Glin . rinsu . gśen . Ḥphan . legs . la.
  - "In Glin-rins to the gsen IIphan-legs."

Géen, as a personal or official designation, occurs also in M. Tāgh. 0266 and a, iii, 0026.

- 117. M. Tāgh. a, iii, 0013 (wood; c.  $21 \times 3$  cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
- [1] | Glin . rins . smug . po . tshal . na . Bod . gñis . Li . gñis . la | Bzan . Ḥo[rd . gyi . sde] [2] Mñan . Ji . hu . tshugs . phon | Lan . myi . hi . sde . Dbyild . [Chas] . legs . hog | . -g

"In Glin-rins-smug-po-tshal two Tibetans, two Khotanis, namely, Mñan Ji-hu, of the Bzan-Hor regiment, sergeaunt, Dbyild Chas-legs, of the Lan-myi regiment, corporal, . . ."

#### Notes

The two regiments, Bzan-Hor and Lan-myi, are mentioned elsewhere; they will be noted again subsequently.

1. 2. tshugs-phon and hog-phon: See supra, p. 53.

# (c) G-yar-skyan.

The G-yar-skyan regiment is mentioned on p. 53 supra, and in M. Tāgh. 0280 (Innermost Asia, p. 1085) we have a Yar-skyen regiment and in 0544 one named Yar-skyan. The three are, no doubt, identical and designate a Tibetan force raised in, or serving in, Yarkand.

### (d) Kha-ga-pan.

The single document being addressed to a khri "throne" or "dīvān", the place named will have been an independent, or quasi-independent, state. The only state that can come into question is that which in old writings, Kharoṣṭhī, Chinese, Tibetan, and Buddhist Sanskrit, is cited as Cugapan, Cugopa, Cakoka, Che-chü-chia, Chu-chü-po, Chu-chü-pan, Bcu-gon-pan, and the inhabitants of which are by the Chinese designated Tzu-ho (see Sir Aurel Stein's Ancient Khotan, pp. 89-93, 582; M. Sylvain Lévi in BEFE-O, v, pp. 255-6, 263, 267; notes in Zeitschrift für Buddhismus, vi, pp. 184-5; Festgabe Jacobi, p. 47, and the sources cited in those connections). The syllable pam, which probably means "road", recurs in the old name (Kilpam or Gilpam) of Kilian, lying more or less in the same region west of Khotan. The place having been shown by Sir A. Stein to be identical with the modern Karghalik, it seems likely that in the name Kha-qa-pan we have in fact the oldest form of that designation, which may have resulted merely from an addition of the Turkish suffix lik to the Kha-ga apparently seen in the document.

regards the difference between Kha-ga and Kargha (if the latter spelling is fully authorized), neither the r (see the remarks in  $Asia\ Major$ , ii, p. 262) nor the variation of the aspirates need trouble us in our documents.

It seems quite possible that another form of the name Cu-gon-pan is recorded in the Tibetan chronicle, which relates (1.72) that in the year 26 (Bird) = A.D. 697

Ce.dog.pan.gyi.p[h]o.ña.phyag.htsald | "An envoy of Ce-dog-pan did homage."

The date is not unsuitable, and the name needs only a transference of a vowel mark in order to become Ce-dgo-pan, which would be a fair approximation for the Tibetans in their early acquaintance with Karghalik. Also, if not Karghalik, what country is denoted? In a Mīrān document (a paper fragment M.I. vii, 83a) the form Cu-chu-paṃ seems to occur, unfortunately without further information.

- 118. M. Tāgh. b, i, 00104 (paper, fol. no. 39 in vol., fragmentary at right and at bottom; c.  $25.5 \times 15$  cm.; ll. 11 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
- [1] 🐸 | : | Kha . ga . pan . khri . la | | Rman . rogs . gyi . mchid . g . . . [2] . m[chi]d . kyis . rmas . na . thugs . bde. žes. thos. | te. glo. ba. rab. tu. dgah. žiń. mchis | | g...[3] bahi.slad.nas. | | nah.nin.kha.chag.gis. kha . phyar | bth [oste] | Śe . ho . [h (?) d]as . zur . nas | bdag . [gi] . . . [4] dbon . ma . gchig . bgyis | | Gñag . yul . du . yan . tsha . bo . hi . tshe (?) | lo . . dan . lo . gro . yu . gi . . . [5] go . skyes . gza . bran . gñis | khyim . pun . du : nog . pahi : srin . ba . dan . . . rta . bab . pah . . . [6] myi.blas.bab.ste | las.hdi.rnams. | dan.hdom | ste. mchi . . m . . . . śad . mar . . . [7] pa . dan . bgyis . pa | dan . | jo . mo . pas . žal . mch[u]s . rgal . ste | dmar . sran . gsum . . . [8] pans . kyi . slad . nas | bdag . la :  $\dot{z}$ al . mchu . chig . . . mchis | rta . seru . hi . slad . nas . . . [9] ris . chibs.mchis.pa.skad.bgyis.nas. | dehi.slad.nas.kyan. bdag.chag:nor.hjald | gže.ni.m...[10] su.žan.

