

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese
Turkestan. IV : The Khotan Region

BY

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(PLATE I.)

COMING at length to Khotan,¹ we observe first that it is frequently mentioned in the documents under its name *Hu-ten* or with minor variations, such as *Hu-den* (M.T. a, iii, 0063), *Hu-then* (M.T. b, i, 0098). The country and the inhabitants are designated *Li*, as in the other known sources. The material may be grouped under heads as follows:— I: The Khotan district and city, including A, The two rivers; B, The Parishes and streets; C, Temples or Monasteries; D, The citadel of Khotan; E, The Khotan King; F, *Amacas*, a *Nan-rje-po* and a *Dmag-pon*. II: *Śiñ-śan*. III: *Gyu-mo*, *Hō-toñ Gyu-mo*, and *Ho-se Gyu-mo*. IV: Places with names ending in *rtse*. V: Other places presumably in the Khotan region. VI: Places or states adjacent to, or connected with, the Khotan region. VII: Personal names of Khotanī people. VIII: The Khotan language.

The material found in these, for the most part fragmentary or hardly decipherable records, is naturally discontinuous; but it is abundant and valuable as enabling us to control and extend the information contained in Tibetan, Chinese, and other literary works. In order to place the reader in a position to judge whether the proper names have been correctly elicited, more than one reference, where available, is given, a course which may also serve the purpose of shedding light upon the circumstances of the time (the latter part of the eighth century A.D.) and the manners of the

¹ I take this opportunity of mentioning that of the Stein documents treated in these articles those indicated as M.I. (*Mirān*) and most of those indicated as M.T. (*Mazār Tāgh*)—excluding any from the "Third Expedition"—are among those examined by Professor A. H. Francke for Sir A. Stein's "Reports". The slips containing Professor Francke's accounts of the documents (in their then unimproved condition) are preserved in the India Office Library, where they can, no doubt, with consent, be consulted. The information elicited by him is summarized in his well-known article (*JRAS.* 1914, pp. 37-59) and in his "Appendix G", pp. 1460-6 of Sir A. Stein's *Serindia*.

people. Some further materials bearing upon the latter topic may be assembled later.

Places mentioned in the Tibetan literary accounts of Khotan or in the Kharoṣṭhī documents have been considered in the two articles published in *Asia Major*, ii (pp. 251–71) and the *Festgabe Jacobi* (pp. 46–73). Unless recurring in the sources now under examination, they will not be referred to in the present connection.

It seems, however, worth while to take note of one case where the Chinese evidence enables us to give with some exactness the geographical position of the place. This is the Poṅge or Siṅga-Poṅge (or Poṅgeya) of the Kharoṣṭhī documents (see Index), which is clearly the fortress P'onghouai of the Chinese itinerary (*Serindia*, p. 1331), something over 60 miles from Khotan.

I: THE KHOTAN DISTRICT AND CITY

A: *The two rivers, Upper (= Eastern, Yurungkash) and Lower (= Western, Karakash)*

1. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0048 (wood, c. 22·5 × 2·5 cm. ; rather curved, complete, hole for string at right ; two columns separated by a line ; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso*—the third in each case inverted—of cursive *dbu-can* script).

I

[1] śel . chab . ḥog . maḥi .
tshand . la [2] Li . bcu . gñis .
gyi . ded . sna . Li . Smad . la
[3] gthad | *inverted* tshard .
Śi . ro . ña

II

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

III

[B 1] śel . chab . dbus . gyi .
tshan . la . Li . dguḥi . ded
[B 2] sna | Bar . ma . ro .
ñāḥi . Li . Śir . de | la . gthad |
[B 3] Li .

IV

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

V. Gu (Gru ?).jo(dze ?).chad o | Li.Sam.rba (ga ?).chad | 000000 . . .

I. "To the company of (the country) below (sc. west of) the rivers, as chief of twelve Khotanīs, the Khotanī Smad was sent. Parish Śi.ro.ña.

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

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

IV. "As chief of the six city-officers (or men) the Khotanī Khom (Khrom ? Khos ?)-śe-dad was sent. Is in the street Ba-žo-ña.

V. "The Khotanī Gu(Gru ?)-jo(dze ?) was punished (executed), 1 : the Khotanī Sam-rba(ga ?) was (or thirty (*sum.cu*) Khotanīs were ?) punished (executed)—*figures*."

Here we have the same discrimination of the lands east of the rivers, west of the rivers, and between the rivers, which, as occurring in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan, has caused trouble to Rockhill (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 236) and Sir Aurel Stein (*Ancient Khotan*, 161–2). Previously (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 258) I have suggested alternative translations "east of the river" and "of the eastern river". In view of the correspondence of the three phrases *śel-chab-hog-ma*, *śel-chab-goñ-ma*, and *śel-chab-dbus*, the former rendering, but with the plural "rivers", seems preferable. The interpretation of "above" and "below" as equivalent to "east" and "west" is in accordance with some Eastern-Asian usages.

The name of the western river is known to have been *Go-ma*. If this meant "lower-river", in which eventuality the eastern may have been called **Go-ya*, the case for the alternative rendering would be strong.

Concerning the parishes, streets, and personal names see below (pp. 50–63, 292–6). It is likely that the parishes

belong respectively to the districts with which they are associated, namely Śi-ro-ña to that west of the rivers, Has-go-ña to that east of the rivers, Bar-ma-ro-ña to the district between the two; and the street Ba-zo-ña will be in the actual town of Khotan. The term *tshar* “parish” will now occupy us.

B : *The Parishes (tshar) and streets (srañ)*

The term *tshar* occurs in some fragmentary and hardly legible documents which usually seem to be lists of soldiers or officials stationed in particular places. Since one of the places mentioned, namely Dro-tir, has been previously (“The Language of Ancient Khotan” in *Asia Major*, vol. ii, p. 262) noted as occurring in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan, where it is styled *ljoñs* “district”, it would seem that the latter term is a Tibetan rendering of *tshar*. That the word may denote a subdivision of a *sde*, or regiment, has been shown above (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 827); but even in that passage we have a *yul-yig* “district list”, and in view of the territorial arrangement of the Tibetan armies it is likely that, as in the case of *sde*, so in that of *tshar* the local sense was the *prius*. The term seems to have been originally not Tibetan, but Khotanī, as is evidenced by the fact that the persons named in connection with *tshars* are invariably designated Khotanīs. Possibly the name of the oldest Khotan shrine *Tsar-ma* (see below, p. 63) may mean merely “lower parish”, being short for *Tsar-ma-hjo* “temple of the lower parish”, which in fact occurs. But *ma* may be merely a termination, as in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

2. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0074 (wood, c. 19.5 × 3, cut away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 4 *recto* of clear, regular, cursive, *dbu-can* script—perhaps palimpsest— + ll. 3 *verso*, a different document in a more cursive hand, rather faint).

Verso : [1] ༄ | [’O . nal . Li . Ḥu . ten .] gi . so . pa . tshar . Ḥdzam . ñaḥi . Li . Gi . chog . gis . Rgya . Legs . khriḥi :

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

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

Notes

1. 1. 'o-nal, which occurs elsewhere (M.I. ii, 25 and 27 ; vi, 6 ; xiv, 58a ; xxvii, 11), seems to be a military designation (*JRAS.* 1928, p. 564).

Li Hu-ten, “Khotan Hu-ten,” denotes, no doubt, the city Hu-ten, to which the name always appertains, of the Li (Khotan) country.

Rgya Legs-khri: If this is a Chinaman (*Rgya*), he is here honoured with a Tibetan name.

1. 2. 'O-toñ *Sgo-mo* is, no doubt, a variant of Ho-toñ Gyu-mo, concerning which place see *infra* (pp. 90 sqq.).

3. M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0096 (paper, fol. no. 6 in vol., a fragment of irregular shape ; greatest height, 15 cm. ; greatest width, 14 cm. ; discoloured ; ll. 12 *recto* + 11 *verso* of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script).

[A] [1] . . . | . ya . . .

[2] . . . -u.yaḥi.Li.'Um : de . . .

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

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

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

[6] . . . r.mo.roḥi : Li : Sar.žon | ॐ | ḥbañs.la.yo . . .

[7] . . . ñāḥi.Li.Ho (Rho ?) : ne (śe ? že ?) . | tshar :
 Śir.no.ḥi : Li.Ko.[ś]e . . .

- [8] gcom.baḥi : sde : ra.śaṅs : Gsas. . . .
- [9] : | tshar : Byi.ro.ñe (ḥi ?).Li : Bu.ñon
- [10] mo.ža.ḥi.Li.Gu.dag : | |
- [11] Ḥgrom.paḥi.sde | g-i
- [12] . . . drag | tshar : Ha (Rha ?).-o
- [B] [1] . . . nad (?) || . . . Phro.ño
- [2] : G-yar.skyaṅ.gi.sde
- [3] [L]i. | Wi.[d-].[s]a || tshar : Phun.bu.do . . .
- [4] . . . tshar.Pan.ro.ñahḥi.Li.Meg (Rmag ?).su[r] . . .
- [5] . . . ri : zur . . . [sraṅ] : | Ḥgrom.paḥi.sde :
- [6] . . . [tsha]r : Śo.žo.ñahḥi.Li.Cam.po.la : | tshar :
Su.dor :
- [7] . . . s.tshugs.pond || tshar : Has : lo.ñahḥi
- [8] . . . ḥdzind.byar.sar : lha.mtsho.ḥi.sde . . .
- [9] . . . -e.lus. | tshar.Me.žali.ḥi
- [10] . . . -i.ñahḥi.Li : Ko.ḥag (heg ?) || tsh
- [11] : sde.g-yer [l]o.Khve

- [A] [2] “ The Khotanī 'Um-de of *Haṅ-gu-ya*.
- [3] “ . . . In . . . śul, the Ḥgrom-pa regiment
- [4] “ . . . the Khotanī Bu-ñon-dag of Parish . . . ṅ-lo-
ña. Of Parish De . . .
- [5] “ . . . the *glan-myi* Stag-rton, sergeaunt. Of Parish
Ts
- [6] “ . . . the Khotanī Sar-žoṅ, of Parish . *Bar-mo-ro*.
Among the subjects . . .
- [7] “ . . . the Khotanī Ho-ne (śe ? že ?) : the Khotanī
Ko-śe, of Parish Śir-no
- [8] “ . . . Regiment . . . gcom-pa, the *ra-śaṅs* Gsas . . .
- [9] “ . . . the Khotanī Bu-ñon . . . , of Parish Byi-ro-ña
- [10] “ . . . the Khotanī Gu-dag, of . . . mo-ža . . .
- [11] “ . . . Regiment Ḥgrom-pa . . .
- [12] “ . . . Parish Ha- -o
- [B] [1] “ . . . Phro-ño
- [2] “ . . . Regiment G-yar-skyaṅ
- [3] “ . . . Wi-*de-sa*. Of Parish Phun-bu-do

- [4] “. . . the Khotanī Meg(Rmag ?)-sur, of Parish Pan-ro-ñā . . .
- [5] “. . . Regiment Hgrom-pa . . .
- [6] “. . . the Khotanī Cam-po-la, of Parish Śo-žo-ñā. Of Parish Su-dor . . .
- [7] “. . . sergeaunt. Of Parish Has-lo-ñā . . .
- [8] “. . . Regiment . . . ḥdzind-byar-sar-lha-mtsho . . .
- [9] “. . . Of Parish Me-žali . . .
- [10] “. . . the Khotanī Ko-ḥag (ḥeg ?) of Parish . . . -i-ñā . . .
- [11] “. . . Regiment . . . the *g-yer-lo* Khve . . . ”

Notes

We have here evidently a schedule of certain selected persons belonging to particular regiments. Of such regiments a list will be supplied later ; here it may suffice to note that some are found in several documents, e.g. the above-named *Hgrom-pa* regiment is mentioned also in M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0031, and *a*, v, 008. The *G-yar-skyan* regiment is very possibly, as we have suggested (in Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 1085, for the *Yar-skyen-gi-sde*), “the Yarkand regiment.”

