ABHANDLUNGEN DER DEUTSCHEN AKADEMIE
DER WISSENSCHAFTEN ZU BERLIN

Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst

Jahrgang 1952 Nr. 3

F. W. THOMAS †

ANCIENT FOLK-LITERATURE FROM NORTH-EASTERN TIBET

(Introductions, Texts, Translations and Notes)

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Der Verfasser der vorliegenden Arbeit durfte ihr Erscheinen nicht mehr erleben. Er starb am 6. Mai 1956 im Alter von 89 Jahren.

Die Drucklegung der Arbeit hat sich ziemlich lange hingezogen. Herr F. W. Thomas hat sich trotz seines hohen Alters mit ungebrochener geistiger Kraft und größter Sorgfalt der mühsamen Aufgabe unterzogen, die die Drucklegung mit sich brachte. Die zahlreichen Briefe, die er in diesem Zusammenhang an uns richtete, legen beredtes Zeugnis von seiner geistigen Frische ab.

Für den Kern der Abhandlung, die Texte nebst Übersetzungen und Anmerkungen (S. 1—157) hat er noch das Imprimatur erteilt. Von der Introduction konnte er die erste Korrektur lesen; mit der zweiten war er noch beschäftigt, konnte sie aber nicht mehr bis zum Ende erledigen. Gewisse Zweifel, zu denen seine handschriftlichen Korrekturnotizen Anlaß gaben, dürften den Kern der Sache wohl nirgends berühren. Auch von dem Vocabulary und dem Index of Proper Names hat er noch eine erste Korrektur gesehen, sie aber nicht mehr durchführen können. Den endgültigen Druck hat Herr Dr. Dieter Schlingloff vom Institut für Orientforschung gewissenhaft überwacht. Hierfür lagen einmal das handgeschriebene Exemplar des Verfassers vor, daneben eine danach angefertigte maschinenschriftliche Wiedergabe, nach der diese Teile gesetzt worden waren. Leider ergaben sich vereinzelt kleine Differenzen zwischen den beiden Vorlagen. In den meisten Fällen konnte Dr. Schlingloff durch Vergleich der zitierten Textstelle das Richtige sicher erkennen. Doch mögen wohl kleinere Unebenheiten stehengeblieben sein, die der Verfasser gewiß noch ausgeglichen hätte. Angesichts des großen Wertes auch dieser Teile dürften etwaige kleine Schönheitsfehler nicht ins Gewicht fallen. Dr. Schlingloff hat jedenfalls alles getan, um die wichtige letzte Arbeit des Verfassers so gut, als es irgend möglich war, vollends durch den Druck zu führen, wofür ihm warmer Dank gebührt.

R. Hartmann

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PREFACE

The Texts here edited and discussed are all contained in Mss. procured from the famous walled-up library in one of the shrines constituting the settlement at Ch'ien-fo-tung, near Tun-huang, in Western Kan-su: the deposit must have taken place, as Sir Aurel Stein has demonstrated in *Serindia*, pp. 820—7, not long after the commencement of the XIth century A. D., one argument being the complete absence of writings in the Hsi-hsia script of the 'Tangut' state, which script was invented about the middle of that century: the proximity in date of the actual foundation of the great Tangut kingdom, which replaced the Tibetan domination of the whole region, suggests, in fact, that the amalgamation and seclusion of the shrine libraries was an act of resignation on the part of the Tibetan religious communities, which during perhaps over two centuries had controlled the vicinity; but the inclusion of several non-Tibetan literatures, Chinese, Saka-Khotanī, etc., in the operation will have been inspired by a more general motive, viz. a distrust of the relatively un-civilized Ch'iang people of the new kingdom. Concerning a ruler of its parent state a Chinese Emperor is said (Bichurin, I. p. 112) to have remarked (c. 477 A. D.) that 'Foreign potentates cannot be compared even with Chinese underlings: the T'ang-chang king, although he counts among frontier potentates, is not equal even to a Chinese clerk'.

The possibility, admitted by Sir A. Stein as regards a possible instance, that some Mss. in the Library may be exempt from the proposed limit of date, having been added in modern times, subsequent to the rediscovery of the library, would not, it is believed, be highly rated by the scholars who have been concerned with the several literatures: as regards Tibetan writings we have an additional control in the shape of the c. 2,500 'documents' exhumed by Sir A. Stein from ruined sites in Chinese Turkestan. These, while in no case earlier than 662 A. D., the date of the first Tibetan incursion into the country and *a fortiori* posterior to the invention (c. 634 A. D.) of the script, have also in general a limit of date *ad quem*: most of the sites were abandoned not later than the end of the IXth century, and in no part of Chinese Turkestan west of the Lob-nor region did Tibetan rule last to the end of the Xth: the few pieces found by the German expeditions in the Turfan region and published by the late Professor A. H. Francke will have come from districts lost even earlier. In the Ch'ien-fo-tung library collections are many pieces of writing, either separate or more commonly, inscribed on the *verso*, or other vacant spaces, of literary texts, which are 'documents', linguistically and in their contents so similar to those excavated in Chinese Turkestan that they must belong to the same era: some 30 or so of these are, in fact, included in *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, see Vol. III, Concordance. On the whole, however, the Ch'ien-fo-tung documents can be posterior by a century or so, which accords with the fact that its literary texts sometimes present in the more 'cursive' script a superior regularity or 'style': in the Mss. from the Etsingol sites in Mongolia, which represent the Mongol period, we find the Tibetan scribes already accomplished in fine or calligraphic scripts.

With the Stein collection (c. 800 items) of Tibetan Mss. from Ch'ien-fo-tung was transferred to the India Office Library a very valuable and scholarly catalogue compiled for

Sir Aurel Stein by the late Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin during his war-time (1914—9) residence in England; it is now, with some editorial manipulation, in the press: in the meantime it has been available for consultation in the Library. Attention was rather promptly drawn to writings in Tibetan script which, as obviously not Buddhist literature or not in Tibetan language, had been rather summarily treated by Poussin at the end of his catalogue. Transcription of Chinese, interlinear or independent, was recognized in a part of the trouvailles; in 1929 four fragments of a popular version or versions of a Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* were brought to light, and in 1926 two unknown and ancient languages, not Tibetan, but of Tibeto-Burman affinity, subsequently identified as 'Nam' and 'Žaṅ-Žuṅ', were distinguished. In connection with the Nam text, which presented some possibly related items or features, the Texts contained in the present work were studied; and the whole, excepting the last chapter (VI), the Geographical Introduction, the Index of Personal Names, and the Tibetan Vocabulary, was prepared in 1939 for printing. Text IV, with its wild rhetoric, partly in verse, its repetitions of formal phrases, its artificial and polysyllabic names of persons and products, the obscurity of the not merely pre-Buddhist, but pre-Bon, religion of vegetation (and some other) spirits, the historico-political juncture and an importation of Bon-po persons and practices, had been at first almost totally unintelligible. A second fragment in the Žaṅ-Žuṅ language came to light in the comparatively small number of Ch'ien-fo-tung items in Tibetan script which had remained in the British Museum: and a far more considerable portion of the same, or a very similar, text was seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale and subsequently studied in a photograph kindly procured by the Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque Nationale. From the British Museum emerged also a quasi-supplementary portion of the Tibetan *Chronicle* long studied by M. Jacques Bacot: received in Paris immediately before communications were interrupted by the War, it was included in the edition (with date 1940—1946) of the *Chronicle* (with other important historical texts) in M. Bacot's *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*. At about the same time became known from the *Journal Asiatique* for July—September 1939 Mademoiselle Marcelle Lalou's report of a Nam fragment discovered in the Tibetan part of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Pelliot) collection.

Through the publication of Mdlle. Lalou's *Inventaire des Manuscripts tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, 1939, II 1950, a work similar in scholarly quality and value to the above-mentioned Catalogue of de la Vallée Poussin and recording a larger number of items (1282 as against Poussin's c. 800), scholars wishing to publish presumably unique texts, complete or fragmentary, found elsewhere are relieved of the embarrassment indicated by the above-cited particulars. From the, doubtless exhaustive, *Inventaire* it is now possible to make sure whether duplicates or fragments of a particular text are, or are not, included in the Paris collection, which, like that of the India Office Library, includes multiple copies of certain favourite texts and in the originally numerous 'bundles' has both collectanea and miscellanea: this, while important for the Buddhist literature, which constitutes the main bulk of each of the two collections, is essential for the study of documents or other fugitive writings with which we are concerned: Mdlle. Lalou's descriptions in this department recognize a good number of transcriptions from Chinese, unknown languages, medical, legal, and official writings, and correspondence, personal names and other particulars, mostly with extracts of text adequate for judgement or further research. It is hoped that inversely the publication of de la Vallée Poussin's Catalogue will serve a like purpose on the British side.

From the stated embarrassment the Texts here edited have not entirely escaped: the fragmentary Text V has an equivalent, apparently complete, in *Inventaire* no. 992; in Text VI an obscure initial folio has been discovered apart and has had to be equipped with asterisked

line-numbers: and rather numerous British Museum and Paris Mss. with the same topic, but perhaps in no case identical text, have been discussed in an Addendum. Of Text IV (very remarkable) and III (doctrine of Ages of Mankind) no variant or other portion has appeared. Texts I and II, which we regard as representing the originally sole literature of the Ch'iang peoples of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, has indeed in Mdlle. Lalou's *Inventaire* a certain number of pieces with comparable content; but it can be proved that they are secondary, being adaptations: see *infra Introduction, p. 13.*

The characteristics of the original narrative are (1) that it had a not remote original which was oral, (2) that it was literature, operating for popular instruction and entertainment and (3) that linguistically it was non-Tibetan and even in its Tibetan dress abounds in irregularities due to survival or local source of features not normal in the speech of Central Tibet. Upon these characteristics it seems superfluous to reiterate here what has been stated *infra* in Linguistic Introduction, *p. 14—6.*

The peoples represented by the Texts would, no doubt, be comprised among 'les *derniers* barbares' of the Vicomte d'Ollone's travels: certainly the expression would include, along with the 'black', sc. independent, Lo-lo, adjacent to China, the originally Ch'iang tribes of the Koko-nor region, the Tang-hsiang or Skyi area, and the 18 petty States of the Rgyal-ron, sc. the Sum-pas, in all of which prior or later travellers, e.g. Futterer, Tafel, and Filchner had rough experiences. But 'barbarians' are not savages, who themselves have, of course, their internal domestic and social life. The Ch'iang, after centuries of contact with Chinese policy, will have added to proverbial wisdom concerning life in general reflections on politics and war. But travellers descending from the high Tibetan borderlands to the plains of China have recorded a world-wide difference in the life led in the two respectively. Of some interests prominent in the former, e.g. interest in animals, scenery, herb collecting, water-supply, 'fathers' tombs', some have been particularized in *Nam*, pp. 142—4, and are apparent in the Texts, which themselves, by their content and form, present a certain stage of historico-religious thinking and some sense of literary art.

It is impossible to omit here an expression of thanks to my eminent friend, Professor Paul Kahle, to whose initiative this publication by the Berlin Academy is due, and to Professor Dr. Richard Hartmann, Director of the Academy's Institut für Orientforschung, whose prompt recommendation of the proposal has been continued in a generous contribution of care and friendly supervision of the work of printing. Nor can mention not be made of the flawless typing of the Indexes and other portions of the Ms. by Miss Mary Neighbour, which has precluded innumerable possibilities of misprint, or of the printers, whose accuracy especially in connection with the complex punctuation of Text IV and with the repaging of text and foot-notes in a part of Text VI, has been equal to all demands.

F. W. Thomas

December 1955.

I. GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

The area of Tibet envisaged in Texts I—III, V—VI has been discussed in *Nam, an ancient language of the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands* (pp. 7—12, 14—21) and shown in an accompanying sketch-map. Text IV, though concerned substantially only with the same area, has some passing references, and, in a concluding passage, a group of references, to a wider horizon. The common provenance of all the Mss., viz. from the famous hidden library of Ch'ien-fo-tung, near Sha-chou, allows a presumption of common place of origin, a presumption amounting to certainty in the cases of Texts I—V, all inscribed, like so many other Mss. from the same library, on the backs, or other blank spaces, of Chinese writings. A degree of contemporaneity also may be inferred from the common use of the Tibetan language, which even in the Buddhist communities of Sha-chou can hardly have been prevalent before the second half of the VIIIth century, or the IXth century, A. D. A further common feature is the complete ignoring of the Chinese walled frontier area in the Sino-Tibetan borderland, which had been maintained from Later Han times, and likewise of the intrusive T'u-yü[k]-hun domination, 313—663 A. D., of the Hsi-ning-Koko-nor region. This may have resulted, as regards China, from the extinction of Chinese power in the whole region, an almost immediate consequence of the outbreak, 756 A. D., of the An Lu-shan rebellion in China: and, as regards the T'u-yü[k]-hun, from a forgetting of their alien and long vanished rule.

In substance, however, the several Texts may be chronologically wide apart. The matter of Texts I and II, which is mainly mythological or legendary, could in principle be even older than the T'u-yü[k]-hun period: the enmity of horse and yak, owl and vulture are dateless folk-lore themes, and the Gyim-po tribe or race is known even to the Later Han Annals (see *Nam*, Index). As indications of a somewhat posterior date we may cite (a) the recognition of a separate Skyi kingdom, south of the Rma-chu/Hoang-ho, perhaps a consequence (see *Nam*, pp. 21, 28) of the T'u-yü[k]-hun intrusion in the Hsi-ning region, (b) possibly the name of the Nam people and language (*Nam*, p. V), (c) a slight, but distinct, reference to specifically Bon-po notions. There is no sign of awareness of a 'Tibetan' people or any district more southerly than Skyi.

No. III by its reference to the division of the Turks into Eastern and Western (*Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, II, p. 280) relates itself probably to the first half of the VIIth century A. D. But its non-mention of the Uigurs may be due to loss of text.

No. IV, being linked to a political event datable at c. 500 A. D., is basically of that period; it incorporates an independent initial passage closely akin to no. III and a terminal passage showing awareness of apparently still independent districts of the Tibetan territory acquired by the conquests of the father of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, and also of the original Yar-luṅ kingdom. These may perhaps point to a period prior to 600 A. D. for the content of the existing text.

No. V seems not to contain indications of date or references to outside districts or peoples.

No. VI, while mentioning the Skyi country and other north-eastern districts, does not seem to notice any area further south. It is familiarly acquainted with Turks, and was, no doubt, composed in Tibetan: VIIIth — IXth century? The pocket-book original described *infra* (pp. 141—150) shows acquaintance with Text IA, the Skyi country and the Żaṅ-żuṅ State.

In pieces of folk literature which mention real places the geographical outlook is not an extraneous matter: without identification of the places a central interest is lost. Hence it is not superfluous to endeavour to situate on the map as many as possible of the localities and areas named: to go further and insert the now rather numerous place-names found in other old Tibetan texts, such as the Tibetan Chronicle, or certified from the Chinese side, would be confusing and, in case of chronological difference, even misleading. Even districts which do in fact figure in the Texts, but have been more or less adequately particularized in *Nam* or *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, a reference to those publications, supplemented sometimes by additional items of information, may be found sufficient.

Three regions may here be distinguished, viz —

I: North of the Bayankara range of mountains (lat. c. 35°—6°), including, A: some places in W. Kan-su or Chinese Turkestan, B: the Nam-pa, Hsi-ning-Koko-nor and Skyi districts, C: the Byaṅ-thaṅ.

II: The Sino-Tibetan borderland south of the Bayankara.

III: 'Tibet' proper, being the territory inherited in c. 629 by Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, founder of Lha-sa.

The celestial realms, Gnam (Heaven) and Dguṅ (Sky) (*passim*), with the places Bye-ma-roṅ and Rta-za-Luṅ-braṅ (IA, l.41) and Loṅ-sum (IV, l.245) and with the Twelve Countries and Rtsi-daṅ and the Twelve Towns and Ḫbum-daṅ (IA, ll.1—3) are, of course, figments of Bon-po or pre-Bon-po mythology.

I A: Some places in W. Kan-su or Chinese Turkestan.

An early stage in the Nam-pa knowledge of this area is implicit in the passages in IB, ll.34—5, 48—9, and II, ll.1—13, which relate the story of the legendary 'Eye-blind' family fo the Nam-pa kingdom, devoured by the 'Vulture' black-fiend Dgu-lcogs from 'the black-fiend country Dgu-sul' or 'Dgu-sul of Khar-tsaṅ'. The enmity between owl and vulture is an ancient theme of Tibetan folk, recurrent in M. Bacot's *Documents* (see e. g. p. 138); and the owl as symbolizing the Nam people is evident in the story of ancestor 'Eye-blind'. Khar-tsaṅ cannot but be the Khar-tsa-cin or Mkhar-tsan of *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, II, pp. 28, 34, 106 etc.), a place definitely situated in the Śa-cu region, to which also belongs the [Dg]u-[s]ul of p. 368. The reason for postulating an early date is that after the occupation of a Śa-cu area by the T'u-yü[k]-hun in c. 417 A. D.[1]) and their conquest of the Lob-nor area in c. 445 the district can hardly have retained even in the folk-lore of a Nan-shan people its legendary character as a black-fiend country.

The control of the Lob-nor/Shan-shan area had apparently by 560 A. D. passed from the T'u-yü[k]-hun to the Turks: see *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, III, pp. 1 sqq. To the Tibetans it must have passed at the time, 662 A. D., of the first recorded presence of their armies in Chinese Turkestan, followed by a long period of contacts or coöperation with the Turks further afield, whom in 696 A. D. they proposed to absorb (Bushell, pp. 453—4). During this period they were frequently operating in the Śa-cu and Lob-nor areas; and somewhat later they are found actually administering them. In the light of the familiar knowledge of the two areas manifested in the Tibetan *Chronicle* and the local *Documents* (II, pp. 39 sqq., 119 sqq.) the mere mention of a Black-face (Juan-Juan?) king and of the Turk tribes and their division in Text III (cf. *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, II, pp. 278—280) and of a Turk alien in Text VI (pp. 129—130) is without chronological significance for our folk-literature, whereas the ignoring of them in Texts I, II, IV, is somewhat evidential.

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[1]) See Bichurin, *Istoriya Tibeta i Khukhunora* I, pp. 78—9.

Proceeding therefore to —

B: the Nam-pa, Hsi-ning/Koko-nor and Skyi districts, the precise localization of the Nam State and its Nam-Tig people requires ascertainment. Since the name of the Tig people is still found (see *Nam*, p. 59) in the mountains south of the Hsi-ning district and north of the Hoang-ho, and even on the Hoang-ho somewhat further west at Kuei-tê (=-tig), a situation along the river is suggested; but the ass as the characteristic animal of the story in Texts IB and II is more appropriate for a Nan-shan area, and a *Te*, perhaps a dialectical development of *Tig* (see *Nam*, pp. 57—8), area certainly included the P'ing-fan river valley[1]), somewhat west of Lan-chou, and extended further east (see *Nam*, ibid.). On the whole it seems likely that the main Nam-Tig area was the southernmost part of the Nan-shan, the mountain hinterland of the present Lan-chou, and that the name *Nam* was a legacy from the Nan-Liang minor dynasty, suppressed by the Chinese Wei in c. 414 A. D. (Franke II, pp. 196—7). To that dynasty may have belonged the Khotan princess married to a Nam king (*Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, I, p. 130). Under Tibetan rule the Bde = Te district was an important centre of N. E. Tibet administration (*ibid.*, II, pp. 25, 319, III, pp. 4—5, *Nam.*, pp. 31—2, 35—6). In the Texts Nam recurs only (IV, 122, 126, 252, 255), sometimes with spelling *Gnam*, as giving its name to a particular species of turquoise.

The place, viz. 'the Phug-dir meadow' or 'Phug-tir-pa land' (IB. ll.68, 70), or Gye-mo in the meadows, to which Mye-kru's daughter was removed in order to be out of the fiend's reach, has been identified (*Nam*, pp. 33—4, 136, 353) with a Phyug-mtshams district and a Byar-mo-thaṅ plain named in a Document (II,p. 106) and situated at a short distance west of the Koko-nor. There is no reason for questioning the identification. The district was celebrated as containing a 'large market town' (*khrom-chen-po*). which served as the T'-uyü[k]-hun capital, and of which the Chinese name, *Fussŭ-ch'êng*, corresponds to the Tibetan *Phyug-tshams*, including the *y* of Phyug (see *Nam*, pp. 33—4, where also the alternation *Byar/Gye* is discussed). The form *Phug-dir* (or *tir*) is probably the pre-Tibetan, sc. Ch'iang, name, which is interesting (a) as presenting an original *u* which afterwards became (as in English *duty*, etc.) *yu*, a change well attested in the region (cf. the *Fu*, Chinese *b'iuk* (Karlgren, no. 46) in T'u-yü[k]-hun royal names, and 'Tangut' *liuk*, 'sheep' = Tib. *lug*) and (b) as having in place of Tib. *tshams*, 'border', 'border district', a term *dir/tir*, used with precisely that meaning in Shan-shan and Khotan during the early centuries of the Christian era, and elsewhere still in use. The term may be associated with a few other linguistic evidences of contact between N. E. Tibet and Chinese Turkestan during that period.

The girl in her aerial journey from Phug-dir to the Skyi kingdom necessarily passed over the Hoang-ho/Rma-chu, which in its W-E course south of the Hsi-ning region was the northern boundary of Skyi (*Nam*, pp. 37—8, 61, 135—6). But the statement that she 'traversed nine passes, crossed nine fords' (IB, l.79) is perhaps not unmotivated. The *thaṅ* country north of the river from its emergence at Bale-kun-gomi from its great gorge to about Kuei-tê, further east, was at one period important in the Sino-Tibetan wars (Bushell, p. 458—9, 530). This territory, which would naturally have been traversed on a route from Phug-dir and which is fully described in Dr. Futterer's *Durch Asien* (I, c. VIII), had in Chinese the name *Chiu-ch'ü*, meaning 'Nine bends' (of the river?). Possibly the 'Nine Passes' (*la-dgu*) or 'Nine Fords' (*rab-dgu*) of the Tibetan reflects a native name of the district.

In the Texts the Hsi-ning/Koko-nor area seems not to recur except casually, as Mtsho, in IV, ll.129—130, and in VI, l.4, in connection with the origin of turquoise, and ll.345—7 as Mdo-ro (VI, 67, Mdo) country of a king H̲on-braṅ, threatened by a local fiend.

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[1]) Lyoṅ-jeṅ in Bde' = Liung-ch'êng, *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.* II p. 15.

Skyi-mthiṅ, 'Skyi plateau', which in Text IA (ll.86—7, 97 sqq.) is the country where the horse first entered into the service of man and which has a town Skya-bo, and in IB (ll.6sqq., 79 sqq.), II (ll.14 sqq.) has an ancestral Gyim-po people, has been identified (*Nam*, pp. 37—8, 135—6) with the Hsi-chih of the Chinese histories (add now from O. Franke's *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, II, p. 272, 'Si-tschi, ein alter Name des erwähnten vom Huangho umflossenen Gebietes'). It was the original home of the Ch'iang. In Text VI, where 'Skyi mountain' (ll,73, 101), and its 'ice [where] not lake' (l.106) are mentioned, it is said (ll.118—9) to have two horns, sc. mountains, Dmu-lcam and Gaṅs-lcam. Its boundaries may be stated as (a) on the north the Rma-chu/Hoang-ho south of the Hsi-ning region, (b) on the east the T'ao river in its S. to N. course from Min-chou, (c) on the west the Rma-chu gorge. The southern boundary may originally have been the Jupar mountains, and further east, the mountains lining the upper course of the T'ao river; but from about the middle of the VIth century it had been advanced southwards, under a Tang-hsiang organization, so as to embrace the whole upper valley of the Rma-chu as far as its sources, with the great Bayankara range of mountains for its limit (see *Nam*, p. 9). In this extent, which corresponds rather closely to that of the 'Go-lok' tribes encountered by Dr. Filchner, it is probably posterior to the matter of Text IV. No identifiable particulars are mentioned in the text, which cites only certain 'Sñi mountains' (11. 89—90), a 'Dgu-ba pass' (ll. 207—9), a Gdiṅ-six (l. 246), and a Dbye (Bye)-ldaṅ-three (ll. 199, 208). In VI, ll. 67, 107, there is mention of a Skyi and of a Skyi-rgyal: see also *infra*, p. 5.

C: The Byaṅ-thaṅ, 'North Plateau'.

Under the designation 'Byaṅ-ka Snam (Parts, also with variant *Khams*, 'Countries')-eight', which is found also elsewhere (M. Bacot's *Documents*, p. 84), the Byaṅ-thaṅ is in Text IA (ll. 57 sqq.) by right the country of the yak, who there slays the intrusive horse and in ll. 107 sqq. is there himself slain by Man Rma-bu Ldam-śad, mounted on the horse's brother. Phyi-ẖbrog (or Ḫbrog-phyi) Brgyad-goṅ, 'Outer-wilds (pasturages), Highlands-eight', the abode of the Kiang, is, no doubt, to Tibetan folk, clearly distinct, partly by reason of ubiquity, from the Byaṅ-thaṅ, a distinction which in ll. 106—8 is quite explicit. The Ḫbrog-phyi-gdaṅ-three, 'Outer wilds Gdaṅ-three', of Khug-roṅ ('Recess-ravine') Rmaṅ-dar evidently defines the sort of locality in which the wild horse might be found.

In the light of these common-sense discriminations the joint birth-place Rji-luṅ ('Wind-valley')-daṅ-ba (ll.49—52) of horse and kiang, where their mother is a r*ji*, 'wind' or 'hurricane', is very likely not motivated simply by the racial fleetness of both: it may also envisage what is still known as 'the valley of the winds', somewhat north and east of the Byaṅ-thaṅ, route of travellers in ancient and modern times from Cer-cen in Chinese Turkestan to the mining, etc., districts adjoining the Tsaidam (*Nam*, p. 44).

The remote and scantily peopled Byaṅ-thaṅ itself does not appear in the other Texts; but the Ḫa-ża country, which we have found (*Nam*, pp. 43—6, *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, III, pp. 1—2) to correspond essentially to the Tsaidam, does at least receive mention (IV, l.125) as the source of one kind of turquoise.

II: The Sino-Tibetan borderland south of the Bayankara.

1. Sum-pa State = Rgyal-roṅ, Rgyal-mo-roṅ, Rgyal-mo-tsha-ba-ron: This area of north-western Ssŭ-ch'uan, extending from about Ta-chien-lu (lat. 30°), which, as Lcag-la, is one of the 18 sub-states, almost as far north as Sung-p'an, has been somewhat fully particularized in *Nam*, pp. 17—20, and in the Introduction *infra*, pp. 105—8, to Text V. Here therefore a few supplementary observations may suffice.

From the valley of the Min river and the main administration area and capital city, Ch'êng-tu, of Ssŭ-ch'uan, the territory is considerably isolated by a range of mountains

(a southward bend of the Bayankara ?) on its east, which until modern times was difficult. With the Hsi-ning region it has an ancient trade-connection, via Sung-p'an, starting from a place Mer-ke (*khe*), where in 1908 Dr. Tafel's party was attacked and pillaged. The place is ancient and historic.

The name *Sum-pa*, in which *pa* is a Tibetan suffix = 'belonging to', has nothing to do with the ethnic term *Sien-pi*, applied in Chinese texts to the T'u-yü[k]-hun and some other peoples from N. E. Asia. The statement (Bushell, pp. 531—2) that in the 'Women's kingdom' Sup'i was the surname, after 742 A. D., of the sovereign has many analogies and might be true. The Tibetan *Chronicle*, however, speaks (Bacot, *Documents*, pp. 37, 40, years 692 and 702 A. D.) of *Sum-pas*, but also (p. 84) of a 'Sum-country Highlands-three' (*ya-sum*) and of a conquest of the Sum-pa and a revolt of the Mjo-sum-pa and a reduction of all the Sum-districts (*sum-khams*) at the outset (c. 629 A. D.) of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po's reign. Elsewhere we find references to a Gtoṅ or Ldoṅ)-sum-pa: see Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, p. 66. The early dates of some of these deprive of probability the Chinese upper limit, 742 A. D., of *Sup'i* as the sovereign's surname.

The name Rgyal-roṅ, whence are derived the various forms, Gyārūng, Jyā-ruṅ, etc., used by modern travellers, etc., may not have covered the whole State; in fact it applies, as the term *roṅ* also confirms, to a gorge or defile country, viz. that of the Chin-ch'uan, 'Gold river', of which the two branches after their junction form the T'ung river of the Lo-lo country. This name, which is found in the *Life* (*Skyed-rabs*) of Padmasambhava (see Toussaint, *Le Dict de Padma*, Index.), may be even far earlier, since a probably correct Chinese equivalent, *Yeh-ch'uan*, was applied in 692 A. D. (Bushell, p. 452) to the territory of a chief of 'Ch'iang and Man' tribes in the region of the T'ung river, who went over to their side. A possibility that even the *Rgyal* of *Rgyal-roṅ* was a Tibetan perversion of an original native name has been considered in *Nam*, p. 17, n. 1.

Unfortunately the matter of nomenclature does not end here. In Text IV, ll. 229—241, the Myaṅ 'country of black (*nag*) woods' of the Myaṅ goddess girl threatened by the Myaṅ fiend should surely be the 'Women's country' adjacent to the Skyi kingdom, represented by that text; and this consideration is reinforced by the phrase (l. 23) 'Myaṅ country of China', since we nowhere hear of any other Myaṅ country which can have been taken under Chinese rule. This has led to our conjecture concerning the *Myaṅ* of Text IV, which in substance is of early date. The Myaṅ-yul of ll. 340—2, though it is of bluish-green (*sṅon*, but cf. *sṅo-nag*, 'deep-black', 'deep-blue') woods, is presumably the same; and this is confirmed by the title, *Myaṅ-tsun*, of its king, in which the *tsun*, = 'man', or 'noble' is the same form as in *khyim-tsun*, 'house-man', designation (see *infra*, p. 106) of the consort of the 'Women's country' queen: the word belongs to the Ch'iang dialects and may correspond to Nam *htsu* and Hsi-hsia *tsun* (see *Nam*, p. 238). For the same reason, and further because of being a 'king' (*rgyal*), the Myaṅ-tsun Slaṅ-rgyal of M. Bacot's *Documents*, p. 84, should belong to the same Myaṅ country. This early testimony has led us to conjecture (*infra*, p. 105) that the Chinese term 'Women's country', unknown on the Tibetan side, originated in a linguistic misunderstanding of *Myaṅ* as = Chinese *nyang* (*ñaṅ*), 'woman', 'wife', combined with the fact of feminine rule: phonologically the hearing, or change, *my* > *ñ*, is well attested (cf. *Nam*, p. 102). Thus *Myaṅ* would be the earliest known name of the 'Women's country'.

But how reconcile this with the facts, (a) that in the list of the twelve pre-historic 'little kings' (Bacot, pp. 83—5) both a 'Myaṅ country of three horses' (*rta* a miswriting in place of 'passes' (*la*) or 'highlands' (*ya*)) and a 'Sum country of three highlands' (*ya*) are mentioned, (b) that in the Chronicle the people and country are always *Sum* and *Sum-pa*, never *Myaṅ*, and (c) that the Sum-pa country was conquered for Gnam-ri Sroṅ-btsan, the father of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, by a certain Myaṅ Žaṅ-snaṅ, who later, on the succession of Sroṅ-btsan

Sgam-po, effected the submission of the revolted Mjo-sum-pas and all the Sum-pas (Bacot, *Documents*, pp. 130, 147)? This Myaṅ Žaṅ-snaṅ, who was for a time Prime Minister under Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, with the title *Maṅ-po-rje*, and who subsequently became victim of a famous intrigue (*Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, II, pp. 53—6, and Bacot *Documents*, pp. 143—4, 147—8), certainly belonged not to a Myaṅ-yul, = Sum-pa, country, but to a Myaṅ-ro-Śam-po (Bacot, pp. 124, etc.), which was situated far away, south of the Ya-ru-ıtsaṅ-po/Brahmaputra, and was included in the dominions of Gnam-ri Sroṅ-btsan. Clearly, and even without respect to the date of Text IV, the Myaṅ-yul of the 'Myaṅ goddess girl' cannot have owed its name to this Myaṅ Žaṅ-snaṅ, whose Myaṅ-ro, identified by Tucci (*Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, p. 64) withthe Gyaṅ-rtse district, appears, in fact, separately in the list (Bacot, pp. 83—4) of the early ,little kings'.

Ethnically the people of the 'Women's kingdom' are reported by the Chinese as Ch'iang, whereas the present inhabitants of the territory are regarded by the Ssŭ-ch'uan Chinese as Man-tzŭ (*Nam*, pp. 65—7). This may be of not much import, since the peoples designated *Man* by the Chinese were clearly Tibeto-Burman, even if not distinctively Ch'iang. But even in the time of the Sino-Tibetan wars there were people distinguished as Man adjacent to, if not actually in, the territory. In 692 A. D. a chief at the head of Ch'iang and Man tribes in the region of Ya-chou, which was near its southern boundary, submitted to China; and in 705 the Man tribes of Ya-chou, who had built a bridge over the Yangpi river in order to communicate with the Hsi-Erh Man, were attacked (Bushell, p. 456): these Man could be related to Bushell's (p. 531) Lonü Man, whose country was between Ya-chou and the Women's country; but these seem anciently to have been Ch'iang (*Nam*, pp. 40, 153). Again, in 801—2 (Bushell, pp. 509—10) there were further conflicts in the region of Ya-chou and the Tatu (T'ung-ho) river, 'Hsieh' Man being involved. In 778 A. D. the Tibetans at the head of 200,000 of the 'Southern Man' invaded even Mao-chou in the far north of the State. These occurrences, though merely facts of history, may have a bearing upon the origin and date of certain features of the Rgyal-roṅ languages concerning which, as the languages are not here in question, a reference to *Nam*, e. g. pp. 19—20, 72, 96, may suffice. The *mu*, for *mi*, in the Tibetan of Text V, 11.9 etc., has an interest as shared by the adjacent Mi-ñag language and another (Mi-li) further south.

From the remark in Text IV, ll.242—3 — 'To the Myaṅ goddess girl was in old times fealty: now to whom is fealty? To Man Rma-bu Mchiṅ-king is fealty', a prior rivalery between the T'ang-chang people and the 'Women's kingdom' may be inferred: and the conclusion, probable by reason of contiguity, the two states being separated only by the Bayankara range of mountains, is confirmed by the Chinese note (Bushell, p. 531) of frequent wars with the Tang-hsiang, the successors from about 564 A. D. (Bushell, p. 528) and heirs of the T'ang-chang. The observation is valuable also as implying a fairly early date and importance of the State, which seems to have become known to the Chinese rather before 586 A. D. (*ibid.*, p. 531) and was first conquered by the Tibetans during the first quarter of the VIIth century, in the reign of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po's father.

2. Mi-ñag: This area has the advantage of a fair geographical definiteness, being the Ñag-roṅ, gorge of the Ñag river, the Ya-lung: being south of the Hor-pa States, aligned more or less on that great river, but still north of the latitude of Ta-chien-lu, it may be considered rather south-west than south of the 'Women's Country'. The name signifies 'Ñag people', and the order of the two syllables, which in normal Tibet would be as *Ñag-mi*, may be linguistically significant; but it may be not native, but given from outside, as may also be the variant vowels of the first syllable, shown in spellings *Maniak* (Hodgson), *Menia* (Baber), *Minia* (Wang Jinkru), *Munia* (Davies), of which the last has a *mu* < *mi* instanced in the 'Women's Kingdom' Tibetan of Text no. V.

According to an informant of Baber (pp. 95—7 and map, p. 93) the Mi-ñag country extends to a considerable distance east of the river, where it is an area of rolling uplands, economically prosperous.

Prior to Hodgson's short vocabulary, the Mi-ñag language was unattested by any genuine specimen, and the subsequent period has not much amplified the vocabulary: the additions contributed by Baber (Menia), Davies and Wang Jinkru have been noted in *Nam*, pp. 69 sqq., where the language is recognized as belonging to the Ch'iang group.

To districts of the Sino-Tibetan borderland further south, i. e. south of the line Batang-Ta-chien-lu, lat. c. 30°, the Texts do not refer, whether Ch'iang, such as those of the Ḫjaṅ, Mi-li, Rgyal-thaṅ, and various tribes of the Chin-sha-chiang, Mekong and Salween valleys, or actually non-Tibetan, Lo-lo, or Mo-so. Even the Chinese are barely mentioned. Hence it is superfluous, and might be confusing, to state particulars of these: concerning them a minimum of information has been cited in *Nam* and, as regards the Ḫjaṅ, in *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, III, pp. 44—8.

III. 'Tibet' proper.

But concerning districts of the Tibetan State proper, as inherited by Sroṅ-btsam Sgam-po, c. 629 A. D., there is in Text IV, as stated supra (p. 1), a passage, ll. 291 sqq., which may have some chronological value and also may exhibit the horizon of the Text. The partly even pre-Bon religion and the fact that the Yar-luṅ king Ḫo-de Guṅ-rgyal, whom it mentions (ll. 157, 192) with respect, is an ancestor, not a member, of the Lha-sa succession, raises the question whether its references to districts included in the Lha-sa State refer to a period prior to the formation of the latter. The monotonous brevity of the references and the obscurity, or even ficticiousness, of the persons named leave as evidence only the geography of the districts, which itself in many instances awaits determination.

The Tibetan State territory, as inherited c. 629 A. D., by Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, may conveniently be regarded as having for its northern boundary the Tang-lha range of mountains, or the valley of the Ḫbri-chu river to the north thereof, and on the east, from Jye-kun-do to the vicinity of Batang, the same river, where after cutting through, or rounding, the Tang-lha, it is flowing in a deep gorge with direction more or less S. S. E. Further south the eastern limit lay short of this longitude, and hardly reached even long. 65°, where is the knee of the Rtsaṅ-po river taking the southward direction which brings it, as the Di-hong and Brahmaputra, into Assam and India; for Dwags-po, the most easterly district that could be named in this south-eastern region, stops short of Dza-yul, the district about the bend of that river, between which and the Ḫbri-chu is a wide stretch of tribal country, including the valleys of the Salween and Mekong. The southern limit may be defined as the border of Bhu-tan and, further west, that of Nepal.

As far west, more or less, as Lha-sa the present Dbus, the 'Central' province, includes the region south of the Rtsaṅ-po/Brahmaputra, where was the original Yar-luṅ kingdom of the ancestors of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po. Further west the whole valley of the Rtsaṅ-po on both sides of the river, but with an indefinite northern limit, seems to be included in Gtsaṅ, the other constituent of Dbus-Gtsaṅ, named after the river. This important area, which during some periods has figured rather independently in the ecclesiastical and political history of Tibet, reaches on the west the confines of the Kailāsa-Mānasa region, the Stod-phyogs, where was the then foreign State of Žaṅ-žuṅ. The indefinite northern limit of Gtsaṅ is separated from the Byaṅ-thaṅ, the North Plateau, by a broad belt of mountains and lakes, concerning which historical notices are wanting.

That such, more or less, was the extent of the dominion inherited by Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po appears from the narrative, published by M. Bacot (*Documents*, pp. 132—147), of the steps

whereby his father, Gnam-ri/Slon-btsan-rluṅ-nam, from being merely heir to the Yar-luṅ chief Stag-bu-sña-gzigs, effected the conquest of the adjoining State, Dwags-po, south of the Rtsaṅ-po, of districts Rkoṅ and Ñas-po, north of the river, and of the extensive Rtsaṅ-bod, which seems to be Gtsaṅ. M. Bacot observes (p. 142, n. 5) that here we grasp the process of the confederation which formed the Bod-yul [Country of Tibet]. Confirmation is added by the narrative (p. 147) of the revolt at the beginning of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po's own reign: among the revolting parties are mentioned not only the Dwags-po, but also the Rkoṅ-po, Myaṅ-po, and other peoples to the north of the river. On the other hand, the various areas and peoples outside the stated confines are excluded by our knowledge of their conquest or acquisition in the time of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po himself or of his successors. It will be noted that on p. 148 there is no mention of Lha-sa and that Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, the founder of that capital, is still residing at Phyiṅ-ba, head-quarters of the original Yar-luṅ kingdom, which even far later maintained its prestige as the ancient patrimony of the royal dynasty and the sanctuary for entombment of the kings.

The stated extent of territory inherited by Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po is confirmed by the facts concerning additions made during his reign and those of his immediate successors. Perhaps the first of these was the 'Women's country', which indeed, if identical, as suggested *supra*, with Myaṅ-yul, had been acquired in the time of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po's father, but at the outset of the son's reign had revolted. Submission of the 'Women's kingdom' is implied in the fact that Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po's first attack upon Chinese territory, c. 634 A. D., was in the region of Sung-chou (Sung-p'an) (Bushell, p. 444) and its lasting effectiveness is shown by the facts (a) that in 650 and 654-8 A. D. and again in 661 A. D. (Chronicle, ed. Bacot, p. 43) Sroṅ-btsan's first successor, Khri-slon-man-rtsan, was residing in Mer-khe, a town in the 'Women's country' not remote from Chinese Sung-chou, (b) that in 692 during the reign of the next successor, the warlike Khri Ḫdus-sroṅ, taxation was fixed in 692 and in 702 a review of troops took place: in 705 the body of the same king, who had died *en route* for the Ḫjaṅ country, further south, was reposing there prior to entombment. From about 678 A. D. the Chinese were strongly contesting the western border of the 'Women's country', from the region of Mao-chou on its north to Ya-chou on the south, and there were in years 692, 705, 738, 740 and even later, in 779 and 801-2, many campaigns, involving 'Man' tribes and building and taking of fortified places, Anjung and others (Bushell, pp. 452, 456, 470, 472, 484—5, 509—510). It was perhaps during this period that the people of the 'Women's country' acquired their Chinese reputation as 'double-faced Ch'iang'. Effectively the Chinese resistance collapsed through the rebellion, c. 756, of An Lu-shan; and not long afterwards the country 'was annexed by the T'ufan' (Bushell, p. 532).

In Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po's first adventure against China (634 A. D.), when the T'u-yü[k]-hun were defeated near the Koko-nor on its west, the Yang-t'ung people of the Byaṅ-thaṅ, whose territory the Tibetan route must have traversed, participated (Bushell, p. 444), no doubt perforce. Advance China-wards required penetration of the territory of the Tang-hsiang (sc. the Skyi country), the Pailan and other Ch'iang tribes, which accordingly were attacked and defeated (Bushell, p. 446). No doubt the T'ang annals are justified in stating that 'It was due to his (Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po's) policy that the T'ufan absorbed the Ch'iang tribes and became preëminent in "their native land". But in none of the cases did annexation follow forthwith. As regards the T'u-yü[k]-hun, even the Tsaidam and Shan-shan areas, though constantly during the 60's visited by Tibetan armies, were perhaps never actually annexed, the Tibetans being content with submissiveness on the part of the native ruler: and the main T'u-yü[k]hun area, the Koko-nor-Hsi-ning district, was not even after the decisive defeat of the T'u-yü[k]-hun, in 663 A. D., and of their Chinese supporters, in 670, and the removal of the former into China, actually occupied, except during a few years, by

Tibetans: this was due, no doubt, to the strong defence of the Hsi-ning region maintained by the Chinese down to the date (756 A. D.) of the An Lu-shan rebellion. The actual incorporation of the Tang-hsiang (Skyi) area in the Tibetan State took place about the year 678, at which time 'the T'ufan acquired all the territory of the Yang-t'ung, Tang-hsiang and different Ch'iang tribes' so that on the east they touched the *chou* cities of Liang[-chou], Sung[-chou], Mao[-chou] and Chün[-chou] (Bushell, p. 450); the last-named, being a designation of Ning-yuan *fu*, in southern Ssŭ-ch'uan, brings in the Ḫjaṅ people of the Mywa (= Miao), now Mo-so, region, whose submission we should have been inclined, upon the evidence of the Chronicle (see M. Bacot's *Documents*, p. 40), to assign to a somewhat later date (c. 703 A. D.).

These posterior expansions of the Lha-sa kingdom, though no doubt prior to the Tibetan version of Text IV, need not have affected its matter: and, as has already been remarked, its reference to the ancestral Yar-luṅ State ignores any subsequent aggrandisement. As its presumable original date (c. 500 A. D.) should exclude also the conquests of Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan, its citations of districts within their area might be, to some extent, chronologically or geographically evidential. The particulars may be briefly noted as follows: —

South of the Rtsaṅ-po/Brahmaputra:

Dwags-po, immediately east of the Yar-luṅ State, is mentioned (ll. 333—6) as *Dags-yul śiṅ-nag*, 'Dags country of black woods', and furnished with a ruler, Dar-rgyal Sprog-zin, a fiend, *srin*. Dags-fiend Phlad-po-mgo-dgu, 'Nine-head Phlad-po of Dags', and a *gśen* (Bon-po priest) Lo-das. The king must be the Dags-rgyal-gyi-Sprog-zin of M. Bacot's *Documents*, p. 84, king of the 'four-cornered (*gru-bżi*) Dags country'; and *Sprog* is doubtless a place-name, since *-zin* appears also in other titles of land-'holders', e. g. *zin-po-rje*, 'holder chief'. Its conquest for Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan and its subsequent revolt and reconquest are related in M. Bacot's *Documents*, pp. 130, 139—140. Of its modern dialect, 'Tāk-pa', Hodgson published (J. A. S. B. XXII (1853), pp. 142—151) a vocabulary.

Myaṅ-ro: In *Tib. Lit. texts and docc.*, II, p. 305, there is mention of a Myaṅ-ro, and, in pp. 174, 464, of its regiment, Myaṅ-ro<u>h</u>i-sde: a Myaṅ Thousand-district, clearly in the Yar-luṅ region, is named in I, p. 280, and persons with surname *Myaṅ* there and in II, pp. 54—5, 177, 190. In M. Bacot's *Documents* the Myaṅ persons who figure in the account of Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan (pp. 132—9), including the Myaṅ Žaṅ-snaṅ, whose rise and fall are related in pp. 138—9, 143, 147—9 (cf. *Tib. Lit. texts and Docc.*, II, pp. 53—5), served under that Yar-luṅ king, whom they saluted as *Btsan-po*. Evidently they all belonged to the same (southern) Myaṅ-ro, to which appertained also the palace Myaṅ-ro-Śam-po (pp. 80, 83, 124—5, 127), as its name would suffice to prove. By Professor Tucci (*Tombs*, p. 64) the district is located in the vicinity of Gyaṅ-tse; in M. Bacot's *Documents*, p. 83, two parts of it are distinguished. In a Bon Ms., *Srid-pa<u>h</u>i-sdud*, occurs the mention of a *yul-Myaṅ-ro-Stag-tshal*, *mkhar-Myaṅ-mkhar-Śam-pho*, repeating the above noted connexion with Śam-po.

The 'Myaṅ-yul of Green woods' (IV, l. 340, *śiṅ-sṅon*, but in l. 230, 'of Black woods', *śiṅ-nag*), should as a country (*yul*) and not merely a district (*ro*), and as having a ruler (*rje*) with the rather imposing designation 'Myaṅ-tsun king Po-dog', be a more important unit. It is mentioned in *Tib. Lit. texts and docc.*, II, p. 305, and in M. Bacot's *Documents*, p. 84, where it is treated as distinct from Myaṅ-ro. Upon the view, expounded *supra* (*p. 5*), that it is identical with the 'Women's kingdom' the particulars there stated would be irrelevant here.

North of the Rtsaṅ-po/Brahmaputra:

Rkoṅ country *Bre-sna* (IV, ll. 343—5): This district, the Kongbo of maps (Ś. C. Das *Kon-po*, Tucci, *Scrolls*, K'oṅ-po), 'a small and fertile district east of Lhasa' (Ś. C. Das, *Journey*, p. 214), with a town Gyamda, seems to extend, in fact, a considerable distance

north of the Brahmaputra, where it adjoins Dwags-po on its south. East of it is the Po district of very tall men, which is not named in Text IV, but appears perhaps as a surname in *Tib. Lit. texts and docc.*, II, p. 305. Bre-sna, now unknown, seems to appear in all the other ancient citations (Bacot, *Documents*, pp. 80, 84, 126—7, 137) as name of the chief place. In the king's name, *Rkoṅ-ḫdi* (but Bacot, p. 84, *rjeḫi-Dkar-po*) the *ḫdi*, 'this', may point to a relative nearness of the country to the Skyi region. The names of the fiend, *Den-po*, and the *gśen*, *Dog-po-dog Ña-yi*, are uninstructive. In Text IV, 1.124, there is mention of a 'Rkoṅ-king' (*Rkoṅ-rgyal*) or 'kings'.

Mchims-yul Dgra-sul (IV, 11.36—9) = Mchims-yul-gyi-dgu-yul, ‚Mchims-country, districts nine' (M. Bacot's *Documents*, pp. 80, 84), where *dgu-yul* may be, like our *Dgra-sul*, a text perversion of some more informative original: Mchims, mentioned in *Tib. Lit. texts and docc.*, I., pp. 274, 280, II, p. 321, and well known in later history, is a district in the region of the Bsam-yas monastery, some 30—40 miles S. E. from Lha-sa and adjoining Rkoṅ, its eastern neighbour, in the longitude, approximately, of Rtse-thaṅ, on the Brahmaputra. King (*rje*), Ne-ḫu (so also in Bacot, pp. 80, 84); fiend, Pod-lduṅs-khlad-kyi Pya-khyi-ma; *gśen*, Do-rab-ḫbriṅ-rab.

Rṅegs-sul Gliṅ-braṅ-ce-ḫu (IV, 11.327—330) = Bacot, pp. 80, 83, *Rṅegs-yul-kyi-gru-bži*, 'Corners four of Rṅegs country': Rṅegs, mentioned in *Tib. Lit. texts and docc.*, II, p. 3, and also as a surname of various personages in the Chronicle, has in M. Bacot's *Documents* (pp. 128—9) a Rṅegs-thaṅ (plateau) with a minister Yoṅ-thaṅ-rje, 'Yoṅ-thaṅ chief', and also a minister intitled *Ḫdud-kyi-rje*: there is also an account (pp. 141—2) of the conquest of Lho-rṅegs, 'Southern Rṅegs', for Gnam-ri-Slon-mtshan, and of its incorporation with Ḫphan-yul: since Ḫphan-yul is well known as a district to the north of Lha-sa, Rṅegs should be sought in that region. King, Gliṅ-ḫbraṅ-tse-ḫu; god, Pya-rmaṅ; fiend, Ra-lpags; *gśen*, Rmun-bu (Bacot, Lar-braṅ). A Rṅegs-rgyal-Ḫbriṅ-lan-ton is mentioned in M. Bacot's Index.

Khlum(Klum)-ro = Bacot, pp. 80, 84, *yul-Klum-roḫi-ya-sum*, 'Of country Klum-ro uplands three' (IV, ll.311—4): Klum-ro is stated (Bacot, p. 158) to be near to Mal-tro, which, if identical with Mal-gro (Mal-do), was a district S. E. of Lha-sa. God, Thugs-po; [king, acc. to Bacot, *Documents*, pp. 80, 84, Nam-paḫi-bu Gśen-ti]; fiend, Dom-ra-rgya. Being treated next to Ñas-po (ap. Bacot next to Rṅegs), Klum-po was perhaps also geographically contiguous.

Ñas-po Khra-sum, 'Ñas-po with Khra-three' (IV, ll.309—313), = Bacot, pp. 80, 83: Since Ñas-po, upon its conquest by Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan, was renamed Phan-yul (Bacot, p. 136), a district north(-east?) of Lha-sa, its position is fairly definite. The original title of the king seems to have been Dgu-gri Zin-po-rje (Bacot, pp. 83, 137). King, Draṅ-king, Rnol-nam; fiend, Nag-ra-rgyas; *gśen*, Draṅ-*gśen*, Ḫbroṅ-pyag. Draṅ-mtshams, 'Draṅ-border', is in *Tib. Lit. texts and Docc.*, I, p. 278, associated with Gñen(Ñen)-kar, and is perhaps identical with *Sribs-yul-ral-mo-goṅ* of Bacot, pp. 80, 84, which has for king (*rje*) a Draṅ-rje Rnol-nam.

Thaṅ (IV, ll.305—9), with god Thaṅ-lha Ya-bžur, is in Bacot, p. 119, connected with a river Skyi-cu, which may be the Skyi-chu river of Lha-sa, scoffed at as a minor stream, and brings in the Skyi-luṅ of p. 143, doubtless = the Skyi-valley of that river. This suggests a district north of Lha-sa and the route to the Thaṅ-lha pass, which is, in fact, stated to have been named after a god (*Nam*, p. 2, n. 3): also the mention of the district Gnubs in proximity in both texts may be due to vicinity in space (s. *infra*). King, Sum-po: god, Ya-bžur, mentioned also in other texts, s. *infra*, pp. 140—1; fiends, Pyo-pyo-ma and Pyab-ma; no *gśen*.

Gnubs-śul country, Gliṅ-six (IV, ll.299—303), mentioned in *Tib. Lit. texts and docc.*, II, p. 300, and rather frequently, but mostly only as a surname, elsewhere, = Bacot, pp. 81, 83, 163, *Gnubs-gyi-Gliṅ*-nine. Since the name *Gnubs* means 'West', and *gliṅ* usually signifies

'garden', 'park', 'monastery', while in Bacot, pp. 119, 163—4, the nine *gliṅs* are associated with a lake (*mtsho*) and disadvantageously contrasted with an ice-country patterned with lakes (*graṅ-po-mtsho-le-goṅ*), which may be the great western stretch of lake country north of *Gtsaṅ*, it could be an outlying part of that country; and the association with Thaṅ suggests that what it is to the west of is the route from Lha-sa to the Thaṅ-lha pass. King, Sribs (Bacot, p. 83, Sris) -pa; god, Mthon-drug; fiend, Rkaṅ-pran; *gśen* Roṅ-po Lde-khar.

Rtsaṅ-śul (i. e. Rtsaṅs-yul), *mtho* . . . (IV, ll. 291—8) = *Rtsaṅ-c(h)en* of *Tib. Lit. texts and docc.*, II, pp. 4, 29, and of M. Bacot's *Documents*, p. 184, and = *Rtsaṅ* of Bacot, pp. 80, 83, 159, and = *Rtsaṅ-bod* of Bacot, pp. 129, 139, 148: Rtsaṅ, primarily name, 'river', *rtsaṅ-po*, of the *Ya-ru-rtsaṅ-po*/Brahmaputra, is applied to the large province consisting of the upper valley on both sides of that river from the borders of the Kailāsa-Mānasa region in the west as far perhaps as the E. longitude (c. 90°—91°) of the Yamdok lake, where it adjoins that part of Dbus which is south of the river: together with Dbus it constitutes the central administration area, Dbus-Gtsaṅ, of the Lha-sa State: its boundary on the north, where is the broad band of lake country, known as the Hor-pa province, is indefinite. In the Tibetan Chronicle it is not infrequently mentioned as Rtsaṅ-chen or Rtsaṅs, and in the politico-ecclesiastic history of mediaeval and modern times it has figured largely. The *R-/G*-variation of Prefix in the name is not abnormal. From the narrative in M. Bacot's *Documents* it appears that Rtsaṅ-Bod was first attacked in the course of Gnam-ri-Slon-mtshan's conquests, when a Rtsaṅ-Bod king, Mar-mun, was defeated (p. 129), but was effectually annexed a little later, with decapitation of Mar-mun, by the celebrated Zu-ce, who was rewarded by a donation of its 20,000 families, a large administration (pp. 139, 148). King (*rje*) Pwa-ha (Bacot, Thod-kar); god Pu-dar; fiend Po-da or ᵒ de; *gśen*, Sñal-ṅag.

Dbye-mo Yul-drug, 'Dbye-mo, Districts-six', (IV, ll. 324—7) = Bacot, *Documents*, pp. 80, 83, Dbye-ro-*Yul-bži* (. . . Districts-four', where the *-ro* points to an extent and independence less than those of a *yul*): the six or four *yuls* mentioned here will be only villages a signification not infrequent later. The district is not identified. King (*rje*), Khar-ba (Bacot, *mkhar-pa* = 'mayor' or 'commandant'); god, Spyi-gaṅ-gaṅs; fiend, Yug-mo; *gśen*, Kar-bu Ljon-pyug. The name Kar-bu, recurring in connection with a Dbye-ldaṅ (l. 199)/Bye-ldaṅ (l. 208), may rouse a suspicion of some relation to the Skyi Kingdom: and we note that in ll. 199, 208, Dbye-ldaṅ-sum is Ḫbrog (high pasture-land) country.

Skyi-ro Ljaṅ-sṅon, 'Skyi-district, *ljaṅ* (green ?)-blue', (IV, ll. 315—8) = Bacot, pp. 80, 83, *Skyi-roḫi Ljaṅ-sṅon* and = Mdlle. Lalou, *Inventaire*, no. 1068, *Skyi-ro Lchaṅ-sṅon*: This evidently cannot be the Skyi country particularized *supra*: can it then be the valley, Skyi-luṅ, (Bacot, p. 143) of the river, Skyi-chu (*ibid.*, p. 142), which certainly was comprized in the conquests of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan (see the reff.) and which can hardly be other than the Skyi, or Skyid, valley and river of Lha-sa ? With the Skyi-mthiṅ State they can have nothing to do. King (rje), Rmaṅ-po (Bacot, Maṅ-po, Lalou, Rmaṅ-po); god, Skyi-bla Pya-maṅs; fiend Skyi-fiend, Tsa(Tsha)-luṅ-ża; *gśen*, Skyi-*gśen* Rgyan-ṅar.

Ḫol-pu Dag-daṅ (IV, ll. 331—3) = Bacot, pp. 80, 83, *Ḫo-yul-gyi-Spaṅ-kar* ('Meadow-white' ?), cf. the name of the king, Ḫol-rje, and the place-surname, *Ḫol-god* (p. 88), of the consort of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan, which as a surname recurs in *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, II, p. 462: M. Bacot regards the form *Ḫol* as an abbreviation of *Ḫo-yul*; but perhaps the *Ḫo* (or *Ḫol*)-lde of the Ḫo[l]-lde Spu-rgyal kings will also have to be considered. The *Dbaḫs* designation of some of the Ḫol ministers (pp. 80, 83) suggests that the Ḫol country belonged to the west of the Yam-dok lake in the direction of Mt. Everest, where is the Sba, or Sbas, tribe of the Pha-drug district, the Pherug of Ś. C. Das, *Journey*, pp. 46, 51, and *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 8.

The numerous coincidences of nomenclature attributed to districts included in the inherited kingdom of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po suffice to prove that our Skyi text is here working upon the same matter as is M. Bacot's Ms. 242, pp. 80—1, 83—4, which is an account of the minor kings or rulers (*rje*) recorded as prior to the foundation of the Lha-sa State. Such lists of minor principalities seem to have been common form in Tibetan historiography, maintained even in Bon texts of relatively late date; and there seems to be no objection to supposing that such were current prior to the institution of the greater State, which gave rise to the expression 'Minor kings', *rgyal-phran*, used also in the *Me-loṅ* (see Francke, *Antiquities*, II, pp. 28, 76). This expression occurs in M. Bacot's Ms. only in the generalizing statements at beginning and end of the list; the title applied to all the princes individually is *rje*, 'chief', 'chieftain', which in historical times could still be used with a general sense even in contexts where the Lha-sa Btsan-po's were included. A somewhat extended title, *zin-po-rje*, which in consideration of *yul-zuṅ* seems to mean 'holder (*ḫdzin-po*) king', is found applied (Bacot, pp. 102, 132) to two contemporaries of the grandfather, himself styled *rgyal*, of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po. *Btsan-po*, the 'strong', the distinctive appellation of the Lha-sa kings, is stated (Bacot, p. 138) to have been bestowed upon Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan on his aggrandizement: hence the occurrence of *btsan* in the appellations of many prior, or ancient, members of the dynasty (Bacot, pp. 81—2, 86—8) may have been less formal or even anachronistic. But the term *rgyal*, 'king', can hardly be questioned in relation to some of them, e. g. Spu-de Guṅ-rgyal, who heads the quasi-historical group.

In our Ms. we find mention of Spu-rgyal (l. 123), Ḫo-de Lha-dpal-Phu-rgyal, ll. 186—7 (⁰Pho-rgyal, 191, Guṅ-rgyal, 187, 192), Ḫo-lde Spu-rgyal, of Yar-khyim, l. 321; but these are special, and in the whole passage ll. 291—350 all the rulers mentioned, including even the Chinese, are simply *rje*: there is no hint of the expression *rgyal-phran* or of the title, or power, of a Btsan-po. The naming of Guṅ-rgyal allows the possibility of a date, but not within the historical period.

It therefore appears that there is no ground for conceiving the passage in question as a posterior accretion: its relevance is to claim for the Skyi-mthiṅ king a parity with all the other recognized rulers of States in Tibet. These States and their rulers are clearly not ficticious; but, on the other hand, it is unnecessary to conceive of them as contemporary with the Skyi-mthiṅ king or with one another: they are likely to be simply traditional. The trials through which they are so uniformly described as having passed and the names of fiends and *gśens* functioning therein are, no doubt, fabrications of Bon-po imagination, so fertile in such matters, and possibly were designed as propaganda of that not long previously imported religion.

We may now add the particulars relating to the actual home-country, Yar-luṅ, of the Lha-sa Btsan-po's: —

Yar-khyim Sogs-yar, 'Yar-home United Yars'(?) (IV, ll. 320—4, cf. 186—193). This is the ancestral kingdom, Yar-luṅ, 'Yar-valley', of the Tibetan royal dynasty, situated on the Yar-mo (Bacot, pp. 141—2), or Yar-chu (pp. 81, 86) river, which flows from the south into the Brahmaputra, reaching it not far from Rtse-thaṅ (long. c. 91°50). The great natural feature of the country is the mountain, also presiding divinity, Yar-lha Śam-po (Bacot, pp. 86, 163), near the river, at c. 30—40 miles S. E. from Rtse-thaṅ. The famous castle Phyiṅ-ba-Stag-rtse (Bacot, pp. 127, 142, 164), belongs to the valley of a lesser stream, Ḫphyoṅ-rgyas, somewhat more westerly, in which are also the tombs of the historical kings, described or particularized in several old texts, and visited in recent years by Professor Tucci (see also H. Hoffmann, *Die Gräber der tibetischen Könige*, in Göttingen Nachrichten . . . Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1950, Tucci, *Tombs* . . ., pp. 30 sqq.). The western limit may have been at

the Yamdok lake or country. The dynastic titles, *Ḫo-lde* and *Spu-rgyal*, relate to legends of their ancient, ultimately divine, descent. King (*rje*), Ḫo[l]-lde, Spu (l. 186 Phu, ll. 187, 192 Guṅ)-rgyal; god, Yar-lha Śam-po; fiend, Yar-srin Pa-sna-riṅ-po, Yar-srin Dra-la(?); *lde-gśen*, Rmun-bu.

Outside the above limits we find only —

Mdo-ro . . . luṅ (IV, ll. 345—7): This is likely to be Amdo, the *Mdo-smad* frequently mentioned in the Chronicle, also as *Mdo* in *Mdo-blon*, *Mdo-gams*; and this is confirmed by the name of the king, *Ḫon-braṅ*, in which *Ḫon* will be the tribe-name Ḫon, known from later Han times (see *Nam*, pp. 42—3) and preserved subsequently in names of localities, *Ḫon-do*, *Ḫon-caṅ-do*, and the various *Hung-ch'êngs* recorded in Filchner's *Karte von Kan-śu*. King (*rje*), Mdo-king Ḫon-braṅ; Mdo fiend, Rkaṅ-mar; Mdo-*gśen*, Mar-rta. Perhaps the same district is denoted by the name *Mtsho-ro* in VI, l. 4 and p. 146.

yul-Rgya-yul Gdan-bzaṅs, 'Country, China country, seat fine' (IV, ll. 348—350, cf. l. 159 with *Gtan* for *Gdan*): What district of China is contemplated does not appear: the Rgya-mo-thaṅ of l. 158 is, no doubt, fictitious, as is the Gdan-bzaṅs here. King, Mye-mtshaṅ Rmaṅ-po (legendary); fiend, Myig-mar; *bon*, Leg-daṅ Rmaṅ-ba.

Of the localities merely mentioned Lho-brag (l. 72) may well be the known district bordering on Bhutan (cf. Bacot, *Documents*, p. 31; Mdlle. Lalou, *Inventaire*, no. 1144); on *Ḫor-mo* (l. 188) see note to translation; the rest (e. g. *Moṅ-mo-thaṅ* (l. 160), Bal-mo-thaṅ (*ibid.*)) merely name certain outside peoples or lands.

II. LINGUISTIC INTRODUCTION

The language of the Texts is forthwith distinguishable from that of the bulk of the known Tibetan literature through absence of the features due to Buddhism. In phraseology it presents none of the expressions contrived for the rendering of Buddhist or other Indian terminology, even the formation of abstracts in *ñid*, so indispensable for dogmatic discussions, being unexampled. Not necessarily foreign to native Tibetan style are the elaborate sentences which in Turkī, Mongol and other writings with their Gerund clauses keep the reader in long suspense: a good specimen of the style may, in fact, be seen in an early IXth century official document, of great religious eloquence, published in *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, vol. II, pp. 92—9: and the Lha-sa treaty inscriptions, approximately contemporary, make moderate use of it. Accordingly it may have resulted in the case of Tibetan, as of the other languages, from native ways of thinking and linguistic structure: hence the fact that one of the texts (no. III), which is of a seriously ethical purport, and a very similar passage at the beginning of another (no. IV), exhibit some tendency towards the same style does not qualify their purely Tibetan character.

From the very numerous, more or less contemporary, 'documents' from Central Asia, which in nearly all cases relate to matters of business, private or official, the texts are distinguished as being literature. The simplest case is that of no V, 'Sum-pa mother's sayings', which is a collection of maxims in the style of the proverbs of all peoples, the literary quality being terse pointed expression, with an admixture of similes from common life, antithesis and occasional word-play: the tone is prosaic. No VI, a soothsayer's manual of cases, is in plain practical prose, but with each prognostication introduced by an oracular passage, in verse similar to that of the remaining Texts. No. IV, after its ethical opening, quickly assumes the character of a rhetorical exposé of certain religious notions and usages, in connection with a political occasion: it includes mythological and other narratives, in some cases imaginative or poetical, with verse of the same character interspersed; it may be said to exhibit the rather wild eloquence of a Bon-po priesthood, superimposed upon a more primitive, religious, stratum. In nos. I and II we have probably the purest example of the manner of the oral narrator or rhapsodist, weaving his version of the interminable story of the paradisial age and its calamity, the descent and interrelations of animal species, and the legendary histories of peoples. The subject is poetical, and the sentiment and language natural. Verses are interspersed where a speech, a description, or an incident invites.

The prose is syntactically simple and curt in statement. In the verse, which also is notably terse, as in —

'The Neatherdess star from the valley drove her cows; but
kha-le! In the castle above —
Empty hung the pail at the neck:
The cup was not white inside.'

the chief artifices are two, namely repetition, as in —

'Tree, tall or short, is Pu Rma-bo's tree:
Sap, good or bad, is Pu Rma-bo's sap.'

and antithesis, as in —

'Pursuing, cannot overtake;
Fleeing, cannot get away;
Contending, cannot overcome.'

Verbal artifice is perhaps limited to the *figura etymologica*, as in *rmaṅ-ma-rmoṅ*, 'dreamed no dream', and onomatopoeia, as in *khrum-khrum*, 'crunch-crunch', *ri-rir*, 'reëcho', *si-li-li*, 'softly'. This style of verse may still exist widely in popular Tibetan: in the classical literature it may to some extent be recognizable in the songs of Mi-la Ras-pa, who, however, is preoccupied with artificial religious notions. Early parallels are plentiful in M. Bacot's *Documents*: see M. Toussaint's spirited translations.

The particular linguistic features of the Texts, which in spelling are highly irregular, can in many instances be found recurring in the Central-Asian documents. This applies most prominently to the irregular interchange of tenuis and aspirate among consonants and in the appending of posterior elements and postpositions. Here there is great frequency. But there are various other irregularities; and, in fact, there are not in the Mss. many peculiarities which appear nowhere in the documents. Is there then excuse for a separate treatment of the language of the Mss., which also awaits a full treatment?

In regard to this it may be pointed out, firstly, that the documents are for the most part specimens of polite letter writing or official communication and accordingly differ in tone and tenour from the Mss: probably they reflect in general the administrative and business parlance of the Lha-sa kingdom, though some of the numerous writers will have been natives of out-lying districts and may have introduced dialectical spellings and expressions. None of them, it may be said, is free from some irregularities; but they may be taken as representing on the whole a current mundane speech and orthography, not noticeably, except in a few, now familiar, particulars, divergent from what can be evidenced from the dictionaries. Some longer documents which, along with the more or less contemporary Lha-sa official inscriptions, can be regarded as orthographically rather correct, though not impeccable, may here be cited in a note[1]). In contrast with such the Mss. are not only distinguished by unfamiliar terms and expressions, but also replete with irregular and inconsistent spellings: for some reason or other a like irregularity and inconsistency, though more restricted in kinds, appears in the Tun-huang Ms. of a Tibetan dynastic Chronicle, which can now be read in the edition, with translation, published by M. Jacques Bacot.

From the first the writing of Tibetan was aquipped by its inventor, Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, with an exact orthography, carefully expounded in two of his grammatical writings, *Sum-cu-pa* and *Rtags-ḫjug*, which down to modern times have been the basis of indigenous grammatical instruction and comment and have now been edited[2]): they furnish the rules of spelling stated in European Grammars of Tibetan. The irregularities occurring in the documents and Mss. cannot therefore be regarded as pre-orthographic: they must be due to liberty or laxity, resulting from the expanded employment of writing for ordinary purposes. The inference that they correspond to variations or uncertainties in actual pronunciation is in some instances inviting: how otherwise can we account for such writings as *bkaḫ-grims*, for °*khrims*, in the Chronicle (ed. p. 13, para. 6)? But clearly there are other considerations.

In the first place, only negligence can account for the caprice in the spellings *(lo)-cig/gcig/chig/gchig* 'year one', exemplified in almost every paragraph of the Chronicle, or for variant

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[1]) See, *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc*, II, pp. 8—10, 22—5, 73—81, 92—9, 363—5.

[2]) See S. C. Das, *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan language* (Darjeeling, 1915), Bacot, Jacques, *Une grammaire Tibétaine du Tibétain classique* (Paris, 1928).

spellings of Proper Names (e. g. *Chuṅ-(Cuṅ)-bzaṅ, Ga-cu/chu), Mer-ke/khe, Zoṅ-cu-daṅ-Thehu-chu/Zoṅ-chu-daṅ-Thehu-cu*), often occurring not far apart in the same single Ms. ?

It happens that the instances cited all exemplify the most frequent of the variations, viz. that between tenuis and aspirate consonants. A mass of them occurs in Verb-forms with Prefixes, such as *bchas, bthags, dphyaṅ, gchad*, for which the Grammar and the standard orthography require and use *bcas, btags, dpyaṅ, gcad*. It might be that the aspirate was really pronounced; and it can be argued that the original pronunciation was such; but, since the regular forms occur in the same contexts, it must be that such pronunciation was waning, and, in fact, it has not survived in any dialect. This opens the possibility that the aspirates, for which the Tibetan Verb mostly provides occasion in forms lacking the Prefixes *b, d, g*, have been imported by analogy. Then in the non-Verbal forms, such as *gchig, dphon*, for *gcig, dpon*, the analogy would have developed into mere option. This view, however, is hardly tenable.

The commonest other variations occur in the appending of Suffixes and other syntactical syllables. The proper choice of *ki(s), gi(s), kyi(s), gyi(s)*, of *tu, du*, of *ciṅ, śiṅ, ziṅ*, for instance, is expounded in the Grammars as depending upon the preceding consonant: the rules are, it may be said, never faithfully observed, the Lha-sa inscriptions being perhaps the most impeccable. In the circumstances it is not surprizing that practical scribes should have found the discriminations of form irksome and that there should be carelessness and even a tendency to use only one of the variant forms; as in the case of the Ms. Chronicle, which practically ignores the *k* variants of *gyi(s)*, and uses this in all situations, except in certain cases of compendia, e. g. *lugi, phagi* = *lug-gi, phag-gi*.

A third matter for consideration is the provenance of the Mss., all (as well as the Ms. Chronicle) procured from the Tun-huang library and probably written there. A feature of the alphabetic writings from Tun-huang, an old appurtenance of un-alphabetic China, is their wild caprice in spelling: this exhibits itself in Mss. in several languages, Sanskrit, Saka-Khotanī, Sogdian, Nam and even Chinese when transcribed in alphabets. Whatever the explanation, the circumstance complicates hopelessly any scrutiny of the spelling or phonology of the Ms. texts as being dialectical. The copious deviations in respect of aspirates and Suffixes are ubiquitous, occurring in documents from Khotan as well as from further east. Nor do we find the characteristics of any known dialect of later times. The Khams dialect, E. Tibetan, which on ground of proximity might invite comparison, is not apparent in any of its few known features[1]; and the *d*-Prefix, which it seems to lack, is, in fact, not rare in the texts. Of the palatalizations of the 'Eastern Colonial' dialects there is as yet no trace. Some few details can be paralleled from the north-east, and the massive correspondences of irregular spellings with the Ms. of the Nam language may after all be not entirely due to the caprice of Tun-huang scribes. But on the whole the language of the texts may be regarded as simply Tibetan folk-speech, establishing itself in the old Ch'iang districts of the north-east.

The features therefore which we shall now proceed to cite may be regarded as not so much linguistic as things noticeable, even when not unexampled elsewhere, in respect of spelling *cum* phonology (as a hardly discriminable complex), of morphology, and of syntax *cum* phraseology and idiom, and vocabulary, the last two items being perhaps the most characteristic.

1. *PUNCTUATION*

For the most part the punctuation of the Mss. accords with the usage of other old Tibetan writings, the (monosyllabic) words being separated by point, colon, or short vertical line (. , : , |), clauses, or merely word-groups or phrases, by a single vertical (|), sentences or

[1]) See Jaeschke, *Über die Phonetik der Tibetischen Sprache*, Berlin Academy *Monatsberichte*, 1867, pp. 148 sqq., *Linguistic Survey of India*, III. i, pp. 136 sqq.

lines of verse by a doubled vertical (||), and important divisions of matter by further doublings (|| ||), etc. As between the word-separating forms the choice is in each single Ms. mostly carried through: but there are occasional laxities, especially in the form of intermingling of point and colon. The case of Text IV is peculiar: at the point (1. 41) where, as noted, a new style and vocabulary (and a somewhat smaller script) commence, the system of word-punctuation also changes to that with colon, rarely and capriciously, as elsewhere, but not without occasional suspicion of intent, replaced by the single dot. These original punctuations have been, as not philologically or critically quite negligible, reproduced in the print, except in the case of Proper Names, where the substitution of hyphens will, it is hoped, be found to facilitate the understanding of the passages. As in all Tibetan Mss. and prints, there is not infrequent fluctuation in the appending of Suffixes and Particles, which sometimes are written as separate words and sometimes adjoined to the preceding word, forming dissyllables. Difficulty being thereby in some instances created, the following cases may be discriminated: —

(a) Separate writing without modification is seen e. g. in —
spyi-ḫo, rje-ḫo, ra-ḫi, nu-ḫis, dar-ḫi (IA. 91 etc.), *nam-ḫi, dṅar-te, phrad-de, phyag-tu, żib-du, bśos-na, de-ru, kha-le, sros-su, smrale* (IA. 14) *smral-la* (IV. 205).

(b) Separate writing with repetition of a final consonant —
bżud-do, yin-no, ḫtshal-lo, mchis-so.

(c) Separate writing with attraction of a final consonant —
laṅ-ste, gab-ste, bżag-ste, ṅal-lde, rdzog-sḫo, smon-to, dar-toḫ, ḫtshal-do.

With a resultant modification this is to be seen likewise in cases such as *tham-śad* from *thams-cad, ldag-śig, zo-śig,* from *ldags-cig, zos-cig*; and the like with doubling in *nams-śiṅ, bgres-śiṅ,* from *nams-sciṅ, bgres-sciṅ.*

(d) Conjunct writing, normal with Genitive *ḫi* after vowels and Instrumental *ḫis*, as in *taḫi, bcuḫi, khraḫis,* is also quite frequent otherwise, as in *phyiru, cheru, borte, thalde, bgyiste, ḫtshalo, bżago, gśegso, noṅsna.* Rarely even a trisyllable may eventuate, as in *spreḫuḫi.*

(e) Conjunct writing with simplification of a double consonant is frequent, as in *gchigi, gcigis, lugi, bcade, stodu, gludu, dusu, skyabsu.* But a like simplification occurs also in cases of non-conjunct writing, as in *sta-de, kho-de, bcu-ru* (VI. 49), and even at times in the appending of syllables other than Particles, as in *śe(d)-dag* (IV. 26 and elsewhere, e. g. in the Lha-sa inscriptions), *kho(n)-nan*: and here the reader is likely to be misled or at least puzzled. In later periods the Tibetan scribes were apt to revel in compendious writings, especially of Buddhist Proper Names and compound expressions.

A noticeable feature, specially characteristic of the group of Mss., but found also in a Ms. of the Nam language, is the actual disjunction of the Suffixes or Particles by strengthened punctuation, the clause-ending vertical, or even the doubled vertical, being used. Instances are —

IA. 13, | *pas*; 14, || *pas*; 39, || *na*, | *nah* ||; 43, || *te*; 50, | *du*; 48, | *nas*; 57, | *żiṅ*; 76, | *bas*; 125 ,| *ste.*
IB, 96, | *pa.*
II 6, | *na*; 20—1, | *nas* (both, however, at end of a line).
IV 126, | *kyi*; 106, | *na*; 149, | *du*; 195, | *pa*; 223, |:| *żig*, 265, | *de*; 280, | *do*; 300, | *kyis*; 340, | *cig*; 349, | *nas*; etc., etc.

This practice, which is very deceptive, may have sought primarily either (a) to mark off the Suffix or Particle (always extra-metrical) as not belonging to a preceding passage of verse (e. g. in IA 13, 14, 43, 57, 125) or (b) to indicate that it appertains to the preceding expression

or quotation as a whole, not to a single word. The Particle *na*, the most frequent in this use, acquires the appearance of a 'So' commencing a fresh sentence instead of being post-posited to the preceding.

2. PHONOLOGY AND SPELLING

2 (*a*) ***Vowels.***

Abnormal vowels are comparatively rare. — Such are —

a **for** ***o***: *rdzaṅ*, 'castle' (no doubt an old Ablaut-variant) IA, 15—9; *ltam-bka*, 'groove', = *ltoṅ-ka*, IB, 80—1.

— for *i* and *vice versa*: *sñiṅ-gyur* III 9, IV 10, 'become heart', sc. 'affectionate', perhaps due to confusion with *sñan*, 'dear' (but cf. 'Tangut' *śaṅ* = *śiṅ*, 'tree'), VI 129 *dar-sna* = *-sñi*, 'silk-string', in *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, II, pp. 398, n. 2, 441 : 26).

— for *e*: IA 131 *gża* = *gże*?

— for *u*: VI 43 *rgya* (= *rgyu*?) *-skar*.

i **for** ***e***: *stigs*, IA 10; *di-riṅ-saṅ*, 28 (= *de*, 28, 64, 99, 101), 28 *nis* (= *nas*?), 23 *śis* (= *żes*?); IB 10, *cis*, 43 *żim* (for *żes*?), 79 *żis*; IV, 316 *żis* (cf. *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.* II, pp. 92, n. 3, *mkhyind*, 93, n. 1, *Hgriṅ*, 95, n. 4, *skyims*); VI. 100 *gżi-non* (for *gże-niṅ*?).

i for u: IA, 15, 95 *gżi*, 'bow'.

u for *a*: IB 70, *hbrum* = *hgram*, ‚boundary' (IV, 127); VI, 58 *gnum* (*H*si-hsia *gnum*) = *gnam*, 'sky'?

— *i*: V, 9, 25, 34, *mu* = *mi*, 'man', cf. the district names *Mu* (*Mi*, *Me*)-*li*, *Mu* (*Mi*, *Me*, *Ma*)-*nia* (*Nam*, p. 367); IA, 36 *duṅ-saṅ* = *diṅ/deṅ*.

u **for** ***o***: IV, 189, *byul*.

e **for** ***i***: IB, 34, *sren*; IV 35, *che* (= *ci*); VI. 10, *ces-sga* = *chibs*(?)*-sga*, 'saddle'.

— *a*: VI, 75 *mye-*[*ṅa*]*m* = *mya-ṅam*, 'sand-desert'; *Rbeg* = *Rbag*, see p. 40.

ehu for *e*: See under Morphology, *p. 29*.

o lengthened to *oho*: III 25, *byo-hos*; IV 215 *so-ho*.

— for *a*: VI 9, *rṅo-rtsir* = *rṅa-rtsid*, 'tail-hair'.

— for *u*: IB, 33, 50 *Mye-kro* = °*kru*, 29, 58; IB, 82, *dro*, 'snare' = *dru*?; IV 70 etc. *sgya-sgyo* = *gya-gyu*, 'crooked'.

wa for *o*: VI 28, *twag-gis*?

-ye for *-e*: not only, as is usual, after labials (*mye* = *me*, *bye* = *be*), but in VI 7, *khye* = *khe*, *bgyegs* = *bgegs*.

The functional variations of vowels which occur in the Tibetan Verb must be considered under Morphology.

2 (*b*) *Consonants.*

Alternations of initial consonants, whether Prefixes or root-initials, being in Tibetan Verbs largely systematic and significant, whereas in other words they are casual or lexical, it is desirable to distinguish accordingly the abnormalities of the Mss. under the several heads.

A. Prefixes.

Here may be included not only the commonly recognized Prefixes, *g*, *d*, *b*, *m*, *h*, but also the earlier group, *r*, *l*, *s*, in normal Tibetan no longer definitely significant, but lexically preserved and previously, or even still dialectically, subject to alternation. Here we exclude the normal functional alternations of *g*, *d*, *b* and *h* in verbs, which will be considered under 'Morphology'.

The following are instances of Prefixes abnormally —

1. lacking:

(d)kar IV 302
(le-)rgyan VI 62
(li-)gon̓ IA 103
(b)rgyud IV 81
(m)k(h)os VI 101
khyo (skyo?) II 2
(l)chags IV 134
(g)ñer IA 125
(b)rtan IA 125, IV 134, 257 etc., VI 133
(m)tha IV 276
(h̲)thab-mo IA 104
(h̲)thabs IV 133, 135
(h̲)dron IV 279
(r)non IV 283—4
(d)ban̓ IA 125
(h̲)bab IA 39
byan̓ = spyan̓ IV 203
(h̲)bran̓ IA 25, 28, 106
(h̲)brin̓ IV 91, 93
(b)tsun, tshun IA 48, B. 67, 94, IV 340
(m)tshuns V 28
żug = mjug IV 143
(b)za IB 96
(s)lud III 25
(g)sar III 11
(rt)se IA 31, 125

Verbs:

(br)gyus IB 11
(b)rjed III 1, 2, 30
b(r)duns IA 15
(m)tshol = mdzol IV 191
(b)żugs IV 35, 36, VI 52
(bor)-lag(rlag) VIII*, 30*, 42 etc.

2. superfluous:

lgo, lko (= ko) IA 116, 118
dñan III 4, IV 8, 20, V 10
rñu (= nu) V 17
gñi (= ñi) IA 104
rten (= then) IV 350
snor (= nor) IA 7
dpan (= phan) IV 120
h̲pan (= phan) IV 64
h̲ban̓ (= ban̓) IB 18
h̲bal (= bal) IV 18
h̲byam IB 31
rma II 13
rman̓ IV 315, 330, 348 etc.
gsan̓ IA 39

H̲ inserted in compound or phrase after terminal nasal in prior member:
IB 32—3 etc. *tsen̓-h̲gi*, 28 *byin̓-h̲gi*, 42 *h̲byan-h̲gi*, 48, 53 etc. *span̓-h̲gi*, 48, 55, 61 *cun̓-h̲gi*, 59 *h̲byam-h̲gi*, 70 *dgun̓-h̲gi*, 4,102 *h̲om-h̲bu*.
III 6, 15, 16, 21 etc. *skyin-h̲dan̓-h̲bab*
V 39 *gcam-h̲bu*
VI 80, 81 *sen̓-h̲ge*.