Rgyal . bàre ¹ . gi . hbans | Me . nu . Ña . gzigs . kyis | | gla . ào . bdun . chags . pah . Kha . ga . dan . chu . . . [11] gi . rgya . byun . nas | Dmu . mur . du . bsgugs . nas | ào . bdun . las | bcu . bàir . bsgyurd . nas | phrog[s] . . .

"To the Kha-ga-pan dīvān: letter-petition of Rman-rogs— [then after the usual compliments.] Last year having heard of slanders by abusive persons, I retired to Se-ho. Then in my . . . a grand-daughter was born. Also in the Gñag country it was the . . . birthday of my grandson and presents of . . . pieces of satin with unavoidable detainment in the families of the two wives, and . . . . a horse fell . . . man fell off. Preoccupied by these affairs I made . . . and, the lady having made a complaint against me, I lost three sran of copper. Then a . . . complaint was made against me: it was stated that after the rotten (seru) horse there had come a riding horse. So then again I paid money. The year before last in . . . a servant of Uncle (żań) Rgyal-bżer, Ña-zigs of Me-nu, whose wages were agreed at seven zo, after the Kha-ga and . . . . , waited in Dmu-mu, and from seven zo it become fourteen. Seizing . . ."

#### Notes

- l. 1. Rman-rogs: As suggested above (p. 73), this is one of the cases where a doubt exists as to whether we are dealing with a proper name or a professional designation. Rman-rogs means, no doubt, a "horse-attendant", and the drawing of horses published by Sir Aurel Stein in Innermost Asia, plate vii, has a Tibetan dedication by a person so named. Hence the likelihood is that in this document also, which relates to such a person, the phrase denotes his occupation. It occurs also in M.I. 0054: in M.T. a, ii, 0097, rta-rogs.
  - 1. 3.  $\acute{S}e$ - $\underline{h}o$ : ? = Si-ho, Chavannes, Documents, p. 215.
- l. 4.  $G\tilde{n}ag$ : This also has not been traced, since we can hardly think of  $G\tilde{n}ag$  "a place in Tibet".

lo-gro: This may = gro-lo-ma "a kind of satin".

<sup>1</sup> Compendious for bier.

- 1. 5. [s]go-skyes: A special present.
- 1. 7. *àal-mchu*: See *supra*, p. 70.
- 1. 8. seru: This seems to be = ser-ru "rotten". It is used of "sheep" in M. Tāgh. a, iv, 00128.
- l. 10. Me-nu: A place-name; see supra, p. 272.
   Kha-ga: Apparently = people of Kha-ga-pan.
- l. 11. Dmu-mu: Noted supra, p. 267.

# (e) Sna-nam.

Mentioned p. 281 supra.

Sna-nam is the ordinary Tibetan name for Samarkand, and there seems no objection to its being mentioned in a document belonging to a time when the Tibetans were cooperating with the Arabs and had during over a century been in relations with the Turks. The person in question has a good Tibetan name, Zla-bèer, so that he would have to be a Tibetan belonging to Samarkand; and the occurrence of the phrase sna-rnam (p. 254 supra) in another sense suggests that the surname Sna-nam is without geographical reference.

# (f) Su-lig (= Kashgar).

This well-known, ancient, designation of Kashgar occurs in the Tibetan accounts of Khotan (Ancient Khotan, p. 52; Sir Asutosh Mookerjee . . . Jubilee Volume, iii, pp. 38, 45, 49) and probably also in the Kharosthī document No. 661.