Glan-myi, *tshugs-pon*, *ra-saṅs*, and *g-yer-lo* (?) are military designations (the last-named apparently) which will be considered later. For *tshugs-pon* the translation “sergeant” is merely a makeshift. The word *tshugs* occurs usually in connection with small numbers of soldiers, and often there is a *tshugs-pon* “sergeant” and his subordinate *hog-pon* “corporal”, while sometimes we have a *tshugs-pa* “a member of a *tshugs*”. The military connections exclude the dictionary meaning “caravansarai” for *tshugs*, and it might be convenient if *tshugs* were equivalent to *phyugs* “animal”, so that the *tshugs-pon* would be an officer in charge of horses, camels, etc. But possibly *tshugs* may denote camping arrangements, so that a *tshugs-pon* would be a sort of minor “adjutant” or “quarter-master”. *Ra-saṅs* (*sic*) will be found

infra, pp. 56, 77, and it recurs in M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00159, *c*, ii, 0017, and elsewhere (Tibetan chronicle, ll. 19 and 22 *ra-saṅ-rje*).

It is natural to inquire as to the purpose of such lists, which must, as will appear, have been numerous. Plainly these are not regimental lists, but notes of soldiers belonging to different regiments, who were stationed, or living, in detached places. Probably they were on duty, employed in espionage or in other special tasks, one of which will have been to form “relays” (*so-res*) for conveyance of correspondence, a function of which we often hear. It is likely in fact that the word *so* “soldier”, which in Tibetan means “keeper”, “guard”, “watchman”, “spy”, “emissary”, originally denoted “one who goes”, corresponding to the Sanskrit *cara* (used in the Kharoṣṭhī documents). In our documents we sometimes (e.g. M.T. *a*, ii, 0048) find the phrase *so-rjed*, which should mean “soldier-memorandum” (cf. *rjed-tho* “note-book”, *rjed-byaṅ* “invoice”, *brjed-tho* “memorandum”); and, as this phrase occurs on the *verso* of one of the lists (*a*, iv, 0074, p. 50 *supra*, a separate document), it is likely that it denotes precisely such a list.

4. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0095 (paper, fol. 36 in vol. ; c. 28·5 × 8 cm. ; ll. 5 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script ; on the *recto* ll. 5 in a different hand, containing a complete letter on another subject).

Verso. [1] gyi.rtse.na.B[o]d.gñis.Li.gñ[i]s | Stag.rtse.
Khri . skugs . ḥjor . na . Bod . gsum | la | Grom . paḥi
[2] sde . my[i] . Tshes . koṅ | Myaṅ . roḥi . sde . lo . nan .
Myes . chuṅ | Rtsal . mo . pag . gi . sde . [3] sña . śur .
Stag . bzaṅ | | [4] Bye . ma . ḥdord . gyi . rtse . na . Bod .
gñis . Li . gchig : | Yaṅ . rtsaṅ . gi . sde . phur . myi . Rke .
tuṅ | Ḥo . tso . pag . gi . sde . sro . [5] Sti (Lti ?) . kro |
tshard . Jam . ṅaḥi . Li . Ceḥu . ḥdo . | ॐ ॐ | Ho . toṅ . Gy[u] .
mo . na . Bod . gñis . Li . gchig | Phod . kar . gyi . . .

“ In . . . gyi.rtse two Tibetans, two Khotanīs.

“ In Khri-skugs-*ḥjor* of Stag-rtse three Tibetans, [namely],

the man Tshes-koñ of the Grom-pa regiment, the *lo-nan* Myes-chuñ of the Myañ-ro regiment, the *sña-śur* Stag-bzañ of the Rtsal-mo-pag regiment.

“ In Bye-ma-hdord-gyi-rtse two Tibetans, one Khotanī, [namely], *phur-myi* Rke-tuñ of the Yañ-rtsañ regiment, *sro* Sti[Lti ?]-kro of the Ho-tso-pag regiment, the Khotanī Ceḥu-hdo of parish Jam-ña.

“ In Ho-toñ Gyu-mo two Tibetans, one Khotanī, namely of the Phod-kar regiment.”

Notes

Concerning the place-names ending in *-rtse* (*Stag-rtse*, *Bye-ma-hdord-gyi-rtse*), and concerning Ho-toñ Gyu-mo, see *infra* (pp. 90 sqq., 251 sqq.). As regards the regiments see *supra* (p. 53).

The terms *lo-nan* and *phur-myi* will recur *infra* (pp. 253, 258); *sña-śur* is found in M.T. a, iii, 0068, etc. *Sro* occurs in M. Tāgh. 0239 in a military connection, also M.I. vii (viii), 33, xiv, 41; but its precise meaning is not apparent.

5. M. Tāgh. a, i, 0031 (paper fragment, of irregular shape; fol. no. 3 in vol.; greatest width and height, c. 16 × 21 cm.; ll. 16, fragmentary, of ordinary cursive *ābu-can* script).

[1] . . tshard . Ha (?) . ban . gyi

[2] . . sde . ra : sañs . Li (?)

[3] srañ (?) . tshar . Dro . tir : gi : Li | Phu (Ha ?) . sgra

[4] . . bu . [rtsa]ñ . gi : sde : Rlo . sag . myi |

[5] . . cun . de | ॐ | Drugu . [c]or . na . Śañ : sde . Ḥa . ža

. . . .

[6] sdeḥi . Li : Yeye : tshar : Ņos . go : ñaḥi : Li . Chu (Mu ?)

. . . .

[7] . . po . tshar . Bar . mo . ro . ñaḥi : Li : Byi . de . tshard

. . . .

[8] . . Peḥu . mar : na : Ḥbrom . gi : sde . Co . ze . Lha

[9] . . dir . sí (gi ?) : Li : Ku . žu . srañ . Byi . nom (chom ?) .

naḥi

- [10] . . tshar : Las . ro . ñaḥi . Seṅ . ge . l
 [11] . . r . ne : | ॐ | snañ . Gsal | legs
 [12] . . śaḥi . . . r . tshar : Dar (ñ ?) . ci
 [13] . . že . . . bgyi . . n : khri . pa
 [14] . . | tshar . Ha[s] . ro . ñaḥi | Li . Byi
 [15] na gi
 [16] . . Li . Śi . nir | tshar

- [1] “ Parish Ha (?) -ban
 [2] “ . . . regiment, *ra-saṅs* the Khotanī
 [3] “ . . . the Khotanī Phu-sgra, of Parish Dro-tir
 [4] “ . . . Rlo-sag-myi of the . . bu . . . ñ regiment.
 [5-7] “ cun-de.

“ . . . In the Dru-gu *cor* the Ha-ža . . . , of the Śaṅ regiment ; the Khotanī Ye-ye, of the . . . regiment ; . . . the Khotanī Chu (Mu ?) . . , of parish Nos-go-ña ; the Khotanī Byi-de, of Parish Bar-mo-ro-ña ; . . . of parish

[8-16] “ . . . In Peḥu-mar the *co-ze* Lha . . . of the Hbrom regiment ; the Khotanī Ku-žu, of Parish Dro-tir ; of street Byi-nom (chom ?) -na . . ; the Khotanī Seṅ-ge, of Parish Las-ro-ña ; the Khotanī -r-ne of ; *snañ* Gsal-legs ; , of Parish Dar(Dañ ?) -ci ; the Khotanī Byi . . . , of Parish Has-ro-ña ; the Khotanī Śi-nir, of ; of parish ”

Notes

Concerning the Ha-ža, the Dru-gu, and the word *cor* see *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 51 sqq., 68, 80, 85, 808 ; 1928, pp. 559-60 ; and *infra* (p. 85) ; concerning *ra-saṅs* see *supra* (pp. 53-4).

Peḥu-mar will recur below (pp. 276-8). The Parish Dro-tir, which will recur in the next document, is evidently the *ljoṅs* (“ district”) Dro-tir of the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 262).

6. M. Tāgh. 0492 (paper fragment, discoloured ; c. 9 × 9 cm. ; parts of ll. 8 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

- [1] . . . -u . . .
 [2] . . . [r . ĥi . śu (bu ?) . na .] r[i] | [srañ]
 [3] [tsh]ar . . la . ro . ñaĥi . Li . Phu . de | lhag
 [4] -ĥi . sde . su . tu . Lha . lod | srañ . No . ña . Li
 [5] . . . n . | Byañ . slañs . stod . paĥi . ĥcañ
 [6] . . . [s]u . mo . no . ĥi . Sku (Rku ?)
 [7] . . . s : lo . no . ña . Li . Sañ . ga . ĥ (l ?)
 [8] . . . te (de ?) . sa . | tshar . [Dr]o . tir . Wi (?)

“ street . . . the Khotanī Phu-de of Parish . . la-ro-ña; the *su-tu* Lha-lod of the Lhag regiment; the Khotanī , of street No-ña; the of the Byañ-slañs-stod-pa [regiment]; Sku , of Parish -su-mo-no; the Khotanī Sañ-ga-, of -s-lo-no-ña; *te-sa*; Wi , of Parish Dro-tir.”

Notes

Concerning the Parish Dro-tir see *supra* (p. 50). The expression *su-tu* seems not to be found elsewhere.

7. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0074 (fol. no. 15 in vol., paper fragment, much lost at left; ll. 7 of ordinary cursive, rather neat, *dbu-can* script).

- [1] . . . gy- . st- (gyi-sde ?) . m[ya]ñ . Khu.ĥphan
 [2] . . . myi . sde . Gce . ĥu (?) . gtshes
 [3] . . . thu (?) . rgyal . Ta . gur (ñ ?) . na
 [4] . . . : L[i] : Gu-dag | ॐ Phag . sna
 [5] . . . r . rvañ (dvañ ?) . sañ . | tshar . Go . sto
 [6] . . . ra . yo . Li : Wi . ne . sa .
 [7] . . . yo . ña . Li . Khu . le | srañ

“ Myañ Khu-ĥphan, of the regiment; Gceĥu-gtshes, of the . . . myi regiment Thu-rgyal.

“ In Ta-gu . . . the Khotanī Gu-dag.

“ In Phag-sna . . . r-rvañ-sañ; of Parish Go-sto- . . ; the Khotanī Wi-ne-sa of . . . ra-yo; the Khotanī Khu-le, of . . . yo-ña; street . . . ”

Notes

Myañ is, no doubt, a tribal name, since *Myañ-ro* occurs as a place-name. For other occurrences see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 823. Concerning *Ta-gu* see *infra*, p. 280.

8. M. Tāgh. 0513 (paper fragment, left end of fol. ; c. 4 × 7 cm. ; probably from the same document as No. 0492 ; ll. 6 (beginning) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

- [1] lod | tshar . Ro . . .
 [2] [tsh]añ (slañ ?) . myi . sde
 [3] na . mkhar . sa
 [4] Li . Bu (Cu ?) . de . sañ
 [5] tshar : [Ga]s (?) | [st]o
 [6] . . . -o . mo

“ lod ; parish Ro . . . ; regiment . . . tshañ(slañ ?)-myi ; town . . . ; the Khotanī “ Bu (Cu ?)-de sañ . . . ; parish Gas (?) -sto . . . ”

9. M. Tāgh. 0503 (paper fragment, irregular ; c. 7 × 7 cm. ; probably from the same document as Nos. 0492 and 0513 ; ll. 6 (parts) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

- [1] . . d . | [tsh]ar . Zval . r[o] . . .
 [2] . . . ñe . Li . Sañ . ge . B-o
 [3] . . . [St]ag . Hphan . [ch]uñ . | tshar . Ba . rog
 [4] . . . gyi . [sde] . glan . sum . Bu . lod |
 [5] . . . ॐ | Lam . [ko . ña] . na . Ña
 [6] . . . Li . Gu . [d]e (ce ?) . | ॐ

“ of Parish Zval-ro . . . ; the Khotanī Sañ-ge of ñe ; the ‘Tiger’ Hphan-chuñ of ; parish Ba-rog . . . ; *glan-sum* Bu-lod of regiment.

“ In Lam-ko-ña the Khotanī Gu-de (ce ?) of Ña ”

Notes

Glan-sum is perhaps a military designation ; cf. *glan-myi* (*supra*, p. 53).

10. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 0054 (paper fragment; fol. no. 44 in vol.; c. 21·5 × 6·5 cm.; l. 2 (No. 1 partly lower part only) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . [H̄jah̄] . la : tshar . Wam . na . g[de-]. Pu . de | ॐ |

.

[2] tshar . Men . ko . ña . Li . De . d[e] . tshar . 'A . ti .
ko (?) . . . Śin . de | tshar . Bun . [b]o (?) (co ? so ?) .
do . ña . Li .

“ . . . in Parish Wam-na *gde-* (?) Pu-de. . . The Khotanī De-de, of Parish Men-ko-ña. *The Khotanī* Śin-de, of Parish 'A-ti-ko . . . The Khotanī . . . , of Parish Bun-bo(?) -do-ña.”

11. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0010 (wood, c. 12·5 × 2·5 cm.; fragmentary at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, black).