3. varied:

dkyu (skyu) IA 29
bgo (mgo) IV 142
h̲go (mgo, bgo, bsgo) III 2, V II, VI 58, 75 etc.
rgum (dgu) IV 239
lgo (mgo) IB 30
sgyan (rgyan) IV 227
brgo-rpyi (sgo-phyi?) IV 145
sñi (rñi) IB 83—4, II 18—21
sdog (rdog) VI 129
bnah̲ (mnah̲) IV 23
snam (rnam) IA 53, 57 etc., BI
lpar (spar) V 38
plan? (rlan) IV 347
rman (sman) IA 39
btsal (rtsal) IV 304
rtsan̓ (stsan̓) IB 23—4
rla IV 67, 68, etc., *brla* IV 54, 56, 59 etc.
gla IV 79, 85 etc., *rlan* IV 67, *(bla)* IV 50
sla (zla) III 30

Verbs:

lkhag (h̲khog) IB 11
mchig (h̲jig) IV 243
bñan (ñan, mñan, sñan) IV 15—6
rñil (sñil) IV 51, 274
rñen, rżen (mñen) IV 231
gtol (rtol) VI 81
h̲dir (ldir) IV 210
h̲dris IB 14
ldam (h̲dam) IV 72
rtsas (btsas) V 10
rlad IV 204

B: Root consonants

I: Initial

(a) *Tenuis* in place of aspirate —

1. independently:

ke, kye IV 137, 170, 249, 252, 255
kos (*mkhos, h̲khos*) VI 101
cog IV 251
ta IA 9
pa IV 85, 127 etc.
pań IV 43
pań, puń IA 56
pan IV 106, 114, 138, 152 etc.
par II 9
pal IV 144
pas IV 222
pu IA 53, 57 etc., IV 119, 175—8 etc.
puń IV 38
pud IV 134
pul IA 128, VI 73
pus IV 181
po IV 47, 143, 156
pon IV 56, 113
pwa IV 292, 297 (*phwa* 293)
pya IV 47, 87 etc.
pyag IV 125, 218, etc.
pyab IV 225, 306, 308
pyi IA 3, 10, etc., IV 17, 19, 81, etc.
pyir IV 196
pyug IV 18, 69, 110
pyed IV 214;
pyod IA 40
pra IA 30, IV 246
praṅ IV 331
tsa IV 25, 315, 320
tsoṅ VI 2
Verbs
ten IV 276, 350
toṅs VI 105
pań IV 43
pub IV 168
pog IV 205
poṅs IA 110
pyuṅ IA 112
pye IV 36, 39
pyod IV 279
tsom IV 189

2. in posterior member of compound:

-ka IB 44, VI 97
-cab IV 272
-cu IB 28
-pan, -pańs IV 106, 152, 154—5 etc.
-puń IA 56, VI 27
-pyag IV 311
-pyań IV 221—2
-pyi IA 56
-pyir IV 17, 19, etc.
-pyuń IA 128
-pye IV 38
-pran IV 300—1

3. after Prefix:

mkar IV 114
h̲poń IA 15, 95
h̲pyi IA 65—6
h̲pra IV 118
h̲praṅ IV 82—5, 87, 222
h̲pral IV 207—9
mtso VI 106

Verbs:
h̲cel IV 219
h̲pańs IV 201—2, 204—5, 208
h̲par IV 243
h̲poṅs IA 95
h̲tsal IV 95, 285, 288, 296

The high proportion here of cases of *p/ph* may be due in part toim perfect discrimination in the more cursive script.

(b) *Tenuis* in place of *media* —

1. independently:

kar IB 90
klud IV 350—1

ti (de) IB 41
pu IA 57, etc., IV 214, 226
pya IV 94—5, 270
pyaṅ IA 63, 108

2. in posterior member of compound:
-tir IB 70; *-pu* IA 29, IV 279; *-pyam* IA 61, 67, 69, 79.

Verbs:
ted IB 36
pul IV 257
por V 15
pyor IA 93
tsom IV 189 (*ḫdzom*)

3. after Prefix:
dku IV 325, 341, 344, 346
skur IV 156, 172 etc.
skya-skyo IV 104
gtaṅ IA 56, IV 159
gtuṅ (= *gduṅ*? *gtum*? *gtug*?) VI 53
ltaṅ IA 91
ltam IA 105
staṅ IA 114—5, 119
stad (= *sdaṅ*?) VI 96
stig IA 7, 8, 11
stiṅ (*sdig*) IA 8
stug IB 78, VI 56, 101
dpye IV 186—7
sprańs(?) IV 249, 252
sprul V 24
Verbs:
rkad IV 352
bskrags V 22
spyar IV 32
pyuṅ IV 232
spyon IV 61, 86—7
bsod IV 134
gtsad) (= *mdzad*) VI 46

(c) Aspirate in place of *tenuis* —

1. independently:
khyaṅ IA 15—8
khlum IV 311
chi IA 110
chig IA 17, 89
che (*ci*) IV 35
ches IV 139
phla IV 231 (*pla* 233)

2. in posterior member of compound or Suffix:
-mkhar IV 105 (-kar)
-chad III 16
-chan III 3, IV 2
-chig III 19, 24
-chog IB 11, 12 etc., IV 22 etc.
-chor III 48—9
-pho IV 131
-tshun IA 44, 60, 63, B 67
Verb:
-phrom II 30

3. after Prefix:
bkhra IA 88, 107
rkhyaṅ IA 85, 87, 91
skho II 26
gchan IV 269
gchig IA 30, II 10
gchuṅ IV 277
gchen IA 50, 53
bchad IA 103
bchud IA 9
bchu IA 1—3
lchags IV 124, 127, 219
lcham IV 182
lchog(?) IV 238
gthod(?) IV 132
dphan IA 123
dphyaṅ IB 86
dphyaḫ III 50
gtshug IV 78—9, 83
btshan IA 16

Verbs: see under "Morphology".

(d) Aspirate in place of *media* —

1. independently:
khlud IV 298
chags (= *ljags*) IV 219

mchiṅ IA 115
phu II 18
pho IB 59
phyin IA 4
Verb:
tshol (= *mdzol*) IV 191

2. in posterior member of compound: *-phyam* IA 114.

3. after Prefix: Verb: *mtshol* V 17.

(e) *Media* in place of *tenuis* —

1. independently:
gar IV 264; *gun* IA 30—1, IV 141; *go* II 27; *gyaṅ* IA 64; *ji* II 27, III 2, 9, 35.

2. in posterior member of compound: *-bgra* IA 117; *-gar* IV 117.

3. after Prefix:
dgar IB 17
dgor IA 9
rgaṅ IV 45
rgun, *rgus* IV 54, 266
rgub VI 51
lgo IA 116
sgyugs (271 *skyug*) IV 167
gjen IB 32
ljam IV 184—5, 193—4, 198
lda IA 99, 101
ldag IA 115, IV 134
sdaṅ IV 270
h̲braṅ IV 228
byaṅ (for *spyaṅ*?) IV 203
sbyis III 21
Verbs:
bgram IB 4
bgri IV 310, 316, 322
bsgams IA 45
lda IA 99, 101
bsdod IV 8
sbyaṅs IA 109

(f) *Media* in place of aspirate —

1. independently:
ban IA 116, 119; *byi* IA 5.

2. in posterior member of compound:
-gaṅ IV 115; *-dog* II 25 (*thog* 28); *boṅ* IV 269.

3. after Prefix:
Verbs: *h̲gor* IV 174, 199?; *h̲jel* IV 237.
mdzoṅ (*mtshon*) IA 112

(g) Confusion between *c/ch/j* and *ts/tsh/dz* —

1. independently:
tses (*ces*) IV 19.

2. in posterior member of compound:
-tsug IV 253
-tse IV 328 (*ce* 327)
-tso/tsho IV 122—3, 126, 135 etc.
-tsog IV 198
-chog/-tshog IV 107, 248, 251 etc.

3. after Prefix:
mjol IB 82, 84
h̲jaṅs III 19, 36
rjis IA 68
rjud V 46
rdze IA 104
h̲ches VI 6

(h) Nasals —

Confusion of *ṅ* and *n* may be seen in —
-ṅa (for *na* after *n*) IA 6—7
-ṅa (for *na* after *ṃ/ṅ*) II 21

rna (for *rṅa*) IA 9 *h̲rṅa* (*rṅe*) IV 53
rṅu (for *nu*?) V 17

(i) Sibilants —

1. *ś* for *s* in *bśos* (= *sos*, *bsos*, from *h̲tsho*) IA 72, 101, 104, IV 42—3, 236, 306[1])
bśan-bu (*bsaṅ*) IB 89.
ś from *s-c* in posterior number of compound:
tham-śad IV 175, VI 6, 46, 63; *sem-śan* VI 156.
Cf. *ñi-śu*, '20' and the cases with *śig*, *źig*, *śiṅ*, *źiṅ*, *infra* (*p. 25—6, 53*).
— — *s*-y: *Rtsaṅ-śul*, *Gnubs-śul*, IV 291, 299.
2. *s* for *z* in *sla* III 30, VI 97, 128; *slogs* VI 36.
z for *s*: *zil*(?) IA 14, 22.

(j) Insertion of *y* between a consonant and a following vowel —

1. After a labial preceding *e* or *i*: *passim*, e. g. *mye* V 14.
2. Elsewhere: e. g. *khye* = *khe* VI 7, *bgyegs* VI 3*, 7
gśyegs = *gśegs*; *hyin* = *hin* IV 120.

(k) Miscellaneous: —

1. *khy* for *tsh* (as in Khams dialect): *khyod* V 23.
2. *the* for *khe*: IV 121.
3. *g/b*, *g/d*:
gyuṅ (= *byuṅ* 142) IV 172 *h̲brum* (*h̲gram* IB 70) IV 127
h̲gri (= *h̲bri*) VI 57, 65, 146, 161 *bsbul* (*bsgul*) V 37
sgyugs (*skyug*) IV 271 (= *phyugs*) IV 167 *h̲drim* (*h̲grim*) VI 18
sgrin (*sbrin* 88) VI 85
4. *h̲drog* (*h̲brog*) in *ye*(*yen*)-*h̲drog* III 36, VI 42
5. *bla* appears as *gla* IV 49, as *rla*, IV 67, 68, 69 etc., as *brla* II 27, IV 54, 55, 60 etc.
6. *w* absent in *phy*(*w*)*a* IA 26, *yi-d*(*w*)*ags* V 26; for *b* in *brag-hwod* IV 267.
7. *ri* for *dri* IV 287.
8. *ña* for *lha* (miswriting?) IV 336, 347; *lta* for *lha* VI 57.
9. *rźen* for *mñen* IV 231; *gźug*/*źug* for *mjug* IA 37, IV 143.
10. *se* for *rtse* IA 31.
11. *dbyal* for *dbral*(?) IB 97.
12. *mye-co* IV 240 = *ne-tsho* 123 etc.

[*2* (*b*), B: Root consonants] *II*: Final

1. *-g/-b*, *-g/-ṅ*, *-g/-n-*
cig (*cib*?) *-cib* IA 68, *p*(*h*)*yab* IV 226, 306, 308 (*p*(*h*)*yag* 224), *sog* IV 275, *lhab* IA 1.
cig (*ciṅ*) II 10, *stiṅ* (*sdig*) IA 8, *h̲thug* (*h̲thuṅ*) IB 40. *h̲thugs* IB 50, *naṅ* IB 77 (*nag* 34), *mogs* VI 75, *zugs* (*zuṅs*?) IV 268, VI 123.
naṅ IB 69(?), *nag* IV 116 (*nan* 152, 174, 183).
2. *-d/-t* (the *drag*), commonly appended to Verb- and quasi-Verb-, forms, usually Preterite-Aorist, in *n*, *r*, *l* (e. g. *bkrald*, *mjal-do*, *gyond*, *rtol-to*, *thalde*, *rhald*, *stsald*), occurs also in forms not primarily Verbal, *ṅan-to* IV 5 ('is bad'), *dmard* IA 15 ('was red'), *Rgya-gard* IV 160 ('India').
-d/-n: *khrin* IB 21, *ljod* (*h̲jon*) IV 90, *srad* (*sran*) IV 59 etc.

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[1]) Elsewhere (I A 40, B 31, II, 16, etc.) *bśos* has its usual meanings, (a) copulari, (b) victuals.

3. Nasals: *-ṅ* for *-n*, perhaps in most cases due to a lost *-s*, *-ns* having first become *-ṅs*, is seen in —
staṅ/steṅ IV 103, 109, 167, 271, *byoṅ* IV 44, *braṅ/h̲braṅ* (= *bran*) IA 25, 28, 106, *mdzoṅ* (*mtshon*) IA 112—3, *zoṅ* II 9, *rlaṅ-rliṅ* IV 219, 236.

-n for *-ṅ* may be original in —
h̲on IB 3—6, *man* IB 53, *zun* IB 83, *ron* IA 41, 51 etc.
Žin in IB 65—6, *zin* in VI 152 are doubtful.

-n/-ṅ are lacking in *dgu(ṅ)* IV 269, *h̲dre(n)* IB 80—1, IV 19 etc.

-m is curious in —
rgum (*dgu*) IV 239, *dgum* IV 228, *drum* (*druṅ*) IV 141, 154, 168, 205, 263, *gsum* (*gsuṅ*) II 21.
Also *-n* for *-m* in *h̲byan* IB 42. In *sen-rum* (*se-ru*) IB 4 *-m* is superfluous.

4. *h̲*, as an appendage to final vowels, is noticed by Thon-mi-Sambhoṭa; but Tibetan orthography retains it only in a limited class of cases with the vowel *a*. It is found not infrequently, but irregularly, in Documents and in the Texts, being in both occasionally used even before a final consonant. Examples in the Texts are —

skuh̲ III 30	*teh̲* III 20, 36—7	*buh̲* III 15
h̲groh̲ III 37	*toh̲* III 33—4	*mah̲* III 39
sgoh̲ IV 175	*doh̲* III 18, 21	*rtsih̲* IV 176
brgyah̲(s) III 37, 46	*h̲dah̲s* II 9, III 48, IV 208	*mtshoh̲* III 46
ṅoh̲ III 26, 37, 41	*h̲dih̲* III 18, 38—9	*yuh̲m* IB 63
h̲jih̲ III 36	*h̲dreh̲* III 3	*hoh̲* III 38

The notion, mentioned in *Nam*, pp. 123—4, that the writing may represent a pronunciation similar to the pronunciation of *-ah̲*, *-ih̲*, etc., as *-aha*, *-ihi*, etc., by the Sanskrit paṇḍits of India, would receive some support from the vowel duplications noted in the modern Tangut (Koko-nor Tibetan) dialect[1]), and also from the analogous writing of *-h̲* in the Nam language, where, however, if the vowel is other than *a*, *-h̲i/-h̲u/-h̲e/-h̲o*, and not merely *-h̲*, are written. Omission of the *-h̲*, where normal Tibetan retains it, is seen in occasional forms such as *bka(h̲)*, *mtha(h̲)*.

5. *-r* is replaced by *-l* in *dbyal* IB 2, 101.

6. *-s*. On *-s* as functional, after vowels and consonants alike, in the Tibetan Verb see *infra*, under 'Morphology'. But there are also many Verbs in which *-s* counts as belonging to the root, e. g. *nus*, *śes*, *thos*, *lags*, *h̲jigs*, *slebs*; and likewise there are many Nominal forms with *-s*, such as *chos*, *dus*, *h̲bras*, *ñes*, *h̲phags*, *gzigs*, *thugs*, *rigs*, *legs*, *rogs*, *skabs*, *mchims*, *mtshuṅs*. Though in some instances alternative forms are recognized, e. g. *riṅ*, 'long', and *riṅs*, 'haste', *ri-mo*, 'drawing', *ris*, 'line', or 'outline', and in others an *-s-* form may occasionally appear, and though the final *-s* is now not pronounced after consonants or vowels, the orthography is fairly constant, and divergences are casual. The deverbal origin of the *-s* in the Nominal forms is not obvious or recognized, and it cannot universally be taken for granted. It seems probable, and in some cases, e. g. that of final *-n/-ṅ*, provable, that in general the *-s-* forms were the more original and that their large numbers have been reduced through non-pronunciation. In the Texts the *-s* is often abnormally —

(a) present:

cuṅs, *chuṅs*, 'small', IA 51, B 33, II 1,
steṅs (= *sten*), IA 59, IV 80—1
dags, 'pure', IA 12, 34 etc., B 1, 5, 98, IV 46, 281
rdzis = *rdziṅ*, 'pond', V 26
gźis(?) IB 100, 191, etc.
gzuṅs, 'government', V 13,
bzaṅs, IV 91, 159, etc., VI 4, 18, etc.

[1]) See Prejevalski, *Mongolia*, (trans. Morgan), II, p. 112.

bruṅs (*brun*, 'dirt'), IB 64, 93, II 24, 27
maṅs (= *maṅ*, IV 146, 150, VI 49, 86 (also sometimes in normal Tibetan)
rags, 'compliant', III 36
riṅs, 'long', IB 44, IV 130, 191
sris V 17.

(b) absent:
skyem, IB 90, 95 (elsewhere *skyems*)
lcog, IB 59 (*lcogs* 34, 49, 75)
lcag, VI 10
chag, 'attached', IA 26
ñam, IA 29
ltoṅ, 'height', IB 99
mthuṅ, 'equal' (= *mthun*), V 4
ri-dag, VI 11
bdag, 'bright', IV 175 (*bdags* 46)
h̲dog (*dogs*) IV 30
phyug, 'cattle', IV 69, 110
rog, IB 6
sem, VI 141
srib, 'darkness', IV 185.

2 A. SANDHI-MODIFICATIONS OF PARTICLES AND SUFFIXES

As Particles may be recognized those words which, not being formative elements of particular expressions, function interjectionally or syntactically in the interior, or at the end, of clauses or sentences: the formatives appended in Declension and in the Verb may be regarded as Suffixes. *Ni*, 'discriminative', and *kyaṅ*, 'even', 'though', 'also', can occur in the interior, *te*, *ciṅ*, *na*, etc., only at the ends, of clauses, *-o* only at the ends of sentences. Some of the words, e. g. *na*, *nas*, *kyi*, *las*, are used both as clause-terminating Particles and as Suffixes. Variations in the writing of the Particles and Suffixes, so far as they are presumably matters of punctuation or orthography simply, have been exemplified *supra* and may at this point be ignored; but in some cases there are rules of phonetic adaptation to the preceding word, and the degree of conformity shown by the Mss. is matter for consideration. Some of the Particles and Suffixes, viz. *ni*, *na/nas*, *la/las*, are phonologically invariable and unrestricted. In regard to the others the rules for variation, as stated by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, are in some instances complicated; and it is intelligible that in practical or popular writings there should be numerous, or wholesale, deviations or disregard of the rules. In the Mss. the noticeable peculiarities are as follows: —

(*a*) *Particles* —

1. *kyaṅ/yaṅ/h̲aṅ*; *kyaṅ* to follow *-g*, *-d*, *-b* and *d* (drag);
   yaṅ to follow *-ṅ*, *-n*, *-m*, *-r*, *-l*, and, in verses, vowels;
   h̲aṅ to follow vowels. The Mss. have —
   -n-kyaṅ, IA 63—4, B 15, 20; *-n-gyaṅ*, IA 63—4, IB 18.
   -s-khyaṅ IA 15—8; *bsu-yaṅ*, *bskyaṅ-yaṅ* IV 195.

2. *ces/żes/śes*: *ces* after *-g*, *-d*, *-b*, and *d* (drag); *żes* after *-ṅ*, *-n*, *-m*, *-r*, *-l*, and vowels; *śes* after *s*. Mss. irregularly —
   -g-ches, IA 66, 90, 95, 107, IV 138; *-d-ches*, IA 62; *-g-tses*, IV 19; *-n-ces*, IV 9; *-b-żes*, V 12; *-g* (for *gs*) *-śes*, IV 184.

3. *cig/chig/jig/śig* — rules as for *ces*.
   cig: *-n-cig*, IB 3—6, 83, 101—3, II 8.
   chig: *-g-chig*, IA 17; *-d-chig* IA 130; *-n-chig* IA 131, III 25, 29; *-r-chig* IA 89.
   jig: *-d-jig*, III 12, 13, 25, 29, 30, 38; *-n-jig*, III 18, 38; *-ṅ* (error ?) *-jig* III. 17.
   śig: *-s-(s)* IA 23, 65, 116, IB 84, III 24—5, 28, 35; *-gs-(g)s-* IA 23, 116, 117, 130, IB 101; *-ṅs/-ṅ(s)* IA 65, 90, 95, IB 101, 39, 46.
   Cases with *-cig* = *gcig*, 'one', are *dbog-chig*, IA 17; *re-śig* IA 69, 120, IB 69, II 17; *rjes-śig* IV 212—3.

4. *ciṅ/jiṅ/żiṅ/śiṅ*; rules as for *ces* etc.: Mss. —
   -n-ciṅ, IB 2, 26; *-r-ciṅ*, IB 26; *-l-ciṅ*, IB 2; *-b-chiṅ*, III 33; *-g-jiṅ*, III 44, IV 4; *-d-jiṅ*, III 12, 13, 32; *-n-jiṅ*, III 22; *-l-jiṅ*, IV 233; *bskyabs-żiṅ*, VI 158; *sdus-żiṅ*, VI 102.

5. *te/ste/de*; *te* after *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, *-d* (drag), and *-s*; *ste* after vowels and *-g*, *-ṅ*, *-b*, *-m*, *-h̲*; *de* after *-d*. It seems clear, however, that in *ste* the *s* is in reality attracted from the preceding vowel as pointed out *supra* in connection with Punctuation: this seems to be proved by the circumstance that *-g*, *-ṅ*, *-b*, *-m*, and *-h̲* are the final consonants which can have an appended *-s*, and *-r*, *-l*, *-d*, and *-s* those which cannot. Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's rule indicates that in his time the *-s* in those combinations was not heard; but its actuality where its occurrence can be justified is evident from the writing, which in innumerable words preserves it without dependence upon a following *-te*, down to present times. The occurrences in the Mss., where the *ste* is written sometimes conjunct, as in *babste*, sometimes as in *bab-ste*, sometimes with division as in *srabs-te*, are all instances of independently requisite, or justifiable, *-s*, with functional signification (see *infra*): they are —

khums-te IB 42	*drańste* III 44
gab-ste IB 93	*drań-ste* III 44
groṅs-te VI 48	*bdub-ste* IA 121
dge(s)-ste III 42	*h̲pańs-te* IV 207
bgug-ste IV 293	*phyuṅ-ste* IA 48, II 20
bgriṅs-te IA 66	*babste* II 18, III 3, 20—1, 28
bcab-ste II 28	*bab-ste* III 6, 39, VI 11, 20 etc.
bcug-ste IB 68, 87	*byas-ste* IV 20
bchibste IA 105	*byuṅ-ste* II 28, III 48
sñam-ste II 12	*sbogste* IA 127
sñegs-te IV 207	*mosste* VI 44
sñoms-te III 26	*bżag-ste* IB 31, 37, etc.
btub-ste II 24	*bżab-ste* II 12
mthoṅ-ste IV 95	*bzuṅs-te* III 19
h̲thabste III 51	*bzuṅ-ste* IV 30
dub-ste VI 38	*laṅ-ste* IA 121
h̲dah̲s-te/h̲das-te IV 207—8, 211	*srabs-te* IA 89, 93
	bsagste IA 125.

In no. VI, which in several points diverges from the other texts, there are in addition to *mosste* VI 44 and cases of *-ste* after vowels (*che-ste* VI 64, *mtho-ste* IV 206, *dge-ste*, *h̲dra-ste* VI 63, 110), as allowed by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, irregularities with *d* and *r*, viz. —

bskor-ste VI 132; *myed-ste* VI 66; *bżed-ste* VI 108.

For all these no brief explanation is at hand. In the other texts there are cases of *te* in place of *ste*, viz. —

bkab-te IA 108; *ltam-te* IA 41; *ltoṅ-te* IB 29, 33 etc. (*-de*) 74);
brtag-te IB 63; *h̲briṅ-te* II 17; *babte* III 14

in some at least of which the *-s* is grammatically not appropriate.

It will be noted that the Verbal *-s* occurs regularly also with the Suffix *-na*, where there is no question of a *-sna*, and also with other Suffixes.

Compendious writing with *-de* is instanced in *kho(d)-de* IB 6, *bcade* IV 285, and *-de* for *-te* in *brnal-de* IB 37, *Ltoṅ-de* IB 74, *thalde* III 19, *h̲tsalde* IV 224. The same is seen in *dbru-le* = *dbrul-le* IB 6, and *smra-le* = *smral-le* IA 14, *smral-la* IV 205, and the reverse in Nam *Ṅal-lde* = °*de*.

(*b*) *Suffixes*

1. *ḫi/yi/kyi/ki/gyi/gi*: *ḫi* (in verse also *yi*) after vowels, *kyi* after *d* (also *d-drag*), *b* and *s*, *gyi* after *n*, *m*, *r*, *l*, *gi* after *g*, *ṅ*. For *ḫis/yis/kyis/gyis/gis* the same rules; but after vowels *-s* simple also is used.

   Irregularities in the Mss. —

   ḫi(s) after *ṅ*, *m*, *r*: *-ṅ-ḫi* IA 128, *-m-ḫi* IB 29, *-r-ḫi* IA 91, 98, 113, 119.

   ki/gi for *kyi/gyi* and *gyi* for *gi* are so frequent and irregular that casual citations may suffice —

   ki/kyi for *gyi*: *-n-kyi* IV 98, 103, 144, 216, 288, *-m-kyi* IV 93, 126 etc., *-r-ki* IB 71—2, *-l-ki* IB 95, *-l-kyi* IV 124, 146, 184 etc., V 39, *-s-ki*.

   — for *gi*; *-g-kyi* IV 104, 118 etc., *-g-ki* IB 1, 8, 21 etc., *-ṅ-kyi* IV 82, 83, 94, 127 etc., VI 114, 132, 160.

   gi/gyi for *kyi*; *-d-gyi* IA 24, 108—9 etc., IB 30, II 2, 7, V 36, 44, VI 20, 58, 92 etc., *-d-gi* IB 47, 51, *-b-gyi* IB 18, 20, II 15, 16, VI 74, 129, *-s-gyi* IA 96, 105 etc., IB 16, 18, II 9, 10, 24 etc., III 40, 51, V 11, 35, VI 27, 74, 86, 152 etc., *-s-gi* II 24, VI 152.

   — *gyi* for *gi*; *-g-gyi* IA 99, 123 etc., IV 101, 311, V 11, 31, 37, VI 142, *-ṅ-gyi* IA 41, IV 92, 203, V 33, VI 9, 86, 95 etc.

   — for *yi*: *śi-gyis* V 21.

   — *gi* for *gyi*: *-n-gi* IV 2, *-m-gi* IB 30,32, 41, *-r-gi* IB 69, 78, 80, 87, 94, *-l-gi* IB 72.

   Compendious forms are instanced in *lugi* II 7, *żigi* III 46, *gchigi*, *gcigis* III 32, 38, *chigyis* V 22; and *-s* simple, as equivalent to *ḫis/kyis* etc., in *khyis* IA 94, *phywas* IA 63, *bkras* IA 78.

   There seems to be a marked tendency to generalize the *g-* forms which, in the Ms. *Chronicle* also are prevalent.

2. *tu/du*: *tu* after *g*, *n*, *b* and *d* (*drag*); *du* after *ṅ*, *d*, *m*, *r*, *l*. In the Mss. and elsewhere *tu* and *du* are often hardly distinguishable: *d-du* is prevalently written compendiously as *du* e. g. in *skadu* IB 47 etc., *stodu* IA 15, 17, *ridu* IB 9, *gludu* IV 290, 298 etc. (*glud-du* 312, 323 etc.). Irregularities: *-g-du* IA 14, 21, 102, B 20, 23, 31—2, 80, II 10, IV 43; *-b-du* IV 101, 137, III 8, 39; *-n-du* in IB 35.

   A composite form *-du-na* occurs in the phrase *skad-du-na* IB 29, II 14—5.

3. *r/ru* after vowels, the *ru* being written either conjunct or as a separate syllable. The Mss. have also a composite form *r-ru*, and, where the *r* belongs to the preceding word, it is sometimes omitted, giving cause for misapprehension.

   Examples —

   yar-ru IV 3, VI 43; *bcu*[*r*]*-ru* V 36, VI 49; *bdar*[*-r*]*u* II 29; *śa*[*r-*]*ru* VI 149.

   The Locative-Terminative in *-r* simply is instanced in *gar* IB 95, *dgur* III 4, IV 6, *dgrar* V 22, *mthar* IB 13, *phyir* IA 1, 7, 8 etc., *dmer* V 25, *śir* IB 10, *slar* II 26.

4. *su* used only after *-s*, the *s-su* being often, as in *dusu*, *skyabsu*, written as *su* only. Examples —

skyabsu IA 23	*tsugsu* IV 192
khabsu IV 287	*tshigsu* IV 46
ñamsu V 10	*g-yasu* IA 112, IV 257
dagsu IB 25	*rasu* IA 116, 118
dusu III 30	*legsu* III 21, 30
ldeb(s)-su VI 44	*ḫdzaṅ(s)-su* IV 35
sbubsu IV 46	*gzugsu* IV 61, 76, 110

gzuṅsu III 19, 22
yuṅsu IV 281
brasu IV 281
sros-su IB 64
bsobsu IB 1
lhumsu IB 24—5

Irregular, in as much as no *-s* precedes, are *go[ṅ]su* IA 106; *g-yo[n]su* IV 258 (cf. *Tib. Lit. Texts and Documents*, II 354: 37. 2).

5. The pluralizing Noun-suffixes *-cag*, *-o-cog* appear sometimes as *-chag*, *-o-chog* (instances *infra*, *p. 40*) and the *quasi-* suffixes *-can* and *-cad* as *-chan* and *-chad* (*p. 37*), and after *-s* as *-śan* (*sems-śan* VI 156), *tham-śad* IV 182, 185.

3. MORPHOLOGY

(a) Nominal

Like every other language, the Tibetan has words, such as *pha*, 'father', *mi*, 'man', *mig*, 'eye', *sa*, 'earth', *khyi*, 'dog', *śi*, 'die', *raṅ*, 'self', which are simply names without any obvious linguistic formative. It has also many words, such as *rluṅ*, 'wind', *bzaṅ*, 'fine', *gnam*, 'sky', *skar*, 'star', *mgo*, 'head', in which, as in English 'river', 'month', etc., a formative is etymologically traceable or probable, but not apparent. In other cases, e. g. *skyes*, 'man' (*vir*) *dmigs*, 'appearance', *khab*, 'house', a derivation can hardly have been out of mind: and these lead on to the large class of words patently deverbal. In the Verb morphological changes functioned normally; and this has a bearing upon the discrimination of regular and divergent forms. Irregularities in respect of words not etymologically transparent are likely in general, though casual effects of folk-etymologizing and obscure classification can never be excluded, to be phonological and reflect simply pronunciations; whereas changes in functionally living elements may be due to conscious or habitual options. This gives a different value on the whole to variations in the Prefixes of Verb-forms, where alternation in certain cases was normal, and in those of Nouns, where a morphological element, once incorporated, would be less exposed to substitution: thus certain instances, from Central Asia, of Prefix *s* alternating with Prefix *g*, e. g. *sña* = *gña*, 'witness', while they can hardly be phonetical, are also unlikely to be due to mere substitution. It is therefore probable that the difference is dialectical, going back to the period of the original formation of the word, a view for which support is adducible. In such cases as *mdzaṅs/ḫdzaṅs*, 'wise', on the other hand, a like inference is invalid, the word being probably deverbal, perhaps = *bzaṅ*, and the alternation of the Prefixes *m/ḫ* being familiar in connection with Verb-roots and in thence derived nominal forms.

It is accordingly not practicable in regard to Nominal words in ordinary Tibetan to recognize alternations of Prefixes as having a functional living significance: and the like applies to alternations in root-vowels and in respect of the sole detectable suffixes *d*, *-n* and *-s*. These forms should be treated as merely lexical, and their alternations, where not dialectical, as in general phonetical.

A. Formatives and Suffixes

Independent formatives, in the shape of syllabic Suffixes other than flectional, are in Tibetan not numerous, if we disregard such appended syllables as *can*, *ldan*, *mkhan*, *tsho*, *ra/ro*, *sa/so*, which are really independent words forming compounds and only on the way to becoming Suffixes.

In these circumstances many of the peculiarities of nominal forms have been cited under the head of phonology and spelling: some others call for mention *infra*, under Syntax. Here note may be taken of the following: —

1. A few Nouns ending in vowels append *-s*, viz. *gźis* (written *gźibs*) IB 100 (known also in normal Tibetan), *sris* V 17, *rdzis* (= *rdziṅ*) V 26. It may be that the frequent *ḫdra-ste* points to *ḫdras* also: so also *che-ste*. The may instances of a similar *-s* present or absent

after consonants, in which case its absence can always be regarded as phonetical (e. g. in *mańs* = *mań*, 'many', 'great'), suggest that the phenomenon was a survival, the-*s*- forms, whether identical with the -*s* of Verb-forms or different, having been frequent in early times. In normal Tibetan analogous-*s*- forms after vowels are in some instances familiar, e. g. *chos*, 'religion' etc., *res*, 'turn', 'time', *yus*, 'plea', *ris*, 'drawing', *rtsis*, 'count', *rtsas*, 'harvest', *ñes*, 'evil', 'offence', *sras*, 'offspring'; and often a Verbal origin is clear.

2. The so-called Diminutive forms in -*eḫu*[1]) from words in -*a* or -*o* are favoured: examples — *rteḫu* VI 96, *lgeḫu* (*lgo*, *lko*) V 37, *theḫu-rań* (*tho*°) VI 70, *mdeḫu* IA 15 (also in Documents), *neḫu* (cf. *na-ga*, *na-gu*, *ne*) VI 32, 113, *leḫu/la*, 'a pass') IV 207—8, *beḫu* IA 19, *byeḫu* IB 67, 94, II 8, 10, 19 etc.

3. -*eḫu* is likewise used as alternative to -*e* in —
   khyeḫu, 'child', IB 43, VI 160, *dgeḫu* IV 43, *deḫu* V 157, *ldeḫu* (as in the name of the king Khri-sroń Lde/Ldeḫu-brtsan) II 14—5, *dreḫu* IA 103, IB 35, *sneḫu* IV 196, *tsheḫu* IA 11; *zeḫu* IA 20.
   This writing appears also in normal Tibetan (*dre/dreḫu*, 'mule'), in the *Documents* (*gle/gleḫu*, *sgye/sgyeḫu*), and in Nam (*ḫkeḫu/keḫu/geḫu* = Tib. *khe*, 'profit', etc.).

4. An Adjective-forming Suffix *ka/ga*, 'belonging to' (not so found in ordinary Tibetan) is seen in —
   gnam-ka-Loń-sum, *sa-ga-Gdiń-drug*, 'Loń-sum in heaven, Gdiń-drug on earth', IV 24, 56, *byań-ka-Snam-rgyad*, 'Snam-eight in the north', IA 53, *byań-ka*, *lho-ga*, 'northern', 'southern', VI 79, 91, *spań-ka*, 'in the meadow', VI 37.
   This clear and precise use of a Suffix *ka/ga*, of which other examples, e. g. *Moń-ka*, 'Mon-land', *Bod-ka*, 'Bod-land', occur in M. Bacot's *Documents* (see Index of Proper Names), is to be seen in the name of Tsoń-kha-pa's birth-place as written (Tsoń-ka) in an edict inscription of the VIIIth century A. D. (see J. R. A. S. 1910, p. 1259): this example, while connecting the idiom with the north-east, opens also a possibility that it may have survived in other instances of Suffix *kha/ka/ga* in later Tibetan; but the extensive list supplied in Dr. Palmyr Cordier's *Cours de Tibétain classique*, pp. 11—2, does not seem to yield any such; and in many cases an original *kha*, from *kha*, 'juncture', 'occasion', 'locality', 'part', 'season' (e. g. in *sos-ka*, 'summer', *lam-ka(kha)*, 'route', *thab-ka(kha)*, 'hearth') is satisfactory. To this group may belong the *ten(then)-ka* (IV, 1. 276) and *sdud-ka*, 'hair-tie' (IA, 1. 121, modern *sdud-kha*) of the Texts. Cf. *cho-ga* VI 2 etc., *ltam-bka* = *ltoń-ka* IB 80. On this matter see *Nam*, p. 182.

5. *Phapa/ma*: There seems to be no doubt that this pair with the meaning 'male'/'female', originally perhaps 'upper'/'lower' or 'father'/'mother', exists as Suffixes in Tibetan: for some examples see Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 3. In the Texts *pha*, 'father', and *ma*, 'mother', occur in their original senses; and it is highly likely that as *pha* and *ma* in cases such as (IA 40) —
   pha-Khar-rtaḫi-yal-ba, 'Father Khar-rtaḫi-yal-ba'
   ma-Gsań-rtaḫi-pyod-ma, 'Mother Gsań-rtaḫi-pyod-ma'
   they are Affixes of Gender, male and female. This is perhaps the only instance of the antithesis in one context; but it is put out of doubt by parallels with *po/bo* and *mo* (see *infra*) and appears again in II 16—7 —
   khab-gyi-chen/chuń-ma, 'wife senior/junior'.
   It is not really doubtful that in IV 86, 90, the 'mother *Mtshe-ma*', is, like the frequent *mtshe-mo*, feminine: the 'consort Yul-ma' of IV 182—4 is probably 'Country-lady (or

[1]) On these see Cordier, *Cours de Tibétain classique*, p. 14, where they are derived from -*bu*.

'mother')'; and there are also cases of *mtshe-ba* where the *ba* is, no doubt, antithetic to the *ma/mo*.

But here, as regards *pa/ba* and *ma*, the denotation of Gender ends: in the Texts, as in Tibetan generally, most occurrences of these Suffixes have no reference to Gender. The cases of *pa/ba* are in the Texts, except as furnishing the Verb-Infinitive in *par/bar*, not very numerous: they may be classified as follows: —

(a) as attached to Verb-roots —

1. action-words: IA 46 *log-pa*, 'aversion'; III 51 *dar-pa*, 'flourishing'; IV 28 *h̲oṅs-pa*, 'coming'; V 15, 16 *bor-ba*, 'being abandoned', *char-pa*, 'rain', 21 *śes-pa*, 'knowledge'; VI 56 *dgoṅs-pa*, 'thinking', 73 *ph̲ye-ba*, 'division'.

2. agent-words ('do-er') or Participles ('doing'): IA 9 *phuṅ-ba*, 'heaped', *t(h)a-ba*, 'thick grown'; IB 6, *h̲dzeg-pa*, 'climbing', 11 *lkhag-pa*, 'alighting', 14 *ser-ba*, 'hail'; II 14 *ñer-pa*, 'taking care'; III 31 *ñi-ma-nub-pa*, 'sunset'; IV 243 *khyi-sbag-pha*, 'dirty (or biting) dog'; 242 *sim-ba*, 'refreshing'; V 16 *myed-pa*, 'lacking'; VI 38 *rṅon-pa*, 'hunter'.

3. finite Verb: Except Infinitive forms in *par/bar*, usually with auxiliaries such as *h̲gyur*, *h̲oṅ*, *h̲byed* (for lists see under 'Syntax'), Verbs with *pa/ba* are not frequent in the Texts: even in IV we find in addition only the circumstantial Locative forms such as *myi-h̲dog-par*, *myi-śes-par* (l. 30), 'not fearing', 'not knowing', etc. From such cases with actual Verb-roots it is not far to others where there is at any rate acting or state of a person or things, as in —

(b) 1. Nouns and Adjectives: IA 46 *mkhris-pa*, 'bile', or 'bilious'; III 18 *h̲dzaṅs-pa*, 'wise person'; IV 18 *dbul-ba*, 'poverty' or 'being poor', *phyug-pa*, 'riches' or 'being rich', 6 *pha-log-pa*, 'other person'; V 16, 20 *ṅan-pa*, 'bad', *phrag-dog-pa*, 'envious person', 27 *khaṅ-pa*, 'member of household; VI 17 *nad-pa*, 'sick person', 35 *żar-ba*, 'cripple'.

(c) 4. When we come to mere things, as in IV 15 *rna-ba*, 'ear', V 16 *phyiṅ-ba*, 'a felt', VI 50 *rmyig-pa*, 'hoof', the Suffix has become merely grammatical.

It seems evident that in these usages the *pa/ba* must be etymologically distinct from the gender denoting *pha/ma*: and the fact that in Nam it is lacking (see *Nam*, p. 182), and probably likewise in dialects of Tibetan itself, being replaced by *ta*, invites a further consideration, which may be attempted *infra*. As regards *ma*, when not denoting Gender, we may here note as follows: —

1. As appended to Verb-roots, or words containing a Verb-notion, it serves to express —

(a) a corresponding action or its embodiment, e. g. in *bkal-ma*, 'heirloom', *brkos-ma*, 'sculpture', *skyel-ma*, 'escort', *skyes-ma*, 'present', *skyo-ma*, 'quarrel', *h̲khrus-ma*, 'washings', *god-ma*, 'loss', *sgyu-ma*, 'illusion', *mchi-ma*, 'tears', *mchil-ma*, 'spittle', *h̲chol (bcol)-ma*, 'trust', 'deposit', *gtor-ma*, 'oblation', *dar-ma*, 'youth', *dran-ma*, 'memory', *dron-ma*, 'warmth', *rduṅ-ma*, 'beating', *phra-ma*, 'envy', *btsags-ma*, 'sifted wheat', *btsas-ma*, 'harvest', *tshad-ma*, 'measure', *zegs-ma*, 'spray', *gzigs-ma*, 'spectacle', *sun-ma*, 'insult', *sruṅ-ma*, 'protection'.

(b) in a few instances the term is applied also to the agent, *rkun-ma*, '*thief*', *chu-ma*, 'water-man', *sruṅ-ma*, 'guardian', *gsad-ma*, 'executioner'.

(c) an instrument or product, e.g. *dkrogs(srubs)-ma*, 'churning-rod', *rko-ma*, 'spade', *khrul-ma*, 'handle', *khrol-ma*, 'sieve', *sgron-ma*, 'lamp', *chab-ma*, 'lid', *sñigs-ma*, 'whetstone', *thag-ma*, 'fine cloth', *droṅ-ma*, 'basket', *snal-ma*, 'thread', *phyag-ma*, 'broom', *lhas-ma*, 'braid'.