- 119. M. Tāgh. c, 0028 (paper, fol. no. 51 in vol.; c.  $9.5 \times 21$  cm.; ll. 7 recto + 7 verso (a different hand) of ordinary dbu-can script; recto faint).
  - A [1] . . . Bzu . ru . hi . mchid . gsol . bah | . . .
    - [2] . . . bra<br/>n | yan . Śu . lig . nas | dgu[n . sl] . . .
    - [3] . . . po . du . Bu . lod . Stoň . chuň . Koň .  $\label{eq:sleb} \operatorname{sle}[b] \ . \ . \ .$
    - [4] . . . hb-i- . se (mo?) . ña . tsam . na . Ḥu . te . du . pyin . . .
    - [5] . . .  $[ni \cdot ma]$  . ku-s .  $\underline{H}$ pan . le[gs] . . .
    - [6] . . . rta . po . la . s[la]d . du . yan . na . ni . m . . .
    - [7] . . . [t]ab . ste . Legs . tsan . la . bsku . ba . lagso.

These two separate letters are too fragmentary for translation, though most of the words and phrases are familiar and have been noted above (e.g. so-byan, so-rims = so-res). The first, a letter from a person named Bzu-ru, speaks of going from Su(Su)-lig (= Kashgar) and arriving at Hu-te (= Khotan).

#### VII. PERSONAL NAMES OF KHOTANI PEOPLE

Most of the personal names occurring in the documents are either Tibetan or names of persons belonging to quasi-Tibetan peoples (Sum-pa, Ḥa-ża, and so forth) of the Tibeto-Chinese regions and in Tibetan service. The provenance of the documents, which were nearly all excavated in or near the Tibetan fort at Mazār-Tāgh, accounts sufficiently for this fact. That the Tibetans had not displaced the native Khotan rulers, but were content to hold the military control of the country, is evident from the above quoted references to the Li-rje, or Khotan king. The matter of the documents is also largely military.

Naturally, however, there was multifarious intercourse with the native Khotanīs, and names of such persons were sure to occur. Since the Tibetan names are easily recognizable, more especially in the light of the experience gathered from Mīrān and elsewhere, the non-Tibetan names might with a fair probability have been discriminated as belonging to Khotanī people. But the writers of the documents have placed us in a still more favourable position. The discrimination between Tibetan and Khotanī was in their curcumstances

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compendious for bzer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Compendious for gsol.

naturally an explicit one; and in mentioning a Khotanī person they usually show his nationality by prefixing the word Li "Khotan" or "Khotanī". The following names are in that way guaranteed as Khotanī:—

Bat-nag (a, iv, 00121).

Bu(Cu)-de (0513).

Bu-god (a, iii, 0062).

Bu-hñog-dag (b, i, 0038).

Bun-dar-ma (b, i, 0048).

Bu-ñe (ño ? ñi ?)-dag (Domoko 0168).

Bu-ñon (a, ii, 0096).

Byi — (a, i, 0036).

Byi-de (0184; a, i, 0036; a, vi, 0063).

Cam-po-la (b, ii, 0096).

Cehu-hdo (b, i, 0095).

Chu — (a, i, 0036).

Cu(Bu)-de (0513).

De-de (b, ii, 0054).

Gi-chog (a, iv, 0074).

Gos-de (a, iii, 0012).

Gu-dag (a, ii, 0096; a, iii, 0074).

Gu-de (0503).

Gu-hdag (H. 2).

Gu-jo (dze ?) (b, i, 0048).

 $\underline{\mathbf{H}}$ dzas (a, iii, 001).

Hi - (a, iv, 0010).

Hir-bod (a, iii, 0012).

Ho(Rho?)-že (śe?) (a, ii, 0096).

'I-hduh (a, ii, 0018).

'In-dad (a, vi, 0057).

Khrom-se-dad (b, i, 0048).

Khu-le (a, iii, 0074).

Ko-hag (heg ?) (a, ii, 0096).

Ko-śe (a, ii, 0096).

Ku-chi-śi (b, i, 0090).

Ku-żu (a, i, 0036).

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Meg(Rmag ?)-sur (a, ii, 0096).
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Nob-żo (a, v, 005).

Phu-sgra (a, i, 0036).

Phu(Pu)-de (0492; b, ii, 0054).

Pu-god (a, iii, 0043).

Rdz - (c, ii, 0011).

 $\hat{S}a$  — (a, iv, 0074).

Sa-bdad (c, i, 0050).

Sam-rba (b, i, 0048).

San (0586).

San-ga(e?) (0492).

San-ge (0503).

San-ge-sur (a, iv, 0081).

Śa-rag (b, i, 0062).

Sar-dad (b, i, 0051).

Sar-rnon (b, i, 0070).

Sar-żon (a, ii, 0096).

Sen-ge-lag (0336).

Sen-hdo (c, iv, 0021).

Sin-de (b, ii, 0054).