☉ | : | tsard . Han . ge . ña . ro . yo . h̄i | Li | Hi . . .

“The Khotanī Hi . . . of Parish Han-ge-ña-ro-yo.” No doubt a visiting card, or docket.

12. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0018 (wood, c. 15 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; faint and partly illegible).

[1] ☉ | : | tsar . H̄den : ro . ñah̄i . Li . Ddzadz¹ . [dod] .
h̄

[2] . [Li . Ri . zo (gro ?) Tse . ldan | (?) . tsar . H̄de . ro
[ñah̄i] . . . [zar]

“The Khotanī Ddzadz-dod of Parish H̄den-ro-ña. The Khotanī Ri-zo Tse-ldan (?). Parish H̄de[n?]-ro-ña.”

Similar to the preceding.

13. M. Tāgh. 0050 (paper, c. 15 × 14 cm.; fragmentary at right, discoloured; ll. 9 *verso* of rather clumsy, square, *dbu-can* script, somewhat rubbed and smudged; *recto* a different document, see *infra*, p. 92).

¹ Corrected from *Dzan* (?).

[1] ☉ | | Spre . huhi . lo . hi | dgun | sla | tha | cuñs |
 kyi | ño . [la] . . . [2] rje . dañ . sa¹ . dpuñ | pon | blon |
 Mtsho | bzañ | [po | hi | gsol] . . . [3] zu tshar | Žum .
 bañ | Li | Mar | son | la | Yañ | rtsañ . gi | s[d]e . . .
 [4] bcu | gchig | dañ | ral | g[ri] | gchig | m[jal] . te | hbru
 . . . [5] bra [gchig] [ś]eñs | na | dñu | hbul | [bar brgyis] | |
 dus | der . . . [6] lprañ | yug | gchig | las | yug | gñis | su |
 sgyur | . . . [7] khon | hi | sgo | phrugs | dañ | nañ . no² |
 gchi | mchis | pa . [la]³ [8] gyañ | žal | chu | ma | mchis |
 par | rgyis | khon | ta | hi | khnas . . . [9] chogs | tshegs |
 stap | ho | dpañ | du | yañ | Mañ | [k]ra⁴ | gyi | sd[e] |
 sbrad | . . .

“Beginning of the last winter month of the Ape year . . . petition of . . . chief and army commander Councillor Mtsho-bzañ-po . . . of the Yañ-rtsañ regiment having paid to the Khotanī Mar-son of Parish Žum-ba eleven . . . and one sabre, it was arranged that he should deliver turquoises If at that time *delivery should not take place*, then for one piece of turquoise two should be substituted . . . his private possessions, or any wealth within his dwelling, *might be seized* without complaint. His guarantors were set down as co-debtors(?). In witness whereof the *sbrad* . . . of the Mañ-k(h)ar regiment. . . .”

Notes

This is an agreement, or legal decision, of a kind exemplified *supra*, *JRAS*. 1928, pp. 574–5, 593–4. In this case the gaps prevent our knowing what the Khotanī was to pay for the soldier's goods. On the other hand, the document furnishes an instance of civil, and not military, use of designation by parish.

1. 6. *gchig-las-yug-gñis-su-sgyur* : cf. *JRAS*. 1927, p. 813, and 1928, p. 594.

¹ Crossed out.

² Erroneous for *nor*.

³ Crossed out.

⁴ Compendious for *kar* ?

l. 8. *žal-mchu*: “protest,” or “complaint”, as *supra* (*JRAS.* 1928, p. 578).

khnas-pa: This is evidently a compendious writing of *kha-blañs-pa* “guarantor”, which occurred *supra* (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 578, 593). In M.I. xliv, 00125, we have *kham-s-kyi-dbañ-po* perhaps for *khas-blañs-kyi-dbañ-po*.

l. 9. *sbrad*: Apparently a military title; cf. M.T. 0345, and b, i, 0097 (*dbrad*, p. 89 *infra*).

14. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0030 (wood; c. 11.5 × 2.5 cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] [<i>Sp</i>]e . <u>hi</u> . Li	srañ . Ma . žo
	<u>hi</u> . Li . . .

“Khotanī . . . of . . . spe | Khotanī . . . of street Ma-žo-”

The names of the “parishes” cited in the above texts are as follows:—

'A-ti-ko-ña (*b*, ii, 0054).

Bar-ma(mo)-ro-ña (*b*, i, 0048; *a*, i, 0031).

Ba-roḡ- (0503).

Bun-gto (go-do ?)-ña (*b*, ii, 0054).

Byi-ro-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).

Dar-ci (*a*, i, 0031).

De (*a*, ii, 0096).

Dro-tir (0492, *a*, i, 0031).

Dzam-ña (*b*, i, 0095).

Go-sto . . . (*a*, iii, 0074, 0513 (?)).

Ha (?)-ban . . . (*a*, i, 0031).

Ha . -o (*a*, ii, 0096).

Han-ge-ña-ro-yo (*a*, iii, 0010).

Has-lo(go, ro)-ña (*a*, i, 0031; *b*, i, 0048; *a*, ii, 0096).

Hde-ro-ña (*c*, ii, 0018).

Hden-ro-ña (*c*, ii, 0018).

Hdzam-ña (*a*, iv, 0074).

Jam-ña (*b*, i, 0095).

- Ka-to-ži-ña (*a*, iv, 0074).
 Lam-ko-ña (0503).
 Men-ko-ña (*b*, ii, 0054).
 Me-ža-li (*a*, ii, 0096).
 Ńos-go-ña (*a*, i, 0031).
 Pan-ro-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).
 Phun-bu-do . . . (*a*, ii, 0096).
 Ro (0513).
 Śi-ro-ña (*b*, i, 0048).
 Śir-no (*a*, ii, 0096).
 Śo-žo-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).
 Su-dor . . . (*a*, ii, 0096).
 Ts . . . r-mo-ro (*a*, ii, 0096).
 Wam-na (*b*, ii, 0054).
 Žum-ba (0050).
 Zval-ro (0503).
 mo-za (*a*, ii, 0096).
 . . . ñ-lo-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).
 . . s-lo-no-ña (0492).
 ro-ña (0492).
 yo-ña (*a*, iii, 0074).
 u-ya (*a*, ii, 0096).
 . . . su-mo-no (0492).
 . . . dir (*a*, i, 0031).
 . . . i-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).
 . . . la-ro-ña (0492).

In addition to these *Sag-ti* seems to occur in M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0092 (No. 20 below) and in 0508.

The most characteristic feature of these names is the terminal syllable *ña*, which appears in the great majority of them. This confirms the suggestion, previously (*The Language of Ancient Khotan*, pp. 259, 260; *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, pp. 49, 61–2) made, that it had a meaning similar to that of “Sanskrit *bhūmi*, *sthāna*, *kṣetra*, and the like”, or, we might add, the Teutonic *ham*, *heim*, etc. In a number of cases the two final syllables are *ro-ña*, which combination may have

conveyed a combined meaning. For the *no* in *Śir-no* the explanation previously suggested (*The Language of Ancient Khotan*, p. 267) for the “little hill” *Hgus-no* may also be adduced.

The “streets” (*srañ*) mentioned are :—

Ba-žo-ña (*b*, i, 0048).

Byi-nom(chom ?)-na (*a*, i, 0031).

Ma-žo . . (*a*, vi, 0030).

No-ña (0492).

The general resemblance of these names of parishes and streets to those cited on pp. 264–6 of the article quoted will escape no one. It may be noted that in the bilingual document published in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 402–3, we probably have a parish name of the same kind, *Mar-śi-ko-ña*.

C. *Temples or Monasteries*

15. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0012 (wood ; c. 21·5 × 1 × 2 cm. ; complete ; on one face (D) many notches with lines ; l. 1 (face A) + l. 1 (face C) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] Li . Gos . de | Li . Śir . de . | | Li . Hir . bod .

[C] Lha . gañ . Tshar . ma . hjo | Lha . gañ . Tshar . ma . hjo | Lha . gañ . Hgum . tir . |

“The Khotanī Gos-de, of the Tshar-ma-hjo temple ; the Khotanī Śir-de, of the Tshar-ma-hjo temple ; the Khotanī Hir-bod, of the Hgum-tir temple.”

Since the syllable *hjo* is often found terminating the names of Khotan shrines, the Tshar-ma-hjo is probably identical with the famous Tsar-ma foundation mentioned by Hiuan-Tsang (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 237–8), while the Hgum-tir caitya was almost equally famous (see *Asia Major*, vol. ii, pp. 262–3).

The Tsar-ma-hjo is named also on another wooden slip (M. Tāgh. 0180) ; also ? *b*, i, 0046.

16. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0070 (wood, broken away at right

before being inscribed ; c. 12×2.5 cm. ; complete ; l. 1 of clear, cursive *dbu-can* script).

Lha . gañ . Gu . žan . do | Li . Sar . rñoñ |

“The Khotanī Sar-rñoñ of the Gu-zan-do temple (*Lha-khañ*).”

The temple in question is probably related to the Vihāra Hgu-gžan-ta, mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle and discussed in *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, vol. vi, p. 187, and *Asia Major*, vol. ii, pp. 264 and 266.

17. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0090 (wood ; c. 8.5×2 cm. ; complete ; l. 1 of small, clear, cursive *dbu-can* script).

☉ | : | Lha . gañ . Bru . ño . Li . Ku . chi . sí . |

“The Khotanī Ku-chi-sí of the Bru-ño (Phru-ño) temple.”

This temple or monastery also is mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle (*Asia Major*, vol. ii, p. 266) and associated texts (*Sir Asutosh Mookerjee . . . Jubilee Volumes*, iii, p. 31).

18. M. Tāgh. a, vi, 0023 (wood ; c. 11.5×2 cm. ; complete ; ll. 2 *recto* of ordinary, cursive *dbu-can* script, l. 1 *verso* in a larger hand, more formal, a writing exercise).

[A] ☉ | : | So : ma : ña . Be . de | j[o] : gyi | Žo : da :

[B] ka kha ga | ña ca cha ja ña da ba na

“Žo-da of the Be-de temple in So-ma-ña.”

Notes

Žo-da may, or may not, be a personal name ; if not, it is perhaps an official designation.

So-ma-ña Be-de-jo : This is, probably, the famous So-ma-ña or Sum-ña vihāra, the *So-mo-je* of Hiuan-Tsang, concerning which see *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 194 n., 223-5.

It seems, therefore, that the documents¹ name several of the most famous religious establishments in Khotan, confirming the literary records and supplying, where required, a chronological *terminus ad quem*.

¹ Add 18a. M.T. b. i, 0045 (wooden slip ; c. 8×2 cm. ; clear *dbu-can*). [1] ☉ | : | Lha-gaṅ . Keḥu . ḡgan . tshe . | Rgya . [2] Sam . du . “Chinaman Sam-du of the Keḥu-ḡgan-tshe temple”. On this (Khe-gaṅ-tsa) vihāra see *Asia Major*, ii, p. 266.

D. The Citadel of Khotan

The actual fortified citadel of Khotan (*sku-mkhar*), which is several times mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 583), is once named in the documents.

19. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 0022 (wooden stick, of irregular shape, four-sided, one side only partially flattened and retaining a portion of the bark; c. $27 \times 2 \times 1$ cm.; ll. 2 + 1 + 1 of coarse *dbu-can* script, blurred and in places difficult to read; four notches and six lines on face A).

[A 1] [Ph]agi . lo . la . skun . kar . Hu . then . du | dmar . srañ . [A 2] dgu . [gs]o[g]s . brnañs . g[ch]o [B] pa . mchis . nas . | dgra . zun . gyi . mtshams . gyi . son (so . na ? so-ne ? so-ni ?) [C] kar : | lhā . rtsā ḥgum . drug [D] lña (sña ? śañ ?) khram . ḥdi¹ . ḥdi . la . mchis . pa . deñ . san.

“Of the men employed at nine copper *srañ* in all who came in the Hog year to the Fort of Hu-then, six have died in the of the guard-lines: five are at present still in this indenture.”

Notes

1. A 2: *brnañs-gcho*: Perhaps for °*tsho* “company employed”, with *tsho* as in *so-tsho* (p. 267 *infra*), *mkhar-tsho* (c. i, 001, etc.), etc., and *brnañs* = *bsnan* in *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 556, 559. *Gsogs* may indicate the “collective” pay.