(d) organs of bodies (mostly without evidence of Verbal notion), e.g. *rkyaṅ-ma*, 'artery', *lkog-ma*, 'gullet', *khru-ma*, 'cubit', *mkhal-ma*, 'kidney', *mkhrig-ma*, 'wrist', *mjug* (and *rṅa*)-*ma*, 'tail', *gñe-ma*, 'intestines', *gñer-ma*, 'wrinkles', *mthil-ma*, 'palm of hand', *h̲dab-ma*, 'wing'; *nu-ma*, 'bosom', *pug-ma*, 'collar-bone', *ze-ma*, 'eyelashes', *'og-ma*, 'throat', *'ol-ma*, 'windpipe'.

(e) plants, e.g. *kran-ma*, 'peas', *lcaṅ-ma*, 'willow', *lcug-ma*, 'twig', *ñuṅ-ma*, 'turnip', *sñe-ma*, 'ears of corn', *smyug-ma*, 'reed', *lu-ma*, 'swamp grass', *lo-ma*, 'leaf', *sran-ma*, 'grain', 'pea'. Also insects, *tri-ma*, 'hornet', *sbraṅ-ma*, 'bee'.

(f) other objects, e.g. *kliṅ-ma*, 'sand-bank', *skar-ma*, 'star', *skya-ma*, 'hard soil', *ñi-ma*, 'sun', *rdul-ma*, 'dust', *bye-ma*, 'sand', *seg-ma*, 'gravel', *sog-ma*, 'hay', 'straw'.

(g) adjectives, e.g. *dkyus-ma*, 'common', *ṅar-ma*, 'impetuous', *bcos-ma*, 'artificial', *gñug-ma*, 'natural', *rñiṅ-ma*, 'old', *rdzus-ma*, 'counterfeit'; but chiefly such as denote contrast or serial order and are often used adverbially, e.g. *goṅ-ma*, 'upper', 'prior', *h̲og-ma*, 'lower', *tha-ma*, 'last', *ltag-ma*, 'top', *stiṅ-ma*, 'bottom', *bar-ma*, *dbus-ma*, *h̲briṅ-ma*, 'middle', *sṅa-ma*, 'former', *thal-ma*, 'all through'.

From the Texts we can cite —

(a) IV 12, 21, *spo-ma*, 'change', V 23, *glog-ma*, 'lightning', 37 *bsbul-ma*, 'a move'; VI 35 *sdar-ma*, 'timidity', 64 *grib-ma*, 'shade', 76 *skal-ma*, 'destiny', 'portion'.

(b) IV 266—7 *rkun-ma*, 'thief', VI 53 *bla-ma*, 'superior person'.

(d) IA 116, 119 *rṅa-ma*, 'tail'.

(e) VI 6 *lo-ma*. 'leaf'.

(f) IA 16, 17 etc. *skar-ma*, 'star'; IB 2, 3 *sgye-ma*, ,bag', 5 *skyo-ma*, 'gruel', 31 *mtshan-ma*, 'name'; III 51 *ñi-ma*, 'sun'.

(g) III 51 *thog-ma*, 'first' (Adverbial), IV 121 *ltag-ma*, id., *phyi-ma*, 'posterior'.

In regard to the forms under (a), which seem to be primary, and which in Nam are rather numerous, it is natural to inquire in what respect they differ from forms with *-pa/-ba*; what, for instance, is the difference between *phye-ba* and *rgyed-ma*, both meaning 'division'? Dr. Palmyr Cordier, whose general view seems to have been that in *pa/pha/ba*, *po/pho/bo* and *ma/mo* the original distinction was that of masculine and feminine Gender, writes in one place (*Cours de Tibétain classique*, p. 10 § 10) —

> "In a great number, probably posterior in date to the preceding, the Suffixes *po*, *bo*, *pa*, *ba*, on the one hand, and *mo*, *ma*, on the other, have lost all value indicative of the Genders, and have doubtless been utilized to allow a convenient distinction between terms primitively written alike or become so. [Examples]
>
> *goṅ*, 'value', *goṅ*-po, 'assembly', *goṅ-ba*, 'collar',
> *goṅ-ma*, 'superior', *goṅ-mo*, 'snow partridge'.
>
> All the same, in the substantives the Suffixes *po* and *bo* express often an idea of activity or superiority, while by reason of the original double signification (1. 'mother', 2. 'below') the Suffix *ma* implies sometimes a notion of passivity, of inferiority, and sometimes on the contrary of superiority.
>
> *slob-pa*, 'teach', *slob-ma*, 'pupil',
> *nu-ba*, 'suck', *nu-ma*, 'bosom', 'mother's breast',
> *h̲cho-ba*, 'prepare', *bcos-ma*, 'artificial'."

This appreciation, which at the time was not without linguistic refinement, seems to replace masculine/feminine by active/passive and at the same time to admit influence of a *ma*, 'lower', which, as antithetic to *ya*, 'upper', is ubiquitous in Tibetan, but, if in any way connected with *ma*, 'mother', 'female', could only be as its original.

The very large number of *-ma-* words in Tibetan and the rather definite classes into which they are distributed show a fairly general and lasting feeling of their significances. Roughly one might say that, when derived from clear Verb-roots, they denote actions (very rarely and derivatively actors), while in most other cases they denote 'things', what we could regard as 'neuters', and, when derived from Adjectives or Adverbs, order of value or series. This range may be somewhat recommended by a comparison with that of the *-mo-* Suffixes in Indo-European. As regards a difference between *rgyed-ma* and *phye-ba*, both signifying 'division', we may appeal to a distinction prominent in the native Tibetan grammar and logically indispensable, between an action with an agent, i.e. an acting, and an action in itself, an abstract, what Dr. Cordier might have considered a Passive. Here, however, intervenes a matter of linguistic history. If, as propounded *supra*, the *pa/ba* -forms such as *byed-pa*, 'doing', 'doer' were confined to certain dialects of Tibet, so that Tib. *glo-ba*, 'mind', 'thought', is in Nam *glo-ta*, whereas the *-ma* of *spo-ma* can be traced more widely and earlier, the antithesis between the two is posterior and invites a new explanation, which, however, if in any way feasible, must be attempted in connection with the Verb-forms.

6. *Pho/po/bo/mo*: In the case of these *o*-forms, which in the Texts are more numerous than those with *-a*, the distinction of sex, with *pho/po/bo* masculine, is more frequent and normal: we have the impression that the *a*-forms no longer sufficed for indication of sex and that even in the relatively rare Adjectives such as *h̲dzaṅs-pa*, 'wise', *sim-ba*, 'agreable', *ṅan-pa*, 'bad', *nad-pa*, 'diseased', the notion is more Participial than strictly Adjectival and that the consciousness of a human person is absent: at any rate where it is present the *o*-form is chosen, as in —

rkun-po, 'thief'	*phur-po*, 'dagger-man'
khaṅ-mo, 'housewife'	*phyug-po*, 'rich man'
Gyim-po, 'Gyim man'	*bu-mo*, 'daughter'
gur-mo, 'tent-woman'	*bon-po*, 'Bon-man'
rgyal-po/mo, 'king', 'queen'	*dbul-po*, 'poor man'
druṅ-po, 'official'	*blon-po*, 'councillor'
h̲dron-po, 'traveller'	*rogs-po*, 'comrade'

It does not, however, follow from this, or even from the fact that *pho* and *mo* are, as Prefixes, actually used in the sense of 'male', and 'female', e.g. in *pho-rta*, *mo-rta*, 'stallion', 'mare', *po-gśen*, 'male *gśen*', *ma-mo-gśen*, 'female *gśen*', IV 47—8, that such is the primary denotation of the forms. For *pho* is used also in the sense of 'senior', as in *pho* (also *phu*)-*bo*, 'elder brother', antithetic to *nu-bo*, 'junior brother', and *phu* is widely occurrent in the local sense of 'high', in contrast to 'low', ground. As has been mentioned in connection with *pha/ba/ma*, the antithetic stems *pha/ma* are so deeply and so widely and in so many derivative forms imbedded in the Tibetan language that they cannot be secondary in origin. As regards the vocalic variation in *-o* (and also in other vowels), this also is one of the arcana of the language, exemplified in independent words such as *ra/ro*, 'area', *sa/so*, 'land'. It may be that the *-o*-forms carried more emphasis or more feeling or more connection with human society or animal life. What we seem to detect is a growing preference for the *-o*-forms in such connections, of which the distinction of sex was only one, though the most important, case. Thus *pho/mo*, 'male'/'female', is a particular application of 'upper'/'lower'. If after all the ultimate original sense of *pha/ma* was 'father', 'mother', that origin will have lain far back in the pre-historic period.

The other uses of the *pho/bo/mo* forms may likewise be regarded as preferential substitutes for *pha/ba/ma* forms without exclusive reference to sex. The *pho/bo/mo* are used in most of the cases exemplified *supra* in regard to *pha/ba/ma*: we find them —

(a) as attached to Verb-roots:

1. Action-nouns:

khod-mo, 'arrangement' IA 125
gad-mo, 'laughter' III 28
dgad-mo, 'laughter' IV 13
rgyal-po-byed, 'act as king'
rgyon-po-byed, 'ravish' IV 29
ston-mo, 'festivity' IV 19
thab-mo, 'fighting' IA 104
rtsed-mo, 'play' III 28
rol-mo (?), 'music', III 25
bśad-mo, 'utterance', VI 49

2. Agent-nouns:

rgyal-po/mo, 'king'/'queen'
thom-po, 'stunner' IV 53
h̲dron-po, 'traveller' etc. VI 93
h̲phrog-po, 'robber' IV 5

3. other names of persons (derived from Nouns or Adjectives):

g-yaṅ-phya-bo IA 26, 'luck-sorter'
rta-bo IV 244, 'stallion' (?)
drum-po IV 263, 'official'
bdag-po IV 102, VI 51, 'lord'
nu-bo IV 39, 'junior brother'
phu-bo, IV 39, 'senior brother'
pha-rol-po, V 5, 'other person'
pha-log-po, IV 8, 24, 'outside person'
phyug-po IV 18, 40 'rich person'
phrag-dog-po V 6, 'envions person'
dbaṅ-po V 19, 'person in authority'
dbul-po III 38, IV 20, 'poor person'
myi-po IV 244, 'male man'
blon-po III 10, IV 36, 'councillor'
rmaṅ-po IV 348, 'great man'
Srad-po IV 61 etc., 'the Hard'
lhod-de-po VI 68, 'easy-goer (?)'
khaṅ-mo IA 46, 'housewife'
khri-mo IV 193, 'throne lady'
gur-mo IV 55, 'tent-woman'
Guṅ-rgyal-mo IB 71, 'sky-queen'
dud-mo IB 44, 'fiendess'
Phyag-ma-yed-mo IV 224, 'broom-shakeress (?)
bo-mo IB 28, etc., 'daughter'
btsun-mo IB 23, ,respected lady'

4. Names of certain natural objects, especially spaces, and, very idiomatically, *-mo* in connection with portions or items, particularly vegetable, included among the contents of a scape-goat (*glud*):

Nam(Gnam)-po IV 136—7 etc., 'of Nam'
spaṅ-po IB 17, 'meadow'
Pu-Rma-bo IV 175 etc., 'of Rma'
rtsaṅ-po VI 107, 'river'
mchig-khaṅ-mo IV 243, 'house in ruin'
yul-Dbye-mo IV 324, 'Dbye district'
thaṅ (*Rgyal*, *Mon*, *Lho*, *Bal*)*-mo*, IV 159 etc., 'China (Mon, South, Bal) plateau'
mtshan-mo, 'night'
sṅo-mo IA 46, IV 146, 151, 'vegetables'
nas-mo IV 142, 147 etc., 'portion of barley'
byi-mo V 34, 'mouse'
bre-mo IA 56, 'berry'
g-yaṅ-mo IV 144, VI 33, 79, 'carcase of sheep or goat'
mtshe-mo IV 96, 'aromatic shrub' (?)
zer-mo IV 293, 'a nail'
yuṅs-mo IV 293, 'turnip'
rab-mo 'superior' (?) IV 146
Gser-khaṅ-ser-mo IV 150, 'a kind of barley'

5. There are also numerous cases where the *po/bo/mo* has the false appearance of belonging to an accompanying Adjective, and is commonly so understood: thus *chen-po*, 'great', is so given in the dictionaries, with the sole provision that, when applied to a feminine Noun, it takes the form *chen-mo*, just as in Latin and some other languages a word, e.g. *bonus*, 'good', when applied to a feminine noun, e.g. *mulier*, 'woman', assumes the form *bona*. This implies that the distinction between the *-po-* and *-mo-* forms was essentially one of Gender: it should therefore apply also to their use with Nouns: and, as the moderate number of examples adduced *supra* suffices to prove that distinction of sex by no means covers the whole area, it seems that grammatical Gender is being widely attributed to the Tibetan language, which is not usually credited with it and which hardly presents any formal expression of it. Presuming that the evidence of the six Texts, with their popular and ancient language, may throw some light upon the usage, we may present the main material in the following form: —

(a) where the Noun qualified denotes a human or super-human person, the distinction of sex may, if we allow for cases where discrimination between male and female is irrelevant, suffice to account for the choice between *po* and *mo* forms. Instances — persons (human, divine, demoniac):

myi, 'man' (*ched-po* IV 11, *dpaḫ-bo* IV 27, *dbul-po* IV 74, *phyug-po* IV 8, *pha-log-po* IV 8, 24)
bu, 'son' (*chen-po* IA 50, *pha-log-po* IV 8, 28, *ḫbriṅ-po* IV 6, *ḫdzaṅs-po* IV 6)
ñe-duṅ, 'kindred' (*bzaṅ-po* VI 20)
grog, 'friend' (*ched-po* VI 21, 29)
rje, 'chieftain' (*sgam-po* V 36, *rmaṅ-po* IV 311, 314, *sten-po* IV 101 etc.)
ḫdzaṅs-po, 'wise man' (*rnon-po* V 31)
Drug, 'Turk' (*chen-po* III 48)
gdon, 'fiend' (*nag-po* VI 21, *drag-po* 143)
phyug-po, 'rich man' (*mthon-po* III 4)
lha, 'god' (*chen-po* III 29, *thu-bo-che* VI 134, *thugs-po* IV 259, *bzaṅ-po* VI 44, 58)

(b) animals:

rta, 'horse' (*nag-po* IB 11, *dkar-po* IB 13)
pya, 'bird' (*rgod-po* IV 95)
pho-rog, 'crow' (*lo-stoṅ-po* VI 138)
rma-byeḫu, 'peacock' (*ḫdzon-mo* II 8)
śa, 'stag' (*nag-po* IV 20)
With *-mo*: *skyṅ-khwa*, 'jackdaw' (*nag-mo*, p. 151)
lcuṅ-ka, 'jackdaw' (*mchu-dmar-mo* VI 137)

(c) features of physical nature:

skar, 'star' (*ḫod-po-che* VI 150)
brag, 'crag' (*dkar-po* VI 10)
brag-khuṅ, 'rock-cavity' (*dkar-po* V 26)
lha-brag, 'gods crag' (*dkar-po* IV 206, 211)
mtsho, 'lake' (*chen-po* III 46)
ri, 'hill' (*mthon-po* VI 64, *riṅ-po* IV 31)
sa, 'land' (*mthon-po* VI 6)
srib-sa, 'dark land' (*nag-po* IV 47)
With *-mo* —
g-yu-brag, 'turquoise crag' (*sṅon-mo* IV 128, 150)
g-yu-mtsho, 'turquoise lake' (*sṅon-mo* IV 129, 130)
chab, 'water' (*sṅon-mo* IV 274—5)

(d) social circumstances or occasions:
chos, 'religion' (*bzaṅ-po* III 21)
dus, 'period' (*bzaṅ-po* III 33)
nad, 'disease' (*tshab-po-che* VI p. 147)
ma-śags, 'mother's talk' (*chen-po* V 49)
gtsug-lag, 'wisdom' (*bzaṅ-po* III 7, 10)

(e) material objects:
glud, 'scapegoat' (*ched-po* VI 15)
dar, 'silk' (*dmar-po* IB 16, *dgar dkar-po* 17)
bdags-ram, 'bright margin (of diagram)' (*dkar-po* IV 46—7)
nor, 'wealth' (*ched-po*) VI 28)
mtshon, 'weapon' (*rnon-po* V 27)
g-yu, 'turquoise' (*thiṅ-po* IV 260)
śiṅ, 'log' (*stoṅ-po* IA 30)
śiṅ, 'tree' (*bzaṅ-po* VI 63)
śiṅ-rta, 'chariot' (*nag-po* III 46—7)
With *-mo* —
nas, 'barley' (*sṅo-mo* IV 151)
dral-bu, 'chips' (*pra-mo* IA 30)
śiṅ, 'sticks' (*khra-mo* IV 243)
khaṅ, 'house' (*mchig-khaṅ-mo* IV 243)

In the passage IV 243—263 the distrbution of *-a* and *-o* forms is noticeable

The instances may by their mere prevalence suggest that the *o*-forms were simply ousting the presumably more original *a*-forms; and the already mentioned paucity of the latter may lend some countenance to this. But among the few cases of *-a* there are some which seem to imply a felt distinction of value: such are —

khyi, 'dog' (*sbag-pha*, IV 243 'dirty' or 'biting')
bya, 'bird' (*h̲par-ba* IV 243, 'in flight')
chos, 'religion' (*ṅan-pa* III 17, 'bad', *sar-pa* III 11, 'novel')
dus, 'period' (*ṅan-pa* III 17, IV 22, 'bad')
tshe, 'life' (*ṅan-pa* III 7, 'bad')
srin-yul, 'fiend country' (*nag-pa* IB 78)

Inasmuch as *chos-bzaṅ-po* and *dus-bzaṅ-po* have been quoted ***supra*** and ***srin-yul-nag-pa*** is paralled by *srib-sa-nag-po*, and *pha-log-pa*, 'outsiders' in IV 6 becomes in IV 8, 23 *myi-pha-log-po*, 'outside men', it seems that the linguistic instinct discriminates: and the character of the expressions with *-a* indicates that the distinction is in respect of value; the 'good time and life', 'wisdom', 'a serviceable tree', are all *bzaṅ-po*, 'wealth', 'lake', 'man', 'friend', 'son', 'god', are *ched-po*, 'hill', 'land', 'rich man' are *mthon-po*, 'high'. Thus the *o*-form renders a feeling of superior respect or recognition and is akin to that use of 'honorifics' which so largely pervades the Tibetan language, so that, e.g. the hand or foot of a superior or an interlocutor is *phyag* or *żabs* instead of the *lag* or *rkaṅ* of an inferior person or animal. That this is the fundamental import of the *-o-* variants in Suffixes and in independent words, e.g. *sgo-mo*, 'large gate', *ro*, 'district' (large area), could perhaps be widely evidenced both in Tibetan itself and in allied dialects. Even a (female) mouse becomes *byi-mo* (from normal *byi-ba*) when compared (V 34) to a wife coming in only at night, and a *bdud*, 'devil', becomes *dud-mo*, 'she-devil', in the imagination of an anxious mother (IB 44).

It is obvious that Adjectives such as 'good', 'large', 'high', 'brave', 'rich', which normally carry a sense of approval or importance, would tend to take *o*-Suffixes, while those implying

disapproval or dislike, such as *ṅan*, 'bad', would avoid them, and those where approval or disapproval was irrelevant would likewise be restricted to the *a*-forms. It may be agreed that these distinctions are confirmed by the collection of cited instances, and that the third group may include the examples '*new* religion or custom', '*other* people', 'bird *in flight*', 'a dirty (or biting) dog'. But even the 'good' Adjectives may at times become indifferent: thus *chen(ched)-po*, 'great', does not preclude the existence of a *che-ba*, 'large'. As apparent inconsistencies in the text may be cited —

mtsho-chen-po III 46, 'large lake', as compared with *g-yu-mtsho-sṅon-mo* IV 129, 130, 'blue turquoise lake' (Koko-nor), and *chab-sṅon-mo* IV 173.

g-yu-brag-sṅon-mo IV 128 as compared with *brag-dkar-po* VI 10, 'white crag' and *brag-khuṅ-skam-po* V 26, 'dry crag-hole'.

śiṅ-khra-mo IV 211, 'crossed sticks' as compared with *śiṅ-stoṅ-po* IA 30 'hollow log' (but also *dral-bu-pra-mo*, ibid., 'little chips'.

In one or two cases a distinction between *a*- and *o*-forms is clearly marked in the Text: in a context making frequent mention of *phyug-po*, 'rich man', and *dbul-po*, 'poor man', we find —

phyug-paḫi-phyir IV 19, 'because of being rich'

dbul-baḫi IV 20, 'because of being poor'

where *pyug-pa* and *dbul-ba* might be understood as Nouns, 'riches' and 'poverty', were it not that a Verb sense is more probable in view of the numerous Infinitives in *-par/-bar*. But other cases, e.g. —

pha-log-pa-la IV 6, *myi-pha-log-po-la* 8,

myi-dbul-baḫi-phyir 5, *myi-dbul-poḫi-phyir* 11,

dgod-myi-bro-paḫi-tshig 13, *srid-la-phan-paḫi-tshig-bzaṅ-po-bden-pa* 14,

show a degree of uncertainty in the linguistic feeling.

The moderate accuracy which in the case of person and animal names we have conceded to the distinction between *po/bo* and *mo* as indicating sex cannot be credited to the other classes of cases. As regards the action nouns, such as *rol-mo*, 'music', *thab-mo*, 'fighting', *dgad-mo*, 'laughter', *bśad-mo*, 'speech', the simplest explanation seems to be that they are 'honorific' forms of the analogous *-ma* group exemplified *supra* and owe their *-mo* to a measure of social importance. In the case of the group of items, *g-yaṅ-mo*, *yuṅs-mo*, *zer-mo*, a similar explanation may apply, their *-ma*, which is that of the 'things' exemplified *supra* (under *pha/ma*, p. 29—32) being elevated to *-mo* by reason of their functioning in a rite. When we turn to the group of large natural features such as the plateaus (*thaṅ*), the Koko-nor lake (*mtsho*), countries (*yul*), which in some cases have, as *mo*-words, support outside the six Texts, e.g. the *Dbyar-mo-thaṅ* of history and the Chang-chen-mo of maps, as well as further analogies, e.g. the Rgyal-mo gorge (*roṅ*), and to the addition of times, such as *ñin-mo*, 'day', *mtshan-mo*, 'night', the evidence of actual *ma*-words such as *ñi-ma*, 'sun', *skar-ma*, 'star', *byc-ma*, 'sand', suggests that here also the *mo*-forms are merely *ma*-forms, perhaps with a slight specialization or emphasis, but without any imagination of sex. That large size is not a factor may be seen in —

śiṅ-stoṅ-po IA 30, 'hollow log', contrasted with *dral-bu-pra-mo*, 'little chips small' in the same context and *śiṅ-khra-mo*, IV 243, 'crossed sticks', as well as *mchig-khaṅ-mo*, 'ruined house'.

In the case of the numerous *po*-words denoting objects the notion of sex is at least equally inapposite: the examples quoted *supra* (p. 34—5) include such objects as 'star', 'earth', 'hill', 'time', 'religion', 'wealth', 'wisdom', 'disease', 'silk', 'car', 'weapon'. On the other hand, the antithesis to *mo*-names, which in part is systematic, can hardly have been quite random: it seems likely that various tendencies may have operated. In general, perhaps, the usages

originated in *pa/ba/ma* forms: and these may have sometimes been inconvenient when derived from Adjectives such as the above-cited *phyug-pa*, 'rich', *dbul-pa*, 'poor', which could equally well signify 'riches', 'poverty', or from Verbs such as *byed-pa*, 'doing', which equally well signify action as a Noun. Thus the *o*-forms would seem more explicit and, when appended to an Adjective of 'honorific' character, to be normal in connection with that Adjective.

It does not appear that the usages as thus adduced from the six Texts are otherwise than general in written Tibetan.

7. The Diminutive or contemptuous Suffix *-gu* of normal Tibetan (cf. *-ehu*, no. 2 *supra*, and Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 14) has been seen in *(l)dad-dgu*, 'cud-chewer', sc. yak, IA 112—3.
8. *-men* in *ba-men*, 'wild-ox', IA 27, is apparently intended likewise in *rta-men*, 'wild-horse', *ibid.*
9. The Suffix *-can*, 'possessing', perhaps derived from *hchan*, 'hold', occurs in *g-yon-can/chan* (III 3, IV 3) 'left-handed', (sc. 'perverse'), *dṅan-can* (IV 20) 'evil', *las-dad-can* (V. 23), 'devoted to work', *nor-dad-can* (V 19), 'devoted to wealth', *nad-bu-can* (V 25), 'having disease vermin', *phrag-dog-can* (V 20), 'envious', *sems-śan* (< *can* VI 156), 'sentient being'.

B. Reduplication, frequent in Tibetan, appears mostly in connection with Verbs: the following instances may be discriminated as of an Adjectival or Adverbial character: —

gog-gog, IV 227, 'tall-tall'
zor-zor, IV 227, 'wide-wide'
sgya-sgyo, IV 70, 167 (104 *skya-skyo*), 'zig-zag'
ljod-ljod, IV 90, 'oval' (?)
tham-thum, IV 43, 'occasional' (?)
thum-thum, IV 233, 'for a while'
p(h)aṅ-p(h)uṅ, IA 56, little by little' (cf. VI 27)
phrum-phrum, VI 128, 'at each step (*or* moment)'
phyi-phyir, III 13, 'later and later'

C. Compounds are, as in other languages, various, e.g. —

(a) additive:

mthu-rtsal, 'strength and energy', VI 81
deṅ-saṅ, VI 150, 'to-day and to-morrow'
draṅ-mkhraṅ, III 13, IV 8, 'straight and hard'
gnam-sa III 32, 'sky and earth'
pha-myes III 35, 'sire and grandsire'
phu-nu III 24, 'senior and junior son'
hphan-k(h)os VI 10, 'serviceable and precious'
bor-lag VI 42 etc., 'lost and missing'

(b) with attribute, or equivalent, as prior member:

skon-dril IB 54, 'dress-bell'
skyibs-lug IB 20, 'rock-shelter-sheep'
khu-lo IA 109, 'hair-lasso'
khyi-lo IV 267, 'dog-pack'
gad-mnabs IA 35, 127, 'refuse-food'
(*go-phaṅ*, p. 154—56)
glo-rtsa IA 131, 'lung-tube'
dguṅ-khyod(tshod) V 33, 'night-time'
dgo-spaṅs VI 56, 124, 'rank-height'
rgan-rogs IB 6, 'old-age-help'
rgya-skar VI 43, 'planet orb star'

lgeḫu-drim V 27, 'leather-strap'
sgal-myig VI 68, 'load-eye (leak)'
sgo-ra IV 175, 'door-area'
— *-lha* III 29, 'home-god'
{*rṅa-rtsid* VI 9, 'tail-hair'
{*rṅo-rtsir*
chab-bgo-ro IV 141, 'river-gate-head-district'
gñi-dro IA 104, 'sun-heat (mid-day)'
rñuṅ-chu IA 46, 'turnip-water'
thig-skal VI 72, 'drop as share'
mthaḫ-khor(skor) V 13, 31, 'border-group'
mthiṅ-braṅ VI 113, 'blue-breast'
mtheb-li-goṅ IA 103, 'thumb-pattern'
mtho-dam IB 53, 61, 'hand-span-gesture'
dar-sna VI 129, 'silk-noose'
dus-btsoṅ V 14, 'market' ('essembled mart')
don-sñiṅ IB 40, 'extracted heart'
dwar-lus VI 160, 'mean-body'
gduṅ-phyam VI 32, 'beam-support'
gdon-lan VI 40, 127, 'demon's-rising'
bdags-ram IV 46, 'bright-edge'
ldoṅ-khab IV 261, 'Ldoṅ-family'
snam-phrag VI 28, 'cloak-fold (pocket)'
dpyaṅ-dar IA 109, 'dangling-silk (net)'
pha-log IV 8 etc., VI 128, 'other side'
pho-gśen IV 47, 'male *gśen*'
phyi-dal VI 119, 'late-dallying'
phyi-phyogs IA 67, 'outside-party'
phyus-ra IV 69, 110, 'cattle-area'
bal-tog VI 128, 'hair-top'
bya-ḫbras IA 92, 'bird-tumour'
dbu-dog II 25, 'head-nod'
ḫbraṅ-rabs IA 27—8, 'serf-race'
mo-rta IB 11, 'female horse'
myi-lud IV 150, 281, 352, 'man-dung'
dmu(gaṅs)-lcam VI 118—9, 'hail(ice)-lady'
rmaṅ-lam II 25, 'dream-vision'
gtsa-sa (?) VI 45
rtsaṅ-sñi II 18, 'thorn-noose'
rtsis-ḫgo V 11, 'account-sum'
gtshug-ri IV 77—9, 'peak-mountain'
ḫog-rta VI 98, 'under(trace)-horse'
ye(n)-drog III 36, VI 142, 'constant(?)-danger'
raṅ-dbaṅ VI 81, 'own authority'
bśos-tshal IB 89, 'food-meal'
si-le-drum IV 277—8, '*si-le*-official'

(c) with attribute, or equivalent, as posterior member:
kha(mgrin)-yaṅs IA 42, 52 etc., 'mouth(neck)-long'

khrin-che IB 21, 'import-great'
gaṅs-dkar(-rdze) VI 55, 'white-ice(-lord *or* top)'
dguṅ-sṅo VI 107 etc., 'blue-sky'
glu-dmar IA 109, 'red-lure(?)'
rgad-spags IV 280, 307 etc., 'laughing-stock(?)'
rgub-logs VI 51, 'backside-opposing'
rgyaṅ-sdig IA 1, 'evil curse'
ṅar-phye IA 45, 'stalk-powder'
rṅo-chuṅ V 42, 'capacity-little'
rje-blas VI 77 etc., '[at]first change'
gña-riṅs IV 282, 'long-neck'
sñiṅ(thugs)-dags IA 7, B 5, 'heart(mind)-pure'
tri-mchun VI 6, 'question-insult(?)'
stobs-che IV 2, 'strength-great'
thag-riṅ VI 131, 'rope-long (distance)'
dad-ces VI 138, 'devotion-great'
dri-sog IV 275, 'inquiry-vain(?)'
sprul-gdugs V 24, 'poison-snake'
bya-bran VI 95, 'serf-bird'
dbye-che IV 81 etc., 'expanse-great'
ya(ma)-byi VI 37, 'high(low)-afar'
rtsa-dags IB 28, 107 , 'root-pure'
bśur-legs IV 245, 'girdled well'
sa-sra V 36, 'hard ground'

(d) with Verb notion as posterior member:
kha-cug IV 252, 'advice-insert(?)'
khab-yo IB 90, 'home-manage'
khyim-phugs VI 39, 69, 'house-pierce'
dgad-bro IV 13, 17, 'laugh-savour'
sgoṅ-chags IV 274, 'egg-born'
ṅo-len VI 2 etc., 'care-take'
mnaḫ-zos IV 25, 'oath-eaten'
snaṅ-yal VI 64, 'view pendent'
sñiṅ-gyur III 9, IV 10 'heart-become'
nam-naṅs II 4, V 29, 'when (*or* sky) dawned'
nor-dad IV 23, 'wealth-devoted'
p(h)uṅ-p(h)ye IV 38, 'group-dividing'
pho-gag IV 240, 'man-stopping'
phyi-g-yal IA 13, 'apart-hanging'
brag-hwod IV 268, 'crag-watching'
rogs-byas IV 2, 'helper-acted'
se-skyer IA 31, 'roof-supporting'

D. Declension

(a) Number and Case.

In view of the predominantly Nominal value of the Tibetan Verb and the fact that the forms carry no personal Affix making them Attributes of a Subject there is nothing surprizing in the attachment of Suffixes of Number and Case to forms which may be considered Verbal:

just as in English there are such expressions as 'by doing', 'his doings', in Latin the Declensional forms of Gerunds, and in Greek the Declension of Infinitive forms (with the Article) as Nouns. Hence it is unnecessary in Tibetan to distinguish between Noun and Verb in cases where they are used with the same Suffixes denoting Number or Case: between *mi-ḫi* and *śi-ḫi* 'of man' and 'of dying', *mi-rnams* and *śi-rnams*, 'men', and 'dyings', there is no difference of function; still less is there a difference where *śi-rnams* is equivalent to *śi-ba-rnams* (III, 34). the Participial Suffix being frequently absent and the meaning being 'diers', or 'those who die'.

Number.

The various syllables Suffixed in Tibetan as denoting Plurals occur more or less normally in the Mss., being therefore often omitted where not indispensable. There are instances of — *dag* (perhaps the commonest form), e.g. IV 222 etc., *dmu°*, *lha°*, etc., 236 *ya°*, *mu°*, 'things above', 'below', VI 11 *ri-dag-dags* (for *ri-dwags-dag*?), 38 *sman-*, 40 *ḫdi-*, 68 *gres-*;

rnams, e.g. IA 22 *khyen°*, III 5 *myi°*.

It is to be observed that in the old language of the Documents and inscriptions *rnams* retains perhaps perdominantly its original sense as a Noun meaning 'parts', 'items', 'instalments', 'individuals', so that the word to which it relates has a Genitive (or Adjectival) form, e.g. *rgyud-ḫpheld-kyi-rnams*, 'descendants', *ḫphags-paḫi-rnams* (Lha-sa inscrr., J. R. A. S. 1910, p. 1281, l. 39, 1911, p. 421, l. 62). This also is exemplified in the Mss., III 28—9 *sṅa-ma-śi-baḫi-rnams*, 'those who die before', *sgo-lhaḫi-rnams* (III 29), 'private divinities'.

cag, *chag*, with pronouns: III 28 *bdag-chag*, 'we', VI 82 *khyed-cag*. In *bu-tsha* III 36, V 30, a more original *ca* survives.

More noticeable is the form *-o-cog*, giving the sense of plurality or 'all', which occurs in the Documents and in the Mss. is favoured: examples —

IB 54—5, 63 *Nam-ti-go-cog*, 'all Nam-tig people', III 2 *ḫgreṅ-myi-ḫo-cog*, 'all men', 41 *srin-no-chog*, 'all fiends', *lha-ḫo-chog*, 'all gods', IV 26 *ci-bya-ḫo-chog*, 'everything that has to be done'. The expression seems to have been somewhat formal: cf. *ḫu-cug(cog)*, 'we'.

Very frequent are the numerals *sum*, 'three', and *dgu*, 'nine', the former more restricted and perhaps implying completeness, the latter freely used with Substantives, Adjectives and Verbs

III 3 *gnod-dgu*, 'all mischiefs', and *ji-byed-dgu*, 'everything one does', IV 6, 24 *ṅan-dgu*, 'all bad things', 17—8 *gñen-dgu*, 'all kinships', 39 *ñen-dgu*, *sdug-dgu*, 'all kindred', 261 *khaṅ-mo-dgu*, 'all consorts', 351 *lha-dgu*, *srin-dgu*, 'all gods', ,all fiends', V 27 *khaṅ-pa-dgu*, 'all members of the household', 40 *byed-dgu*, 'every act', *draṅ-dgu*, 'every pull', VI 5 *bzaṅ-dgu*, 'all fine things', 23 *dgra-dgu*, 'all enemies', 22 *chab-brug-dgu-ste-dgu*, 'all nine torrents', 39 *bya-dgu*, 'everything to be done'.

Sum seems to be used chiefly in names of places and titles, e.g. IA 56 *Gtaṅ-sum* (91 *Ltaṅ-gsum*), Documents *glan-sum*, *Rgyal-sum*; but we have also IV 61 etc., *naṅ-sum*, *ñin-sum*, 'each morn', 'each day', VI 124 *g-yaṅ-sum*, 'all good luck'.

Other words occasionally used to form *quasi*-plurals are *tshogs*, 'collection', in VI 114 *lus-ḫtshogs*, 'body-groups', *dad-ḫtshogs*, 'aspirations', and the familiar *la-stsogs*, *lasbtsogs*, equivalent to 'and so forth', VI 46 *gdon-lan-las-bsogs-pa*, 'fiend-risings, etc'.

Case

In recognizing a Tibetan Declension with Cases, which in accordance with M. Bacot's exposition (pp. 12 sqq.) receive the European designations Nominative, Accusative or Object (with a sub-Case, Determinative, akin to the Cognate of European grammar), Instrumental,

Dative or Objective (of Advantage, Dativus Commodi), Ablative, Genitive or Relative, Locative (with Locative of Time), Thon-mi Sambhoṭa was influenced, as is thought, by his study of Sanskrit grammar. The Cases are defined by their functions, with specifications of the Suffixes by which in nearly all circumstances the functions were expressed. It may, however, be held that his proceeding was necessitated in the same way as had been the proceeding of the Sanskrit and Greek grammarians in constituting the Declensional systems of their languages. They were confronted with a plurality, in most cases, of divergent forms, e.g. Genitive *-ov*, *-os*, in Greek (not to mention the corresponding Dual and Plural forms), having an identity of sense and syntax, practically familiar to every user of the language and largely corresponding to fundamental human notions: rationality itself demanded a grouping under the function heads which are called Cases and Declensions. For Thon-mi Sambhoṭa a similar necessity existed in the morphological plurality of the Suffixal syllables used to convey each several functional meaning, a plurality aggravated in the case of several of the Suffixes by employment in more than one of the functions, so that ambiguity was added to plurality. A separate treatment of the several Suffixes without a grouping of the functions in a Case-system would have been intolerably repetitive and would have ignored the instinctive classifications in the speaker's mind: for the modern exposition of Tibetan grammar the same consideration seems to hold good.

A speciality in the case of Tibetan is the circumstance that some, or many, of the Case-Suffixes are found in other uses, particularly in conjunction with Verb -forms or in the syntax of Clauses. Even apart, however, from what has been stated *supra* concerning the largely Nominal signification of Tibetan Verb -forms, it is from an English point of view not at all surprizing if in Tibetan it should be possible to use Instrumental or Ablative Suffixes in *ḫbyed-gyis*, *ḫbyed-nas*, 'by' or 'from' (or 'after') 'doing', or even in such a phrase as 'rotten from having been for a long time under water' or 'gratified by being elected to the Senate'. With other Case-Suffixes there may be analogous conveniences of use: and it may further be mentioned that the historical identity of Suffixes or Postpositions in divergent employment is in case of unknown prehistory subject to verification.

Apart from phonological matters relating to the Sandhi of Particles and one or two small points such as the three forms, *-r*, *-ru*, and *-r-ru*, of the Locative Suffix, the Mss. present scarcely anything noticeable in regard to Case-morphology. The Genitive form *Rmaṅ-dar-ḫi* occurring in IA 85, 91, 98, 106, 113, (*ḫis*) 126 but *gyi* in 73, *gaṅ-ḫi*, 128, IB 29 *Nam-ḫi*, is surprizing by reason of the otherwise uniform restriction of the *-ḫi(s)* to post-vocalic position. The relation of the *-i*, *-ḫi*, forms to those with *k/g* has never been explained; and, since in the Nam language, which has no trace of the *k/g*, there is an *-i*, explainable as a Genitive/Adjective forming particle, it is possible that the *-ḫi* of the Mss. is either borrowed from Nam or is a casual survival from an older stage in the Tibetan itself.

E. Pronouns

Here there is little divergence from normal Tibetan; for 'I' *ṅa*, and the perhaps more adversative *kho-bo*, 'I myself' (IA 117, B 42—3), both occur: the self-depreciatory *ṅan-bu* (IB 57, 74), 'bad child', corresponds to the epistolary *bdag-ñan-pa* of the Documents; *khyod*, 'thou', *khyed*, 'ye'. *Khoṅ* and *khoṅ-ta*, 'he', seem not to occur.

Of the Demonstratives *de*, *ḫdi*, 'that', 'this', present nothing abnormal, except for an idiomatic use of *ḫdi*, in common with *da*, 'that', 'there', as *quasi*-Suffixes in phrases like *Mchiṅ-rgyal-ḫdi*, 'Mchiṅ king here', *Ḫbon-da-rgyal*, 'Ḫbon there king' (cf. in the Documents *da-red*, 'of that ilk'), *dre-da*, 'the there fiend', on which see Linguistic Note to IV 57.

The frequent Adversatives, most often in the form *ñan/stan*, *gon/phon*, *hin/phan*, which relate in part, as will be seen, to social rank and are understood as 'obedience or fealty'/

'superiority or liegeship', 'debit'/'credit', 'near'/'beyond' (see Linguistic Note to IV 56—7), include, as correlative to *phan*, a new Demonstrative stem *hi*, which should be dialectically important. The usual Tibetan equivalent, *tshu/tshun/tshur/tshus*, occurs as *tshus* (IV 32—3) in antithesis to *phas*.

Pha/phan/phar/phas, 'beyond', 'in (from, etc.) the beyond', has also a form *phu* (cf. *tshu*), in which it furnishes expressions for superiority in age (*phu/nu*, a 'senior'/'junior') and height in space (*phu/mdah*, 'upland'/'valley').

Ya/ma, 'high'/'low', with Locative and Ablative forms *yar*, *ya-ru/mar*, *ma-ru*, *yas/mas*, and with *-n*-form (cf. *phan* and *tshun*) in the familiar antithesis *yan-chad/man-chad*, denoting 'upper' and 'lower' limit. See Linguistic Note on IV 57, 97—8, and on *ya-byi/ma-byi*, probably = °*phyi*, 'outside', 'beyond', the note on VI 37.

Bla (with variants *gla*, *rla*, *brla*, or which see *supra*, *p. 19* and Adverbial forms *bla-na/nas*, *blar*, *blas*) signifies 'highest', e. g. in *bla-ma*, 'Lama'. In temporal use *blar* and *bla-na* can signify 'previously', 'in advance', 'soon' (See *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, III, p. 26); and in *rje-blas* the meaning is 'at earliest, i. e. 'next, change'. See *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.* III, pp. 26—7, and note *infra* to VI 77.