Śi-nir (a, i, 0036).

Sir-dad (b, ii, 0017; c, ii, 0017).

Sir-de (a, iii, 001; a, iii, 0012; b, i, 0048).

Śir-hdo (a, iii, 0043).

Śi-rhan-za (b, 00103).

Śi-ri-bad (a, vi, 007).

Su-de (0586).

Sur-de (0287).

'Um-de (a, ii, 0096).

'Usag-hven (c, i, 0042).

Wi - (0492).

Wi-ne-sa (a, iii, 0074; cf. -de-sa, 0492).

Ye-ye (a, i, 0036).

[The Amacas Sen-hdo, Śi-bir (sic) and Śir-de mentioned above (pp. 72-4) and the Amaca Vi-dad of the Khotan chronicle (Ancient Khotan, p. 582) have names obviously

belonging to the above types. We may also mention a certain Na-mo-bud (M. Tāgh. 0512) and a councillor Na-mo-sa (a, iii, 0034), clearly Khotanīs. The Amaca Khe-meg may possibly have been a Chinaman.]

In this list we observe certain recurrent final, or second, members, such as de (12 times), dag (4 times),  $\underline{h}do$  (3 times), dad (5 times), sur (twice), ge (3 times); and the general system, composition of two monosyllables, is quite clear.

It is important to note the correspondences of this nomenclature with evidence derived from other sources. Thus from the Tibetan works I have quoted in the above cited article the names Phrom-ge-sar (cf. Meg-sur and Sange-sur above), Brese Stu-lag (cf. Sen-ge-lag and Sa-rag above), Na-mo-hbod (cf. Hir-bod above), 'A-ba-ya-rdad (cf. 'In-dad, Khrom-śe-dad, Sa-bdad, Sar-dad, Śir-dad above). monosyllabic names Hdzas and San may be set by the side of the Hjes and Hji of the Tibetan works (pp. 252 and 270 of the article). To Hdah-no-ya and Za-ro of the Tibetan works I have as yet no parallel. Wi-ne-sa and Cam-po-la have many correspondences among the "Names of Places and Persons in Ancient Khotan" discussed in Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, pp. 48-73, names which in consequence of the new light upon the attribution of the kings mentioned in Kharosthī documents (see Kharosthī Inscriptions . . . . Part III, transcribed and edited by E. J. Rapson and P. S. Noble, pp. 323-5) must now be connected for the most part not with the Khotan kingdom proper, but with the adjacent, and no doubt cognate, people of Shan-shan. The Khotani names appertain to a date about five centuries later, and, no doubt, to a partly different system.

Again, in a document edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett in Hoernle's Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan (Oxford, 1916), pp. 402-3, we have mention of Khotanī (Li) persons with the names Suhe-sa Tsadzūgo, Gu-tsag, Sur-dad, Man-bod, which present obvious analogies or correspondences with those cited above.

It would be unlikely that in so considerable a list of names of natives of Khotan there should be none of foreign origin, more especially when we remember that the Iranian language, which has been designated variously Tokhārī B, Khotanī, and Saka, had been known in Khotan from at least about A.D. 600 (Asia Major, ii, p. 271), while an Indian Prākrit and the Chinese had been familiar from a much earlier period. perhaps from the very foundation of the city. The name Ku-chi-śi bears a resemblance to Śer-the-śi and Ka-the-śi. which in the Khotan chronicle (see Sir A. Stein's Ancient Khotan, p. 582) are given as names of Chinese ministers. Concerning the 'A-ba-ya-rdad of the same chronicle I formerly suspected that the syllable rdad might really represent an Iranian dāta "given", in which case a corresponding suspicion might attach to the occurrences of dad in the above list. But clearly an Indian derivation (from Sanskrit datta) would be more probable, since the first part of the name, if not local, would be the Sanskrit word Abhaya, giving a plausible Sanskrit name Abhayadatta: moreover, we have in non-Tibetan documents a number of names in datti which necessitate the same conclusion. The same documents show also Sanskritic names of monks, such as Puñade, which suggest that the terminal syllable de may really be derived from Sanskrit deva; but this point may be left for a later determination.

If we add to some of the names a final -a, which is likely to have been lost in the course of five centuries, we shall arrive at forms similar to those elicited from the Kharoṣṭhī documents. Thus—

- \*Bu-go-ta (for Bu-god)
- \*Hir-bo-ta (for Hir-bod)
- \*Pu-go-ta (for Pu-god)
- \*Sar-zo-na (for Sar-zon)
- \*Sen-ge-la-ga (for Sen-ge-lag)

are of a type amply represented in those documents (see the above cited article). To follow up such a suggestion would, however, be inappropriate in the present connection, where we are concerned almost exclusively with a record of facts.