B. *dgra-zun*: This seems to be for *dgra-zon* “on the watch”.

D. *khram*: Here the stick itself is the *khram* “inventory” (concerning the word see *supra*, *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 69–70), as is indeed indicated by the notches on it. The word recurs below, p. 81. The dictionaries also give *ñag* (or *ñā-ga*)-*khram* with the sense of “notch” or “indenture”.

E. The Khotan King

During the period when the Tibetans occupied the fort at Śiñ-śan the whole of the Khotan country must have been

¹ Crossed out.

under their control. That period certainly, as Sir Aurel Stein has shown (*Serindia*, pp. 1287–91) on the basis of Chinese coins and documents, covered the last part of the eighth century A.D. To this time, therefore, belong the Tibetan documents which we have examined. They testify, as we have seen, to a constant correspondence with the city Khotan (Hu-ten), a control of its neighbourhood, and an active intercourse with Tibetan soldiers in other parts of Chinese Turkestan and naturally also with Tibet proper.

20. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0092 (paper; c. 27.5 × 10.5 cm.; discoloured; ll. 8 *recto* + 8 *verso* of fine, thin, cursive, *dbu-can* script, rather smudged, and *recto* somewhat faint; from l. 8 *recto* a different pen and showing some special (numeral?) signs; signature at end in a different hand: between ll. 7–8 *recto* and also in a blank space in middle of l. 8 apparent signs, really seen through from *verso*; similarly in left margin *recto* and slightly elsewhere. In ll. 1–2 *recto* a monogram.)

[A 1] ☉ | | nañ . rje . po . Khri . b̄zre¹ . dañ . H̄phan . b̄zer . dañ . Rgyal . b̄zre¹ . mched . kyī . žasnar | *monogram* | H̄tran . cedpo² [A 2]³ hi . mchid . gsol . baḥ | nañ . po . h̄phrul . dañ . h̄dra . ba . mched . kyī . ža . s̄nar . nas . thugs . bdeḥ . [A 3] žes . thoste . glo . baḥ . rab . tu . gdagspa . žiñ . mchis . mtshes | | Hel . ge . dañ . Nag . tshur [A 4] lku⁴ . | cig . ces . byuñ . baḥ | Mdo . b̄zre¹ . rje . blas . gyis . btsald . pye . ma . mdzald | bdag . gi [A 5] myi . [sk]u . stag . sum⁵ . la . skur . žiñ . mchis . na . | | dgroḥ . baḥi . thabs . ni . rgyal . ta . bras . bu [A 6] gdags . la . bsku | Nag . tshur . žugs . la . bsregs . nas . rgyal . ta . bras . bu . dañ . Nag . [A 7] na . tshur . gñisu . bsgyurd . te . blkun . na . Sag . ti . hi . tshar .

¹ Compendious for *b̄zer*.

² Written compendiously and somewhat doubtful, parts of the sign being due to the *verso*. A reading *du* (simply) is possible.

³ There is here an apparent sign, due to the *verso*.

⁴ *sku* (?).

⁵ *sug.zum.la* "with hands closed up"?

phin . b . . . [A 8] ha . lo . [bcas . ste] . stsald . | *blank with inverted signs transparent from verso* | : | Mdo . lo . hi . [sl-] . . . [B 1] mkhar . gyi . [S]luñs . pon . hdir . mchis . na . žal . mchu . hi . slad . na . | . . . [B 2] gdah . na . | khos . kyañ . gya . ža ¹ . gyu . dag . bgyis . te . kho . ni . hdi . nas . śul . . . [B 3] te . mchis . na . | phas . kyañ . bkah . yi . ge . hgah . yañ . ma . mchis . na . | bch ² bdag . c . . . [B 4] kyañ . hdi . na . rab . tu . myi . bde . žiñ . mchis . | . | ji . hdra . ba . tsham . bkahs . sprin . bar . gsol [B 5] spyis . ji . hdra . ba . ni . bdag ³ . gis . gsol . gyañ . phyi . htshal . thugs . la . mñah . ba . lags . na [B 6] lku . don . phran . tshigs . rnam . s . kyañ . [m]yur . du . bsgrubs . te | ma . thogs . pa . žig . du . tshur . byon . par ⁴ [B 7] gsol . || žal . b[za]ñpo . mthoñ . gi . bar . du . stañs . dgyal . yab . sras . thugs . rtag [B 8] du . bde . bar . smond . chiñ . mchis | | [rgya] | [rgya] | [rgya] [*then in a different hand*] | gden . pho . lod .

[A 1-3] “ In the presence of our brothers, Home Ministers Khri-bžer and Hphan-bžer and Rgyal-bžer : letter-petition of King Htran-ced-po of Khotan. Having heard that the brothers, the Home Ministers, are happy in mind, I am in entire serenity of spirit. [A 3-5] As regards some robberies having taken place on this side of Hel-ge and Nag, the last dispatch from his excellency Mdo-bžer has come. I am sending to the Three Tigers a robber man of my own people. [A 5-8] The forfeit of fruit sent to your serenities at the time of the discussion having been burned in a fire this side of Nag, the forfeit of fruit for within and this side Nag became double : it having been stolen, on reaching the Parish Sag-ti . . . was sent together with . . . *ha-lo*. [B 1-3] Of the Mdo-lo district . . . the commander of the Sluñs in the town came here : after complaint . . . was possible : he also has been acting

¹ Crossed out.

² Crossed out.

³ Below this between the lines (above the words *thugs . la* in l. 5) is written the word *dlya* inverted.

⁴ *r* below the line.

crookedly. He is now on the road away from here. [B 3-4] From beyond also no letter has come, so that I too here am very uneasy. [B 4-6] I pray you to notify me [*or* I beg to report] merely how things seem. Although generally I report how things seem, it is my intention to send [again] later. Robberies of minor importance shall be quickly settled: pray refer them here without delay. [B 7-8] Pending a sight of your auspicious countenances, I continue to pray for the perpetual happiness of the distinguished father and sons. | seal | seal | seal |Gden Pho-lod.”

Notes

This document is distinguished from most of the others by its writing, which is somewhat calligraphic, and, to a certain extent, by its phraseology. Thus it uses in ll. 2 and 6 the word *gdags* “transparent”, or “attached”, which in the other documents does not seem to occur, and the polite word *mched* “brother” or “friend” is employed with reference to the distinguished officials who are addressed. Also the letter was corrected in the course of being put on paper.

Before the writer’s name is written a sign which is clearly a monogram on the lines of the Phags-pa writing and the Dalai Lama’s seal, but simpler and, of course, very much older (see the plate): it can plainly be read as *rgyal-po* “king”. The king’s name is *Htran*, followed probably by the expression *ced-po* “great”, written in a compendious form, an expedient exemplified in the documents in the case of other phrases and very habitual in later Tibetan writings.¹

Now it happens that in a Tibetan letter² from an emissary of a Khotan king the Lion (*Sen-ge*) king is named *Mun-dmag-tran*, in which phrase the syllables *Mun-dmag*, which occur elsewhere, denote some kind of troops. The last syllable is the name which appears in our document. Professor Konow

¹ See M. Bacot’s article in the *Journal Asiatique*, x, xix (1912), pp. 1 sqq.

² Publications of the Indian Institute, Oslo University, i, 3 (1929), *Two medieval documents from Tun-huang*, by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow.

1
3
5
7

A. 1
3
5
7

1
3
5
7

B. 1
3
5
7

Letter from the Khotan King Htran-ched-po (see pp. 66-71).

has suggested that the king must be the Vijaya-bohan-chen-po of the Khotan Chronicle (see *Ancient Khotan*, p. 582), and the *Viśa-Vāham* of a document published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1901, Extra Number, i, pp. 29 sqq., and discussed by Professor Konow in the *JRAS.* 1914, pp. 339 sqq., and *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii, pp. 223 sqq.

This identification is reinforced by the addition of the phrase *ced-po* (if correctly read) in our document, a phrase appended to the name of no other Khotan king. Since *Htran* is a good Tibetan equivalent (from *hdren* “draw”, “lead,” as Professor Konow suggests) for the Sanskrit *vāhana*, it remains a question whether we yet have the king’s name in its native form; the Sanskrit equivalent of *Mun-dmag-traṅ* will, as Professor Konow has suggested, be *-senā-vāhana*.

It is curious to note that in the emissary’s letter *mched* is used as in our present document. This latter is of great importance, since it definitely proves that Vijaya-bohan-chen-po belonged to the latter half of the eighth century A.D.; it gives us a fixed point in the chronology of the Khotan kings.

Furthermore, it sheds a clear light upon the position of the Khotan king in relation to the Tibetan officers occupying the station of *Śiṅ-śan*. It refers plainly to complaints of robberies committed, no doubt, by Khotanī people upon Tibetan goods and persons in transit. The king explains that he is taking steps to investigate and bring the offenders to justice, and he promises prompt attention to minor offences of like kind in the future. He was therefore, as was only natural, a ruler in no position to deny satisfaction to the Tibetans dominating his country.

1. 3. *Hel-ge* and *Nag*: See *infra*, pp. 270, 272. It will be seen that elsewhere also *Nag* is associated with robberies.

rje-blas: This title, which has occurred before (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 73, ll. 6, 9, etc.), seems to be applied to persons of great eminence in civil life or religion. It is the expression

rendered as a proper name by Colonel Waddell (*JRAS.* 1910, pp. 1252) in its occurrence in Lhasa inscriptions.

1. 4. *stag-sum* : The Tibetan authorities.

1. 5. *rgyal-ta* : This is evidently = *rgyal* in the sense of “fine” or “forfeit”. The word has also the sense of *phala* “fruit”, which suggests that the *bras-bu* “fruit” here may not be literal, but form part of a phrase or denote “interest”; but that is not certain, and Khotan was famous for its fruits.

In any case, as we may note, this use of the word *rgyal* clearly explains the *brgya-la* which caused us difficulty *supra*, *JRAS.* 1928, p. 578. It recurs M.T. 0264, b, i, 0099.

1. 7. *Sag-ti-hi-tshar* : This “parish” has a name on the lines of Dro-tir, Hgum-tir, and Sañ-tir, noted above; it is mentioned again in M. Tāgh. 0508 (paper).

1. 8. The endorsement seems to be a note by an official to the effect that the king’s gift has been dispatched. The reading is not clear; but *ha-lo* would mean “hollyhock” and *yu-thi* “jasmine”.

Mdo-lo : This district has hitherto been known only from mention in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (see *Ancient Khotan*, p. 583), which seems to indicate a territory in the direction of Polu. See *infra*, pp. 271–2.

1. B 1. *Shuñs-pon* : On the *Shuñs*, see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 820, where, as here, they seem to be different from ordinary soldiers.

zal-mchu : “complaint” (see *supra*, *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 578, 592–4, and p. 291 *infra*).

1. B 3. *phas* : = *pha-las* “from beyond”.

1. B 6. *tshur* : “hither”, i.e. “to me”.

1. B 7. *Stañs-dgyal* : *Stañs* = “style”, “fashion”. The phrase is evidently a politeness addressed to persons of high rank; it recurs in M.I. i, 23, M. Tagh. b, i, 0098, b (*stañ-dbyald*), 0503 (*stañs-byal*) and 0436, published in *Innermost Asia*, p. 1088 (*stañs-bsal-bya*) c, ii, 0064 (*gtañs-dbyal*).

1. B 8. *gden-pho-lod* : No doubt, the endorsement of the

king's secretary, or even the king himself after dictating the document.

21. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00121 (paper, fol. no. 16 in vol. ; c. 27.5 × 10 cm. ; complete ; ll. 4 of rather scrawled *dbu-can* script).

[1] ☉ | | rta . hi . lo . hi . dgun . blon . Klu . sgra . las .
stsogs || pa . hi . hdun . tsa . Śel . than . du . btab . pa . lan : ||
[2] la || Yañ . rtsañ . gi . sde . Myañ . Lha . mthoñ . Li . rjehi .
tshugs . pa . Li . Bat : nag : li ¹ . men . l ¹ . tri [3] yug .
2 . gñis . sa ² . lan . hdi . hi . dgun : sla . ra . ba . tshes . ñi . sú .
gsum . la || skyeds [4] pu ³ . da . | htsha[ld] . de . skyed . gyi .

“ In answer to the letter dispatched at Śel-than at the winter meeting of Councillors Klu-sgra and the others in the Horse year. Myañ Lha-mthoñ of the Yañ-rtsañ regiment lent (? *skyeds*) to the Khotanī Bat-nag, trooper of the Khotan king, on the 23rd of the first winter month of this year two pieces of silk. . . . ”

Notes

1. 1. *Śel-than* : The place (“ River-plain ” ?) is not otherwise known.