F. Gender

Natural sex, as the most fundamental social distinction, must always have played a part in language. But even so, the expression of it has often been confused through intervention of other distinctions in society or in other experience, through its frequent irrelevance, as e.g. where it is said that the Masculine is used to include the Feminine, through ignoring of sex, as e.g. where some species of animal is credited with only one sex, or through attribution of sex, single or plural, to things lacking it. The last of these cases is further complicated by linguistic form, in names where this dictates the grammatical Gender or, in default even of this, the form of an accompanying Adjective decides. In some cases it is thought that the form or Gender of the class-term has affected the Gender of the particulars; but, when it is said, for instance, that in Latin, and perhaps more widely in Indo-European, winds, rivers, etc., are, partly in despite of form, Masculine, trees, etc., Feminine, fruits neuter, there is room for the remark that the Latin has beside its Masculines *amnis* and *fluvius*, 'river', also a not less frequent, Neuter *flumen*, Greek has not only ποταμός, but also ῥεῦμα and that Sanskrit literature, though the Dictionary gives the two forms *nada* and *nadī*, is unanimous in declaring the rivers to be female. It looks as if in such cases there was an actual instinctive imagination of sex, such as is widely apparent in popular speech, where objects such as ships, machines, countries, etc., are often designated 'she': and, where an actual name-form indicates a certain Gender, it may sometimes appear that the name-form, and not the Gender, is an adaptation.

In Tibetan a sexual distinction between *pha* and *ma*, 'father' and 'mother', and between *pho* and *mo*, 'male' and 'female', is likely *a priori* to be very ancient and in a number of cases is patent; but, it is, as has been shown *supra* (*p. 29—37*), far from covering all the idioms. A much more constant and systematic antithesis is that between a *pha/pho/phu*, signifying 'upper', 'further', and a *ma*, 'lower', 'nearer': and a further syncresis must be seen in a *ma* used to form Nouns, common and Verbal, and Adjectives, which conveys the impression of something not in any way feminine, but rather purely objective or 'Neuter'. As regards the *-pa/-ba* denoting Verb-actions or agents, the fact that, except in expressions borrowed from Tibetan proper, it is absent from all the Ch'iang and other allied dialects, suggests that it is a special Tibetan development, derived from the old Verb *be* (later *byed*)/*ba*, 'do'. The relation of the *-o*-forms *pho/mo* to the *-a*-forms *-pha/-ma* seems to have been a primitive characteristic of Tibetan languages, the *o*-form carrying perhaps a shade of additional emphasis due to a sense

of social or technical distinction: hence it could be reduced to a fashion, dialectical or otherwise; and in the Texts, which can use *byed-po* as merely equivalent to normal *byed-pa*, 'doer', it seems as if many, or most, of the *-po/-mo-* terms have simply replaced equivalents with *-pa/-ma*. Many particulars have been cited *supra* (p. 34—7).

Since, apart from the use of *-po/-mo-*forms, the Tibetan Noun has no formal indication of sex or Gender and since from many of the *-po/-mo-*forms themselves the notion of sex is clearly absent, the possibility of imputed, imaginary, sex, exemplified in many languages, is for Tibetan vague. One instance, however, is clear: many of the great peaks have names beginning with the title *Jo-mo*, 'Lady', or with '*A-ne*', which probably signifies 'Ancestress'. Upon this hint of a femininity seen in large size combined with immobility we might detect sex in another group, viz. the several *thaṅs* (*Moṅ-mo-*, *Bal-mo-*, *Rgya-mo-*, *Rgyal-mo-*, *Dbyar-mo-*) mentioned in the Texts and supported by examples (*Dbyar-mo-*, *Chang-chen-mo-*) outside. In another clear group of *-mo*-terms in the Texts, viz. those denoting the content (*nas-mo*, 'offering of barley', *yuṅs-mo*, 'turnip', *zer-mo*, 'nail', etc.,) of a scapegoat, a femininity based upon small size or socio-ritual character might be suspected, if the *-mo* were not probably merely a substitute for a non-committal *-ma*. It has been remarked that in the case of Adjectives such as *ched-po*, *chen-mo*, 'great', the *-po/-mo* does not belong to the Adjective in itself, but, like the *-us*, *-a*, of Latin *bonus/-a*, merely reflects the Gender of the accompanying or understood Noun. Even in the cases of Tibetan compound epithets such as *thu-bo-che*, 'of great might', the *-bo* does not belong to the Noun *thu* in the compound, but, as is proved by variants with *-mo*, to the Noun qualified: cf. *maṅ-po/mo-rje*, 'great chief', varying according to application to king or queen: even in cases like *lcuṅ-ka mchu-dmar-mo*, 'red-beaked jackdaw', *pho-rog-lo-stoṅ-po*, 'crow of 1000 years', the *-mo/-po* belongs to the main noun. It is however, to be admitted that some Adjectives may be restricted by their own signification: thus *phra-mo*, 'little' (*śiṅ-p(h)ra-mo*, 'little sticks') could perhaps never take the form *phra-bo*, and in other cases the *-bo* or *-mo* may have stuck fast. As regards the vague, but unmistakable, appearance of grouping in cases such as (a) *ñin-mo*, 'day', *mtshan-mo*, 'night', *nub-mo*, 'evening', etc., (b) *ltad-mo*, 'spectacle', *ston-mo*, 'feast', *gad-mo*, 'laughter', etc., (c) *sder-mo*, 'claw', *pus-mo*, 'knee', *sen-mo*, 'finger', *gru-mo*, 'elbow', etc., (d) *gyen-mo*, 'sloping', *gtum-mo*, 'fierce', *sgir-mo*, 'round', *żun-mo*, 'melted', etc., any motive for the *o*-form other than a slight increase of interest, or a fashion, seems undetectable. The whole subject, psycho-socio-logical, is obscure. But that sex-discrimination was prominent in Tibetan psychology is obvious from its extensive application by the grammarian terminology to the description of speech sounds.

(b) *Verbal*

In Verb-forms significant variation occurs in respect of (A) root-vowels, (B) Prefixes, (C) aspiration of an initial consonant, (D) Suffixes.

(A) Vowels:

Vowel-ablaut in Tibetan root-words is rather wide-spread and may be regarded as belonging to the *arcana* of the language. For the most part the interrelations are confined to the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, as in *sten/stan*, 'top', *graṅ/groṅ*, 'cold', *cag/cog*, Plural Suffix, *sem/som-*, 'think', 'doubt', *za/zo*, 'eat'; but in the Numeral system there are several cases of *u/o*, as *gsum*, '3', *so*, '30', *bdun*, '7', *don*, '70', *dgu*, '9', *go*, '90', and also others, *i/e*, in *bži*, '4', *że*, '40': elsewhere there are one or two instances of *i/u*, e.g. *gži/gżu*, 'bow', *ḫdzin/zuṅ*, 'grasp', *ḫbyin/phyuṅ*, 'expel', *ḫbigs/phugs*, 'pierce'. It is in Verbs that the Vowel Ablaut is commonest; and the Dictionaries show numerous duplicate Verbs, such as *gab/ḫkhab/ḫkhebs*, 'cover', *gad/dgad/dgod/rgod*, 'laugh', *gtaṅ/gtoṅ*, 'let go', *gcad/gcod/ḫchod/chad*, 'divide'. In conjugation the matter is somewhat systematic, the Preterite-Aorists and Futures of *e* and *o* Verbs having commonly *a*, and the Imperatives from the same, and likewise from *a* verbs, having *o*: examples —

h̲dren, drańs, drań, drońs
h̲jog, bżag, gżag, chog
h̲jal, bcal, gżal, h̲jol
h̲chah, bcas, bcah̲, chos
h̲debs, btab, gdab, thob

It is therefore probable that the multiple Verbs such as *dgad/dgod, gtań/gtoń*, have resulted partly from the break down of this system, confused already in the earliest literary period and in modern centuries reduced to a single form for each recognized Verb. Where in the old language *e* and *o* Verbs are found exempt from such Ablaut, e.g. *h̲khyer, gsol, h̲don, skon*, they may have come into use at a period when it was weakening or may have been affected by particular circumstances. It seems obvious that in the practical working of the language a Verb-form which in connection with a particular vowel had developed a special meaning could not be expected forthwith to equip itself with vowel-Ablauts according to a mechanical system; for instance, a *skor*, 'surround', derived from *h̲khor*, 'go round', or a *groń*, 'die', derived from *grań/groń*, 'cold', or a *bkyon*, 'blame', from *skyon*, 'fault', or a *bkol* III 50 from *h̲khol*, 'enslave', would not necessarily develope a *bskar, bgrań, bkyań, bkal*, which, moreover, if formed, might be confused with identical forms of other origin and signification. In the Mss. the old *a*-forms from *e* and *o* Verbs are well maintained; but in some instances, e.g. *ltems, bżeńs, bskor, btog, bdog, gthoms, bkhod*, the *e* or *o* of the Present is carried through, and in one or two, *bkhrol/bkrald, tshold/btsald, bsogs/bsags, bgrod/bskrad*, both forms occur.

In the Imperative the regular *o* is almost always maintained: examples —

khob (*h̲khebs/h̲gebs*) IA 107; *gob* (*h̲gebs/gab*) IB 64; *sñogs* (*sñegs*) IA 94; *tońs, thoń* (*gtań*) VI 15, 105; IB 39, 46, 100; *dros* (*ras*) IA 116; *h̲pońs* (*h̲phen*) IA 95; *sbogs* (*sbag*) IA 130; *byos* (*h̲byed*) IB 84, III 24—5, 31; *mdzod* (*mdzad*) IA 130; *zo(s)* (*za*) IA 64; *lobs* (*lab*) IA 37, *lob* IV 271; *gśogs* (*gśegs*) IA 116.

In other cases (*skon* II 8; *mchod* VI 153; *thog* II 8, *thogs* IA 117 (*bthags* IA 109); *stoń, ston, ton* III 17—8, 38) the *o* is usual also in the Present, so that they are less significant. It is interesting to note that after *ma* Prohibitive the *o*-form is not used: we find —

ma-bskań (*skon*?) IV 244; *ma-bcag* IV 243; *ma-theńs* IB 16, 18, 27; *ma-blańs* IB 21; *ma-ldag* IA 23. These may be Aoristic. In V 10 *rtsas* was perhaps resistant to the *o*-form.

3 (*b*) B. Prefixes

The matter of the Prefixes is far more complicated. Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, in treating of the *b, g, d, h̲, m*, Prefixed to Verb-forms, introduces three distinct considerations (see M. Jacques Bacot, *Les ślokas grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa*, pp. 51—60). First he states the phonological rules governing their use before the different consonants, to which he adds later a description of their several influences upon pronunciation. Next he defines their inherent significations. Thirdly he expounds their connections with Tense and Voice. It is obvious that the three considerations are incongruous.

So far as the phonetical restrictions are concerned we may be content to refer to an Appendix (pp. 206—211) in the *Nam language*, where it is pointed out that they have no relation to inherent meaning, which could not be affected by a following consonant; and that originally each Prefix, so far as it carried a significance, could precede any consonant, so that the phonetical restrictions have been superimposed, with consequent changes in the distribution of the Prefixes. The chief changes were (1) substitution of Prefix *d* for *b* and for *g* in the cases where these were phonetically inconvenient, and (2) phonetical deaspiration of aspirates following the Prefixes *g, d, b*, and also *r, n*, and *s*, which Thon-mi Sambhoṭa does not recognize as Prefixes. *M* and *h̲* were restricted to aspirates and mediae, with addition of nasals in the case

of *m*. There were also restrictions of *g*, *d*, *b* in relation to consonants of their own respective organs.

In the popular Tibetan of the Texts, and also in the Central-Asian documents and the Chronicle, the rule prohibiting aspirates after *g*, *d*, *b* is frequently disregarded; and there are similar cases after *r*, *l*, *s*. Tenuis after *h̲*- and *m* is not rare, likewise *b* in place of *m* before naals. The particulars have been cited *supra*, under Phonology (*p. 18—22*).

Concerning the significances of the Prefixes Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, whose grammatical studies had, no doubt, refined and fortified his linguistic sense, has statements (Bacot, pp. 58—60) which apparently can be represented as follows —

1. *b*- implies action by an agent, and, when the agent is named in the Instrumental Case, the Verbal sense is Passive. [Here the Prefix seems to signify only an action, and the sense of e.g. *bkum* will be only 'done-killed', the actual killer being already named.]
2. *g*- and *d*- may imply either an agent or a thing acted on: the forms accordingly may be either Active or Passive.
3. *h̲*- implies an agent not different from the Object (M. Bacot understands a Middle Voice).
4. *m*- does not imply either agent or Passive or Tense.

This part of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's statement should, however, be set out rather more precisely in his own terms. In explaining the *b*- Prefix as signifying both *bdag*, 'master' (Sanskrit *svāmin*) or 'self' and *gżan*, 'other', he can hardly have intended to follow the Sanskrit grammar, which uses *parasmai-pada*, 'word-form for another', and *ātmane-pada*, 'word-form for self', as names for Active and Middle Voice, or its logico-grammatical doctrine of the *kartā*, 'doer', as *ex hypothesi* 'self-dependent' (*sva-tantra*). In fact Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's *bdag* is the doer; and his *gżan* presents himself as affected by the acting of another. Taking his own example, we see that —

lcags-gser-du-bsgyur-zin (*bsgyur-bar-bya*, *sgyur-bar-byed*)

means —

'the iron has been (will be, is being) changed into gold',

where the *b* of *bsgyur* indicates an agent. In —

lcags-gser-du-gyur-zin (*h̲gyur-bżin-pa*, *h̲gyur-bar-h̲gyur*)
,the iron changed (is changing, will change) into gold'

there is no agent, and the iron itself is the Subject.

In —

ṅas-h̲khor-lo-bskord-pa-yin
'by me the wheel has been turned'

the *b* of *bskord* still signifies a 'doing'; but, inasmuch as the agent has already, by the Instrumental Case in *ṅas*, been mentioned, the action in the Verb can be conceived only as taking place in the Subject, namely the wheel, and the sense is Passive. It does not, in fact, seem possible to give an example of the *b*- in such cases as referring to the agent, and the Tibetan author is reduced to citing a case such as —

śiṅ-bcad-tshar
'finished cutting the wood'

where perhaps *tshar* is, by being Intransitive, prevented from being *btsar*. And presumably there may be many and various other Verbs which are unsuitable for a Prefix signifying 'do', though the English language can now use it with most Verbs such as 'come', 'think', 'hope', etc. It seems reasonable to credit Thon-mi Sambhoṭa with a correct appreciation of the

current import of the *b*-Prefix, and likewise of the *g*, *d*, *h*, and *m*, in the Verb-conjugation of his own language and time.

But in explaining that the *b*-forms relate to the past, the *g*- and *d*-forms to the present or future (see Bacot, p. 59 n. 1), the *h*-forms to present or future, while the *m*-forms are without distinction of Tense or of Active and Passive. incongruous considerations are introduced, and they are also incorrectly stated. The *b*-Preterite and the *g*- and *d*-Future are indeed the most patent general features of early Tibetan Tense-usage: they do not require the addition of the Auxiliaries, e.g. *pa*, *zin*, etc., for the Preterite, *hgyur*, etc., for the Future, which are added in the Classical language and are used by the commentators themselves in their explanations But any collection of examples will show that what the *b*-forms signify is not past time, but priority to some event, which may appertain even to future time, if accompanying a main Verb with Future Tense; and, even when Past, they signify primarily not time, but completedness of Action. This distinction, not known to Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, but familiar to linguists in connection with the Aorist stem of Greek Verbs, and also over a wider area, enables us to describe the Tibetan *quasi*-Preterite as 'Aoristic'. For the Tibetan Future, which is likewise often not a real Future, but relative to a context, either Past, Present or Future, the recognized term 'Prospective' may conveniently be used.

Concerning the third factor, phonetical, which obscures the functioning of the *b*, *g* and *d* Prefixes in Tibetan Verb-conjugation, a statement has been made *supra* (p. 44—5). The phonetical restrictions on the use of the three Prefixes severally have occasioned mutual substitutions, resulting in numerous Aoristic forms with the Prospective Prefixes *g* or *d* and Prospective forms with the Aoristic Prefix *b*. For such forms rules are set out by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, and in the Grammars: but in the language there are also some other phonetical adaptations which call for comment.

With a view to a control of the matter, so far as it presents itself in the confined area of the six ancient popular Texts, a fairly full exemplification may here be attempted. We may reserve for a later consideration a doubt whether the Tense significations ascribed by the commentators to some of the Prefixes in question, or even the above-described 'Aorist' and 'Prospective' notions, belong properly to those Prefixes. It should be premised that the notion of agency which Thon-mi Sambhoṭa finds in some of the Prefixes is not that of 'causing' someone to do or something to be done — for this the Tibetan has other expressions — but, as in English 'do a leap', etc., the direct enacting of something which, expressed as a Noun, 'a leap', is an occurrence with a date. It may be Transitive, as in 'do an offence to'; but it is not necessarily so, the primary Object of the 'do' being the action itself. The situation in the Mss. may be particularized as follows: —

(a) *b*-, Preterite or Aorist in the sense described, occurs in —

bkab (*bkhab*) IA 108
bkal (?) IB 23, IV 95
bkald IV 98
bkug IV 322
bkum IV 209, 211
bkur VI 152
bkol III 47, 50, V 22
bkyon VI 49
bkrald IA 118
bkroṅs IA 67, 69
brkus IV 234
bskud V 47
bskul IV 33
bskon IB 62
bskor IV 120, 183, VI 37, 38, 132
bskos IA 60, 63
bskyaṅ (?) IV 195
bskyabs VI 134, 158
bskyed V 33
bskyems IB 92

bskrags V 22
bskrad IA 48, VI 40
bkhug IA 111
bkhum IA 113
bkhod IA 125
bkhrol IA 110, 122
bgad IV 13, 17
bgab IB 23
bgug IV 293
bgyis IA 46, 86, 100, 103—4, B 43, 53 etc., II 12, IV 149 etc.
bgyegs VI 7
bgraṅs IA 26, VI 62
bgram IB 4
bgriṅs IA 66
bgres II 31, IV 250, 253, 260, 271
bgrod VI 145 (not Preterite?)
brgal IV 28, VI 34
brgyab IV 49, 179
brgyus IB 12, etc.
brgyos IV 33
bsgam VI 31
bsgams IA 45
bsgrod VI 36(?) (not Preterite?)
bcad IA 27, IB 54, 61, IV 155, 213, 285, VI 143
bcab II 28
bcas VI 64
bcug IB 62, 68, 85, 87, III 10
bcu(r) V 36, VI 49
chas IA 103, 125
bchad IA 103, 119, 121
bchibs IA 105
bñan IV 15—6
brñebs VI 145, 147 (not Preterite?)
bsñags IV 286
btag II 29
btags IB 55, 61, II 20, 24
btaṅ IA 26, IV 96, 97
btad V 46
btab II 23, IV 135, V 26, VI 1, etc.
btub IA 47, II 23 etc., VI 70
brtags IV 42
brtan IV 135
brtabs IB 96
blta(?) IB 64
bltam IA 50, B. 1, 2, 25—6, 32
bltams IB 102
bltas IV 91—4, 203—4
bstad VI 10
bstan V 48
bstun VI 110
bstus IB 4
bthags IA 119, IV 48, 161
bthab IV 47—8, 131—3
bdag IB 23
bdam VI 18, 33, 80
bdas IA 19
bduṅs IA 15
bdub IA 121
bdog IV 4, 6(?) (not Preterite?)
brdabs IV 215
bsdams IB 86
bsdus II 29
brnal IB 37, II 25, VI 119
btsams IA 26, IV 52
btsal IB 10, IV 78, 117, 120, 123, 304, V 39, VI 65, 88
btsald IV 7
btsugs IB 82, 89, 90, 95, IV 50, 102, 105—7, etc.
btsos IB 16, 18
brtsigs IV 120
btshal IV 76
btshugs IA 25
bżag IB 68, 87 (not Preterite?)
bżab II 12
bżabs IV 54 (not Preterite?)
bżigs IV 204—8
bżu IB 23
bżu(?) IB 24
bżugs IB 37, 55, 95, II 27, 30, IV 92, VI 73
bżud IB 79, IV 188—9
bżums VI 48—9
bżeṅs IV 227, VI 55
bżes IB 1, V 24, VI 54
bżos IB 22
bzar IA 67, 112
bzuṅ II 12, IV 30, 48, 154
bzuṅs III 19
bzur IV 89
bzlog VI 46 (not Preterite?)
brlag III 40, 43, IV 37
brlog IV 31 (not Preterite?)
blaṅ V 10, VI 68
blaṅs IA 67, V 12, VI 28

blan IA 73, 120, IV 86, 163, 165, 226, 229, V 34, VI 43
blud IA 46
bśas IV 214, V 24
bśad VI 49
bśums VI 48
bśur IV 245
bśus IV 124
bśor VI 116 (not Preterite?)
bśos IB 31, IV 236, 306
bśos IV 89 ? 91 ? 97 ?, II 16, 26, 30, IV 42.43—4
bsags IA 125, 128
bsaṅs III 28
bsad II 2, V 24
bsam IV 235, VI 51, 104, 106
bsigs VI 10
bsu IV 195, 209
bsen IA 88, IB 5
bsogs IV 47, VI 46
bsobs II 1, 5
bsriṅs V 33
bsregs II 2
bslus IV 49
blhags IV 47.

The instances marked with ? are cases of reduplicated Verb-forms of which in their contexts the 'Tense' signification is doubtful; but some others may be questionable in sense as noted.

Is is clear that most of the Verbs in this long list are notionally Transitive; but to verify this in all the cases and instances would be a formidable task and not remunerative, because, in the first place, Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's understanding of an 'agent' does not require an Object and, secondly, his rule makes the Verb-form frequently Passive. But a few cases may be noticed where the 'do' notion is rather out of place, the 'doer' being both agent and experiencer of the action, so that according to the definition the Prefix *h-*, if phonetically allowable, would have been expected, not the *b-*. Thus we find —

bgad, 'laughed'
bgres, 'grown old' (*gres* VI 68)
bñan, 'listened'
brñebs, 'took (taking?) care'
btub, 'succeeded in'
bdub, 'sank'
brnal, 'fell (fallen?) asleep'
bżab, 'crept'
bżud, 'went'
bzur, 'bent', 'cornered'
bsam, 'thought'

Such cases, sufficiently analogous to those where the *b-* Verb is understood as Passive, show that the notion of a 'doer' was wide enough to include any Subject functioning as sphere of the occurrence.

(b) Preterite Aorist without the *b-* Prefix may be classified as follows: —

1. With no Conjugational Prefix —

skams IA 76, IV 275
skyes IV 105, B 99, 100, V 13, 30, VI 146
khums IA 16, B 42
khrus III 30
gabs IB 93
gyur III 9
gyurd IV 10
g-yus (or *rgyus*) IB 11
gyond IB 59, 60 etc.
grugs IA 33, 122—3
gres VI 68
groṅs IA 32, 33, IV 43—4, VI 48
rgal IV 130, 131 etc.
rgas IB 38
rgus IV 54

rgyab IV 57, 105, 112 etc.
chag IA 30
chags IA 121, III 42, VI 37
chad IV 219, 237
chegs IV 205
ches VI 137, 138
chod IA 74, III 6 (?)
mjal(d) IA 58, 109
ñan-to IV 242
ñams IA 33
ños VI 140
sñam(s) II 12, VI 67—8
rtol IA 32
ltam IA 41
ltems IB 91
ltas IV 45
stad IA 89, 103
thags IV 48 (?)
thar IV 289, 296—7, V 14
thald III 19
thub IA 83, VI 36 (?), 99 (?)
theṅs (?) IB 9
thog II 5
thogs II 11, 20, 22, IV 27, VI 129
thob V 12
thos III 19, 22 etc., IV 13, 15 etc., VI 5

dar III 47, 50
dubs VI 38
draṅ(s) IA 31, III 41, 44, V 35, 40
dros IA 119
rduṅs IV 215
rdol IV 237 (?)
ldab-ldib IV 229, 235 (?)
sdus VI 102
naṅs IB 37, 88, II 4, V 29
nams IA 40, B 31, 97, II 16, VI 54, 160
noṅs IV 76, 101, 104 etc.
snams IV 99
pub IV 168
pyuṅ IA 112, 128, IV 53, 232—3
spaṅs IV 287
spos IB 68
spyis IA 6
spyon (?) IV 165

sprags IV 227
phab VI 76
phas IV 203, 222, 232
phugs VI 69
phuṅ V 19
phul IB 21, 23
phog IV 201, 202, 205
phyin III 43
phyuṅ IA 48, II 20, IV 16, V 27
phyes IV 39
phyogs III 42
phrul II 8
phrogs IV 52
bab IA 42—5 etc., III 14, 25 etc.
babs II 18, III 3, 6 etc., IV 42, VI 50 etc.
bor II 12, IV 224, 229 etc., V 15, 16 etc., VI 42, 53 etc.
bos IB 2, VI 14
byas IB 83, 84, II 23, 24, III 7, 8, V 23, 27, VI 3 etc.
byiṅ IB 28, 113 etc.
byuṅ IA 28, 113 etc., B 94, 97 etc., II 28, III 14, 15 etc., IV 203, 213
byul IV 188, 190
bris IA 38, III 18
bres VI 108, 132, 133
bros IB 56, 78, II 6, 7, III 1, IV 200, 207, etc.
sbogs IA 101, 127
sbyaṅs VI 79
sbyar VI 5
sbyon IV 163
sbribs IB 91
mos VI 44
rmaṅ-rmoṅ IV 220, 235
rmis II 28
rmos IA 17, IV 282
smos IA 37, IV 117, 118 etc.
smras V 47
tsom IV 189
rtsigs IV 103—4, 167, etc.
stsal VI 28
stsald IA 45, II 24, 25
tshugs IB 9
tshoms IV 195
tshold IV 9
rdzogs V 49
żags (?) II 5
żugs II 1, IV 35—6
żus VI 111, 117 etc.
zug IV 207

zuṅs IV 48
zun IB 83
zos IB 35, 40 etc., II 1, 3, IV 25
h̲oṅs III 43, IV 7, 28 etc.
yar IV 55—6
yal IA 33
yogs IB 71—2
rlag V 20, 33
rlaṅ-rliṅ IV 229, 236
rlaṅs IB 89
rlad IV 205
laṅs III 3
log II 13
lon IA 74
śor IA 28, II 18, 19, 22
saṅs IB 37
sogs IV 47
sos III 34, VI 36, 93 etc.
srabs IV 89, 93
sros IB 63, 64, V 29
slud(?) IV 58, 106, 120, 134
slebs IV 200—2 etc.
lhas(?) VI 136
lhogs IV 210
lhos IV 277—9

Of these forms a considerable proportion may be regarded as irrelevant, since they have initial labials, ,*p ph*, *b*, *m*, which phonetically exclude the *b*- Prefix: to these may be added those with initial *rm*, *sm*, *sp*, since *brm*, *bsp*, are unknown. It cannot be said that *bsb* is inconceivable, since *bsbul* actually occurs: also in some cases of *b* a substitute *d*- is used (cf. 3 *infra*). Where *sp*- is a Causative form, that also may have cooperated, but not necessarily, since *bsk*-, *bsg*-, *bst*-, *bsd*-, from Causatives actually occur, naturally perhaps only in cases such as 'do-make-die', where the Causative sense merges in the Transitive.

Of the forms with initial labials some are explicable on other grounds, the Verb-notion being incompatible with a 'doing'; and this applies also to a large number of the others, e. g. —

khruṅs, 'grew'
gyur(d), 'became'
gres, 'aged'
groṅs, 'died'
rgas, 'aged'
ñan, 'listened'
ñams, 'failed'
thar, 'got free'
thald, 'got through'
thub, 'succeeded'
thos, 'heard'
dar, 'spread'
naṅs, 'dawned'
noṅs, 'died'
phas, 'passed'
mos, 'experienced'
rmis, 'dreamed'
yar, 'was hurled'
yal, 'failed'
yogs, 'was covered'
saṅs, 'dawned'
sos, 'lived', 'survived'

2. With *g*- Prefix —
gcags VI 139, 151
gchado IA 1, 10, 11
gñar IV 266—7, 314, VI 19(?)
gtur IB 40
gthubs IV 96, 98
gthur IV 96—7
gthod IV 132(?)
gthoms IV 53
gdzos(?) IB 96
gzugs IV 49, 56—8 etc.
gzuṅs IV 23(?)
g-yus IB 11
g-yos IV 31—2 (not Preterite?) IV 232
gśegs IA 53, B 34, II 31, IV 99, 100. VI 23, 107 etc.
gsuṅ IV 80, 84, 90, B 101, II 21
gsold IB 92

Perhaps most of these (*gcags*, *gchado*, *gñar*, *gthubs*, *gzugs*, *gzuṅs*, *gśegs*, *gsuṅ*, *gsold*) may be explained as retentions of the *g*- preëxisting in the Present tense and normal form of the same

Verbs, *gzugs* being further a special Transitive form of the *ḫtshugs*, which accompanies it in the Texts. It must, however, be admitted that both in the Texts and in the dictionaries *b*-forms from *gcog* and *gcod* are found. *G-yus* and *g-yos* may be due to the non-occurrence of *b-y* in Tibetan. *G-dzos*, from *ḫtshod*, 'cook', seems similar to *gzugs*.

Gtur, 'pack up', *gthur*, 'clench (a claw)', is known only in *gtur-bu*, 'a wallet'; *gthod* may be not a Past Tense.

3. With *d*-Prefix —

dgaṅ IV 224, 295
dgar IA 1, 2, etc., 10, 11, IV 215
dgyes VI 48—9
dṅar IA 126
dbul III 33 (Prospective ?)
dbog IA 17
dbyuṅ IA 24
dbye IA 38, 103(?)
dmard IA 15

Concerning these not much can be said. Of those with initial labial *dbul* and *dbye* are perhaps further excluded by not being Preterite. *Dgaṅ* is perhaps a Noun (*dgaṅ-bzaṅ*, 'a good filling'): *dgar*, 'settled apart', though found in the dictionary, should certainly be *bgar*, and *dṅar*, 'arrange', possibly *bṅar*.

4. With *m*- Prefix —

mchis IV 42 etc., B 35 etc., II 6 etc., III 34 etc.
mjal(d) IA 49, 72 etc., B 47, 58 etc.
mnan IA 90, 106
mthoṅ IV 95, 285
mdzad IA 109

These *m*- Verbs are excluded by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's definition, the *m*- involving negation of 'doing', which is, indeed, paradoxical in the case of *mdzad*.

5. With *ḫ*- Prefix —

ḫkhyags IB 2, 26
ḫkhras IV 270
ḫkhruṅ VI 61
ḫkhruṅs IV 282—3
ḫcad IV 236
ḫchas II 13
ḫches VI 6
ḫjus IB 70
ḫthab IV 127
ḫthabs III 51
ḫthug = *ḫthuṅ* IB 40
ḫthugs = *ḫthuṅs* IB 50
ḫthuṅs IA 75, 83, B 36
ḫdas IB 79, III 48, IV 207, 211 etc.
ḫdaḫs IV 208, 211
ḫdus IB 15, V 34, VI 43
ḫdris V 28
ḫdres VI 32—5
ḫphaṅs IV 200—2, 205, 208, VI 102
ḫphyas III 11
ḫphrul II 10
ḫbab V 16
ḫbuṅs IB 51
ḫbos IB 79
ḫbros IA 82
ḫtsald IV 217—8, 234 etc.
ḫtshal IA 54—6 etc., B 73, IV 95, VI 31
ḫtshald IA 21, B 42—3
ḫtshos IA 18, B 66

It seems that the meanings of most of these Verb-forms do, in fact, comply with Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's notion of action in the agent himself: such are, e.g. *ḫkhyags*, 'congealed', *ḫkhras*, 'perched', *ḫkhruṅs*, 'was born', *ḫjus*, 'clung', *ḫdus*, 'assembled', *ḫbab*, 'fell' (of rain), *ḫbros*, 'fled'. This accord is strengthened by one or two cases where with a difference of meaning a Verb-form, e.g. *bsdus*, 'collected', *bdas*, 'drove', has the *b*- Prefix. *Ḫcad*, 'maltreated', should clearly have been *bcad*: and *ḫtshos*, 'lived', might have been differentiated (*btsos* ?) from *ḫtshos*, 'pastured' (sheep).

(b) Future or Prospective forms:

For these *Thon-mi Sambhoṭa*, who, however speaks of Present or Future tense (see Bacot, p. 59), allows the Prefixes *g* and *d*, which he states, may imply either an agent or a thing acted on, so that the forms may be either Active or Passive. The statement regarding the Present Tense is obscure[1]) and the examples given are in fact Prospectives. The Texts give —

(1) with *g-* Prefix —

gchad IA 78—9
gñer IA 78, 116
gtaṅ IA 75
gtham III 2, IV 30
gdab IA 102, 104, 117, VI 119
gdul V 43—4
gsnaṅ IV 30
gdzos IB 96
gzugs(u) IV 62, 64, 75 etc.
gzuṅ IA 47
gzuṅsu III 19, 22
glan IA 47, 77, 79, IV 62, 88 etc.
glud III 28, IV 290, 296, etc.

Since with Prospective sense a final *-s* is out of place, it is probable that *gzugs* is always for *gzug* + *su*: *gdzos*, from *ḫtsho*, 'feed', may be not Prospective, but Preterite, the passage having a lacuna.

(2) with other, or no, Prefix —

bkri, *bgri* IV 292, 310, 316 etc.
bkhur, *bkur* IA 101, 104
skor IV 193, 198, 304
bskor IV 116, 158, 186 etc.
dgod IV 17
bgyi IA 100, IB 64, IV 121, 122 etc., V 12, 37
rgyab IV 64, 75
brgam V 31
chod IA 114—5, VI 96—7 (?)
ḫchug IA 131 (Imperative ?)
sñogs VI 97
brtag(-te-bygis) IB 63—4
theṅs IB 9
ḫthuṅs IA 65—6, 83, 115 (Imperative ?)
ḫdaḫs II 9 (Imperative ?)
dpub(dbub)-du(tu) IV 67, 115 etc., VI 32
bya VI 111, 120 etc.
rtsig(-du) IV 63
tshugs IB 9 (?)
lon IA 114—5, VI 96
lob(-du) IV 271—2
lobs IA 37 (Imperative ?)
slud(glud) (*-du*) IV 65, 66 etc.

Here the forms with *bk*, *bkh*, *sk*, *bsk*, *bg*, *rgy*, *brg*, *brt*, *dp*, *rts*, *sb*, may all be disregarded on the ground of their phonetical disqualification: in most of them a substituted *d* would be likewise disqualified. The *d-* in *dgod*, allowed by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, is further supported by the contrast with its own Preterite, *bgad*, in the actual passage; and *dpub* further by the purposive Suffix *du*, which it shares also with *rtsig* and *lob*. The cases with terminal *-s* (*sñogs*,

[1]) Perhaps the meaning is that, where the sense is Passive, the Tense is Future.

theṅs, *hthuṅs*, *hdahs*, *tshugs*, *lobs*) are all open to doubt, as perhaps Imperatives; and *chod* and *lon* are, as Prospectives, inappropriate in their passages.

(*c*) Imperative:

1. With *cig/chig/jig/żig/śig* —

-*cig*: *skon-* II 21, *gyis-* VI 70, *mchod-* VI 7, 25, 46 etc., *mdzod-* IA 130, *hon-* IB 3—6, 101—3, *gsol-* VI 59, *ma-byed-* VI 143, *ma-mdzod-* IA 130, *ma-zun-* IB 83

-*chig*: *hkhor-* IA 89, *ñen-* IA 131, *byin-* III 25

-*jig*: *rjed-* III 30, *stoṅ/ston--* III 17—8, 38, *lud-* III 25

-*żig*: *gyis-* VI 2, 15, *mchod-* VI 153, *thoṅ-* VI 15

-*śig*:

kru(s)- III 24	*hpoṅs-* IA 96
khob(s)- IA 107	*byuṅ(s)-* IA 90
gob(s)- IB 64	*byos-*, *byo(s)-*, *byo-ho(s)* IB 84, III 24, 31
gyi(s)- III 35, 38	*sbogs-* IA 130
hchug(s)- IA 131	*smos-* III 35
sñogs- IA 94	*rtsas-* V 10
sñoms- III 26	*tshugs-* IB 101
thogs- IA 117, II 8 *thog(s)*	*zuṅ(s)-* V 49
thoṅ(s)- IB 39, 46, 100	*zo(s)-* IA 65
hthuṅ(s)- IA 65—6	*śog(s)-* IA 90, 93, 94
dros- IA 116, 118	*gśogs-* IA 116
ma-bskaṅs- IV 244	*ma-bzuṅ(s)-* IV 243
— *hkhri(s)-* IA 23	*ma-hbub(s)-* IV 243
— *-gyi(s)-* III 35	— *-za(s)-* IA 23
— *-ldag(s)-* IA 23	

2. Without *cig* etc.

gyis IA 130, VI 16, 130	*stsol* VI 9, 57, 102
glud III 28	*htshol* III 30
hgraṅ (?) VI 19	*lobs* IA 37
toṅs-gis VI 105	
thob-la-gyis VI 158	*ma-bcag* IV 243
bżud II 21	— *-btab* IB 21—2
byin II 23, III 28	— *-theṅs* IB 27
blaṅs (?) VI 28	— *-non* IB 84
rtsob-gis-phog VI 52—3	— *-tshugs* IB 27
stsal (?) VI 28	— *-blaṅs* IB 21

Here the great preponderance of forms with *żig*, *śig*, which in themselves either show or imply in the Verb a terminal *-s*, combines with a majority of those lacking the *cig*, etc., to prove the *-s* to be a constant feature of the Imperative. The exceptions are primarily only Verbs with terminal *d*, *n*, *r*, *l*, which normally reject the *-s*, in favour sometimes of the *d-drag*. The absence of *-s* from *ma-bcag*, *ma-btab*, combines with their medial *-a-* and that of *ma-bskaṅs*, *ma-ldags*, *ma-zas* (contrast *zos* IA 65), to suggest that in Prohibitions not the Imperative, but (as in Greek) a Preterite, as more emphatic, was used.

3 (*b*) C. Significance and history of Prefixes

The mass of examples of Aorist-Preterites with *b-* Prefix seems to confirm Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's statement of the signification of the form, and the rather numerous cases for consideration are to a fair extent amenable to the suggested explanations. The *g*-Prospective also, though more sparsely exemplified, stands out very clearly. This degree of regularity in actual

use is not shared by the Tibetan Prefixes in general, or by *r-*, *l-*, etc., which by the native grammarians are not recognized as such: only *s-* has, and this also in the Verb-system, an equal consistency in a particular use, sc. in forming causative Verb-stems.

The inference that this *b-* Prefix was of relatively recent origin in Tibetan is countenanced, first of all, by the fact that it does not appear to have existed in the old Ch'iang dialects or in Nam (see *Nam*, p. 196) and that it is even now absent from the popular dialects of north-eastern Tibet, where also the Suffix *pa/ba* is, when not borrowed from Tibetan, replaced by *ta*. The latter circumstance suggests, in fact, that both are derived from the ancient Verb *be/ba* (Tibetan *byed*, *byas*, *bas*, 'do'), which in the form *g-we*, *h̲we*, *we*, *h̲wa*, *was*) is frequent in Nam (pp. 337—340) and is used also as an Auxiliary Verb. It is noticeable that also in the Western Tibeto-Burman languages both Prefix and Suffix are missing, except perhaps the latter in some dialects of Eastern Nepal and except in borrowing from Tibetan proper. It seems possible that they were features of a south-eastern region, to which, in fact, the Tibetan language proper belongs. As a Prefix, accordingly, a *ba* with the signification 'do', which is what Thon-mi Sambhoṭa attributes to the *b-*, would form, e.g. a *ba-sad*, 'do kill', a compound verb of a type common in the language, while in reversed order *sad-ba* would signify 'kill-doing' or 'kill-doer', with the ordinary function of the *-pa/-ba* of Tibetan Verbs. A common origin of Prefix and Suffix has a notable parallel in the case of *m-/-ma* if the *m-* of, e.g., *mkhyen*, 'know', to which Thon-mi Sambhoṭa denies any signification of activity or Tense, were identical with the Suffix *-ma*, exemplified *supra*, in various uses, and with a *ma/mo*, 'be', which very widely over the Tibeto-Burman area is attested as perhaps the earliest form of the Verb Substantive.

The rationale of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's restriction of the *b*-Prefix in Verbs to Preterite time is not immediately apparent: why should it not be applicable to present and future time, and in particular to commands and prohibitions? It seems possible that he may have been misled by its naturally great frequency in narratives of occurrences and also in cases of matters mentioned as prior to another occurrence (past, present or future). But perhaps the real cause was its very frequent accompaniment by Suffixes which in themselves were significant of past time. It will be seen that most of the listed forms either actually exhibit an *-s-* Suffix or can be shown to have once possessed such and to have lost it phonetically. This applies in the first place to all those ending in *-d* (when not itself a Preterite Suffix), *r* and *l* (*-ds*, *-rs*, and *-ls* being prohibited finals): in the case of Verb-stems ending in vowels the *-s* is, in fact, always preserved except in cases marked in the list as of doubtful 'Tense' signification. The *d-* Suffix also, appended to *n*, *r*, *l*, as in *bkald*, *gyond*, *gyurd*, counts as forming a Preterite: and the remaining final consonants, *g*, *n*, *b*, *m*, are all capricious in regard to the omission or presence of the *-s*. The case of Preterites with other Prefixes or no Prefix is quite similar, and the general conclusion that absence of the *-s* in Preterites with such consonants was due simply to phonetical loss, in later times universal, is unobjectionable.

But that the *b-* Prefix was not confined to Preterites, which in the Classical language is evidenced by the rather numerous Verbs, such as *bgod*, 'divide', *bgyid*, 'make', *btsa*, 'beget', 'watch', *bżed*, '*desire*', *bśad*, 'expound', *bsu*, 'go to meet', is in the Texts also exemplified by *bca*, 'cut up', *bśu*, 'flay', IV 209, *bskud*, V 47, 'smear', cf. *bsbul-ma* V 37, 'a move (to be made)': and there are probably other cases where a refined scrutiny would show that sense and form unite in excluding the Preterite.

The instances with Prospective signification, such as the repeated *bkri*, *bgri* IV 292, 310, 316 etc., 'will carry', 'will be carried', can perhaps all be explained as having a *b-* substituted on phonetical grounds for a normal *g-*. The Prohibitives with *b-* cause no difficulty, since they have Preterite, not Imperative, vowels and Prefixes.