#### VIII. THE KHOTAN LANGUAGE.

The previously (Asia Major, vol. ii (1825), pp. 251-71) stated conclusion that the native language of Khotan was a monosyllabic speech of the Tibeto-Burman type was based upon the evidence of names found in the accounts of Khotan (Li-yul) contained in four texts preserved in the Tibetan Bstan-hgyur. We may now point to the further evidence furnished by these new documents of the eighth century A.D., brought by Sir Aurel Stein from Mazār-Tāgh. nomenclature of places (pp. 61-3) and persons (pp. 293-6) is clearly of the same type as that previously elicited. In the place-names the syllable ro (Bar-ma-ro-ña, Byi-ro-ña, Hden-ro-ña, Pan-ro-ña, Śi-ro-ña, Zval-ro, etc.) is probably identical with the ro in names from N.E. Tibet (Cog-ro, Hgren-ro, Myan-ro, etc.), where it is employed to form derivatives from tribal designations: it is, no doubt, equivalent to the Tibetan ra "enclosed space" in Ldum-ra, btson-ra, khyams-ra, etc. The syllable -ti likewise recurs (p. 70) in analogous use.

The abundance of non-Iranian names in current use implies that the old native language of Khotan was still prevalent. Nevertheless, it is certain from the finds of documents in the actual Khotan region (at Mazār-Tāgh and elsewhere) that in the eighth century at least the "Saka-Khotanī" speech was also employed. In that language we have both Buddhist literary MSS, and legal and other business papers. It may be conjectured that the language was used by the higher classes and the monks in place of the old Indian Prākrit which had prevailed during the earlier centuries. Of its employment for religious publicity we have an interesting example in the inscriptions from Dandān-Uilig figured in plates lviii-ix of Sir A. Stein's Ancient Khotan. Beneath the painting of a monk we read (with Dr. Hoernle, op. cit., p. 248):—

Here the word  $p\bar{s}a\bar{a}$  is evidently identical with the  $p\bar{s}ai$ , which Professor Konow (Hoernle, Buddhist Remains, p. 347) has found in a "Khotanī" Vajra-cchedikā, as representing the Sanskrit guru (elsewhere also the word can be traced). Thus the painting represents the guru Dāṃ-śo-dā, in whose name the syllables śo-dā (if not śä-dā) may be connected with the  $\dot{z}o$ -dā noted above (p. 64). If it still remains questionable whether the  $p\bar{s}sai$  may not be derived from the native language of Khotan (cf. phye-se in Ancient Khotan, p. 584), and consequently whether the short inscription may be in Saka-Khotanī, another inscription (D., x, 6, Ancient Khotan, pp. 300-1) is certainly in that language.

Naturally the Chinese also was employed in Khotan. Witness the documents (from Dandān-Uilig, etc.) published and discussed by Chavannes (Ancient Khotan, pp. 521 sqq., and Documents Chinois, pp. 201 sqq.). There were, perhaps, specially Chinese monasteries, at Mazār-Tāgh or elsewhere. But owing to the peculiarities of Chinese writing the few probably native names or terms occurring in them require a separate examination.

#### ADDENDA 1

- p. 65, mkhar-tsho occurs also in a, ii, 0076, and a, iii, 0034.
- p. 90, ces-byun-ba occurs also in M.T. a, iv, 00137.
- p. 93, thag-bar "middle-rope" (?) seems to denote some kind of military person; it recurs in M.T. a, iv, 00122, b, i, 0075, c, iii, 0024.
- p. 266, a place Bon-mkhar "Bon town", seems to be mentioned in M.T. b, ii, 0053.
- p. 268, in M.T. c, ii, 0087, there is mention of a place named Gi-lam-thu.
- p. 279, in M.T. a, iii, 0062, there is mention of a place Śań, and this is supported by the numerous references (M.T. c, i, 0025, c, ii, 0046, etc., to a "regiment belonging to Śań", Śań-sde.
- <sup>1</sup> Corrigenda in previous portion of this article: pp. 66, ll. 13-14, omit "and showing... signs"; p. 70, l. 12, read 1019 (for 1099); p. 72, l. 29, read Si (for Si); p. 80, l. 23, re d  $Sen\bar{a}$ ; p. 91, ll. 16-17, read Ho-se.

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