1. 2. *tshugs-pa* : See *supra*, p. 53. “ Trooper ” is a makeshift.

In M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00159 (paper) also we have mention of a *Li-rjehi-tshugs-pa* “ trooper of the Khotan king ”.

22. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0042 (wood ; c. 7.5 × 1 cm. ; a fragment ; hole for string at right ; l. 1 *recto* + l. 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] . . . [m] . du | Li . rjehi . steñ . du

[B] . . [rt] (st ?)ogs | Li . la . rgya . hdra . . .

“ . . . in . . . Up to the Khotan king . . . ”

¹ Crossed out : read *la* in the first occurrence.

² Crossed out.

³ Crossed out.

F. Amacas,¹ a “*nan-rje-po*” and a “*dmag-pon*”

The title *a-mo-che*, granted by the Chinese governments to kings of Khotan and other states in Chinese Turkestan, seems to have been first discussed by Chavannes in his *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, pp. 207–8. It was again discussed by Sir Aurel Stein in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 66, 176, 256, and by Chavannes at p. 523. In the same work (pp. 582–3) I gave instances of Chinese *a-ma-cas* in Khotan history, and subsequently (*JRAS.* 1927, pp. 121–2) I showed that the title had also at a late date been borne by rulers in the Ladakh region. Prof. Sylvain Lévi seems to have been the first (1915, *J.A.* xi, v, p. 191) to derive the term from the Sanskrit *amātya*.

It seems worth while to quote the instances of the use of the title in our documents. We have the following:—

23. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0088 (wood; c. 8 × 1 cm.; complete; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

☉ | 'Am . cha . Śir . de . tshan.

“The Amaca Śir-de-tshan.”

The term *tshan* seems to have been an honorific (properly a plural), appended to the names of learned or distinguished persons: see *infra*, p. 75, and *Innermost Asia*, p. 1084. It is appended to the word *ban-de* in *a*, iii, 0062, and it is similarly employed in the document edited in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains*, pp. 402–3.

24. M. Tāgh. *i*, 0021 (wood; c. 8.5 × 1 × 1 cm.; complete; nine notches; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, smudged).

'a . mcha . Si : [b]ir . [Tsa] . bdad [rdad ?].

“Amaca Si-bir Tsa-bdad (Ci-rdad ?).”

¹ The occurrence of this title was noted by me, *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 121–3, with citation of Nos. 23–5 below. The latter, with Nos. 27 and 29, and also a new document from Turfan have now been discussed in a recent paper (*Königsnamen von Khotan (A-ma-ca)* . . . *SPAW.*, pp. 671–6, issued Jan. 1929) by Professor A. H. Francke. I am glad to see that Professor Francke, who originally had understood the syllables *a-ma-ca*, *am-cha*, where he had read them, differently, now accepts the reference to the officials called *amacas*. How far I agree with his readings and renderings

25. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0011 (wood ; c. 21 × 3 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; ll. 3 *recto* + 2 *verso* of rather coarse *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ☉ | . | : jo . co . Stoñ . b̀zre¹ . lah̄ . yul . zigs . kyi . mchid . gso[1] . [A 2] ba . thugs . bde . myi . bde . sñun . gsol . žiñ . mchis . bdag [A 3] cag : | Li . brgyags . | 'A . ma . chaḥ . la . len . du . btañ . na [B 1] ma . mchis . na . Ho . ni . nas . nas . rgyaḥ . bre . lña . skur . bar . [B 2] gsol |

[A 1-2] “ To jo-co Stoñ-b̀zer : letter of Yul-gzigs (Local Surveyor)—*the usual compliments, then*—[A 3] Khotan supplies sent for conveying to the 'A-ma-cha not having arrived, it is requested that five Chinese *bre* of barley may be dispatched from Ho-ni.”

Notes

1. B 1. *Ho-ni* is the name of a place (*infra*, pp. 270-1).

1. A 1. *Yul-gzigs* : The name occurs in its literal denotation “ Local Surveyor ” in M.I. xiv, 1 (*Innermost Asia*, p. 1084). In such cases as the present we cannot be certain whether it is so used or is a proper name (cf. English *Smith*, etc., and the case of *Rmañ-rogs*, p. 290, *infra*), as in *a*, iii, 0070.

1. A 3. *Li-brgyags* : “ Khotan supplies ” seems to be a technical term (cf. “ Manchester goods ”) here and elsewhere (M. Tāgh. 0574, *a*, i, 0011). *rgya-bre* : cf. *b*, i, 0099.

26. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 0017 (wood ; c. 17 × 1.5 cm. ; hole for string at right ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of neat, cursive *dbu-can* script ; remains, lower part, of one line at top *recto*).

[1] [ma . sprin̄] . | ñe . cha . [Li] . rdze . rtse . rjes . [tshe] . . nan . gyi . thud . ma . su . lad . paḥi . . [2] mchi . thob . paḥi . mar . tsh[o] . . de . mchis . śig . | Khar . tshañ . śiñ . mkhar . gyi . [slad] [B 1] nas . sprin̄ . ba . yañ . sta . hon . tshol . cig . | 'A . ma . [cag] . Stag . sum . rje . la . -gyes [B 2] [gsol] . mo . gchig . dañ . sta . re . gchig . gyañ . žogs . śig ll.

will be seen below (except as concerns the Turfan document, in which, I may remark, the phrase *stag-sras-dgyes-gyi-rtse* is a place-name ; see *infra*, pp. 264-5). That any of the persons named are royal I am far from believing.

¹ For *b̀zer*.

“ Let the clotted milk at present required (?) by the high chief the Khotan king, whatever is left uncorrupted (?), and all the oil which can come at once. Prepare also what was afterwards sent from the town of Khar-tshañ-śiñ. For the Amaca Stag-sum-rje leave a present of food (*sgyes-gsol-mo* = *skyes-gsol-mo* ?) and a hatchet.”

Notes

1. 2. *Khar-tshañ-śiñ-mkhar* is clearly the town of Khar-tsan or Khar-tsa-ciñ discussed *supra* (*JRAS.* 1927, pp. 78, 82, 820 ; 1928, p. 80).

1. B 1. *sta-hon* : This seems to be the same as *sta-gon*, which occurs in M.I. 0028, “ make ready.”

27. M. Tāgh. c, iv, 0021 (wood ; c. 14 × 2 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; ll. 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ☉ || Glu¹ . myi . Hpañ . chuñ | [B] 'A . ma . cha . Se[n] . hdoḥi . mtshal . mo . la [2] ḥ . [stsa]l |

“ *Glu-myi* Hpañ-chuñ sends . . . for a repast for the Amaca Sen-hdo.”

Note

1. 1. *Glu-myi* = “ singer ” ?

1. B. *Sen-hdo* : Possibly *Señ* (compendious for what ?) is written.

28. M. Tāgh. 0483 (paper fragment ; c. 27 × 4 cm. ; ll. 1 of cursive Brāhmī + 1 (mutilated) of large cursive *dbu-can* script ; the Brāhmī portion is a note, of later date).

[“ *Khotanī* ” or *Saka language*.]

² garā vī ce Ysaināguttre ttye rä štā haurāmñai.

☉ | . | Yoñ (Yod ?) . 'A . ma . chas | | Śiñ . śan . gyi . rtse . r[j]e . laḥ . gsol . baḥ | .

“ Petition by the Amaca Yoñ (Yod ?) to the chief in command of Śiñ-śan.”

¹ Possibly *Gru*.

² Reading kindly corrected by Professor Sten Konow.

29. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0057 (wood; c. 10 × 1 × 1 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; notches on B; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] 'A . ma . ca . Lha . zuñ . gre | tshand . la . [B] Sna . bo . Li . 'In . dad . ḥbul . ba . nas.

“Barley, offering by the Khotanī 'In-dad of Sna-bo to the Amaca Lha-zuñ-gre.”

Notes

1. B. *Sna-bo*: Probably the place mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle, l. 12, as being in Ḥon (rather distant from Khotan!).

1. A. *tshand*: See *supra*, p. 72. The name *Lha-zuñ-gre* is a hybrid, the first two syllables *Lha-zuñ*, being Tibetan and occurring in M.I. ii, 20*b*, M.T. *a*, iii, 0070.

It is perhaps no accident that in four of these texts there is reference to gifts of provisions or repasts and so on to the Amacas named, or that they share with the *ban-de* (= Nepalese *bandya*, Chinese *bonze*) the designation *tshan*. It is probable that, at least during the Tibetan domination, they enjoyed civil dignity and esteem rather than power, unless indeed they functioned as judges in the *grwa-tus* (= *pariṣad*, see *supra*, *JRAS.* 1928, p. 567).

Of other Khotan dignitaries we do not hear. But it might be opportune to consider the Tibetan *nañ-rje-pos*, *jo-cos*, *žañ-blons*, etc., with a view to any chronological inferences that might arise. It might be thought that with the meagre resources of Tibetan nomenclature it would be a difficult matter to establish identifications. The difficulty, indeed, exists; but it is not due to that cause: such good use is made of the resources that in the documents the same names rarely recur. The subject is, however, somewhat complicated, and the names are very numerous: there being no doubt as to the general period to which the Mazar-Tagh documents relate, it will be best to reserve the designations of the Tibetan officials for a separate, and wider, consideration.

We may, however, take note of the presence of one *dmag-pon*, or General, in the city of Khotan and of the conduct of one *nañ-rje-po*.

30. M. Tāgh. 0515 (paper, originally folded in a long slip in the form of a modern Tibetan letter; c. 28.5 × 9 cm.; ll. 7 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, scrawled and in places faint, + 1 of more ordinary cursive *dbu-can*).

[A 1] H̄byuñ | ¹ ☉ | : | H̄[phan] | gz[i]gs . la | |
H̄phan : rya : dañ : Ña : b[rts]an . [gyi] . gso[l] : baḥ | sñuñ
[2] ba : slar : ḥbre[dañ] . mi . ḥbred : sñ[u]n : gs[o]l | žiñ .
m[chis] || de . ltar : so : la : bthus . [pa . ḥi] . tshe ² . -ñ : bdag :
chag . [3] kyañ : so : la : bthus : pa . yañ : bdag : chag : [su]g :
las : gyis : bskal . nas | so : ka : ma . [ḥ]dzin : t[e] || mo : [rg]aṅ
[4] [g-oh] . ña : bu . [mchi]s . paḥi : tsh[e] | bdag : chag : gis :
chi : pyin du : ḥtshal : žiñ : m[chis] : | gyis : thugs : m[y]i .
chad . du . gslo ³ [5] do . [chig . na . . mo . .] sña . tsham ni :
pyuñ : žiñ . mchis || ḥdi : na . yañ | ra . sañ . rje : dañ : pur
ba : lastsogs . pa . [yañ] [6] . . . ma nas . sman .
[b]u . sman : ḥgaḥ : yañ : ma : skur : žiñ : [m]chisna : de[r :
stsas : thugs] myi [7] chad : par . gsol | sñun . yañ . myur
du : gdañs : par : gsol |

[*Inverted*] ☉ | | H̄phan . gzi[g]s | la | | H̄phan : rgyaḥi .
gsol : baḥ ||

[B] [1] H̄phan . zigs | la || H̄phan : la : rya : dañ . | Ña .
brtsan : gyis : sprin

[2] [*Inverted, in a different hand*] . . . [ra . sañ . -so] . gslo ³ .
baḥi . [sts]u : [žu]s . dañ . | | dmag . pon . kyi : gdan . cha .
H̄u . ten . du . bab . paḥi . thañ . yige . dpyeḥ . gsar |

“Be it so!” (or “May come”, an endorsement).

[1-2] “To H̄phan-gzigs: petition of H̄phan-rya and Ña-brtsan. We beg to inquire whether your health has recovered or not.

¹ An endorsement in a different hand below the line.

² Added below the line.

³ Compendious for *gsol*.

[2-5] “At the time when *you* joined the soldiery, we too joined the soldiery, and we, through the fate of our works (?) did not take to soldiering. Our aged mother . . . , at the time when we her children came, we wish that she come [and join us]. So we beg not to disappoint her. At the present moment . . . mother has just arrived. [5-7] Here also the chief *ra-saṅ* and the *pur-bas* and so forth. . . . Owing to . . . we are not sending any little medicines. We beg you not to decide . . . We pray that you may quickly recover your health.”

“To Hphan-gzigs : petition of Hphan-rgya.”

[B 1] “To Hphan-gzigs : sent by Hphan-la-rya and Ña-brtsan.”