Accordingly the notion that the *b*-Prefix in Verbs has itself, in addition to its signification of action, a relation to Tense seems to lack justification. In regard to the *g*-Prospective the

situation seems to be somewhat different; since absence of the *s*- Suffix is the differentia of the Tibetan Future, there should be no occurrences of the latter with *-s*, whether with or without the *g*-. The examples of *g*- Preterites cited *supra* (*p. 53*) have in all instances either the *-s* or such forms as would have lost it phonetically: in sense they are actually Preterite/Aorist, and the *g*-, in place of *b*, must be explained either from some circumstance connected with the Verbs severally or as laxity of use. The *d*- forms (*p. 51*) are in a majority of instances from roots with initial labials or dentals, which accords with the view (*p. 44—5*) that the *d*- has replaced a phonetically inconvenient *b*.: *dgaṅ*, 'a filling', may really be for *ggaṅ* Prospective and *dgyes* is the normal spelling of that word. But *dgar* should clearly have been *bgar*, though that form is not known: *dbye* IA 103 is likewise perhaps Prospective and may represent a *gbye*, which accords with its lack of *-s*, absent also, however, in *dpye-che* IV 82—4.

The *m*- Prefix, though defined as not implying either agent or passivity, and understandable as forming *is*- Verbs, 'impassives' (so to speak), is not thereby precluded from use in Preterites, e.g. *mchis*, 'came' or 'was', *mjald*, 'met', *mñan*, 'was in fealty', *mthoṅs* IV 95, 285, 'was seen', mostly, as we see, with Preterite Suffixes: *mdzad* IA 109 has a non-variable *m*-.

The Preterites with *h̲*- (listed *supra*, *p. 51*) are practically always furnished with Tense-Suffixes, which accords with Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's view of the import of the *h̲*-, as in itself containing no implication of Tense.

The very numerous Preterites without Prefix (*pp. 48—50*) are likewise in no conflict with the explanation of the *b*- Prefix as signifying a 'doing' or a corresponding 'being done'. Very many Verb-notions, e.g. 'being born', 'aging', 'hiding', 'falling', 'stopping', 'escaping', 'spreading', 'dying', 'appearing', 'losing', 'dreaming', 'sitting', 'hanging', 'rising', 'fleeing', 'dawning', are normally, or essentially, alien from the notion of a 'doing', and others can easily dispense with it. Among the examples many, or most, are of this character; and naturally for indication of Preterite-Aoristic Tense they use the same Suffixes or indications as appear elsewhere.

The prevalent features of the Imperative stems, sufficiently recognised in the Grammars, are (a) omission of Prefixes, (b) aspiration of initial *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, of roots, (c) *o*-vocalization of *-a*-, *-e*-, of root, (d) Suffix *-s*. Of these the last is almost invariably either present, as in *lobs*, 'speak', *gśogs*, 'go', *sñogs*, 'follow', *byos*, 'do', or phonetically implied, as in *khob(s)-śig*, 'conceal', *gyi(s)-śig*, 'do', *zuṅ(s)-śig*, 'seize', *zo(s)-śig* 'eat'. As regards Prefixes the lists (*p. 53*) show some tendency to retain *h̲*-, and the aspiration, seen in *thoṅ(s)*, from *gtaṅ*, *gtoṅ*, is not infrequently neglected. The *o*-vowel, where in place, is favoured.

In prohibitions, with *ma*, the Preterite form tends, as has been remarked, to prevail, and in that case it retains the *a*-vowel and sometimes the *b*-Prefix.

The above usages of Prefixes in the Verb-system may be regarded as special, partly by reason of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's appreciation of them as carrying certain more or less regular significations and partly from the evidence of the operations of more or less the same meanings in the actual vocabulary. But this does not throw light upon the significance or history of those Prefixes, e.g. *r*, *l*, *s*, which Thon-mi Sambhoṭa does not recognize as such, or even of the same *g*, *d*, *b*, *m*, *h̲*, in the language generally, where they occur miscellaneously. The very fact that a consciousness of grammatical use of the *g*, etc., was alive in the minds of his contemporaries suggests that the usages were not very ancient and were akin to the secondary system of grammatical Prefixes prevalent (see *Nam*, pp. 95—7) in a posterior stage of some Tibeto-Burman dialects of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands. A probably quite early use of Prefixes may be seen in the Tibetan numerals, since numeratives are a wide-spread usage: and these are as yet unexplained. The *h̲*-Prefix, despite its frailty, has survived, largely as a nasal, very widely, and still awaits explanation; concerning the *r*, *l* and *s* we have only, in addition to Conrady's 'Causativ-Denominativ' view (see also *Nam*, p. 352), the original and attractive

theory of the late Dr. Wolfenden (*Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology* (1929), see especially, pp. 2—3, 38—51), according to which they were at first 'Directive or Objective' Infixes, comparable to the Prepositions compounded with Verbs in Latin and affecting their meanings and governance. It is held (see pp. 7—8, 38—40) that originally they were applied only to Verb-forms and were always preceded by Prefixes, *b-*, *m-*, indicating a Subject, the Nouns in which they appear being in general deverbal. This view, elaborated perhaps more with illustration than with proof, is based upon the elsewhere well established system of the 'recapitulatory Verb' terminating the sentence. Dr. Wolfenden's view and his evidences should, no doubt, be kept in sight; but the propositions concerning 'Directive', and also those concerning 'Subjective' (for which we would substitute 'Action'), Prefixes and their restriction to Verb-forms should perhaps await further material concerning the historical functioning of the Prefix in the sphere of Tibetan proper. The manifold confusions apparent in the usage and stereotyped by the grammarians may be somewhat clarified by further details: they are several times adduced by Dr. Wolfenden, who in the case of the *g-*, *d-* speaks (p. 40) of 'complementary' relation, and who might perhaps have agreed that a gap separates the original uses of the Prefixes from those stated by the grammarians.

In connection with the *b*-Prefix we are introduced (Bacot, op. cit. pp. 55—8) to the correlative terms *bdag*, 'lord', 'self', and *gźan*, 'other', in regard to which, reflecting, as we cannot but hold, the *parasmai-pada*, 'word for another', 'Active Voice', and *ātmane-pada*, 'word for self', 'Middle Voice', of the Sanskrit grammar, Thon-mi Sambhoṭa has either misunderstood or deliberately inverted the two opposite senses. It is explained that, where there is action by an agent upon an object, the agent and his action are each *bdag*, the object and its experience each *gźan*: thus in 'A killed B', 'A' and 'killed' are each *bdag*, 'B' and 'was killed' each *gźan*; for indicator of the significand, *bdag*, the *b*-Prefix in the Verb serves. This, however, works out awkwardly thus —

1. In the sentence 'A killed B', in Tibetan 'By A B was killed', *bdag* is 'A' and 'killed', while *gźan* is 'B' and 'was killed'; yet both 'killed' and 'was killed' are indicated by the single *b*-Prefix, which has also to indicate the Preterite Tense, of which the form coöperates.

2. In the case of an Intransitive Verb, e.g. in 'A lived', 'A went', there should be no *bdag* or *gźan*; but actually many instances of the *b-* can be found in such sentences.

3. The *b-* should appear only in Preterite Verb-forms; but it is found in the Presents of many individual Verbs and in the Future Tenses of most classes of Verbs (see Ś. C. Das, *Introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan language*, pp. 38—45), in the latter mostly, no doubt, as a substitute for *g* or *d*.

4. The *b-* is often absent from Verb-forms in which, either as indicating agency or as mark of Preterite Tense, or as both, it should have appeared.

Thus it seems that the *b-* has to indicate the two opposites, 'active' and 'passive', and Preterite Tense, and that it does neither of these without many exceptions, by way of defect and excess, in respect of both.

It is affected also by competition: the two Prefixes *g* and *d*, usual with Future Tense, have also to function as *bdag* and *gźan*, sc. active and passive. The *h̲*-Prefix, beside indicating Present or Future Tense, is also to be *bdag*, sc. of Active Voice. Even the *m*-Prefix is also competitive; for by reason of its description as void of any implication of *bdag* or *gźan* it outlines a region where neither of them has a place.

It seems that a part of the confusion is due to the modern interpreters. For, whereas the Tibetan grammar states that what is indicated by the *b*-Prefix is the agent or his action, only the agent has been considered. Consequently the Prefix has to signify any person or thing, any group of persons or things, or anything indicated by a Pronoun, singular or plural, in the context as acting, and also, where the Verb-form is understood as Passive, any person or

thing indicated as object of the action. This raises also a philological problem: how is the *b*-Prefix, which is a part of the Verb-form, to indicate a Subject so variable as 'he', 'it', 'they', 'I', etc., etc.? or, if on the analogy of, say, Latin *dixi*, 'I said', *dixit*, 'he said', it is agreed that a Verb-form can indicate its Subject, even if so vaguely as not to distinguish Person or Number, how can linguists contemplate Dr. Wolfenden's hypothesis (pp. 31—3) of an original form, e.g. *ba-sad*, 'he (they, etc. etc.) killed', of which the Prefix *ba*, originally syllabic, split into two, forming two independent Prefixes, *b* and *a*, the present *b*- and *h̲*-, thus accounting, since Dr. Wolfenden suspects (p. 40) the *g*- and *d*- of being originally 'Directives', for all the personal *bdag* and *gźan* Prefixes? That the *b*-Prefix, like all the others, was originally syllabic, though none of them has yet been found with a vowel, probably everyone agrees; and a (Tibetan) *a*- vowel in a *ba* is unobjectionable. But what is this *ba*, presumably a Pronoun of some sort, since Dr. Wolfenden is concerned to find it representing the *bdag*? Such a Pronominal stem seems to be unevidenced and improbable.

A 'split' of the original *ba*, if supposable, should have resulted in a pair of Prefixes, *b*- and *a*-; but what we find is *b*- and *h̲*-. Here we are in contact with Jaeschke's unfortunate explanation of the Tibetan *h̲* as a vague, generalized, vowel, perhaps what in consonants is termed 'voice', distinguished from Tibetan *a* by not being preceded by a laryngeal check. This error and the consequent transliteration of the Tibetan sign by an *a* or any sort of vowel sign, should be discarded. The Tibetan grammarians, who from the Indian paṇḍits had absorbed nothing more fundamentally than their refined phonetical observation, have always described and classified their *h̲* as a consonant: it never constitutes a syllable or appears otherwise than as a part of a syllable which has its own vowel; despite its frailty as a faint laryngeal, mostly somewhat nasal, consonant, it has had a remarkably wide survival, mainly as a Prefix, in Khams written *gh*, or as a nasal, elsewhere generally as a nasal, e.g. in *H̲dre* = *H̲bri*, name of the Tibetan Yang-tse-chiang river, and *Njong*, name of the *H̲jaṅ* people, *men-tog* = *me-h̲thog*, 'flower'.

A remark also is requisite concerning the basis of Dr. Wolfenden's explanation of the *ba* as signifying the Subject of a Verb of activity. It is based upon the view of the Tibetan Verb as originally of the 'incorporating' or 'recapitulatory' kind, of which even in English we can have a rudiment: in 'John Smith, he contradicted', the 'he' refers back to 'John Smith' and is Dr. Wolfenden's Subjective reference; and the 'contra' is the Directive, pointing to the thing denied and giving to the Intransitive 'dicted' the possibility of Transitive use. In virtue of the order of the sentence the *b*-Prefix, commencing the composite Verb-form, recapitulates the Subject 'John Smith'; and the *contra*-, the next following element, refers back to the statement contradicted. Here we must demur, first and decidedly, to the explicit view that the 'Directive', the '*contra*', was originally never included in a Verb-form lacking the 'Subjective', the 'he', which itself can, and very frequently does, function without any 'Directive'. The criticism here is to note the immense number and variety of very early words, Nouns, Verbs, and others, carrying the *r*, *l*, *s*, Prefixes, which are Dr. Wolfenden's 'Directives', and their antiquity and very wide area, which exhibit them as deeply imbedded in all the dialects. Dr. Wolfenden's argument that they may have survived an easy loss of 'Subjectives', can surely not stand in face of the conclusion that they represent a stage long prior to the 'Subjectives', which both in Tibetan and in the Ch'iang languages owe their position at the beginning of the Verb-complex, in fact, to their posteriority: the same can be inferred from the actual character of the latter, when properly understood.

Dr. Wolfenden's account of the *g* and *d* Prefixes, which he reasonably regards (p. 40) as mutually complementary in the Verb-system, might not call for criticism, if he had been content with his first suggestion (*ibid.*) that originally the *g*- indicated a 'going': this would accord with the unquestionable functioning of the *g*-Prefix as signifying futurity and is sup-

ported by analogy in another Tibeto-Burman language (*ibid.*). Dr. Wolfenden's subsequent suggestion that the *g-/d*-Prefix was originally a 'Directive', not a 'Subjective', may have arisen from a feeling that a *g*- 'Subjective' was superfluous in the domain of his *ba*-'Subjective' and presented an additional etymological conundrum. The weakness of the suggestion is patent in the facts (a) that the relation of the *g* to the Verb-root is the same as that of the *b*- (e.g. in *glan*, future, *blan*, Preterite) and (b) that, like the *b*-, it is sometimes e.g. in *gltos*, *gsnaṅ*, *gstsal*, *followed by*, 'Directives'.

In general the 'incorporating' or 'recapitulatory' Verb requires in Tibeto-Burman a further study. In so far as it is 'recapitulatory' the order of the Prefixes would perhaps follow the normal order of the sentence. But in the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal and India, so far as acquaintance with them goes, the full Verb-complex consists of —

(a) Verb-root followed by auxiliaries, Causal or other

(b) Object

(c) Mood or Tense sign

(d) Subject

and perhaps

(e) some Asseverative.

See, for instance, Hodgson's elaborate accounts (*Essays on Indian Subjects*, I, pp. 277 sqq., 365 sqq.) of the Vayu and Bahing languages and the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III. i, pp. 272, 434, etc. Thus the application of the 'recapitulatory', and perhaps even the 'incorporating', notion to the Tibetan Verb seems venturesome.

The above-noted confusions disappear when it is seen that what is indicated by the *b*-Prefix is not the agent himself, but, as the grammarians' statement allows, his action. Being applicable to every kind of action in the Verb, the Prefix must have the most general signification, which must be that of the Verb 'do'. Here we recognize an usage which in English (and other European languages), owing to a long tradition in oral speech and in literature, has been so prevalent that it can be said that practically any Verb can, without difference of sense or accent, be coupled with an Auxiliary 'do': wherever 'think' or 'thought' is said, they can or could, in some areas or periods with no modification of accent, be replaced by 'do think' or 'did think': the range is in English far wider than in Tibetan, because English can employ 'do' where there is no 'doing' at all, e.g. with such Verbs as 'live', 'sleep', 'need', 'fall', where the Tibetan rule would normally forbid its *b*-; the Tibetan, on the other hand, can use its *b*- in a Passive sentence and say an equivalent of 'he do-killed', where English has recourse to 'was'.

This interpretation of the *b*- may be said to have in essence the support of both the modern linguists and the Tibetan grammarians; for, while the former insists that the Tibetan Verb-root is a Noun, name of an occurrence or notion — and in fact it often actually is a Noun, Adjective, or even Adverb — the latter explicitly decline to regard it as a Verb until it is, so to speak, 'activated' by addition of the Suffix-*pa*. It may be apposite to mention that on occasion the Tibetan *b*-Prefix can, like the English 'do', be emphasized in a Verb, e.g. *bgo-ba*, *bcib-pa*, while silent in the same when a Substantive (see Bacot, *op. cit.*, p. 59 n., quoting the *dge-śes* Don-grub.

The competition of the *g-/d*- Prefix presents no difficulty: as indicating a Future, it demands something beyond a 'do', and English presents a variety of possibilities, e.g. a 'will', an 'ought', a 'must', not excluding a 'going to', as propounded by Dr. Wolfenden, who here, it seems, admits an acting, not a Subject, as the *bdag*.

The *h*-Prefix, implying, it is stated, a 'Middle Voice', as in 'change' ,'grow old', 'melt', 'die', etc., might carry the notion of 'self', 'own'; but no etymologically suitable Verb, which we should prefix, presents itself.

Lastly the *m*-, devoid of agent or Tense, declares itself as indicator of non-acting, the 'impassive' matter of fact, i.e. the Verb 'be'. Although the *m*- and *h*- Prefixes have many points of contact, Dr. Cordier's identification of them (*op. cit*, p. 49) is, in view of the grammarians' distinction of their respective basic significations of activity and impassivity, at least premature.

Mention must also be made of a Prefix which, though not so treated by the grammarians or so shown in the script, was at any rate familiar to the former, as is apparent from the above quoted passage distinguishing *hgyur*, 'change' (Intransitive), from *sgyur*, 'make to change'. The *s*- Prefix here is that recognized over the whole Tibeto-Burman area by Conrady in his *Eine indochinesische Causativ-Denominativ-Bildung*. Here masses of Verb-forms with *s*- Prefixed to consonants are regarded as Causative (or Denominative); and, where the combination is *s* + Tenuis, as in *sk*, *st*, *sp*, the Tenuis is conceived as a modification of original media, *g*, *d*, *b*, through the influence of the *s*-: from the *sk*, *st*, *sp*, are, he held, descended the aspirates *kh*-, *th*-, *ph*-, which appear largely in the Verb-forms of some of the languages.

It is not possible here to consider the matter over a wide range. Confining attention to Tibetan, we may emphasize the fact that it concerns primarily the *s*- Prefix itself and not the kind of Verb-notion which it may convey. This is important, in the first place, because Dr. Wolfenden reasonably doubts (pp. 46 sqq.) that the Causative signification was primary, and, secondly, because the grammarians, perhaps through familiarity with Causatives formed in a different way, viz. by aid of auxiliaries, *byed*, *mdzad*, etc., seem to have regarded the *s*-Verbs as merely Transitive. The difference, though fluctuating, is sometimes patent, e.g. in a case very common in the languages of western Tibet and Himālaya, where there is usually a pair of Verbs, one denoting the 'grazing' of cattle and the other the action of the herdsmen 'making', i.e. taking them out, to graze, or feed: to cause to feed is not the same as to feed Transitively. The ubiquity of the convenient *s*-, which in some instances has found its way into neighbouring non-Tibetan languages, renders it certain that it must have been well known in practice to the grammarians, though often undistinguished: a good instance would be *spo*, 'transfer (troops)' [to a new station], from *hpho*, 'change place', or *spel*, 'make grow', from *hphel*, 'grow'. It is not even so that the original Verb must have been Intransitive; thus we find *hdon*, 'extract', *hthon*, 'come out', *ston*, 'show'; but this illustrates also the most frequent case, viz. where the immediate source of the *s*- Verb is a Verb with initial aspirate preceded by an *h*- Prefix, which in itself proves that it (the Verb) is Intransitive. It is also apparent that in the period when *s*- Verbs were being derived from those with initial aspirate the consonant following the *s*- was itself properly an aspirate; but this matter requires a wider context.

3 (*b*) D. *S*-quasi-Prefix

In the edition (1929) of Jäschke's *Tibetan Grammar*, *Addenda by A. H. Francke assisted by W. Simon*, the account of the Causative contains the statement (p. 139) that, in the case of Verbs with initial *g*, 'a prefixed *s* generally raises a media to a tenuis'. In the accompanying list of Verbs it can be seen that generally that is not the case: mostly, and in the commonest Verbs, e.g. *hgyur/sgyur*, *hgrub/sgrub*, the media remains. From Ś. C. Das' list (*op.cit*, pp. 43—5) it appears that the same is the case with *d*- and *b*- Verbs, and the like appears in Dr. Wolfenden's lists (pp. 36—8, 46—7). From Verbs with initial aspirates, *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph*, *tsh*, the tenuis is the rule: thus it can be said that, barring a few particulars, the original initial consonant is retained, except that, if it is an aspirate, the aspiration is lost. The cases of *ph*-

and *ś-* from *b-* and *j-* Verbs, if they count as Causatives, involve another, and doubtful, matter, viz. the loss of the *s-*, which in the case of *sbub* from *h̲bubs*, *spo* from *h̲bo/h̲pho*, *spel* from *h̲phel*, etc. does not take place.

The few instances of tenuis replacing a media in *g-* and *b-* Verbs, viz. *skaṅ* (also *skoṅ*) from *gaṅ*, *skon* from *gon*, *spar* (also *spor*) from *bar*, if it were not erroneously cited in place of *sbar/sbor*, to which we might add *stu*, if we had not also *sdu*, and *spub*, if we had not also, and preferably, *sbub*, might conceivably, if not too exiguous in face of the mass of contrary evidence, be regarded as survival from an early period, when Conrady's supposed change of *sg-*, *sd-* etc. to *sk-*, *st-*, etc. was operant; but for Tibetan such a change is precluded by the great quantity of early words with *sg-*, *sd-*, *sb-*, etc., which could not have survived such a change: examples are *sg-* in *sga*, 'saddle', *sgaṅ*, 'hill ridge', *sgam*, 'deep', *sgar*, 'camp', *sgal*, 'load', *sgu*, 'bent', *sgo*, 'gate', *sgog*, 'garlic', *sgyid*, 'knee-hollow', *sgra*, 'sound', *sd* in *sdaṅ*, 'anger', *sdig*, 'sin', *sdug*, 'dear', *sde*, 'district', 'class', *sdo*, 'venture', *sb-* in *sba*, 'hide', *sbal*, 'frog', *sbed*, 'wrestle', *sbra*, 'tent', *sbrul*, 'snake'. The spellings, fixed, no doubt, by the first grammarians, are in general confirmed by VIIIth and IXth century writings. Thus the *sk-*, etc., of the 'Causatives' cannot be derived from *sg-*, etc. and must be from *skh-*, etc., containing the *kh*, etc., of the *h̲kh-*, etc., Verbs, whereupon in most cases the *s-* Verbs are based. The loss of the aspiration after the *s-* is not without exceptional survivals[1]); it is likely to be shared by all te other Prefixes except *m-* and *h̲*, which by rule retain all aspirates: and this inference, supported by analogous groups of exceptions, points to a further study of aspiration in the Tibetan Verbsystem.

(*b*), E. Aspiration and deaspiration of initial consonants of Verb-stems

Aspiration, where phonetically allowed, is normal in the Imperatives of Verbs of all the groups, though with certain exceptions: where the Present stem has already an initial aspirate, this does not call for comment; but initial tenuis and media become likewise aspirates.

Aspiration, without Prefix, is also regular in the Preterite of *ph-* and *b-* Verbs, e.g. *phris* from *h̲phri/h̲bri*, *phul* from *h̲bul*, while the other groups of Verbs, gutturals, palatals, dentals, etc., have a tenuis preceded by a Prefix, normally *b*. The absence of a Prefix in the cases of the *ph-* and *b-* Verbs has been understood (Jaeschke, *Tibetan Grammar* (1928), p. 99) as plainly due to the phonetical inconvenience of initial *bph-*: and in *Nam* (p. 208) this has been endorsed, with the addition that the aspirate of the *ph-* and *b-* Verbs proves that the tenuis of the other groups was likewise originally an aspirate, so that their *bk-*, *bc-*, *bt-*, *bts-* was derived from *bkh-*, *bch-*, *bth-*, *btsh-*. That the *ph-* Preterites had originally a-Prefix may be considered proved by the form *dphrogs* from *h̲phrogs* (*Tib. Lit. Texts & Docc.*, II. 45. 5), where the combination *bph-* has been avoided by the substitution of *d-* for *b-*, as in many other instances; similarly for *g-* in the Futures of the same (*ph-* and *b-*) Verbs. Supplementary proofs of the same conclusion may be seen in two facts, viz. —

(1) that from Verbs with aspirates in the Present we have Preterites with the tenuis, e.g. *bkur* VI 152 from *h̲kkhur*, *btsal* IB 10 from *h̲tshal* and so generally, which can be due only to loss of the aspiration;

(2) that from Verbs with initial media we have Preterites likewise with the tenuis, e.g. *bkug* from *h̲gug*, *bcal* from *h̲jal*, *btul* from *h̲dul*, which also must have passed through the aspirate, since a direct change of *bg*, *bj*, *bd* to *bk*, *bc*, *bt*, is unevidenced.

These reasons are further fortified by the above stated fact that the *s-* 'Causatives' from Verbs with initial aspirates regularly drop the aspiration and are written with *sk-*, *st-*, *sp-*, *sts-*. It seems likely that also after *r-* and *l-*, and, in fact, after all Prefixes except *m-* and *h̲-*,

[1]) E.g. *skhro*, Nam *skhrud*.

which by rule retain any original aspirate, the aspiration was phonetically lost; and in the *Žań-žuń* language instances of *rkh-*, etc., are found. But owing to etymological obscurities there is difficulty in proving that any of the common Tibetan words with initial *rk-*, *rt-*, *rts-*, originally had *rkh-*, *rth-*, *rtsh-*.

The above considerations, which point to an original aspirate in the Preterites, as in the Imperatives, of Tibetan Verbs generally, effect a considerable simplification in the history of the 'four-root' groups. As regards the Preterites something further will be remarked *infra* (*p. 61—2*) under Suffixes. In the Futures the prevalent, and, no doubt, sole original, Prefix, *g-*, has been ousted from Verbs with initial gutturals by substitution of *b* in the phonetically inconvenient *gg*, and similarly of *d* in the *gb-* of Verbs with labials; it is, however, still apparent that the following consonant was, as in *dgum* from *h̲gum*, *gźag/gjag* from *h̲jog*, *gźal/gjal* from *h̲jal*, *gdul* from *h̲dul*, *dbab*, i.e. *gbab*, from *h̲bebs*, *gzuń/gźuń* from *h̲dzin*, the original media of the Verb-root. But in the case of Presents with initial aspirates the *g-* has generally, even where (before gutturals) it could have been replaced, as elsewhere, by *d-*, given way to the *b-* of the Preterite, which has further brought with it the tenuis (< aspirate) of the same, sometimes even that aspirate itself, e.g. in *bgri/bkri* IV 292, 310, 316 from *h̲khrid*, *bkur/bkhur* IA 101, 104; and in the case of complex initials the *sk-* etc. of the Present has sometimes, e.g. in *bskor* IV 116, 158, 180, etc. *bsgam* V 31, *gsnań* IV 30, found its way into the Future. Absence or superfluity of Prefix is seen in *bya* VI 111, 120, etc., *bgyi* IA 100, B 64, V 12, etc., *lon* IA 114, VI 96, *lob/lobs* IA 37, IV 271—2, in the case of the last two, only if they cannot be understood, with their *o*-vowel, as Imperatives. On the occasional writing of an *-s-* final, the absence of which is actually a differentia of the Future, see under Suffixes.

Thus the Future, a necessary and, no doubt, ancient, independent, form with Prefix *g-*, of obscure etymology, had in the period of the first spellings and grammarians become considerably muddled.

The Imperative with (Prefixless) aspirate for initial consonants, of all groups, whether with aspirate, tenuis or media, is thereby associated with the Preterites of *p-*, *ph-* and *b-* Verbs, and so confirms the derivation of the *bk-*, *be-*, etc., of other Preterites from *bkh-*, *bch-*, etc. With the Preterites it shares also the not less predominant, though sometimes phonetically disguised, or lost, *-s-* Suffix, to be further mentioned *infra*. The characteristic *o-* vowel in the case of *a-* and *e-* Verbs is doubtless very ancient: it is perhaps shared with Nam (see *Nam*, p. 199).

Among the exceptions to the aspirate rule may be cited some very common Imperatives, e.g. *gyis* III 35, 38, VI 2, 5, from *bgyid*, *gobs* IB 64 (but *khobs* IA 107) from *h̲gebs*, *byuńs* IA 90, IV 243, from *h̲byuń*, *byin* II 23, III 28, etc., from *h̲byin*, *byos* IB 84, III 24, etc., from *h̲byed*, *h̲pońs* IA 95 from *h̲phen*.

(*b*), F. Suffixes

As ‚Suffixes' the Tibetan grammarians (Bacot, *op.cit.*, pp. 61 sqq.), while distinguishing them from Suffixed Particles and Auxiliaries, recognize apparently all terminal consonants, or consonant-groups, of roots: this, however, seems to be merely theoretical, since in practice they cannot have failed to realise that, e.g. the *-d* of *gcod/bcad/chod* was a constant element, not a variable adjunct, of the particular Verb-root. The failure to discern a meaning, or function, of the two 'Suffixes' which they do specially treat, viz. *-s* and *-d*, may be part of the same conception, but is, no doubt, due partly to the irregularity in the presence or absence of each of the two; but even in regard to these two they make only phonological comments, which indeed might be instructive as to usage in speech or writing, if the terms employed, 'hard', 'soft', 'medium', were apprehended with certainty: it might indicate, for instance, how far a *-gs* or *-ms* had been preserved or been reduced to, say, *-gh*, *-gg*, *-kkh*, or *-mh*, *-mm*, with

or without lengthening of preceding vowel. In consequence they have failed to distinguish the absence of *-s* in the Future Tense, where normally it had never been present, from its absence in the Preterite, where frequently it has been phonetically lost: and their fanciful connection of the Preterite and Future senses may have been due to the same misunderstanding, which may also account for the notion that in the Preterite the *b-* Prefix carried also the signification of past time.

That already the actual sign of the Preterite-Aorist Tense, replacing the original Preterite with aspirate only (Bacot, p. 57—87), was the *-s* is patent in Verb-roots ending in vowels, where it is regularly written and extends to the corresponding Infinitives and Participles, e.g. —

h̲byed-par, 'to do', *byas-par*, 'to have (or have been) done', *bya-bar*, 'to be going to do (or be done)'

h̲byed-pa, 'doing (or doer)', *byas-pa*, 'a having done' (or 'been doer', or 'been done'), *bya-ba*, 'a going to do (or 'to be a doer', or 'to be done').

This *-s* is written both where there is a Prefix and where there is not: the irregularity in the writing or omission of it after consonants is due to phonetical causes; and there are even cases where it has survived phonetical prohibition, as in *skyeds*, 'interest (or growth) of money (or stock)' from *skyed*, *dgors*, 'idling', from *gor*, 'be idle'. In other languages of the group it can be very widely traced; in Nam language (see pp. 195, 357—8) it is clear and frequent, and in several of the Tibeto-Burman and Colonial Tibetan dialects of the west it can be recognized. There can be no doubt that in the period of the grammarians it was normal in Tibetan proper. The Texts and Documents show it abundantly after consonants; and, where it is not written, the cause seems to be mainly phonetical. Jaeschke remarks (*Grammar*[2], p. 99), 'It should especially be remarked that the mute *s* in the Perfect and Imperative is in most cases either put or omitted very arbitrarily.'

Dr. Wolfenden's suspicion (pp. 57—8) that this is not the original signification of the *-s* in Verb-Preterites is justified not so much by normal presence of thee *-s* in Imperatives also, which are closely related to the Preterites, as in the many ancient Nouns, e.g. *h̲bras*, 'rice', from *bra*, 'spread' or 'grow', of which some few are cited *supra* (*p. 28—9*): although mainly deverbal, they are likely to be older than the Verb-conjugation, and the signification of the *-s* may have been not quite the same. Also a different and prior form of Preterite should be considered.

Concerning the second Suffix, the *d-drag*, recognized by the grammarians as occurring after final *n*, *r*, *l*, of Verb-roots, we are not accorded much precise information. Not rarely visible in relatively early writings, it also accounts for the tenuis *-t* in cases such as *ñan-to*, *stor-to*, where it has become latent. It is commonly considered to constitute a Preterite, to which the grammarians add Imperative, citing several examples; and the other connections, e.g. the *-s*, between Preterite and Imperative confirm the joint statement.

The origin of this *d-drag*, found only after *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, is obscure; and, since the western, Tibeto-Burman, Žaṅ-żuṅ language has also a terminal *-ṅg* and *-mb*, it might be conjectured that originally it was simply phonetical, commencing with a doubling of the *-n*, *-r*, *-l* to *-nn*, *-rr*, *-ll*, owing to loss of *-s* in *-ṅs*, *-rs*, *-ls*, which sometimes, as has been seen, survive. This might account for the common usage of the *-d* (no doubt the later of the two) and the *-s* in both Preterite and Imperative. But more plausibly the *d-drag* might be connected with the *-d* found appended to many Verb-roots ending in vowels, e.g. *skyed*, 'beget', from *skye*, 'be born', *h̲byed*, 'do', (Pret. *byas*, Nam *gwe*), *dbyid*, 'do', (Pret. *gyis/kyis*): this *-d* must be very ancient, since it is seen in old roots signifying 'be', e.g. *mod* (from *ma/mo*), *yod*, *med* (*ma-yid*), *red*, and in Western Tibeto-Burman *tad/tod* (from *ta/to*). On these and on the Transitive use of many of these *-d*-Verbs it may be sufficient to refer to Jaeschke's *Grammar*[2] (p. 141) and to Dr. Wolfenden's work (pp. 58—60). The *-d* is found also in (deverbal ?) Adjectives, e.g. *ched/gcen/che*,

'great', and Nouns. Dr. Wolfenden does not, in the Present of certain Verbs with terminal *-s* or *-d* regard the *-s* or *-d* as originally Suffixes of the Preterite, but relates them to his 'Directives'. In view of the actual retention of *-s* or *-d* in Preterites, Imperatives, or other derivatives of such Verbs, the safest conclusion seems to be that the *-s* and *-d*, since they are found not only in Preterites, but also frequently in Presents and in Nouns and Adjectives, were not originally significant of a Preterite. The existence of a form such as *smad* as (a) Adverb, 'low', 'lower' (b) as Verb, 'to lower', from *ma*, 'low', shows that in some uses at least a *-d-* Suffix was ancient.

This brings in also a *-n-* Suffix, not noticed by the grammarians, of which good lists may be seen in Jaeschke, *Grammar*², pp. 120—1, and, with full discussion, in Dr. Cordier's work pp. 50, 60—4: as examples may be cited, in addition to *gcen/ched/gce*, *dro*, 'be hot', *dron-mo*, 'heat', *drod*, a Verb-Adjective-Noun grouping frequently found. But, whereas the Grammar regards the *-d* as the original consonant and does not proffer an explanation of the *-n*, Dr. Wolfenden holds that the *-n* belongs to the root and in the Preterite is preserved by the appended *-d*, which he takes as Suffix of that Tense. He adduces, in fact, from various Tibeto-Burman dialects Verb-forms in which a *-n* appears; and in *Nam*, p. 106, some, perhaps related, examples, with the *-n* as an apparanetly late addition, are noted in Sino-Tibetan borderlands of the north-east. As in the case of *-d* in *smad*, the *-n* appears also in old Adverbial formations such as *man*, *yan*, *phan*, *tshun*.

In order to present conveniently the evidence of the Texts concerning (a) the *-s-* Suffix in Preterites and Imperatives, (b) the *-d-* Suffix in the same, (c) the *-s-* Suffix in other words, (d) the *-d-* Suffix in other words, (e) the *-n-* Suffix, the numerically prevalent occurrences may be stated as normal and any relevant deviations next appended.

(a) Preterite with *-s*:

It should be remarked that in some instances the Tibetan grammarians seem to recognize a difference between presence and absence of the *-s*. Passing over the above-noted case of *bciṅ-ba*, as Noun, and *bciṅs-pa*, as Verb, simply with the comment that there is no lack of Nominal forms, such as *brkos-ma*, with the *-s*, we find (Bacot, *op. cit.*, p. 64) —

bskaṅs, 'filled', *bkram*, 'scattered'
gdams-bya, 'to be exhorted', *bskaṅ-bya*, to be filled'.

Here the author seems not to be distinguishing between the Preterite and Future Tenses in respect of presence or absence of the *-s*, a Tense distinction which he in fact ignores, but, as his language indicates, a distinction of pronunciation between *-ṅs*, Past and *-ṅ* Future; *-m* Past and *-ms* Future. This, since it is not uniform as between Past and Future, is nothing but a distinction of writing and pronunciation between, a *-ṅs* and *-ṅ*, *-m* and *-ms*: and two things which it ignores are (a) that normally the Preterite had, and the Future had not the *-s*, and (b) that Presence or absence of the *-s* might depend upon the phonetical context: indeed he is considering the matter only phonetically, and not consistently there. He also notes some rare Presents with unexplained *-s* (cf. Jaeschke², p. 142, Wolfenden, pp. 67—8), which we may pass over.

In summarizing the situation in the Texts we may premise that:—

(a) in some contexts there may be in regard to a particular Verb-form uncertainty as to whether it is a Preterite or possibly a Future or Imperative.

(b) definite certainty that a Verb-form ends its sentence exists when it is followed by the asseverative Particle *-o*: otherwise the sense of the passage or the end of a line of verse may be a sufficient guarantee. So also, in a clause, a following Gerund Particle, e.g. *ciṅ/śiṅ/źiṅ*, *te/de/ste*, *na/sna*, may be decisive.

(c) not all such Particles are equally indicative: *-ste/-s-te*, *-sna/-s-na*, *-su/-s-su*, demonstrate

the *-s*, which, in fact, they contain; *-te/-de* exclude it; *-ciṅ/-chiṅ/jiṅ* deny the *-s*, while *śiṅ* attests it and *-żiṅ* would, but for a certain laxity, do the same: similarly *cig/chig/jig*, and *-śig/-żig*.

Taking these points into consideration, we may report on the terminal *-s* of Preterites as follows:

(1) ***Vowel + s***: always written; is found frequently after all the vowels alike, but including a few cases of Verbs with regular or variant stems in vowel + *d* (such as *bgyid*, *byed*) in which the *-s* (e.g. in *gyis*, *byas*) could conceivably be derived from old *-ds* (cf. *skyeds*).

Does not frequently occur with *-o* (ex. in *mchiso* IA 57, *briso* IA) or *-su*; but is found, or common, with *-(s)te*, *-(s)na(s)*, *-la*, *-śiṅ*.

Irregularities: 108, *bros-de*?] B 62, *sdus-żiṅ* VI 102, *lhas-ciṅ* VI 136.

(2) *-GS/-G*: *-gs* very frequent, including one or two instances of miswriting for *-ṅs* —

Occurs with *-o* in *btsagso* IA 28, *btsug-so* IV 119 etc., *tshugso* IB 9, *rdzogso* V 49, *bzugso* IB 87, *gzugso* IB 8, *gśegso* IB 34, *bsagso* IA 128; common with *-(s)te*, *-(s)na(s)*, *-(s)u*, and found with *-la* (*thagsla* IV 48).

Irregularities: *bdag-żiṅ* IB 23—4.

g: frequent, in some instances (e.g. *gzug-ciṅ* IV 66, perhaps not Preterite, but Future. Frequent at end of sentence, but in some instances (*yogs/yog* IB 71—2, *thog/thogs* II 5, 11, 20, *bżug/bżugs* IA 1, 2, *bcug/bcugs* IB 86—7), with *-gs* in the same, or not distant, context.

Occurs with *-o* in *bcugo* IB 62, *bżago* IB 68; with *-na* (*chag* IA 30), *-te* (*bcug* IB 86), *brtag* IB 63—4.

Here all the *-g*-forms might have been regarded as irregularities; but their quantity and distribution shows that the usage varied between *-gs* and *-g*.

(3) *-ṄS/-Ṅ* (including *-ṅs* derived from *-ns*) —

-ṅs very frequent.

Occurs with *-o* in *bkroṅso* IA 67, 69, *ḫthuṅso* IA 115, *ḫbuṅs-so* IB 51, *bsriṅs-so* V 33: with *(s)te* (frequent), *(s)na* (frequent), *la(zuṅs-la* IV 48), *-su* (*gzuṅs-su* IV 19, 23, *noṅs-su* V 43), *phaṅs-su* V 130.

-ṅ: Occurs with *-o* in *pyuṅo* IA 128, *dbyuṅo* IA 24; frequent otherwise at end of sentence or verse. Occurs with *-te* (*pyuṅ/byuṅ-te* IA 112—3), *-na(s)* *phyuṅ-na* V 27, *byuṅ-na* III 14, etc., *breṅ-na* IA 110, *blaṅ-na* V 10, *gsuṅ-na* IA 66 etc.

It may be noted that when *ṅ* is derived from *n* this provis the intermediacy of *ṅs* from *ns*.

(4) *-BS/-B*: *-bs* very frequent; no instance of *-bso* —

Occurs with *-(s)te* (frequent); *(s)na(s)*, *-su(sbubsu* IV 46).

-b very frequent; occurs with *-o(bab-bo)* III 25, 31).

Occurs with *-te(bab-te* IA 44, *-ste* IA 45), *-na* (several times, *bab-na* IA 43); *-chiṅ(bab-chiṅ* III 33, perhaps not Preterite).

(5) *-MS/-M*: *-ms* frequent; occurs with *-(s)te* (not infrequent), sometimes in one context with *-m* (*bltam/bltams* IB 2, 25—6, 102).

-m very frequent; occurs with *-o* in *bkhum-mo* IA 113, *bsgam-ḫo* (perhaps not Preterite) V 31.

Occurs with *-na(s)*.

(6) *-DS/-D*:

-ds has been mentioned *supra* as possibly the origin of *-s* in Preterites of certain Verb-stems ending in *-d*. In the Texts there is no trace of it.

-d ends a moderate number of Verbs, and usually is unmodified in the Preterite, except when replaced, as stated, by *-s*. With *-o* it is found in *gchado* IA 1, 2 etc. —

It occurs in *mdzad-ciṅ* IV 230—1 (not a Preterite), *bskrad-nas* IA 48, and, irregularly, in *bżed-ste* VI 85, 108.

(7) *-N/-ND -n*: the Preterite *-ns*, having become *-ṅs*, has been included with *-ṅ*, *-ṅs* — *n* is found with *-te* (*bskon-te* IB 62) (*phyin-te* III 43, *byon-de*, *smon-teh̲* III 27, *żon-de* IB 35, *bżon-te* IA 92, are apparently not Preterites; so also *gnoṅ-ciṅ* IV 230—1); with *na(s) bkyon-nas* IA 48.

Irregularities are *phyuṅ-na* V 27, *blaṅ-na* V 10, with *-ṅ* for *ṅs*.

-nd is written in *gyond* IB 59 etc., and may be implied in *bskon-te* etc.

(8) *-R/-RD*: *-r* very frequent. There is no trace of old *-rs*, which might have preceded *-rd*. With *-o* we find *dgaro* IA 42 etc., *śor-ro* IA 28; with *-na bśor-na* VI 116.

rd: Occurs in *gyurd* IV 10, *dmard* IA 15.

(9) *-LS/-LD*: *-ld* frequent: *-ldo* (IB 42—3), *-ld-te* IV 255, 296, *-ld-na*, etc.

-ls: No trace of old *-ls*, unless *-l* is derived therefrom.

-l very frequent; with *-o* in *h̲tshalo* IA 55 etc.

Occurs with *-na* in *btsal-na* VI 65, 116; with *-de* in *h̲tsalde* IV 224.

Irregularities in *bkab-żiṅ*, *rmal-żiṅ* IB 23—4, *dbul-żiṅ* III 33 (possibly pointing to old *-ls*).

From the mass of instances here summarized it is plain that the *-s* of the Preterite, never omitted after a vowel, was very commonly written in the combinations *-gs*, *-ṅs*, *-bs*, *-ms*. That it was pronounced is specially evident when it immediately precedes the sentence-ending Particle *-o*: but it is also manifest when followed by the Particles *-te*, *-na*, *-su*, which tend to appropriate the *-s* in writing, becoming *-ste* (occasionally *-sste*), *-sna*, *-ssu*: *ciṅ* is definitely modified, becoming *-śiṅ*. The writting of the *-s* in Preterites, where phonetically allowed, has been recognized, no doubt, by all grammarians, Tibetan and European; but that it is the sign of the Preterite sense is not so explicitly stated. On the part of the Tibetan grammarians this may be explainable on three grounds, (a) in regard to all Suffixes they are concerned merely with their phonetical effects and treat them as void of basic signification; (b) as to the Preterite sense, they had already attributed it to the *b*-Prefix, a view in itself irrational, since on their scheme of conjugation it was frequent also in the Future; (c) they were aware of various classes of cases where the *-s* was not written or not pronounced. Still they cannot have been in practice unaware of the difference in sense between *byas* and *bya*, *draṅs* and *draṅ*; and the feeling of the Preterite/Aorist significance of the *-s* must have been general in current speech, since it has continued to be prolific of new forms in the Colonial dialects of the west. As regards modern scholars, whereas Jaeschke simply speaks (*Grammar*², p. 99) of 'the mute *-s* in perf. and imp.', both Cordier (*loc.cit*) and Wolfenden (*loc.cit*), while disputing an original Preterite signification of the *-s*, rightly admit its actual functioning in that way: and the former, in speaking of differences of 'action' (pp. 48, 51), perhaps conceives of what we have named the 'Aorist' signification, sc. the notion of action completed. In any event the notion in *byas*, 'done', *rgas* or *gres*, 'aged', seems not separated by a wide interval from that in *h̲bras*, 'rice', from *bra*, 'grow', 'spread'.

The considerable number of the occurrences of *-g*, *-ṅ*, *-b*, *-m*, lacking the *-s* in various situations demonstrates a laxity in its use, due partly, no doubt, to actual non-pronunciation, but perhaps in part to the analogy of cases of *-s-te*, *-s-na*, *-s-cig* (*śig*), misapprehended as *-ste*, *-sna*, *-śig*; perhaps in part also to the rather curious instances, such as *yogs/yog*, *bcug/bcugs*, where a form with *-s* and one without *-s* occur in a single context, as if one *-s* sufficed for both. That the *-s* was at one time even more prevalent is proved by cases of *-ṅs* (from *-ns*)

from *-n*-Verbs, e.g. *h̲kkhruṅs* from *h̲kkhrun*, *draṅs* from *h̲dren*, *theṅs* from *then*, *blaṅs* from *len*, *zuṅs/gzuṅs* from *h̲dzin*; and this applies also to Imperatives in *-ṅ* such as *gzuṅ*. For these *-n*-Verbs should have Preterites not with *-s*, but with *-d*. As regards *-rs* and *-ls*, though these combinations existed at one time in the language, we cannot say that the numerous *-r* and *-l* forms are derived from them rather than from *-rd* and *-ld*, which are actually exemplified.

From the above it follows that, in some cases at least, the *-d* was posterior to the *-s*. The particulars of its, relatively rare, occurrence after *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, having been included in the summary, need not be further discussed. It is, however, to be observed that the *-d*, when followed by a vowel, e.g. in *bzur-te-bzur* IV 88, *rhal-te-rhald* IV 209, in which the *-e* is, beyond question, the Adverbial-Participial *-e* seen in numerous reduplicated forms such as *yeṅe-yeṅ*, *ldeb-be-ldeb*, *lhogse-lhogs*, is always a *-t*, not *-d*. Thus *bzur-te-bzur* and *rhal-te-rhald* are merely a writing of *bzurt-e-bzurd* and *rhalt-e-rhald*, and it follows forthwith that the *-d-drag* was originally a *-t* and only when terminal became a *-d*. The same explanation applies to the *ñan-to* (*bsand-to*, *h̲gyurd-to*, *gsald-to*, (cf. Ś.C. Das, *op.cit.* p. 16) of the grammarians, which is not for *ñand-to* (there is in Tibetan proper no *-to*, but only *-o*), but for *ñant-o*. With this agrees the rule that after *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, the Gerund Particle *te/de* has always the form *te*: likewise the writing of the Texts, which after the same is nearly always *te*, rarely *de*. This is very intelligible, because the identical *te* (sometimes *de*) of Nam (pp. 188—190) is there the *-e-* Gerund, corresponding to the *ta*-Suffix seen in *glo-ta* (Tib. *glo-ba*), 'thought', *skye-ta* (Tib. *skye-ba*), 'life', etc. (pp. 182—3) and therefore to the ancient and very widely attested Tibeto-Burman Verb *ta/to*, 'be', 'become'. Thus it appears that the *-d-drag* is identical with the *-ta*-Suffix of Eastern Tibet and the *te/de* Particle is merely the *-e*-Gerund of the Verb *ta/to*, which that Suffix represents.

The Future

According to the orthodox scheme (see Ś.C. Das, *op.cit.* pp. 38—43, Jaeschke *Grammar*[2], pp. 99—104) the Future/Prospective should lack both the *-s*-Suffix and the *-d*: and in fact the occurrences in the Texts mainly comply; good instances may be seen in the list under *gdham*, *gdab*, *gsnaṅ*, *gzuṅ*, *glan*, *glud(u)*, *bgri*, *bgyi*, *brgam*, *dpub*, *bya*. There are no instances of *-d*. But in regard to *-s*, even if we neglect cases where *-s* would be phonetically disallowed, there are some dubieties as between Prospective and Imperative and as between Prospective and non-Prospective. In cases such as *gzuṅsu-h̲dzuṅs*, *gludu-bor*, *lob-du-gśegs*, the Prospective sense is plain, but also unnecessary, the *-su* or *-du* itself indicating an intent. Perhaps the only case of *-s* simply intrusive (from the Preterite) is that of *myi-theṅs*, *myi-tshugs* IB 9, which, being different from *ma-theṅs*, *ma-tshugs* IB 27, can hardly be other than Prospective.

The Imperative

In the Imperative the grammarians (Bacot, *op.cit.* p. 68) and the usage allow both the *-s* and the *-d*. The Texts in practically all cases where the *-s* is phonetically allowed either write it or imply it by the Particle in the form *-śig* or do both. The *-s* is missing in *thob(s)-la-gyis* VI 158 and *rtsob(s)-gis-phog(s)* VI 52—3 and possibly in *h̲graṅ* VI 19: *gyis-cig* VI 70 is irregular; so too *gyis-żig* VI 2, 5, *thoṅ-żig* VI 15.

After *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, the *-d-drag* can be understood in *skon-cig* II 21, *h̲on-cig* IB 3—6 etc., *ñen-chig* IA 131, *ston-jig* III 17—8, *zun-cig* IB 83, *byin* II 23 etc., *h̲tshol/stsol* III 30, VI 19 etc., *non* IB 84. In *h̲on* and *zun* the retention of the original *n* of the root, which elsewhere is usually *h̲oṅ(s)*, *zuṅ(s)*, seems to show antiquity of the form.

The fact that after *ma* prohibitive Preterites with *b*-Prefix are commonly (*ma-bcag* IV 243, *ma-btab* IB 21—2, *ma-blaṅs* IB 2) used in place of Imperatives has already been remarked.

(*b*), G. Particles and Auxiliaries used in the formation of Verbs and their Tenses.

By the Tibetan grammarians a bare Verb-stem is not regarded as a real Verb: it requires the addition of the Particle *pa/ba*; and we may add that it is then not an abstract signifying action or state as such, but concrete, an 'acting' or 'being in a state', i.e. always implies an agent. This is the form under which any particular Verb is usually cited and which heads the entry in dictionaries. But the same form is also used to signify an agent, as in *ḫbyed-pa*, a 'doer', which is quite natural if, as has been suggested, the *pa* was itself a Verb, meaning 'do'. For, as the grammarians were well aware, any bare Verb could, at any rate in, or at end of, a compound, dispense with any Suffix and signify either an acting or an agent. A good example of the former in the Texts is —

> *zuṅsla-ni-bzuṅ-thagsla-ni-bthags* IV 48
> 'in takenings taken, in crushedings crushed'.

This instance is probably archaic, because before *la* and *las* the form with *-pa* is usual, as in *bthab-pa-la* IV 131, 'on having fought', *ḫdug-pa-las* VI 6, 'after being situated'.

The *-pa/-ba* form is, whether denoting an acting or an agent, syntactically a Noun, not a Verb. This is noticeable, because in Classical and later Tibetan the *-pa/-ba* plays a part in Verb-conjugation.

As a Noun of action, the *-pa/-ba* constitutes, according to variations in the form of the Verb-root, separate designations for actions present, past and future, e.g. *ḫbyed-pa*, a 'doing', *byas-pa*, a 'having done', *bya-ba*, a 'prospective doing', and, as a Noun of agency, the corresponding Nouns or Adjectives (Participles) denoting agents: and both these can on occasion have a Passive Sense. The main utility of these *-pa/-ba*-forms is the facility of appending to them further Suffixes or Particles of Noun-declension: thus we have cases such as *śi-ba-rnams*, 'those who die' as well as *spyugs-pa*, 'banished persons'. In action-Nouns the *-pa/-ba* can be attached, with various base-suffixes, to Nouns, Adjectives and Postpositions, whereof some examples are cited *infra* (*p. 72—3*), under Syntax. But the commonest Case is the Dative-Locative-Terminative *-par*: it serves either as Infinitive (of purpose, etc.) after Verbs or in Absolute expressions of circumstance, e.g. *ma-nor-par*, 'without error'. For *-pa/-ba* we occasionally find the *-po*-form, which we have understood as merely more emphatic or *quasi*-honorific: this is exemplified by *gson-po*, 'life', and *ḫbyed-po*, 'doer', which is sometimes used even by the grammarians, despite their recommendation of *ḫbyed-pa-po*, on which see Cordier, *op.cit.* p. 10.

The *-pa/-ba* does not, however, in all cases oust the bare Verb: and its insertion is not uniform with all Suffixes and Particles. With *-la*, *-las* in Locative and Ablative relation, as in *bthab-pa-la* IV 136, 'on having fought', *ḫdug-pa-las* VI 6, 'after being situated', *śes-pas-myi-brel* V 21, 'not severed from knowing', and similarly in *-lo-dar-pa-daṅ* III 51, 'after flourishing — years', it is perhaps usual: so again in Genitive relation, as in *phrad-paḫi-ṅo* VI 3,16, etc., 'prognostic of meeting'. With Instrumental relation, e.g. *za/ldag-pas* IA 14, 'through eat/drink-ing', *gnod-pas* VI 15, 'through harming', it is quite in order; but here we find also a different Instrumental Particle, *gyis/gis*, which dispenses from dealing with it, e.g. in *ldag-gyis* IA 21, 'through sucking', *sdar-gis* VI 28, 'with trembling'. With *-na/-nas* we approach those Particles which commonly function as not a Noun, but a real predicate: thus, though a *khyod-sgrin-ma-ḫdod-pa-na* VI 88, 'while you do not desire to trick', is found the more usual form is as in *bthab-na* IV 132, 'on having fought'; and with Particles such as *ciṅ/żiṅ*, *te/de*, which do not appear in Noun-declension, it may perhaps be stated that in the Texts the *-pa/-ba* never occurs, which is consistent, since it is similarly absent from the terminal Verbs of sentences.

As Participles denoting agents, the *-pa/-ba* forms can be seen to have given rise to the various employments of the same Suffix in the formation of Adjectives and Nouns. The classification *supra* (*p. 29—32*) will show that from their use as actual Participles of known Verbs, which is frequent, they advance without change of sense to Verbs which properly are Verbalized Nouns or Adjectives etc., as in *stoṅ-pa*, 'be empty', *skyid-paḫi-lugs*, 'tidings of good fortune', forms natural in Tibetan and in some instances independently known. Here we may include some Nouns or Adjectives which morphologically, and probably originally, are Participles: a good example is *ḫdzaṅs* (or *mdzaṅs*)*-pa*, 'wise', which once occurs as *ḫdzaṅs-pa-po*, 'wise person', showing that the writer actually regarded the *ḫdzaṅs-pa* as a Participle like *ḫbyed-pa* in *ḫbyed-pa-po*. Sometimes the *-pa/-ba* belongs to a compound, as in *pha-log-pa*, 'outside person', not to one part of it.

A further stage is reached when, though the word is deverbal, the signification of the Suffix is not exactly that of agent, but a looser connection as in English 'mower' = 'mowing-machine', 'foreigner' = 'foreign person'. Then we arrive at cases where there is no Verb, as in *rta-pa*, 'horseman': in the final stage, as in *lag-pa*, 'hand', not different in meaning from *lag*, the *-pa/-ba* has become merely grammatical, an Article.

The relative posteriority of the *-pa/-ba*, deducible from its restriction to Tibetan proper, is manifest in the case of the numerous old deverbal Nouns, such as *chos*, 'ordinance', *ḫbras*, 'rice', *rtsis*, 'reckoning', where it is lacking: had it existed when they were formed, they would no doubt, have been *chos-pa*, *ḫbras-pa*, *rtsis-pa*, unless they had preferred *-ma*, which must here also be mentioned.

ma

From the classified exemplification *supra* (*p. 30—2*) it appears that *-ma* also was primarily suffixed to Verb-roots, some of which are clearly Preterite; and the classification is markedly similar to that for *-pa/-ba*, while some particulars indicate a difference like that between 'be' and 'do'. Being exemplified outside Tibetan proper, viz. in Nam, where several such forms e.g. *rgyed-ma*, *zor-ma*, *ḫbri-ma*, *ḫbra-ma*, occur, the last also in a place-name, *Bra-ma-thaṅ*, 'Growth-plain', in Skyi, they are ancient. These, and many in Tibetan, are analogous to *-pa/-ba* Nouns of action, while others, as Nouns or Adjectives of concrete meaning, correspond to the *-pa/-ba* which in Participial or Adjectical function denote agents or objects. As agent-Nouns have been noted one or two, e.g. *rkun-ma*, 'thief', *sruṅ-ma*, 'protector', which would have been expected either to signify 'theft', 'protection', or to be *rkun-pa*, *sruṅ-ba*: both are old and well established. In the case of the numerous terms used Adverbially, e.g. *sṅa-ma* (cf. *sṅa-ba*), 'at first', *tha-ma*, 'finally', the later expressions of the type *phyir-žiṅ*, '(it) being afterwards', seem to concur in bringing in a Verb 'being'. Since evidence of a very early and widely attested *ma/mo*, 'be', has been adduced *supra*, this matter of 'do' and 'be' need not here be pursued.

That the *-pa/-ba*-Verb-forms are never really Verbal, and always Nouns of action or agency (including Participial and Adjectical use) is further apparent from the fact that they never terminate sentences or even subordinate Gerund-clauses. The nearest approach to such employment, viz. *ma-ḫdod-pa-na* VI 88, 'if not desiring', is immediately followed by *kha-rog-par-ḫdug-na*, 'sitting silent', without the *pa*, which manifests its exceptionality, as appears also from the number of other instances of *-na* without the *-pa*. In *ji-yod-pa* III 21, 'those who are . . .', is Adjectival to the following, 'gods', and in *ḫoṅs-pa-bas* IV 28, *ḫoṅs-pa*, 'a having come', is Subject of *bas*, 'done with'. Even in normal Tibetan *-pa* does not without addition of *yin*, 'is', constitute a Preterite.

Auxiliaries

As is apparent from the passage quoted *supra* (*p. 45*), the Tibetan grammarians, in expounding the force of Tenses, use Auxiliary Verbs, viz. *bžin* for the Present, *ḫgyur* for the Future

and *zin* for the Preterite; and this proves that such use of Auxiliaries, now universal, was in their time normal. In the Texts these Auxiliaries may be said broadly to be, as such, non-existent, and the Tense (including Imperative)-meanings are conveyed by the form of the Verb itself, comprizing any Prefixes and Suffixes and any modifications of root vowels or consonants. In one particular a doubt must be mentioned: whereas in the Texts the Gerund-signifying Particle *ciṅ/śiṅ/żiṅ* is frequent and normal as in ordinary Tibetan, we find in II 11. 65—6 —

> *ci-bden-nas-śa-ni-rlon-du-zos-żin-pags-ni-rlon-du-gyon-żin-ma-ṅa-ni-srin-daṅ-ḫtshos-żin*
> 'Is it true, that, with the flesh eaten raw, the skin worn raw, I, the mother, have been living with a fiend ?'

and in VI 130 —

> *lha-bzaṅ-po-cig-yod-zin*
> 'while there is (has been ?) a kind god'.

In the first passage the Verbs *zos*, *gyon(d)*, *ḫtshos*, are Preterites; and, if the Particle had been written *zin*, as it is in the second, there would have been no difficulty in recognizing the Auxiliary *zin* (from *ḫdzin*, 'seize', 'hold'), used in Classical Tibetan to form a Perfect Tense: on the other hand, the ordinary *żiṅ* would equally suit both the passages, and the second would admit the *bżin* of the grammarians. Since a mere miswriting is not very acceptable, a confusion in an incipient usage may be conjectured. The clear early system of Tense discrimination, in which the distinctions are often patent in the Texts from alternations of Prefixes or Suffixes in a single context, was ruined largely by phonetical interchanges among the Prefixes, losses of the same and losses of aspirates and terminal consonants; so that its survival is qualified by numerous exceptions.

As examples of the early usage, in which the Prefixes conveyed the Tense-meanings without dependence upon Auxiliaries, the following may be cited —

IA 78—9, *sdaṅ-gi-sñiṅ-gcado . . . byams-kyi-lan-glan-no*
'heart of wrath shall be chastized . . . meed of kindness shall be received'.

IA 119—120, *staṅ-gyi-sñin-bchad . . . byams-gyi-[ni-lan]-blan*
'heart of wrath has been chastized . . . meed of kindness has been received'.

IA 47, *naṅ-glan-ran-na-glan-du-ma-btub*
nub-gzuṅ-ran-na-gzuṅ-du-ma-btub
'if at morn they wished to receive, they did not succeed in receiving;
'if at eve they wished to keep, they did not succeed in keeping'.

IA 45—6, *sṅo-mo-ṅar-phye-ni-bsgams*
bu-ram-rñuṅ-chu-ni-blud
'for greens they fed on powdered stalks;
for molasses gulped turnip water'.

III 28, *mya-ṅan-bsaṅs-paḫi-chaṅ-glud-do*
'will offer grief-curing beer'.

III 28—9, *gad-mo-daṅ-[stsed]-mo-byas-te-chaṅ-lud-jig*
'having made laughter and mirth, offer beer'.

III 19, *tshigs-ḫdi-gzuṅsu-bzuṅs-te*
'having taken into reception this saying'.

III 22, *tshigs-ḫdi-thos-te-gzuṅsu-myi-ḫdzin-jiṅ*
'having heard this saying, not taking it into reception'.

IV 12—3, *myi-ched-po-daṅ-phyug-poḫi-kha-nas-dgod-myi-bro-paḫi-tshig-thos-na-yaṅ-kun-gyis-dgad-moḫi-ra-mdaḫ-byas-te-bgad-par-ḫoṅ-no*
'if from the mouth of a big man, rich, they heard something not inviting laughter, all formed a laugh-party and laughed' (in l. 17 the same antithesis *dgod/bgad* recurs).

(*b*), **H. Reduplicate**, Composite and Auxiliary Verbs

Verb-reduplication, a widespread feature of Tibeto-Burman and usually signifying a repeated or continuing action, takes in the Texts various froms, viz. —

(a) simple repetition of Verb, as in —

bkal-bkal IB 23
rko-rko VI 27
khyil-khyil IV 129
khrum-khrum IA 68
khrol-khrol IB 56, IV 127
cib-cib IA 68
mchi-mchi IB 39
ljod-ljod IV 90
lta-lta IB 90
thu-thu IV 196
thud-thud IA 110
thum-thum IV 233
thod-thod IA 4
daṅ-daṅ IV 89
daṃ-daṃ IV 127, VI 37
bdag-bdag IB 24
pad-pad IA 4
pyo-pyo IV 107
phrum-phrum VI 128
ban-ban IA 68
bal-bal IB 22
bran-bran IB 24
breṅ-breṅ IA 111
rmaṅ-rmaṅ VI 102
brtsed-brtsed p. 147—4
tshub-tshub IV 201
tsher-tsher IA 70
bźab-bźab II 12
bźu-bźu IB 24
bźud-bźud II 5, 19
zaṅ-zaṅ IV 128
yeṅ-yeṅ IV 48, 127
yed-yed IV 218
rhul-rhul IA 68
laṃ-laṃ IV 260
sil-sil IV 127
soṅ-soṅ II 21

(b) with insertion of the old Adverbial Suffix *-e*, as in —

lji-be-ljib IV 209
tiṅ-ṅe-ḫdzin (= Sanskrit *samādhi*)
ltem-se-ltems IB 90
ldeb-be-ldeb IV 89
ḫoṅ-se-ḫoṅs IV 200
yeṅe-yeṅ IA 19
lhogse-lhogs IV 210

With insertion also of the *d-drag* —

bzur-te-bzur IV 88
rhal-te-rhald IV 209

(c) with insertion of *yaṅ*, signifying 'again', or *par*, 'upon', 'after'

bskyaṅ-yaṅ-bskyaṅ IV 195
bsu-yaṅ-bsu IV 195
bcad-par-bcad IV 155

(d) with change of vowel *a*, often accompanied by negation of the whole compound —

staṅ-steṅ IV 110
ldab-ma-ldib IV 220
rmaṅ-ma-rmoṅ IV 220
tshag-ma-tshig IA 92—3
rlaṅ-ma-rliṅ IV 219, 235—6
lan-lon IA 114
lan-ma-lon IA 74
lan-myi-lon VI 96

In *ljib-ma-ljib* p. 144. 2b 7 vowel *i* is not changed.

(e) with difference in 'Tense', or other form of Verb —

ñan-du-mñan IV 192 etc.
nan-du-mnan p. 143. 1b 1, 6
tsugsu-h̲dzugs IV 192
gzuṅsu-bzuṅs III 19

lan-glan IA 79
lan-blan IA 119—120
} (but *glan/blan* are from √*len*)

(f) with second Verb different, but of kindred sense —

h̲thab-h̲breg IV 39
ldaṅ-bzar IA 112
ldar-zug IA 13
bźes-lass(lhas) VI 54

Auxiliary Verbs appended without syntactical links are exemplified in —

thol-phrom II 15, 30 (with *phrom*, 'carry, carry out', a variant of a rather more frequent *h̲kkhum*, *h̲gum*: cf. Nam *prom*, *h̲prom*, *h̲phrom*).

rṅam (*bgyi*, *sbog*) — (*h̲*)*tshal* IA 29—36 (with the *h̲tshal* usual with the signification tend', 'intend', 'agree', 'ought', 'supposed to').

bsen-gyis IA 88, 'beguiled' (but *gdab-par-bgyis* IA 104, *myed-par-byas* III 49, etc.).

Auxiliaries with possible 'Tense' signification have been noted *p. 69*.

4. SYNTAX AND PHRASEOLOGY

I. Nominal Case usage:

(a) Accusative of Goal without Postposition (cf. the *de-ñid* Case, Bacot, *op. cit.*, p. 17—8)

II 23 *byeh̲u-mgo-(la-)brag-byin*, 'cast a stone at the bird's head'.
VI 147, *gnam-slebs*, 'reach heaven'.
156, *mal-gśegs*, 'go (*or* gone) to bed'.

(b) Instrumental-Ablative forms with *-s* —

(1) in expressions of Place and Time, where perhaps there is some implication of route, source or instrumentality (cf. Latin *a dextra*, 'on the right', *undique*, 'on all sides') —

IA 16, etc., *g-yen-gyis*, 'uphill'
IB 90, *thal-gyis-btsugs*, 'sat in the ashes'
II 3, *yan-gyis*, 'in the interval'
4, *yar-gyis-soṅ*, 'went up'
IV 32—3, *phas . . . tshus*, 'on that side . . . on this side' (cf. VI 125)
97—8, *yas-mtshe . . . mas-mtshe*, 'high . . . low *mtshe*'
177. 181, *yul-phus . . . mdah̲s*, 'highland or lowland' (*ya-dag-las . . . ma-dag-las* 129, 236 may be different)
205, *drum-kyis-rlad*, 'hit direct' (?)
VI 128, *dkar-gyis-loṅ*, 'went white' (?)
159, *yoṅs-gyis-gsal*, 'bright all round (*or* altogether)'.
(IA 123, *dbu-las-grugs*, 'smashed from the head (sc. entirely)' seems different.

(2) with negative:

IA 99, *yaṅ-thag-gyis-myed*, 'without long scope'
123—4, *rlag-gis-myed*, 'without remainder'
II 1, *zos-gyis-med*, 'not eaten
IV 232, *g-yos-gyis-myed*, 'without quaking'.

(3) with Verbs of fearing:

IV 24, *bdud-srog-gis-myi-h̲jigs*, 'not afraid of (their) devil life'
V 21, *śi-gyis-myi-h̲jigs*, 'not afraid of death'.

(4) with Verbs of 'making', 'doing':
IA 109, *sbyaṅs-gyis-mdzad*, 'made seizing'
IV 29, *byi-bas-byas*, 'wrought adultery'.

(5) with other Verbs:
I 23—4, *dgu-rigs-nas-dbyuṅo*, *dgu-chad-gyis-gchado*, 'will become of nine (all) species, will be divided in nine (all) divisions'
VI 109, *khus-ma-gdab*, 'not to use shouting'
IA 29, *dkyus-myi-tshol*, 'not strive in speed (guile ?)'
(VI 26, *sdar-gis-stsal*, 28 *twag-kyis-blaṅs*, 37 *khyus-chags*, 52 *rtsob-gis-phog*, 61 *khyus-kyaṅ-ldiṅ* seem to be different).

(c) Locative-Terminative forms with *-r*, *du*, *su*, etc., expressing a tendency, design or result —

(1) with *ruṅ*, 'suitable, fit, for':
IB 19, *ḫom-bur-ma-ruṅ*, 'not fit to (become) tamarisk'
20, *lug-du-ma-ruṅ*, 'not fit to (become) a sheep'
21, *ba-ru-ma-ruṅ*, '. . . a cow'
(22, *rkyal-du* . . ., '. . . a pail', 27, *sgyer* . . ., '. . . a bag', 25, *Rtsa-dagsu-ma-ruṅ*, 'not fit for the Rtsa-dags')
V 39, *myed-du-myi-ruṅ*, 'should not be lacking'
VI 2, *tsoṅ-byar-myi-ruṅ*, 'not suitable for trading' (also in 71/2, 122)
121—2, *gñen-byar-myi-ruṅ*, 'not suitable for making a family connexion'
III 26, *tshol-du-ruṅ*, 'proper to seek'.

(2) with *ḫbyed*, 'do':
IA 104, *gdab-phar-gyis*, 'made to supply'
B 53, 60—1, *śag-rag-cheru-bgyis*, 'made great chatter'
III 4, *dṅan-dgur-byed*, 'do nine (all) evils'
49, *myed-par-byas*, 'annihilated'
—8, *thugs-thub-du-byas*, 'become self-confident' (l. 7, *thugs-thub-byas*)
IV 6, *ṅan-dgur-byas*, 29, *ṅan-du-byas*, 'do every evil'
—21, *su-yaṅ-legsu-myi-byed*, 'not do any good at all'
VI 111, *mñam-bar-byas*, 'placed on an equality'
130, *phaṅs-su-gyis*, 'make expenditure'
143, *cho-ga-bzaṅ-du-gis*, 'perform a good ritual'.

(3) with *ḫgyur*, 'become' or *ḫoṅ*, 'come to be':
V 22—3, *dgrar-gyur*, 'became enemy'
25, *dmer-ḫgyur*, 'become carrion'
III 5, 12, *ñon-moṅs-par-ḫoṅ*, 'come to be afflicted'
III 8, *byas-par*, '. . . to be done'
9, *myi-ruṅ-bar*, '. . . to be unfit'
47, *bkol-bar*, '. . . to be enslaved'
etc.
IV 5, 19, *smad-par*, '. . . to be despised'
10—1, *myi-sñoms-par*, '. . . to be unsatisfactory'
13, 17, *bgad-par*, '. . . to laugh'
8, 12, *bstod-par*, '. . . to be praised'
32, *ṅan-par*, '. . . to be bad'
24, *myi-ḫjigs-par*, '. . . not to fear'
etc., etc.

VI 7, 25, *phyin-bar*, '. . . to attain'
58, *hche-bar*, '. . . to be great'
153, *grub-par*, '. . . to succeed'
104, 158, *bya-bar-ruṅ-bar*, '. . . to be good for acting'. etc.

(4) with other expressions:
IA 47, *glan-du-ma-btub*, 'did not succed in getting'
50, *spun-gsum-du-bltam*, 'were born as three brothers' (cf. B 31—2, *lcam-sum-żig-du-bltam*, 'were born as three girls')
71, *tshol-du-mchi*, 'come to seek'
75, *gtaṅ-du-sñiṅ-re*, 'hope to give'
IA 94, *hkhor-bar-śog*, 'go to circling'
116, *rasu-dros*, 'cut up into goods'
B 53, 61, *mtho-dam-du(che-ru)-bcad*, 'made (many) thumb-gestures'
II 5, *lug-htshoru-bżud*, 'went pasturing the sheep'
III 19, 22, *gzuṅsu-bzuṅs* (*hdzin*), 'took (take) into reception'
VI 5, *bzaṅ-dgur-sbyar*, 'combined into nine (all) good things'
39, *bya-dgur-yaṅ-myi-grub*, 'fail in nine (all) undertakings'
II 10, *byehu-gchig-du-hphrul*, 'transform self into a bird'
IV 30, *legsu-bzuṅ*, 'taken as good'
35, *hdzaṅ-su-rtsi*, 'reckon as wise'
43, *bdag-du-gśegs*, 'come to be owner'
46, *sbubsu-zom*, 'pented roof-wise'
168—9 etc., *ñan-du-btsugs*(*hdzugs*, *gzugs*), 'placed in allegiance'
182, etc., *ñan-du-mñan*, 'loyal in allegiance'
60, 62, 88 etc., *g-yaṅ-du-glan*(*blan*), 'to take as luck-object'
224, 229, etc., *glud-du-bor*, 'cast as a scapegoat'
271, *lob-du-gśegs*, 'come to be celebrated'.

The use of *du* and *la* seems to be different from this in —
IB 35—6, 50—2, 59—60, 76—7, *śa-rlon-du-zos*, *khrag-rlon-du-hthuṅs*, *pags-rlon-du-gyond*, 'of his raw flesh ate, of his raw blood drank, in his raw skin clothed himself'
IA 65, *rtswa-la-za*, 'eat of the grass'.

(d) Of *la* there are some further idiomatic uses in —
IA 103, *dbye-la-stad*, 'set at a difference'
107, *Rṅog-bkhra-la-ṅo-tsha*, 'shame in presence of R.'
IB 35, 49, *drehu-la-żon*, 'riding on a mule'
IV 221, *la-bżugs*, 'residing with'
III 3, 5, etc., *chos-daṅ-tshe-ṅan-pa-la-bab* '(things) befell to bad religion and life'
21, *dus-bzaṅ-po-la-bab* '(things) befell to a good time'
25, *dus-ṅan-pa-la-bab-boh-tshe-ṅan-pa-la-bab-boh* '(things) have come to a bad time, to a bad life' (so also in l. 28 and elsewhere)
VI 1, 2, 3 and *passim*, *phya-la-btab* '(dice) cast for luck'
4, etc., *ci-la-btab*, 'for whatever cast'
11, etc., *mo-la-bab-ste*, 'fallen as a cast-of-dice (*mo*)'
12, etc., etc., *mo-hdi-ci-la-btab*, 'this dice-throw for whatever cast'
V 16, *ñe-riṅ-myed-la*, 'is *as if* near and far were not'
42, *gcad-re-yaṅ-żim-re-la*, '*just as* a . . . is tasty at every cut'
(This *la* of comparison recurs in V *passim*: see also VI 72—4).

(e) Genitive —

(1) The use of the *-ḫi*-Suffix before *rnams*, originally a noun meaning 'part', 'instalment', but in normal Tibetan merely a Plural Suffix, has been stated *supra*. Note also IA 61, *yin-baḫi-rigs*, 'a right to be-'.

(2) In II 11 *ri-kaḫi-boṅ-bu*, = 7 *ri-kha-boṅ-bu*, may contain the *ḫi*-Suffix used, as frequently in Nam and occasionally in Tibetan (*Ka-ni-kaḫi-rgyal-po*), to express apposition. The possibility that this is a Nam, pre-Tibetan, construction is supported by the expression *skuḫi-brla* (IV 54—6, elsewhere, e.g. 60, *sku-brla* and *sku-bla*), where the Genitive in *-i* is inserted, as in Nam, between the parts of a Compound. Other instances, occurring noticeably in Proper Names, are —

IA 40, *Khar-rtaḫi-Yal-ba*, *Gsaṅ-rtaḫi-Pyod-ma*,
IB 29, *Ltoṅ-teḫi* (elsewhere *te*)-*Mye-kru*, 31 *Bżagsteḫi* (elsewhere *ste*)-*Nar-ḫbyam*, 32 *Tseṅ-ḫgi-Rba-ga*, 67 *Bya-rma-byaḫi-Rma-li*, *Byeḫu-rma-byeḫu-gi* (l. 94 no *gi*)-*Thiṅ-tsun*
II 15, *Ñal-ldeḫi* (l. 30 *lde*)-*Thol-prom*, *Ldeḫu-zaḫi-Sman-skyol*, 16 *Skegs-zaḫi* (l. 26 *za*)-*Yar-mo-btsun*, 17 *Gyim-poḫi* (elsewhere *po*)-*Ñag-cig*
IV 73, *Rum-baḫi-ñan-mtshe*, 74 *Gsas-mtsheḫi-Thal-ba*, *G-yā-mtsheḫi-Spur-buḫ*, 86 *Mtshe-maḫi-Khrun-bzaṅs*.

(3) A loose use, practically temporal, of the Genitive is seen in —
VI 86, *dguṅ-gyi*, 'of (= at) night', *dṅos-gyi* (27, 87, 150 *gi*), 'at present'.

II. Nominal phraseology, other than the reduplications and compounds described *p. 37—9* includes a repetitive form, which may be typified by *yul-myi-yul*, 'country, man-country': examples —

IA 35, *gral-rje-gral*, 'rank, chieftain-rank', *rtsi-byaṅ-rtsi*, 'sap, pure sap', 44 *yul-lha-yul*, 'country, god-country', 86, 88, 97 *yul-myi-yul*, 98 *mkhar-sa-mkhar*, 'town, earth-town', 125 (*b*)*rtan*-(*d*)*baṅ*-(*b*)*rtan*, 'firm, power-firm'
IB 66, *yul-srin-yul*, 'country, fiend-country'
30, *gloṅ-myig-loṅ*, 'blind, eye-blind'
71, *Phyi-byi-Gnam-phyi*, 'Marmot, Sky-marmot'
II 5, 9, 13, *go-ya-go*, 'vulture, *ya*-vulture, 1,4, 10—1 *Rbeg-ga-rbeg*, 14 *yul-myi-yul*
IV 59, etc., *His-po-His*, 'His, virile His', 93 *sa-skya-sa*, 'land Skyi (?)-land', 210 *la-Dgu-ba-la*, 'pass, Dgu-ba-pass', 229 *lha-Myaṅ-lha*, 'god, Myan-god', 291 *yul-Rtsaṅ* (324 *Dbye-mo*, 333 *Dags*, 336 *Mchims*, 343 *Rkoṅ*, 348 *Rgya*)-*yul*, 'country, Rtsaṅ (Dbye-mo, etc.) country'.

III. Verb-syntax: here we may take note of —

(a) Imperative due to dependence upon Imperative:
IA 130, *chab-gaṅ-la-ru-mdzod-cig-yaṅ-ba . . . sbogs-śig*, 'where water is to be contrived, pollute the runnels'
IV 271, *myi-rab-ḫgres-lob-du-gśegs-śig*, 'let very aged men come to speak'
VI 7, *bgyegs-sol-lha-mchod-cig*, 'worship the god for removing (*sol*) obstacles'.

(b) Two Imperatives connected by *la*:
III 18, *bris-la-stoṅ*, 'write and show'
30—1, *phyag-ḫtshol-la-tshigs-ḫdi-byo-śig*, 'do homage, use these words'

35, *smos-la-gtoṅ-ma-gyis*, 'do not give up saying'
VI 143, *cho-ga-bzaṅ-du-gis-la-nem-nur-ma-byed-cig*, 'performing a good ritual, do not make remission'.

IV. Verb-phraseology makes frequent use of —

(a) Reduplication, expressing continuous or repeated action; for lists see *p. 70—1* (a—e).

(b) Compounding of Verbs of kindred signification; for list see *p. 71* ff.

(c) Compounding with Verbs of 'thinking':

II 12, *Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi-lags-sñam*, 'thought(that) it was R.'
VI 19, *tshe-lags-ḫgraṅ*, 'consider that you have life', 68 *blaṅ-sñam*, 'think to have got', 67 *rmo-sñam*, 'think to plough', *ḫgro-sṅam*, 'think to go'.

In other Documents there is a similar usage with *rma*, 'state', 'profess'.

(d) Use of the Verb *ḫtshal*, 'desire', 'should', 'is thought to', with insertion of Particle *-o*:

IB 9—10, *tshugs-so-btsal*, 'should have been set'. Note also IA 30, *rṅam-ḫtshal*, 'threatem'.

(e) With Gerund Particles, *ciṅ*, *żiṅ*, *te*, *de*, manneristic use of Auxiliary Verbs:

IA 121, *laṅ-ste-chags*, 'commenced to rise', B 63—4, *brtag-te-bgyi*, 'shall be looked into, 35—6, 49, *żon-de-mchis*, 'came riding', 93 *gab-ste-mchis*, 'was hiding', 37 *brnal-de-bżugs*, 'stayed sleeping'.
IV 130—1, 133, *rgal-te-mchis*, 'came off crossing', 284, 287, 295, *ḫtsal-te-mchis*, 'came demanding', 285, 295—6 *thar-te-mchis*, 'got free', etc. etc.,
VI 6, *phoṅs-te-ḫdug*, 'were in poverty', 44 *ñon-moṅs-mosste-ḫdug*, 'were experiencing suffering'.
II 3, *khol-żiṅ-ḫdug*, 'engaged in stewing', II 11 *ḫphur-te-soṅ*, 'flew away', 13 *bros-te-soṅ*, 'went in flight', 20 *thogs-śiṅ-ḫdug*, 'was entangled',
VI 44—5, *ḫbyed-ciṅ-ḫdug*, 'is doing', 70 *stoṅ-żiṅ-ḫdug*, 'is in vain', 75, 116, 117 *ḫgo-żiṅ-ḫdug*, 'is giving a lead', 158 *bskyabs-żiṅ-ḫdug*, 'are protected', etc., etc.

With a negative the *te*, *ciṅ*, etc., seem not to be requisite —

VI 34, 81, *gtol-ma-mchis*, 'is not disclosed', 48 *bśums-ma-mchis*, 'is not bewept', 49 *bkyon-ma-mchis*, 'is blameless'.

The construction with *ḫoṅ* has been exemplified *supra*.

(f) Figure etymologica in —

IA 89, *srab-gyis-srabs*, 'with bridle bridled', 125, *khod-mo-ni-bkhod*, 'order was set in order', IB 22 *żo-bżos*, 'milk milked', III 19, *gzuṅsu-bzuṅs*, 22, *gzuṅsu-ḫdzin*, IV 178, *ñan-mñan*, 182, 185 etc., *ñan-du-mñan*, 192—3, *tsugsu-ḫdzugs*.

In IA 79, *lan-glan*, etc., there is merely assonance, the roots *lan*, 'retribution', and *len*, 'obtain', being different.

(g) Phrases with 'make', etc., as in normal Tibetan with *mdzad*:

II 15, *thol-prom*, 'bury-perform', IV 12, *gsag-byas*, 'collecting-*made*', 13 *dgod-bro*, 'laugh-savouring'.

V. Pronouns.

Ḫdi, *da*, as expressions of nearness and remoteness, are suffixed in —

IV 57, etc., *Mchiṅ-rgyal-ḫdi*, 'our Mchiṅ-king',
343, *rje-Rkoṅ-ḫdi*, 'this (near) Rkoṅ-chief',
206, etc., *srin-dre-da*, 'the there fiend-demon'.

VI. Particles.

(a) *go/ko*, as Particle of emphasis, occurs in *ḫdi-go* II 37, and perhaps in the obscure phrase *ko-lta*, apparently derisory, in IB 12—7.

(b) *ciṅ*, *żiṅ*, in expressions of time:

IB 2, 26, *dbyal-ciṅ*, *dgun-ciṅ*, 'it being (= during), summer', 'during winter'.
II 24, *ñin-żiṅ*, *mtshan-żiṅ*, 'by day', 'by night'.
III 13, *rabs-phyi-phyir-żiṅ*, 'as generations later and later came' (so again in IV 31).
VI 87, *phyir-żiṅ*, 'later', 122—3, 155—6, *ñin-żiṅ*, *mtshan-żiṅ*.

(c) *daṅ*, 'with'. = 'after'.