[B 2—*a different hand*] “Request in a petition letter from the soldiers [Hphan-la-rya and Ña-brtsan] and authorization by the General’s *divān* established in Hu-ten—a new copy.”

Notes

1. 1. *hbyuṅ* : This is, no doubt, the General’s endorsement.
1. 2. *hbred* : For *hbred* ?
so-la-bthus : “Be called up for military service.”
The phrase is found also in M. Tāgh. c, i, 004.
1. 3. *bskal-nas* : Translation doubtful.
so-ka-ma-hdzin : = °*kha-ma*-° : cf. *so-khah-zuṅ*, a, i, 0012.
1. 4. *chi-pyin-du-htshal* . . . *gyis* : For *mchi-phyin* ?
thugs-myi-chad-par-gsol : The phrase recurs in M. Tagh. a, iv, 00123.
1. 5. *ra-saṅ* : See *supra*, p. 53-4.
pur-ba : No doubt, some military designation.
1. 6. *sts-as* : Reading and sense not clear.
1. B 2. This is a note by some subordinate of the General.
31. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 0062 (paper ; fol. no. 46, complete ; ll. 5 *recto* of rather square, black *dbu-can* script, clear ; ll. 4 *verso* + top of l. 5 of ordinary, rather square, cursive *dbu-can*, a different hand from *recto*).

[A 1] ☉ | | Naṅ . rje : po . Btshan . to . re : ma : rgyon :

smyon . ba | | sriñ . rgyon . rgun . ma [A 2] myi . zad . pa . |
 śi . hbyis : paḥ | | dgu . śi . baḥ : rgyon . ma [A 3] rgun .
 ḥam (btam ?) . mdah . tshags : paḥo : rtol . po . che . chuñ
 [A 4] ma . brgyos . nas | | Śiñ . śan . du . sbyugs

[A 5] ☉ | : | jo . cho . Khri : rje . ḥpañs.

| la . mkhar

[B 1] | | cho . bo . Ḥan . mdzes . la | | | | Mkhar .
 slebs . kyi . mchid . gsol . baḥ . [B 2] | : thugs . bde . myi .
 bde . mchid . yi . ge . las . sñun . gsol . žiñ . mchis . na . bkaḥ .
 stsal . bar [B 3] *mchid* . yi . ge . ḥdi . gsol . slan . chad . rjes .
 ḥbañs . thugs . bde . žiñ . sñun . rgya . ḥo . myi . rgyal : pra
 [B 4] . . . mchis | | Ḥu . ten . pyogs . na . bkaḥ . mchid . ji .
 gdaḥ . baḥ . ni . so . paḥs . la¹ . la . gsan . paḥ . tsham

[A] “The Home-Minister Btshan-to-re is an insane mother-ravisher, sister-ravisher, an insatiate wine-bibber, a death-child, a nine-death-man, in fornication and wine a gourd and a sieve. Having ravished the mothers of all who came in his way, great and small, he should be expelled to Śiñ-śan.”

“To my lord Khri-rje-ḥpañs, the city (*or* Prince Ḥpañs ?).”

[B] “To the chief Ḥan-mdzes : letter petition of Mkhar-slebs—*then after the usual compliments* : This letter is to beg the dispatch of orders : for the rest *I trust* that my lord and his servants (*or* subjects) are happy and in good health, free from illness. What is the talk in the Ḥu-ten quarter may be heard from (*or* [told] privately by ?) the soldier.”

Notes

This curious document presents considerable difficulties in translation. Not only is the subject-matter *recto* one likely to lead to obscure expressions, but it is also not quite clear from the ductus that the words in the vertical line really

¹ Crossed out. Is *Lha* intended ?

follow l. 5: the latter is, however, from the sense highly probable. We have in any case an "anonymous letter" to an official, whether from some one who signs as "the city" or not, and the charges which it lays against the Home-Minister are correspondingly serious. He is no doubt residing in Khotan, and the letter is written to an official there.

The *verso* is probably an inquiry made on behalf of the addressee of the *recto*, in which case it shows a good official discretion. Alternately the *recto* might be the reply to the inquiry *verso*: but this is in itself less probable, and, further, the letter is not addressed to the writer of the *verso*. The letter is, no doubt, sent from Khotan to Śin-śan.

[A] *ma-rgyon-smyon-ba*: By "mother" is perhaps meant "[other people's] wives"; similarly as concerns "sisters".

śi-hbyis-pah: The expression "as to death, a child" may denote irresponsible killing. Or is it "a child of death"?

mdah-tshags-pa: *mdah-lpags* means "gourd" and *tshags* = "sieve"; perhaps this is a "portmanteau" expression.

rtol-po-che-chuñ: I have rendered this as meaning "whoever appears (comes in his way), great or small".

[B] *slan-chad*: "For the rest"; or "in future"?

bkah-mchid: "Talk" or "news": so pp. 256-7 *infra*.

II. ŚIN-ŚAN

Śin-śan occurs as a place-name in over thirty documents from Mazār-Tāgh, a place on the Khotan river, about 100 miles north of Khotan, where Sir Aurel Stein discovered and excavated a Tibetan fort and other ruins. The name is hardly to be found in documents from other places, and I have already given expression (in Sir A. Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 1086) to the view that Śin-śan was the proper name of the settlement at Mazār-Tāgh itself. That the fact is so appears also from the circumstance that many of the documents are letters apparently *addressed* to Śin-śan; and this impression will be enhanced by a perusal of those which we will proceed to consider.

The name *Śin-śan*, which appears to mean “Wood-mountain” (Chinese *shan*, as in *Pha-śan*, etc.), can never have been appropriate to the low barren hill on which rose the Tibetan fort at Mazār-Tāgh. It is perhaps, therefore, a corruption of some native name, and we may ask whether it is possibly the *Śen-za* of the *Gośrṅga-Vyākaraṇa*, denoting “the northern district *Śen-za*, protected by an image *Śen-za*, which would arise from the nether world” (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 584).

Since the above lines were written a definite confirmation of this suggestion has come to light. The Brāhmī endorsement of the document No. 28, p. 74 *supra*, addressed to a chief in command at Śin-śan, has been read by Professor Sten Konow, who has kindly furnished me with the following possible translation:

“On the hill which (*or who*) is *Ysaināgotra*, to him now to be given.”

It is probable that the writer has by *Ysaināgotra* rendered into his Iranian speech the native name *Śen-za*; and perhaps he had some justification, since, as we have seen (*JRAS.* 1928, p. 832), the syllable *za*, whether actually Iranian (Sogdian?) or not, was employed in Chinese Turkestan with precisely the sense of *gotra*: thus *Śen-za* = *Ysainā* (i.e. *Senā*)-*gotra*. Moreover, by adding the word “hill” (*garä*) he confirms our understanding of the second syllable in Śin-śan as the Chinese *shan*, a “hill”. The Tibetan *Śin-śan* represents, therefore, an accommodation to their speech of **Śen-(za)-śan*, a good instance of those etymologizing tendencies which seem to have specially influenced the folk-lore of Khotan (see *infra*, p. 259, and *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 258–9, 262–3).

32. H. 2 (wood; c. 12.5 × 1 × 2 cm.; cut away and broken—without loss?—at right; hole for string at left; two slight notes in C; ll. 1 + 2 + 1 + 2 of poor cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ☉ | : | khram . h̄di . la . mcis . pa . dañ . mar

[B 1] . -i . -[ph]o . h̄i . [ñ]o | Śi[n̄ . śa]n . gyi . [.]

[B 2] [n]as . | khal . ñis . b[rgy]aḥ . | [bre . bži]

[C] Li . Bu (Gu ?) . ḥdug . la | gtad . de | Śi[n]

[D 1] śan . du . ḥtsal . bar . bgyis . nas

[D 2] kham . [sladu] . yaṅ . Bu . ḥdug . s[ts]ald |

“The indent has come here, and at the beginning of the barley of . . . Śiñ-śan, two hundred loads and and four *bre*, consigned to the Khotanī Bu-ḥdug, were caused to be sent to Śiñ-śan: apricots also were afterwards sent to Bu-ḥdug.”

Notes

1. A 1. *khram*: See *supra*, p. 65.

1. A 2. *kham*: This might be erroneous for *khram*.

33. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0040 (wood; 23 × 2.5 cm.; complete; hole with string at left; ll. 2 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing, rather faint).

[1] ☉ | | Ḥu . ten . gyi . rtsis . sa . nas . | | Śiñ . śan . gyi . mñan . la . s[pr]iñs . pa [2] ñin . žag . gchig . la . lña . chod . du . btañste | ḥphrin . byañ . ḥdi . riñs . la . ko . ches . pa (?) [B 1] dam . du . zuñ . la | ḥphrin . byañ . dusu . ma . phyind . taṃ . khyams . par . gyurd . naḥ [B 2] g[i]s . noñs . pa . | chad . pas . khrims . bžin . du . gcad . do (de ?) | | Ḥu . ten . nas . tses.

“From the place of the census of Ḥu-ten: Message to the authorities of Śiñ-śan having been dispatched in one day five times (at the fifth hour? in five stages?), this message token, urgent and very important, is to be taken at once. If the message token does not arrive in time, or if any offend by going astray, they are to be punished according to law. From Ḥu-ten, date. . . .”

Notes

1. 1. *rtsis*: Mentions of the “censuses” or “reckonings”, which perhaps related to both persons and properties, are not infrequent in the Tibetan chronicle (e.g. ll. 8, 22, 75, etc.) or in

the documents. We have had before (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 81 ; 1928, p. 573) a *rtsis-mgo* “ head, or total, of census ”, and this also recurs in M.I. xxviii, 2, and in that chronicle (l. 52).

The *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa* has (fol. 349b, 7) *yul-gyi-rtsis-mgo* “ the country’s census-total ”.

1. A 2. *ko-ches-pa* : = *go-ches-pa* “ of great consideration ” ?

1. B 1. *dam-du* : “ At the fixed time ” or “ promptly ”, i.e. without loss of time at the relays. The phrase is found in M.T. *a*, v, 007, with *myel-tse-dgu*, “ 9 watches,” and with *ñin-tshod mtshan-tshod* “ day-time or night-time ” in M.T. 0334 and *c*, iii, 0025 (*infra*, pp. 83, 85, 268), and we had *dam-zag-tu* “ on a fixed day ” in *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 69, 838, 844, and *ñin-dam-du* is found in M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0034 below.

34. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 001 (wood ; 15 × 2 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; ll. 2 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script, rather faint).

[1] ☉ | . | Li : Hdzas : dan . | Śir . hde . gñis : | | Hu .
then . du : bdagi . dgun [2] cha . len . du . btañ . ba . las | |
gchig . ni . slar . mchis : | [B 1] gchig . ni . ma . mchis | |
dehi . tsal . ma . ni | [par] . śa . ris . ma [B 2] lastsogspa .
sna . mas . [htshald] |

[1] “ Two Khotanīs, Hdzas and Śir-hde, having been dispatched to Hu-then to fetch my winter things, [2-B 1] one returned : one has not come. [B 1-2] His rations, *par-śa-ris-ma*, etcetera, were sent before.”

Note

The expression *par-śa-ris-ma* is of unknown meaning ; it recurs twice, in the form *par-sa-re-śi-ma*, in another wooden document (M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0056).

35. M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0034 (wood ; 17 × 2·5 cm. ; complete, but cut away at left ; hole for string at right ; ll. 3 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script, rather, in B, l. 2, very, faint).

[1] Spe . stañ . dañ | | Mdo . brtsan . bsaṃ . bor . gyis | |
 Śiñ . śan [2] ḥphar . du . | yos . bu : loḥi . dbyar . sla : tha :
 chuñs | tshes : ñi . śu . gñis [3] *Hu* : then . nas . sprin . ste |
 so . ḥphar . ḥdi . riñs . kyis : | ñin | [B 1] dam : du . zuñ . la : |
 dpañ . žag : du | tshug[s] . śig : | phyis . saṃ : phar . khyam[s]
 [B 2] śiñ¹ | phar . ma . skye[l] . bskyal | chad . pa (pha ?) .
 cher (chad ?) . gcado (gcod) : | |

[1-3] “By Spe-stañ and Mdo-brtsan, after taking counsel, dispatched from *Hu*-then on the twenty-second day of the last summer month of the Hare year for conveyance to reach Śiñ-śan. [3] This soldier-missive is to be taken immediately on the fixed day, and delivered on a witnessed (*dpañ* ?) date. [3-B 2] In case of lateness or wandering astray and not providing convoy for the missive severe punishment is to be imposed.”

Notes

1. A 1. *Śiñ-śan-phar-du* : This might perhaps be rendered “to beyond Śiñ-śan”.

1. A 3. *so-ḥphar* : The phrase recurs M.T. *b*, ii, 0052. Possibly it means “a soldier-pass”.

ñin-dam-du-zuñ-la : See *supra*, p. 82.

1. B 2. *skyel-bskyal* : This is the full phrase for “providing mountain convoy”; *ri-skyel* recurs *infra*, pp. 254, 263, also in other documents, e.g. *a*, ii, 0085, Khad. 032.

36. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0016 (wood; 23 × 1.5 × .5 cm.; complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 on side + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, *verso* rather faint).

[1] ☉ | | Ho . toñ . Gyu . mo . yan . chad . gi . stag . so .
 pa . bžugs . pa . la | | Glin . riñs . gi . so . paḥi [2] mchid .
 gsol . paḥ . bdag . cag . tshugs . pon . dañ . ḥog . pon . gñis .
 kaḥ . ri . zug . pas ([B] nañ . *rje* . [po] . bl[o]n . Stañ . legs .
 gi . ža . sñar . gs[o]l . baḥ s gs) [C 1] ḥtshal . brgyags .
 bar . chad . du . gyur . žiñ . mchis . na . sñar . gtañ . par . thugs .

¹ *ste ? dañ ?*

rje . jir [C 2] gzigs . Dru . gu . cor . tu . mamchis . na . byañ .
 bu . ḥdi . Śiñ . śan . du . gtañ . par . gsol | |

[1] “ To the tiger soldiers stationed as far up as Ho-toñ Gyu-mo, letter petition of the Gliñ-riñs soldiers. We, a *tshugs-pon* (sergeant) and a *hog-pon* (corporal), having mountain sickness (*ri-zug-pa*)¹ (petition in the presence of the Home-Minister Council Stañ-legs),¹ having run short of food and provisions, have the kindness to send them soon (*sñar* ?). If there is none in the Dru-gu *cor*, pray send this tablet to Śiñ-śan.”

Notes

The missive duly reached Śiñ-śan, where it was unearthed by Sir Aurel Stein.

Concerning Ho-toñ Gyu-mo and Gliñ-riñs see below (pp. 90 sqq., 286–8). It will be observed that the former was clearly on the route from Gliñ-riñs, which was in Tibet, to Śiñ-śan, and it would appear to be connected with the Dru-gu *cor*, which was mentioned *supra* (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 68) and will be the subject of further observations later.

1. A 2. *ri-zug* occurs frequently (see pp. 280–1*infra*).

1. C 2. *byañ-bu* “ little tablet ” evidently denotes the wooden tablet itself ; cf. *phrin-byañ*, *so-byañ* “ soldier-tablet ” (M.I. xiv, 0019, 005, 126, 134), p. 284 *infra*, and *JRAS.* 1927, p. 826 ; *infra*, p. 87. We have also *so-ris(res)-byañ* “ soldier-relay-tablet ” in M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0017.

37. M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0025 (wooden stick, four-sided, rather curved ; c. 19.5 × 1 × 1 cm. ; l. 1 on each face, ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ☉ | Par . ban : man : chad : dañ | Drugu : ḥjor :
 man : chad : gyi : so : pa [B] la : sprin : ño : ḥpar : ma : ḥdi :
 ma : kyams : par : Śiñ | śan : du : thugs² [C] bag : du : le : lo :

¹ This line B seems to be part of a previously inscribed letter, which was erased or cut away when the present missive was inscribed.

² *s* below line.

ṭsa (ci ?) : kyi : bar : toñ : śig : ñin : tshod : mtshan : tshod
 [D] dam : du : zuñ : śig : su : le : lo : bkyid : pa : chadu : chod :
 par : gcado.

[A-B] “Sent to the soldiers as far down as Par-bañ and as far down as Dru-gu *h̄jor*. [B-C] Dispatch this missive, without straying, to Śiñ-śan, taking care and avoiding remissness. [C-D] Day-time or night-time, it must be taken over immediately. Whoso shows remissness is to be punished.”

Notes

- A. *Par-ban*: Concerning this place see *infra*, pp. 274-6.
Drugu-h̄jor: See *supra*, p. 56.
 B. *h̄par-ma*: See *supra*, *JRAS.* 1928, p. 581.
 D. *dam-du-zuñ*: See *supra*, pp. 82-3.

38. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 005 (wood; c. 18.5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[A 1] ☉ | : | bdag . ñand . pa | Rdze | sa (mi ?) | | Śiñ .
 śan . man . cad . kyi . | so . h̄dzu [A 2] ñul : | : | h̄tsal . ba .
 [ci] . [ste] . žig | | Žugs . ñam . gyi . ltoñs . na[s] [B 1] rgun .
 riñs . su . mcis . phas | | rad . gos . kyañ . myi . h̄byord . jiñ
 [B 2] mcis . [nam] . žig | | dguñ . sla . gñi[s] . śid . lan .
 gchig[i] . | sug [B 3] las | gyi . gñ[erd] . h̄k[ums] . śiñ . |
 h̄kor . la . mchi . [ba : tsa]m.

39. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 007 (wood; c. 20 × 1.5 cm.; complete; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* (inverted) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ☉ | : | stsald . h̄tsal . gyiñi | | h̄tsal . ma . yen .
 [ch]uñ . bam (bar ?) . du . sbyor . la | bdagi : h̄tsla ¹ [B] h̄phrin .
 byañ . h̄di . . Cañ . lañ . tse . yan . cad . kyi . so . pas ² . riñs .
 par . Śiñ . śan |

¹ Compendious for *h̄tsal*.

² *pas* below line.

These two seem to belong together, and may be translated in one context, a proceeding which in any case seems harmless.

[005] “ We humble persons, Rdze-sa(mi) (?), being sent out upon espionage, professing to be soldiers (*so-hdzu* ?), of (the country) down to Śiñ-śan, have come in a long course (*rgun* = *rgyun* ?) from the top of the Žugs-ñam. Not even travelling clothes are available. By the time of our arrival we have accomplished a task of one year less (? *śid*) two months. While on our return—

[007] “ We beg (*htsal* ?) to be provided in ample or small quantity (*bam* ?) with the rations which should have been sent. This message tablet [should be forwarded] quickly by the soldiers as far up as Cañ-lañ-tse to Śiñ-śan.”

Notes

005, A 2. *Žugs-ñam-gyi-ltoñs*: This phrase, which recurs p. 258 below, is, no doubt, the same as the *Žugs-dams* of the Khotan chronicle, on whichever side may lie the easy confusion of *ñ* and *d* (ϣ and ϣ). From the passage quoted in *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 258–9, it is clear that the name belonged to some elevated plain near Tola in Me-skar; and, since the district of Me-skar lay between Khotan and Tshal-byi, which latter included Cer-chen and its hinterland (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 557, 561), we must look for Me-skar and Tola, with its *Žugs-dam* (or *ñam*), somewhere in the mountains between Polu and Cer-chen.

005, A 2. *ñul*: A “ spy ”; cf. p. 258, M.I. vii, 55, xiv, 0012.

B 1. *rad-gos*: On *rad* see *supra*, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 820; 1928, p. 576. *Rad-gos* “ travelling costume ” occurs in the document published by the Oslo Institute (p. 68, n. 2 *supra*).

B 2. *śid*: Perhaps we should read *śiñ*, “ given two months, a year ”; in M. Tāgh. a, v, 007, we have *ñin-ziñ* “ in the day-time ”.

B 3. *gñer-hkums*: See *supra*, *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 810, 838, 842.

hkor: = *hkhor*.

007, A. *htsal*: If correctly read, this seems to be an equivalent of *htshal*, as not infrequently.

B. *hphrin-byañ*: "Message-tablet"; see *supra*, p. 84.

Cañ-lañ-tse: A place; see *infra*, p. 253. Clearly it must have been on the way to Śiñ-śan.

40. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0025 (wood; 17 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ☉ | : | blon . Mtsho . bzañ . gis | | Rid . Khrom .
 [2] ma . la . sprin̄ . ño . || [B 1] lañ . sprin̄ . na . ma . mjald .
 pa . lta . žig . ste . slar . yañ . ma . mchi[s] : | da : Śiñ . śan
 [B 2] htshal . kyis . hphrin . byañ . gis . mj[o]ld . ma . thag.

[1] "By Councillor Mtsho-bzañ sent to Rid Khrom-[r]ma
 [B 1] If an answer (*lañ* = *lan*?) has been sent, it has not arrived, it seems: later also it has not come. [B 1-2] So report to Śiñ-śan immediately upon the receipt of [this] missive."

Note

1. B 2. *hphrin-byañ*: See *supra*, p. 84.

41. M. Tāgh. *c*, iv, 0039 (wood; c. 8 × 2.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ☉ | Śiñ-śan . mkhar . bu . [so]hi [2] las | skos | kyi .
 byañ . bu.

"Ticket of work-levy of soldier in the lesser fort (town) of Śiñ-śan."

Note

1. 1. *mkhar-bu*: The "lesser fort" or town at Śiñ-śan is perhaps named in antithesis to the larger fort on the hill.

42. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0065 (paper, fol. 13 of vol.; c. 27.5 × 12 cm.; a fragment; ll. 8 of ordinary, rather large, *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ། : | nañ . rje . po . Śiñ . śan . gyi . rtse sñan .
 Khri . ma . lod . | gduñ . rus . grag . . btson (n ?) . . .
 [2] ra . myi . ra . | žon . na . rta . chig . ri . b[aḥi] . . . s . pa .
 la | | Klu . gzig . s . kyi . m[chi]d . gs[o]l . [3] baḥ | | Nañ .
 rje . po . ḥphrul . dañ . m[tsh]uñs . pas . | thugs . dpag .
 mdzad . de . g-yra ¹ . zigs . [4] stsald . pa . sug . par . mchis .
 te . [gtañ] . rag . htsal . || nañ . . -o . . [5] . . . śan . gyi .
 stsañ . ś[a]gs . chod . paḥi . [tshe] . . . -o . . . l . ḥg . . .
 [6] . . b . tu . gchags . | | bdag . [ña]n . pa . [rño] . thog . na .
 spyan . zigs . . . [7] . . . ḥi . rigs . na . | kho . ru . chu
 [8] . . . phyed . bskur . ži . . .

[1-3] “To the [wife of the] Home Minister, the chief [in command] of Śiñ-śan, [the lady] Khri-ma-lod, of famous lineage (*here a mutilated phrase containing the expression when riding, one horse*): letter-petition of Klu-zigs. [3-4] The Home Minister, equal to a theophany, having been so considerate as to send a glance (*zigs*) up here and (the message) having come to hand, I beg to tender thanks. [4-6] The Home Minister, when settling the measure (dispute, *śugs?*) of the (Śiñ .) -śan crop . . . is quite fitting (*rab-tu-gchags?*). [6-8] It being appropriate that your humble servant, if able, should *send* a present, *I* am sending there half a . . .”

Notes

1. 1. *Khri-ma-lod*: This name being, like most others ending in *-lod*, feminine—it occurs, in fact, in the Tibetan chronicle as the name of a princess—it is probable that the gap in the document contained the statement that the lady in question was the wife or mother of the Śiñ-śan *rtse-rje* “chief in command” and *nañ-rje-po* “Home Minister”.

1. 2. . . . *ra-myi-ra*: “In . . . place or men’s place.”

1. 6. *spyan-zigs*: “A present,” as on p. 258 *infra*.

The present is, no doubt, the customary *upāyana*.

43. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0097 (paper, fol. no. 36; c. 20·5 × 5 cm.;

¹ Compendious for *g-yar*.

fragmentary at right; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ☞ | : | rta_{hi} . lo_{hi} | dbyar . sla . h_{brin} . po_{hi} . no . la ||
 Śiñ . śan . gyi . mkhar . pa . dañ . | . . . [2] rem (res ?) . gyi .
 htshal . ma || stsañ . nas . khal | brgya . bži . bcu . stsal | |
 Śiñ . śan . . . [3] mñan . | dbrad . Chas . slebs | la | stsañ .
 hdren | H_a-ža . Gyu . brtsan . gyis | | h_{phu}[l] . . .

“ In the middle Summer month of the Horse year. Rations of the men in the fort and *soldier relays* (*so-res* ?) of Śiñ-śan. From the crop one hundred and forty loads have been sent. *The crop of Śiñ-śan* is complete. To *dbrad* Chas slebs offered by the H_a-ža Gyu-brtsan, conveyor of the crop.”

Notes

1. 2. *so-res*: “ Relay of soldiers ” recurs p. 258 *infra* and not infrequently elsewhere (*a*, ii, 0054; *a*, ii, 0017; *b*, i, 0019; and p. 84 *supra*).

1. 3. *mñan*: See *supra*, *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 67, 69, 838.

dbrad: See *supra*, p. 61.

44. M. Tāgh. 0501 (paper fragment, irregular; c. 11 × 6 cm.; ll. 6 of rather neat, cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] . . . rta(?) . gi . lo . stoñ . | Śiñ . śan . gyi . mkhar . snon .
 du . . . [2] . . . ñ[i] . śu . la . Ś[i]ñ . śan . du . lta[ñ] . sags
 (mags) . G-yu . brtsan . m [3] brgyad . thañ .
 du . stsol . l[o] . ches . byuñ . nas . | s-o[n] [4] . . .
 pa . dañ . slar . H_u . ten . du . mchi . ba . śul . žag
 [5] . . . -[so]gs . G-yu . brtsan . dañ . rtse . rje . lañ . sa . d-o
 [6] d . n[i] . cha(u ?) . ma . chad[u] . p . . .

[1] “ . . . autumn of the Horse year(?). The town (fort) of Śiñ-śan at first . . . [3] . . . on the 20 . . . send to Śiñ-śan the bale-man (*ltañ-sags* ?) G-yu-brtsan . . . to the measure of eight ”—with reference to this (order) . . . [4] . . . and coming back to H_u-ten, days on the road . . . [bale-]man G-yu-brtsan and the Chief in command . . . [6] . . . not to punish”

Notes

1. 2. *ltañ-sags* : Apparently equivalent to *ltañ-sogs* of M.I. xxviii, 002, l. 6 (= *JRAS.* 1928, p. 582) : or should we so read ? The sense is “ bale-man ” or “ bale-collector ”. The person G-yu-brtsan was in the previous document (*b*, i, 0097) *stsañ-hdren* “ conveyor of crop ”. *Ltañ-rogs* = “ bale-man ”.

1. 3. *ches-byuñ-nas* : On this phrase see *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 79 and 559. Cf. *ces-byuñ-bah*, p. 66 *supra*.

From these references to Śiñ-śan it is clear that the place must have been the military headquarters of the whole Khotan region. Naturally it was in constant communication with the city of Khotan itself and other places in the area. But the documents suffice to show that it was a centre of communications from regions further afield, from Tibet and from the more easterly parts of Chinese Turkestan, and was a terminal point of Tibetan occupation in the west.

The place possessed the fort excavated by Sir Aurel Stein and also, apparently, a minor fort or town (*mkhar-bu*). It had a *rtse-rje* “ head official ”, who was a *nan-rje-po* “ Home Minister ”. It controlled, as we shall see, the supplies of numerous military posts, and also dominated the city of Khotan, which remained, however, under the administration of its native king.

III. GYU-MO, HO-TOÑ GYU-MO, HO-SE GYU-MO

For already cited references to a place named *Ho-toñ Gyu-mo*, with variants *'O-toñ Sgo-mo* and *Ho-toñ Gyu-mo*, see *supra*, pp. 51, 55.

From one of those references it appears, as we have seen, that the place lay between Glin-riñs, in Tibet, and Śiñ-śan, or Mazār-Tāgh. This serves to exclude any identification with either Ak-su, which had also a Chinese name *Ku-mo* (see Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 835), or the oasis of Guma, between Khotan and Karghalik. There remain

two¹ possibilities, namely, (1) Cer-cen, which was also during a long period known as *Tsü-mo* or *Chü-mo* (*Serindia*, p. 297), and (2) a place on the Cer-cen river recorded with the name *Kiumo* in a (large) map in the *Atlas* accompanying the *Mission Scientifique dans la Haute Asie* of Dutreuil de Rhins, but otherwise apparently not known. We may dwell briefly upon the matter.

In the name *H_o-toñ Gyu-mo* it seems likely that the phrase *H_o-toñ* is Chinese and means "east of the river". The likelihood is fortified by the fact that the two remaining syllables *Gyu-mo* are separately used (see *infra*, p. 281) for the same, or an adjacent, place; and it becomes a certainty in case the reading *H_o-se Gyu-mo* in pp. 268-9 is correct, since that would correspondingly denote a *Gyu-mo* "west of the river"; and it would also become probable that the *H_o-se* which we have previously encountered (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 577-8) refers not to a remote *H_o-se* in China, but to this very place in the Nob region. If *Kiumo* really existed on the Cer-cen river, it would very probably be the place indicated, and it would mark the point where, as we know (Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, 298-9, 1331), the route from *Mirān* (Little Nob) to Khotan passed north of the Cer-cen river. If not, then the probabilities are in favour of Cer-cen.

It is curious that, while the *Mirān* documents never refer to Khotan or *Šiñ-šan*, those from *Mazār-Tāgh* are equally silent concerning Nob, Cer-cen, and *Ka-dag*, and this despite the large numbers (several hundreds) in both cases and despite the fact that the officers in Khotan and *Mazār-Tāgh* at least were in regular communication with Tibet. This demands a general explanation, which may partly be one of date and partly lie in the circumstance that the regards of the Tibetans in *Mirān* were turned chiefly in the eastern direction, towards *Ša-cu*. The matter may be reconsidered later; but it is

¹ It seems unnecessary to bring in the *Yü-mi* or *Chü-mi*, applied by the Chinese to an old kingdom lying between the Chira and Keriya rivers (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 467).

at any rate implied that the regular communications between Mazār-Tāgh and Tibet passed at the period in question by way either of Polu (said to be now impassable for baggage animals) or by the valley of the Cer-cen river.

45. M. Tāgh. 0050 (paper fragment; c. 14 × 15 cm.; ll. 11 *recto* of good, cursive, black *dbu-can* script + ll. 9 *verso* of rather coarse, ordinary *dbu-can*—different matter, but the text, which has lost little at the left, makes it probable that in the *recto* little is missing on the right).

[1] . . . r Dron . myi . Lha . goñ . Nad . gos . Btsan . legs |
 Dgra . byuñ . . . [2] . . . na . Yul . hphan . Rtses . mthoñ .
 Phug . h̄dros . legs | | . . . [3] . . . s . Brtsan . zigs | H̄phrul .
 gyi . rtse . na . Kol . kol . Ña . rtsan . . . [4] . . . Ryuñ .
 g[o]ñ . Rya (Nyo ?) . skor . | 'An . tse . na . Rhvul . po . Khu .
 goñ . Rgyal . slebs . . . [5] . . . d . na . G[s]as . zigs . Zla . rma .
 byeḥu : H̄bu . śaṅ . na . G-yu . l . . . [6] . . . ñ . Lad .
 rtsu | Stag . sras . na . Tses . zigs . Lha . mñen . Ja . l . . .
 [7] . . . dus . na . Rmañ . [s]lebs . Žaṅ . rmun . Yul . tsan |
 H̄jag . ma . gu[r] . . . [8] . . . san . Dgra . mthoñ . Skyin .
 tsud | Stag . sgugs . na . Liñ . . . [9] . . . phan . | Mdoñ .
 rtse . na . Phaṅs . legs . Lha . brtsan . | Jañ . lañ . . . [10]
 . . . legs | Ho . toñ . Gyu . mo . na . Byi . bu . Hul . tse |
 Rtse . -u . cag . na . . . [11] . . . s . gyi . rtse . na . Myes .
 mtoñ | Bye . ri . snañ . dañ . rtse . na . Legs . gsas .

“ . . . Dron-myi Lha-goñ, Nad-gos, Btsan-legs.

“ In Dgra-byuñ . . . Yul-hphan, Rtses-mthoñ, Phug-Dros-legs . . . Brtsan-zigs.

“ In H̄phrul-gyi-rtse Kol-kol, Ña-rtsan . . . Ryuñ-goñ, Rya-skor.

“ In 'An-tse Rhvul-po Khu-goñ, Rgyal-slebs

“ In . . . d Gsas-zigs, Zla-rma-byeḥu.

“ In H̄bu-śaṅ Gyu-l ñ, Lad-rtsu.

“ In Stag-sras Tses-zigs, Lha-mñen, Ja-l

“ In Stag-h̄dus Rmañ-slebs, Žaṅ-rmun, Yul-tsan.

“ In H̄jag-ma-gu . . . san, Dgra-mthoñ, Skyin-tsud.

“ In Stag-sgugs Liñ phan.

“ In Mdoñ-rtse Phañs-legs, Lha-brtsan.

“ In Jañ-lañ-rtse legs.

“ In Ho-toñ Gyu-mo Byi-bu, Hul-tse.

“ In Rtse--u-cag . . .

“ In . . . -s-gyi-rtse Myes-mtoñ.

“ In Bye-ri-snañ-dañ-rtse Legs-gsas.”

Notes

Concerning the places with names ending in *rtse*, viz. 'An-tse, Bye-ri-snañ-dañ-rtse, Jañ-lañ-rtse, Mdoñ-rtse, Hphrul-gyi-rtse, Stag-h̄dus-*kyi-rtse*, Stag-sgugs-*kyi-rtse*, Stag-sras-*kyi-rtse*, see below (pp. 251 sqq.), where several of them recur. Concerning Dgra-byuñ(-*gi-rtse* ?), Hbu-śañ, H̄jag-ma-gu, Rtse--u-cag, see pp. 269–70, 282 *infra*.

The discrimination of the personal names is not in all cases certain; but for the most part we have sufficient analogies among those occurring in other documents. In l. 6 the expression *rhvul-po* (*rhul-po*) has been taken as a prefix (class or clan name) on the ground of its form (cf. *Khyuñ-po*, noticed above, *JRAS.* 1927 p. 812) and of its occurrence in M.T. 0509, 0510.

It may be noted that in a case like the present, where a rather well-written official document shows on the reverse a private letter, especially if the latter is coarsely inscribed, the priority of the former is indubitable.

46. M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0078 (wood; c. 22.5 × 2.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and partly rubbed away).

[1] | | Ho . toñ . Gyu . mo . na | Bod . gñis . Li . gñis . la |
mñald . pañi . khri . thag . bar . ches . | byi . n . . . [2] Li
. . -s : ño . na | Skyi . stod . gyi . sde . dñul . Klu . bzañ . ñog .
phon . . .

“ In Ho-toñ Gyu-mo two Tibetans, two Khotanīs (chief bedstead *thag-bar* ?).

“ In . . s-ño, the *dñul* Klu-bzañ of the Upper Skyi regiment, the corporal . . .”

Notes

1. 1. *mñald* . . . : This phrase perhaps refers to conveyance of the sick. But we hear elsewhere of a *mñal-pahi-sde* (*b*, i, 0075 ; *c*, iii, 0017, 0078), perhaps the medical contingent.

1. 2. *dñul* : Apparently not found elsewhere as a personal designation. Since *dñul* = “money”, it might mean “cashier”.

Skyl : On this region see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 816.

47. M. Tāgh. *c*, i, 0053 (wood ; c. 15·5 × 2 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ☉ | | Ho . toñ . Gyu . mo . hi . blugs (*for rgyags* ?) ||

[B 1] Ha . žar . gy[i] . mag . la . ri . zug . brgyags . h̄bag

[B 2] gu . yañ . med . tho

“Supplies for Ho-toñ Gyu-mo. For the army in the Ha-ža [country] there is not even a moderate amount of *ri-zug* (‘mountain-sickness’?) supplies.”

Note

B 1. *ri-zug-brgyags* : See p. 281 : this phrase recurs *a*, ii, 0065, iii, 0040, *b*, i, 0059 and 0177, *c*, iii, 0030.

48. H. 4 (wood ; c. 11 × 2 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; l. 1 of ordinary, rather clumsy, cursive *dbu-can* script).

☉ | | Ho . toñ . Gyu . mor . mchi |

“Going to Ho-toñ Gyu-mo.”

49. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0066 (wood ; c. 17 × 1 cm. ; fragmentary, the top part lost ; l. 1 *recto* + the top of l. 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] . . . : htshal . brgyags . dag . ma . thond . pas | rab .
htu : t[o] | | dah . cuñ . yañ . Ho . toñ . sgo . [c]al[d].¹

[B] *Illegible*.

“Food supplies not having been issued, very . . . So send some little to Ho-toñ Sgo[-mo].”

For a mention of a Ho-si Gyu-mo and of a Gyu-mo without qualification see below, pp. 268, 281.

¹ Added below middle of line.