III 51, *dar-pa-daṅ*, 'after flourishing'.

VII. Adverbs, etc.

(a) Adverbial and Postpositional expressions in Case-form are exemplified by —

IA 75, *khuṅ* (83 *khoṅ-du*), 'to the depth', IV 124, *mñam-las*, 'together with', IB 92, *dur-kis*, 'hastily', V 45, *do-mar*, 'at present', 'previous', VI 70, *drag-tu*, 'earnestly', IA 69, etc., *re-śig* = *res-cig*, 'once upon a time', IA 15, *zil-du*, 'little by little', IA 105, *riṅ-la*, 'to the extent of'.

(b) I 88 *nam-ża(r)*, 'when', is in form not clear.

(c) An Adverbial form in *-e* (cf. *khrom-me*, 'glittering', and the Buddhist *tiṅ-ṅe-ḫdzin*) occurs in —

IA 14, *smra-le* (for *smral-le*, but the *l* is not clear), 'promptly' ?; cf. *smral-la* IV 205 (?), IV 216, *cher* = *cer-re* (√*bcer*, 'glare'), 'in a stare', IB 4, *dbru(l)-le*, 'crumbling' (?), 18 *slaṅ-ṅe*, 'rising'.

In *khyaṅ-ka-le*, IA 15, 17—8 (20 *kha-la*), which seems to mean 'all in vain', *khyaṅ* has been taken as = *kyaṅ*, 'although', and construed with what precedes; and *ka-le* might be = the modern *ga-le*, 'gently', 'slowly'; but this is quite uncertain.

(d) In the speech *ḫo-na-bu-re-stug-re-bsṅal*, IB 78, 'Ah child! sorrow and suffering', the repeated *re*, dividing the compound *sdug-bsṅal*, is idiomatic.

(e) On the antithetically used adverbial and other forms *ñan/stan*, *phon/gon*, *hin/tshun*, *man/phan*, *rla*, (*rlan*, *brla*, *bla*, *gla*), *phu/mdaḫ*, see the notes to IV ll. 54—7 and *p. 42*.

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

Chapter I

A, End of the Good Age and Tragedy of the Horse and Yak; B, Funeral of Father Sten-rgan-ñer-pa and Story of Gyim-po Ñag-cig's Bride

INTRODUCTION

In this text[1]) we have the legend of the Good, or Happy, Age and its sequel in probably, for Tibeto-Chinese regions, its most unadulterated form. It describes the creatures, in their different kinds, living happily not by reason of any high ethical quality, but through the effect of luck or blessing and the exclusion of evil powers or curse. Blessing, it is said, was on the top, curse shut outside. The change came with the action of the stars and planets pasturing in the high heaven, which commenced to 'eat up-hill and to drink with care'. Thus disharmony and division of species came to pass. Details, in poetical form, are then given of the transformation of creatures and the degeneration of life.

At this point we are told that the rest is in the form of oral narrative, and that only a small extract is put into writing. The extract then proceeds to tell at length the story of the descent of the horse and the fatal conflict with the yak, the separation of the *kiang*, or wild ass, from the horse, the killing of the yak and the perpetual subjection, during the given aeon, of the horse to mankind. The death of the Man is apparently followed by the horse's revolt.

The story is supposed to be told to persons named Do-ma Sñiṅ-dags, which apparently means 'Uniquely Heart-pure'.

The second fragment of the text, inscribed on the *recto* between the lines of the original Chinese writing, acknowledges by that very circumstance its posteriority. The identity of the hand-writing indicates a continuation of the same work; but the narrative is at a point separated by a considerable space from the fragmentary termination of the *verso*. We are here presented with the end of a story of one Yab (Father) Sten-rgan-ñer-pa and his sons, the six brothers Gyim-po and the one brother Gyim-po Ñag-cig ('Number-one'), a family which is also the subject of MS. II.

There follows the story of another family, that of Yab Ltoṅ-tehi Mye-kru, which also is partly, but with considerable divergence, narrated in the second MS. The connection between

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[1]) India Office Library MS., Stein collection, Ch. 82, IV; Roll of yellowish Chinese paper, of the coarser kind, c. 170 cm. long × 25.5 cm. wide, soiled and rubbed at edges; fragmentary at beginning and end. *Recto*, 104 columns (the first incomplete) of Chinese text, being a translation of the Sanskrit *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa*, c. XVIII, with margin at top and bottom; and between the columns lines 103, nos. 1—3 and 101—3 very obscure or fragmentary, of Tibetan script, cursive *Dbu-can*, frequently rubbed, extending across both margins; *Verso*, lines 133, the last three fragmentary, of Tibetan script, extending across the whole width, mainly in the same hand as *Recto*, but with a portion, lines 25—80 (except the end part of 80) contributed largely by about three different hands, with variant spacing: *Verso*, a number of corrections, generally immediate and in continuation, by the original scribe. Pll. I (*verso*), II (*recto*).

the two tales resides in the fact that a daughter of Yab Ltoṅ-teḫi Mye-kru, who, unlike her father and two elder sisters, escaped being devoured by a demon, became the wife of Gyim-po Ñag-cig. Though none of the persons in the stories is quite an ordinary human being, and though the stories are fabulistic, clarity may be assisted by a genealogy, as follows: —

Yab Sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-pa *or* Ñal-ldeḫi-thol-prom	= Ldeḫu-zaḫi-ḫbriṅ Sman-skyol	= Skeg-zaḫi Yar-mo-btsun
	Six Gyim-po-brothers	Gyim-po Ñag-cig

Yab Ltoṅ-teḫi Mye-kru *or* Gloṅ-myig-loṅ	= Bżag-ste-Ñar-ḫbyam		
Tseṅ-ḫgi-rba-ga	Tseṅ-ḫgi-rbag-żin	Tseṅ-ḫgi-rba-ga	

(According to MS. II the daughters are six in number, the youngest being Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi. The parents' names do not there occur).

The story of Yab Ltoṅ-teḫi Mye-kru is naturally interpolated into that of Yab Sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-pa (= Ñal-deḫi-thol-prom) in order to show how Gyim-po Ñag-cig came by his wife. In Text II also, though here the account of Yab Ltoṅ-teḫi Mye-kru's family is finished before the introduction of Yab Sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-pa, the case is evidently the same: for both texts end at the same point, namely the death of Yab Sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-pa, mentioned immediately after the marriage of his son Gyim-po Ñag-cig. But another problem is not so easily solved. At the beginning of the text B we seem to be concerned with the funeral of Yab Sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-pa, and in line 28 his burial seems to be actual. Nevertheless in line 98, after the story of Yab Ltoṅ-teḫi Mye-kru, we find him alive and giving to his son Gyim-po Ñag-cig directions for his funeral. Moreover, the fragmentary ending of this text is curiously similar in tenour to the, likewise fragmentary, beginning and might easily be thought to lead up thereto. We might be tempted to conjecture that the text should be read from some point not at the commencement and should continue from the (fragmentary) termination to the (fragmentary) beginning, with a gap, which as regards the sense could easily be filled with a statement of the death of Yab Sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-pa and the initial preparations for his funeral. But nothing in the actual MS. supports such a supposition; and it is in fact probable that the loss of text (both parts) in the MS., at the beginning and at the end, is considerable. The only remaining possibility is that at the beginning, where the funeral arrangements are under discussion, Yab Sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-pa is not in fact already dead, the matter being prospective. Even then it is strange that he should propound to his son, apparently as a novelty, a funeral formula so similar to one already made known to the reader: and his own name signifies, no doubt, that he had shown care for *his* father's funeral.

In any case the matter of the funeral is remarkable indeed and not a little puzzling. There are curious mentions of bags and pails and tamarisks, and scornful references to miraculous productions of birds and other animates. But we obtain a little light when we note that the six Gyim-po brothers seem to be protesting against new-fangled modification of old practice (lines 21—2) and lay stress upon not detracting from their father's elevation (lines 7—8), while Gyim-po Ñag-cig says that the ceremony would have success on the level and not on the height (line 10). Remembering that one of the three ancient Tibetan methods of disposal

of the dead was to leave the corpse upon a mountain, whereas the alternative in the present case is certainly burial in a tomb and on the level, we seem to be present at a primitive discussion of those alternatives: in which case the details may be interesting.

The speech (unfortunately incomplete) addressed (ll. 98 sqq.) by Yab Sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-pa to his son is as follows: —

'Son Gyim-po Ñag-cig, in gratitude to a father a pure medicament equal to . . . is produced from the ice-summit: in showing gratitude to a mother a bird equal to a cuckoo is born in dwelling and estate. Well then, give your father height; set up your sire's funeral monument. Say "Let crop sack-bag, first-fruits bag come to the Rtsa-dags. In summer not rotting . . . let come. Let the bag come as milk-pail. Let the pieces of good silk yield tamarisk. May grass rot . . . Let . . . climb up to the nine . . ." This utterance . . .'

The fragmentary state of the passage is partly helped out by the corresponding passage in lines 1—6 —

'. . . died (?). The Rtsa-dags Snam-one, having taken the little bag, did not say —

"Done by day, at night filled,
Done by night, by day filled,
In summer not rotting,
In winter not clotting,
Bag with small hole as grain come!
Large bag with small hole as grain-pit with small hole come!
Fine pieces of silk, too, as tamarisk come!
What gathered was rotten, what scattered was crumbling, come!
Let the gruel as buttermilk-pail come!
Let the Do-ma-thugs-dags, by water revived, with swift old-age escort arranged, to the nine pure poised castles ascend!'

This not having been uttered, the Gyim-po brothers six said:

"Father has his high seat;
Our sire's base aloft is laid"

whereupon follows the debate.

In this obscure matter there are some points which may be taken as moderately certain. In the first place, it appears that the deceased was expected to go to heaven (*dguṅ-du*); for we have several recurrences[1]) of that idea, at any rate in the case of persons of eminent quality and in the present passage the 'nine pure poised castles' are evidently identical with the nine chiefs (planets or stars) poised apart', who are mentioned in line 13 of A; and the expression 'castle' (*rdzoṅ*) is equivalent to the *rdzaṅ* of lines 15—20. Secondly, it is obvious that the fault of the six Gyim-po brothers was an omission of the formulae relating to bags, crops, silk-pieces, gruel and cow-pail, while their subsequent ridicule is turned against some proceedings which they deride as inefficient and symbolical.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the objects mentioned were intended to be fruitful of benefit to the deceased in his new life and not to his survivors. The bag with a small aperture (sc. the shroud ?) was to become *his* corn-bin (or pit); the pieces of silk to become *his* tamarisk wood; the gruel (*skyo-ma*), which may be a 'thin paste of wheat or oatmeal' (Ś. C. Das' Dictionary), was to become *for him* a milk-pail. But what was it that failed to be filled or produced (*bltams*) in a day or in a night ? Since the bag with small aperture is to be a corn-bin (pit) with small aperture, can we understand that the thin paste was gradually to find its way through the small aperture into the bag, just as grain is poured into a pit ?

[1]) *Infra*, p. 82, Text IV, lines 43—4; cf. *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, I, p. 267 and J. R. A. S., 1927, p. 283; Lhasa Inscriptions, J. R. A. S., 1910, p. 1277, line 10.

What lends some curious support to these interpretations is the fact that in one of the graves of early inhabitants of the Lou-lan area, discovered and so strikingly depicted and described by Sir Aurel Stein (*Innermost Asia*, pp. 264—7) —

> 'the edge of the shroud near the head was tied up into two small bags, one of which was found to contain grains of wheat, and the other small twigs' (p. 265)

while in another instance —

> 'Tied up into a small bunch on the edge of the shroud where it lay across the breast was a packet of little broken twigs, evidently intended for consumption by the dead in another life' (p. 265).

Similar bundles of twigs were found in graves in the region of the Kuruk-daryā (ibid., pp. 736, 741, 743). The pieces of fine silk recall the 'shreds of miscellaneous fabrics, largely silk, evidently from much worn garments', which Sir A. Stein found enveloping bones or parts of bodies (p. 277). Scraps of silk were found likewise in many of the Chinese graves (VIIth century A. D.) in the Astana cemetery (*ibid.*, pp. 650—1, 661—2, etc.); and in China it was the practice to bury pieces of silk with the dead (De Groot, *Religious System of China*, p. 391). But why should the pieces of silk become in another life 'tamarisk'? What is the connection? It may be suggested that it was as woven substance that the silk could symbolize tamarisk, which as material for mats, baskets, etc., seems to have played in Chinese Turkestan (see Stein *Ancient Khotan*, and *Serindia*, Indexes s. vv. 'tamarisk' and 'matting') a chief part in the economic life.

We now come to the series of sentences of the type 'On sewing a hundred black mares to the great limb of a *bse* do we have forsooth jackdaws gathering (?) at a well?' These sentences are all apparently derisive of a symbolical act intended to have magical effects. The *bse* (also written *se*) is known as 'a thorny plant with a rose-like flower', as 'a kind of demon', 'the *serow* or one-horned deer', 'a shield of *serow* hide', 'a weasel', and as 'three kinds of grain having medicinal properties'. But what is 'the great hand (or arm)', or 'many hands', of a *bse*, to which the objects are to be sewn? Evidently the sewing implies that the objects are to be in the form of cloth or paper, representations similar to the paper horses which the Tibetan Buddhists scatter to the winds for the benefit of travellers. Can *bse*, in the sense of 'demon', denote one of those models of monsters which Sir A. Stein found (*Innermost Asia*, p. 652 and fig. 325 ,also Plate XCVI) associated with graves in Chinese Turkestan? Or is *bse* merely a form of the *se* which occurs in A, lines 31, 125 and for which we conjecture the sense of 'top' (*rtse*), i. e. top-framework of a Tibetan tent, and the 'great hand (or arm)' the supporting rods and cords? If that were the case, the pieces of cloth would be analogous to the fluttering strips seen in so many illustrations of Tibetan tents and *obos* and mentioned by the Chinese traveller Sung Yün as found in Turkestan also (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. LXXXVI).

The sheep to be placed in the hand of the father (lines 19—20) are, no doubt, similarly symbolical; and it may be plausibly suggested that the conception of the stars as sheep pasturing in the sky-region (A, l. 18) is here recurrent. But what is meant by the saying 'Mother should not become a cow', which evidently is related to the other statement that 'even though secretly milked, the gruel should not become (or suit) a cow-pail'. The last statement, concerning the making of a hair bag, seems merely to indicate that the bag is an ordinary mundane artefact, for which the Root-pure, i. e. the world to which the dead man is proceeding, have no need. But the 'large bag with small hole', to which the small bag is attached, may well be the shroud itself, which accordingly is one of the items condemned by the Six Gyim-po brothers as useless.

But why should there be a controversy between the six Gyim-po brothers and the single brother Gyim-po Ñag-cig concerning the matter? The persons in these stories being legendary,

and not ordinary human beings, the dissension seems to record a tradition concerning the adoption of a process of burial, a process characterized by addition of certain symbolic objects: the emphasis laid upon 'height', and the criticism by Gyim-po Ñag-cig to the effect that all might have been well if the ceremony had been on the plain, suggests that the older procedure may have been exposure of the dead, without a shroud, upon a mountain. This is known to be one of the modes followed in Tibet; and that the matter is still debated there is evident from the story related to Fathers Huc and Gabet (*Travels in Tartary*, English trans. by W. Hazlitt, Vol. II, p. 83) —

> 'This man had three children, who lived a long time with him, feeding upon milk and fruits. After attaining a very great age, this man died. The three children consulted what they should do with the body of their father; they could not agree on the point, for each had a different opinion. One of them wanted to put him in a coffin, and bury him; the second proposed to burn him; the third said it would be better to expose him on the top of a mountain.'

In the amusing sequel the first method is attributed to the ancestor of the Chinese, the second to the ancestor of the Tartar peoples, and the third to the ancestor of the Tibetans. The six Gyim-po brothers seem to have approved of an intermediate procedure, agreeing to a tomb or monument, but disregarding certain symbolistic objects (inclusive of the shroud) and insisting upon a high situation.

It is conceivable that a new mode of disposal of the dead had come up into the mountainous regions of the Altyn-tagh and Nan-shan from the easily accessible plains of Chinese Turkestan[1]). If so, it is likely to have accompanied an infiltration or immigration of people. The physiognomy of the astonishingly well-preserved corpses excavated by Sir A. Stein from graves in the Lou-lan area and figured in *Innermost Asia* (Vol. I, pp. 264—5, and figs. 172—3) does not conflict with this suggestion. According to Przevalsky, *Mongolia* (trans. E. D. Morgan, II, p. 110) —

> 'Externally they (the Tangutans) present a marked contrast to the two last-named races (Chinese and Mongols), and, as we have already said, somewhat resemble gypsies. In height they are above the average, with thickset figures and broad shoulders; their hair, whiskers and beard invariably black; the eyes dark and rather large, never narrow like those of the Mongols; the nose in general straight, although sometimes aquiline, and also sometimes turned up; the lips thick and protruding; the cheek bones not so prominent as in the Mongol type; the face long, never flat . . . Unlike Mongols or Chinese, the Tangutans have a strong growth of beard and whiskers . . .[2])'

Of the same people (Panakas or Go-lok of the Hoang-ho region) the Vicomte d'Ollone remarks (trans. Miall, *In Forbidden China*, p. 235) that

> 'The male type is variable: all are tall and many have long and refined features'

and even as far south as the Nam-ru region, on the upper reaches of the Hbri-chu (Tibetan Yang-se-chiang) Rockhill found (*Journey through Mongolia and Tibet*, p. 234) that the people had

> 'oval faces, sharp pointed chins, rather straight eyes, hair not very abundant and rather wavy. Their noses are more prominent than with the Mongols and frequently with large ends, though some have aquiline and thin ones.'

Of the Koko-nor Tibetans he says (*The Land of the Lamas*, p. 74) that —

> 'The head is round, the forehead high and narrow, the nose more prominent than in the Chinese, the eyes frequently large and nearly horizontal . . .

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[1]) If not from China itself.

[2]) For a similar description see Futterer, *Durch Asien*, I, p. 277.

M. Bonvalot also speaks (translation, '*Across Tibet*', I, p. 80) of Lop-nor people with hooked noses and again (Vol. II, pp. 8, 97) of aquiline noses ('arched nose, like an eagle's beak') in Tibet.

The hunters of the Lop-nor region would have been certain in ancient times, as in modern (Przevalski, *From Kulya across the Tian Shan to Lob Nor* (trans. E. D. Morgan), pp. 80 sqq.)[1], to visit the regions to the south of their mountains and may have introduced their burial customs. There is therefore a possibility that the corpses photographed by Sir A. Stein may have been buried with formulas similar to that recorded in our text.

The name *Gyim-po*, 'Gyim-man', might contain a word akin to Chinese *kin*, Burushaski *kiniš* 'gold', 'Chinese $n < m$ being common; for the Tibetan Chronicle (trans. A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, p. 66) speaks of four kinds of 'frontier (i. e. extra-Tibetan) dwarfs', of whom the first two are Gam-śan Rgya, 'Gam-mountain Chinese', and Gyim-śan Hor, 'Gyim-mountain Turks'. The Gyim-mountain might there be the Altai, the 'Gold Mountain' of the Turks. This, however, is here inapplicable, the Chinese Gyim being mentioned elsewhere also in relation to the Sino-Tibetan border[1]).

The father's name, *Sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-pa*, meaning 'Exalted-old-of-taking-care', is given in Text II as equivalent to *Ñal-ldeḫi (elsewhere lde)-thol-phrom*, which we have interpreted (JRAS. 1928, p. 632, 1939, pp. 194—5 and p. 133) as 'Aged-burial-attending': the word *yab* 'father', which in both cases precedes, is probably part of the name, since it is the father's funeral that is in question. In common with some other names occurring in these stories *(Ltoṅ-teḫi Mye-kru, Bżag-steḫi (elsewhere ste) Ñar-ḫbyam* and *Ldeḫu-zaḫi-ḫbriṅ Sman-skyol, Skeg-zaḫi Yar-mo-btsun, Tseṅ-ḫgi Rbag-żin*, etc., and even the horses' names *Khar-rtaḫi Yal-ba, Gsaṅ-rtaḫi Pyod-ma)*, it has a prior member, or surname, to which is appended the Tibetan suffix *ḫi* or *gi*, used to form Genitives or Adjectives: this, being apparently optional, may be due to the Tibetan redaction. The prior member has in some cases the suffix *te* or *ste*, which in Tibetan is Gerundival: since in Tibetan it is not found used in this particular way, merely as an adjective-forming suffix, it is likely to be a feature of the original Nam language (see *Nam*, p. 136). In etymologizing any of the names which do not profess to be translations caution is requisite; for, while in Central Asia the names usually bore obvious meanings and translation was frequently practised, we may not seldom in the case of these texts be deluded into attaching Tibetan senses to syllables merely retained in an original or modified form.

The story of Father Ltoṅ-teḫi Mye-kru and his family devoured by a fiend is here more developed than in fragment II; and the nomenclature, partly lacking in that fragment, is also somewhat different. In the fragment the names of the father, mother and elder sisters do not occur; and the youngest sister, corresponding to the Tseṅ-ḫgi-rba[g]-ga of the present version, is named Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi, which, furthermore, is equivalent rather to Rbeg-ga-rbag-żin. Moreover, the fiend Dgu-lcogs, from the fiend-country Dgu-sul, appears as the fiend Go-ya-go-phu. The ass Cho-pyi Cog-zu, 'Mountain ass, Little Tiger', is Mountain ass Żu-tsog-żu. In both cases the girl escapes through the sky as, or by aid of, a bird, which in the one is definitely stated to be a peacock and in the other is implicitly indicated as such. The obvious independence of the two versions is reinforced, it appears, by some slight difference of dialect.

In Text II Ltoṅ-teḫi Mye-kru is stated to be a man of the country Skyi-mthiṅ, 'Skyi-plateau', whereas the present narrative certainly emanates from the country of the Nam-tig people (B, lines 54, 62), and Skyi-mthiṅ is 'a far country' (A, lines 97, 120). It may therefore well be that the name-forms in Text II are proper to the Skyi-mthiṅ dialect, the present text giving the Nam forms. This becomes certain when we observe that it is only our present text that mentions the place Dgu-sul, in the country Khar-tsaṅ: for both these belong, as has been

[1]) On these Gyim of the Koko-nor region see Thomas, *Nam an ancient language . . .*, pp. 33 n 5, 134—5, *Tibetan Lit. Texts and Documents*, III, 6.

previously demonstrated, to Western Kan-su (*Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, II, Index), which was separated from Skyi-mthiṅ by the whole region of the Nam peoples and the Koko-nor. It is also likely (*Nam*, p. 367) that the *e* in the name-element *rbeg*, as compared with the *rbag* of Text I, is a feature of Skyi-mthiṅ speech.

The name adopted by Tseṅ-ḫgi Rbag-zin, when she settles in the Phug-tir (or°dir) meadow, namely *Bya-rma-byaḫi Rma-li* or *Byeḫu-rma-byeḫu-gi Thiṅ-tshun*, in Tibetan *Khab-yo-byaḫi Ḫdab-bkra*, is of the same type as those previously mentioned. The meaning is 'Bird-Peacock-bird Dappled-wings'. The form of the expression 'Bird-Peacock-bird' we shall find frequently *infra*, in *yul-myi-yul*, 'a country, man-country', etc.: *byeḫu-rma-byeḫu* being merely a diminutive, or hypocoristic, form of the same, also a type frequent in N.E. Tibet. The alternatives *Rma-li* and *Thiṅ-tshun*, corresponding to the Tibetan *Ḫdab-bkra*, have been discussed in connection with the Nam language (pp. 131—2). The Tibetan phrase *khab-yo* seems to mean 'acting as (*yo*, cf. the *yo* of lines B 90, 95) house-wife (*khab*)'. On the names of the two birds, *Thaṅ-kar* and *Thaṅ-naṅ*, see the note to B, line 69. The place *Phug-tir* (*'dir*) must certainly be connected with the district Phyug-tshams, 'Phug-border', west of the Koko-nor, concerning which see the Geographical Introduction: cf. *Nam*, pp. 32—4.

In her flight through the sky Tseṅ-ḫgi Rbag-żin encounters Queen Phyi-byi-gnam-phyi Guṅ-rgyal-mo, described (line 71) as with —

'Eye-skin covering nose,
Nose-wrinkles covering mouth,
Mouth-wrinkles covering chin.'

Her name *Guṅ*(*i.e. Dguṅ*)-*rgyal*(-*mo*), 'Heaven-Sovereign', was borne by a Tibetan king, concerning whom see *infra*, p. 56, 88. But her surname, 'Marmot (*phyi-byi*), sky-marmot (*gnam-phyi*)', betrays her animal origin. As to Tseṅ-ḫgi-Rbag-żin, the manner in which she, as a peacock hiding in the brushwood of the house yard, becomes, both here and in Text II, the wife of Gyim-po Nag-cig is a further trait of her fabulistic character. There can be no doubt that the whole story is an eponymous legend of the Skyi country. The prominence of the peacock represents an etymology of the name of the Upper Hoang-river, in Tibetan *Rma-chu*[1]). In *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents* (I, p. 279, n. 6, II, pp. 10, 20) we have accepted 'Peacock-river' as rendering of the name and have further pointed out that *Rma* is used as a surname of persons belonging to the region: of this we shall adduce conclusive proof *infra*. The legend proves that that was the local interpretation in ancient times: the comparatively recent Chinese statement (Rockhill, *Journey*, p. 113, note) that *rma* means 'yellow' is obviously based upon the Chinese name, *Hoang-ho*, which is not deserved by the river before it reaches the Ala-shan sand-mountains (Huc and Gabet's *Travels in Tartary*, etc., trans. I, p. 274).

In any case, however, the same syllable appears in the name of the mighty snow-mountain range Amnye Machin, round which the Hoang-ho winds in its uppermost course and which on the west flanks its great gorge. The travellers Przevalsky[2]), Rockhill[3]) and Vicomte d'Ollone[4]) agree in stating that in the language of the surrounding nomads *Amneh*, *Amye*, *Anyei* signifies 'ancestor'; and the two former furnish lists of the 13, or 14, so surnamed mountains of N.E. Tibet: a later visitor (Dr. W. Filchner, *Das Rätsel des Matschŭ*, p. 167, note) adds that the term primarily denotes certain 'Mountain-spirits'. These statements deserve, no doubt, respect; but, considering that in Tibet the great mountains, Cho-mo (i.e. Jo-mo = 'Lady') Lha-ri, etc., are feminine, we may be more inclined towards the mea-

[1]) Perhaps the ancient Chinese notice, describing the region of the Western Ch'iang as a country 'where blue birds cast their feathers', may attest the antiquity of this (De Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden*, II, p. 189). [2]) *Mongolia*, trans., II p. 76.

[3]) *The Land of the Lamas*, p. 94, *Journey*, p. 130. [4]) *In Forbidden China*, p. 256.

ning 'ancestress' and see in *amye*, *anyei*, etc., the word *'a-ne*, 'aunt', used in this sense by Mi-la Ras-pa and others. In understanding *Ma-chin* in this mountain's designation as the name of the river the Vicomte d'Ollone (*op. cit.* p. 256) is undoubtedly right: for the Tibetan work translated in *Geografia Tibeta* (V. Vasiliev, 1895, p. 48) gives the name of the range as *Rma-chen-sbom-ra*, 'Great Rma, Vast-region' (an expression presented to Rockhill, op. cit., p. 94, in an unrecognizable, 'horrible', form); and the Dictionary of S.C. Das may be said to clinch the whole matter by interpreting this name as —

> 'name of the great genius of the *gshi-bdag* (ground-lord) class, the lord of the *peacocks*, who resides in the snowy mountain of Spom-ra of the province of Amdo'.

Thus the name of the range may finally have, by way of suggestion, some connection with the famous *Mahā-māyūrī* text of Buddhist Central Asia.

The general character of the composition represented by our two fragments is now apparent. It may have had the form of a narrative addressed to some beings named Do-ma Sñiṅ-dags, 'Uniquely Heart-pure'. It commenced, possibly after a creation legend, with an account of a primitive, paradisial age, in the two, upper and lower, heavens, Gnam and Dguṅ; the creatures pastured their star sheep and cattle on the etherial plains, surveyed by king Dpan-ten in his high palace and guarded by the pendulous castles of the moving planets and brighter stars. The Good Age was dominated by blessedness, and evil, or curse, was all segregated outside. Some reversal of astral conditions puts an end to this, leading to descent and dispersal of the beings. Details are, it is said, reserved for oral communication: only in regard to the history of the horse, the fatal quarrel with the yak, and the separation of the wild ass, is there narrative in writing. Next, after a gap, we are presented with legends of quasi-human persons of the regions of N.E. Tibet, eponymous figures, no doubt, of ethnical and institutional origins. There may have been, as is suggested by comparison with other texts, nos. III and IV *infra*, a continuation into times actually historical.

The whole composition was, it is evident, on the lines of early literature, cosmological and historical, traceable all over the world and familiar in the case of Hesiod, the *Book of Genesis*, the Norse Sagas and the *Kalevala* of the Finns. In India the *Purāṇas* had, no doubt, a similar origin. But among Tibeto-Burman peoples this kind of narrative seems to have been universal. It survives in the Tibetan *Chronicle* (*Rgyal-rabs-gsal-baḫi-me-loṅ*, translated by A. H. Francke in *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, Vol. II) and in the (unpublished) Bon-po literature of Tibet. From the Mo-sos (J. Bacot, *Les Mo-so*, pp. 17—21) we have the like; and in regard to the Lo-los we may refer to M. Paul Vial, *Les Lolos* (1898), pp. 6—12, M. A. Liétard *Au Yun-nan*, *Les Lo-lop'o*, pp. 140—142[1]). As regards Burma, we have there 'the Lahu Narrative of Creation' (*Journal of the Burma Research Society*, I, p. 65), and the statement of the Rev. D. Gilmore (ibid., I. 11 p. 36) concerning the Karens, in regard to

> 'the prevalence among them, when they first came in contact with Christian missionaries, of a number of traditional legends more or less resembling the narratives found in the early part of the book of Genesis'.

From the literary and folkloristic point of view (as, of course, historically and philologically) the present text, which is in date not later than the ninth or tenth century A.D. and which affords the first insight into the mentality of the peoples concerned, may be found interesting. It deals with gods, demons, animals, legendary persons, and — the great matter in the regions from which it comes — water. It has original poetical value, and its form, prose narrative with interwoven (not quoted) verse, is an excellent example of the *ākhyāna* style which in the case of Sanskrit literature has been a subject of much discussion (Windisch, *Verhandlungen der Philologenversammlung (1878) pp. 28 sqq.)*.

[1]) Compare also what is stated by the Vicomte d'Ollone (*In Forbidden China*, pp. 156—7) concerning the Miao-tze.

TEXT

A.

[1] gyi.byi(n).che.ni.yaru.dgaro | rgyaṅ.sdig.pa.ni.phyir. | gchado | yul.bchu.gñis.na.
lhab.ma. [Rtsi-] [2] daṅ.daṅ.bchu.gsum.gyi.byin.chen.ni.yaru.dgaro.rgyaṅ.sdig.ni.
pyi[1]).ru.gchado || mkhar.bchu.gñi[s] [3] na.Hbum-da-ṅa.daṅ.bchu.gsum.gyi.byin.chen.
ni.yar.ru.dgaro | rgyaṅ.sdig.ni.pyi.ru.gchado | g—[4] thod.thod.gyi.byin.sman.pad.
pad.gyi.phyin[2]).che.ni.yaru.dgaro.rgyaṅ.sdig.ni.pyi.ru.gchado. |g -[5]la.hbri.hi.byin.
che.ba.yaru.dgaro.rgyaṅ.sdig.pa.byi[3]).ru.gchado || spaṅ.la.lug.gyi.byin.che.[yaru]
[6] gchado.byin.ṅa.ba.phyi.ru.spyiso || gsiṅ.la.rtahi | byin. || mtshal.la.ra.hi.byin.ra.
daṅ.chahi [7] phyir.byin.ṅa[4]).rgyaṅ.stig.pha[5]). || snor.la.mdzo.hi.phyir.byin.ṅa.rgyaṅ.
stig.pha. || skyibs.la.[8] phag.gyi.phyir.byin.che.rgyaṅ.stiṅ[6]).ba: || byin.che.ni.yaru.
spyi.ho.rgyaṅ.stig.sdig[7]).ni.pyi.ru.gcha[do] [9]

rgyal[8]).phuṅ.ba.hi.dgor.
mkhar.ral[9]).mohi.bchud ||
žiṅ.ta.bahi.rna.
chab.gsaṅ[10]gyi.stigs[10]) ||
byin.che.ni.yaru.dgaro.
rgyaṅ.sdig.ni.pyi.ru.gchado. ||
hbroṅ.gyi.kho.nan[11]).[*gyis*][11]
g-yaṅ.gyi.tshehu.rigs.las.
byin.che.ni.yaru.dgaro ||
rgyaṅ.stig.ni.phyi.ru.gchado. ||

[12] da.riṅ.da.chuṅ.du.phyugs.spo.ma.ñedu. Do-ma-sñi[ṅ], -dags.khyed.la. || skar.ma.
g-yen.dgu.[h]i[s] [13]

g-yen.du.ni.za.
bag.du.ni.ldag |

pas.

phyi.g-yal.cho.dgu.ni.
spu.ma.mad.ldar.zug[12]).

na.gnam[13]) [14] la.gza.skar.bdun.bum.bdun.khri.

zil.du.za.
bag.du.ldag. ||

pas.smrale. Bza[ṅ] [15] -tho-re.mdo.nas.gži.bduṅs.khyaṅ.kha.le.rdzaṅ.stodu[14]).

mdehu.rdze.ma.dmard.
hpoṅ[15]).skye(n) [16] śa.ma.khums ||
skar.ma.g-yen.gyis.htshal ||

drug.drug.btshan.mo.skar.mdo.na[16]). [17] žiṅ.rmos.khyaṅ.kha.le.rdzaṅ.stodu[14]).

dbog.chig.dṅar.ma.gsol.
skar.ma.g-yen.gyis. [18] htshal ||

skar.ma.Lug-rdzi-mo.mdo.nas.lug.htshos.khyaṅ.kha.le.rdzaṅ.stod.du.

snal.[da] [19] [y]eṅe.yeṅ.
skar.ma.g-yen.gyis.htshal ||

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[1]) = *phyi*, as *passim*. [2]) = *byin*. [3]) = *phyi*. [4]) = *na*.
[5]) = *sdig-pa*. The repetition is here and in the next two ocurrences curtailed. [6]) = *sdig*.
[7]) Erroneous repetition or intended correction of spelling *stig*. [8]) *b* here crossed out.
[9]) *b* here crossed out. [10]) = *stegs*. [11]) = *khon-nan*.
[12]) *n(i?)* here crossed out. [13]) *n* added below line. [14]) = *stod-du*, as also *infra*. *d* here crossed out.
[15]) = *hphoṅ*. [16]) *mo* here crossed out.

skar.ma.Beḫu-rdzi-mo.mdo.nas.ba.bdas.gy[a]ṅ [20] kha.la[1].rdzaṅ.stodu.
zo.sto[ṅ].mgul[2].na.dogs.
zeḫu.naṅ.ma.dkar.
skar.ma.g-yen.gyis. [21] ḫtshald ||
skar.ma.g-yen.dgu.ḫi.
g-yen.du.ni.za.
bag.du[3].ni.ldag.
gyis.phyugs.spo[4].ma [22] ñedu.khyen.rnams.la. || gnam.la.gza.skar.bdun.ḫbum.bdun.
khri.ḫis ||
"zil.du.ni [23] ma.za.śis[5]
bag.du.ni.ma.ldag.śig.
skyabsu.ni.ma.ḫkhri.śig. ||
da.rigs.dgu.rig(s?) [24] nas.da.dbyuṅo[6] || chad.dgu.chad.gyis.da.gchado ||" żes.bgyis.
la.chad.rigs.nas.dbyuṅo [.|]
[7]) [25] |:| myi.cho.la.ni.cho.bgyis.
myi.ḫbraṅ.la.ni[8].ḫbraṅ.btshugs.
smra.yo.ba.la. [26] ni.mtho.btsams.
dgro[9].ru.chag.pa.la.ni.gñer.bgraṅs.
g-yaṅ.phya.bo.la.ni.rna.bta[ṅ] [27]
ba[10].men.ni.sgyid.bcad.
rta.men.ni.dpval.dmar. ||
śid.rabs.śig.ni.de.nes[11]. [28] byuṅ.
ḫbraṅ.rabs.ni.de.nis[12].śor.|ro.
da.di.riṅ.saṅ.lta.na.
btsan.ni.dran.myi.bad.
mgyo[gs] [29] ni[13].dkyus.myi.tshol.
ḫgreṅ.myi.bu.ñam.ñes.
dud.phyugs.pu[14].ni.yaṅ.thag. [30][15] tshal.lo. |
[16]) śiṅ.stoṅ.po.gchig.chag.na.
dral.bu.pra[17].mo.gun[18].rṅam.ḫtshalo [31]
se.skyer.dbyi.mo.gcig.draṅs.na. |
se.skyer.gun[19].g-yos.so |
gloḫi.srol.koṅ.gcig.draṅs. [32] na.
glo.rtsa.kun.g-yoso.
Dpan-te.ni.rje.groṅs[20].
bya.khruṅ.khruṅ.na[21].sgoṅ.rtol.to.
bzaṅ.ste.ni. [33] g-yu.grugs.so ||
rnoḫi.ni.ṅar.yal.
rus.kyi.ni.rje.groṅs.
glad[22].gyi.ni.phud.ñams. |
phyugs [34] spo.ma.ñedu. |

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1) = *le*. 2) *gu* a correction of *gya*. 3) *ḫ* here crossed out. 4) *s* here crossed out. 5) *sic* (for *śig?*).
6) *d* added below line. 7) Here begins a new hand. 8) *ḫbraṅ-ni* written twice.
9) *dgo?* A correction from *dgu* or *dgru*. Read *dgor?* 10) *cha* here crossed out.
11) *sic* (for *ṅes* or *nas?*); *s* here crossed out. 12) *sic* (for *nas?*): *ḫtho* crossed out before *śor*.
13) *b mgyogs* here crossed out. 14) *sic* = *bu*, as elsewhere. 15) *m* here crossed out.
16) Something here crossed out. 17) = *phra*. 18) = *kun*. 19) = *kun*. 20) *bzaṅ* here crossed out.
21) *sic* (for *ni*). 22) = *klad*.

Do-ma-sñiṅ-dags.da.di.riṅ.

chab.gaṅ.laru.bgyi.ḫtshal. |
yaṅ.ba.rab.du.sbog [35] tshal.lo.
gral.rje.gral.ni.mtho[2]).gñer.tshal.lo.
rtsi.byaṅ.rtsi.ni.gad.mnabs.ḫtshal [36] lo.
chab.gaṅ.la.ru.bgyi.tshal.lo.
yaṅ.ba.ni[3]).rab.tu.sbog.tshalo. |

gża[4]).riṅ.duṅ.gsaṅ. [37] yid.ki.rje.daṅ.yaṅ.da.mjal.lo ||

[5]) cho.smos.phaḫi.leḫu.lagste.gżan.ni.lobs.lagso.ḫdir.ni.g[żug] [38] chuṅ.żig.briso. || rta.rgyaṅ.dbye.baḫi.rabs.la. ||gaṅ.khar.rga.gże.dgu.ga.d[gu] [39] ga.dgu.gsaṅ.ga.gsaṅ. pyo[6]).ga. || na.skyin.daṅ.bab.kyi.ḫog.rman.daṅ.g-yos.kyi.ḫog | naḫ. || rtaḫi.pha. daṅ.y[ab] [40] kyi.mtshani[7]).pha.Khar-rta.ḫi.Yal-ba.daṅ.ma.Gsaṅ-r[t]aḫi.Pyod-ma. gñis.bśos.daṅ.nams.kyi.sras | [41] Rta-za.Luṅ-braṅ.gyi. Bya[8])-ma-ron.du.ltam.te. |

rta.bżugs.ni. Gnam.la.bżug.
rmaṅ.bżugs.ni. Dguṅ.la.bżu[gs[9])].[42]

naḫ.

kha.yaṅs.kyi.ran.ma.mchis. ||
mgrin.yaṅs.kyi.chab.ma.mchiste.
rta.bab.ni.Gnam.nas.bab.
[10]) rmaṅ.bab[11]).[ni] [43] Dguṅ.nas.bab. ||

te.bab.gaṅ.du.bab.na.yul[12]). [44] lha.yul.Guṅ-daṅ.gyi.naṅ.du.bab.te.dkor.su.ḫi.dkor. na. Lha-za.Guṅ-tshun.gyi.dkor.daṅ.dad.du | [45] bab.ste. | sa.khyim.

khaṅ.moḫi.naṅ.du.ni.stsald. |
ḫbras.kyi.lcaṅ.pa.ni. | stsald. |
sṅo.mo.ṅar.phye.ni. | bsgams. | [46]
bu.ram.rñuṅ[13]).chu.ni.blud. |

dkor.daṅ.dad.du.bgyis.na. |

rta.la.log.pa.che.
rmaṅ.la. | mkhris.pa.che. |

Rta-za.Luṅ- [47][14])braṅ.gi. Bye-ma-ro.na[15]).

naṅ.glan.ran.na.glan.du.ma[16]).btub.
nub.gzuṅ.ran.na. | gzuṅ.du.ma.btub. |

Lha-za [48] Guṅ-mo-tsun.bkyon. | nas. | sa.khyim. Pug.moḫi.naṅ.phyuṅ.ste. | bskrad. na. | bab.gaṅ.du.ba[b] [49] na.yul[17]).Rji.Luṅ-daṅ-ba.ḫi.naṅ.du.bab.nas. Rji. Phyar-phyur.daṅ.mjald.te.bśos.daṅ.nams. [50] kyi.bu. |

rta.ni.spun.gsuṃ.
rmaṅ[18]).mched.gsuṃ. |

du[19]).b(*l*)tam. | phu.bo.gchen[20]).po.Phu.Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam. [51] nu.bo.ḫbriṅ.po.ni. |

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[2]) *cha* here crossed out. [3]) Something here crossed out. [4]) *sic* (for *gże*).
[5]) From here to end of l.45 a third hand. [6]) = *phyo*. [7]) = *mtshan ni*. [8]) *Sic* (for *Bye*): cf. l.47
[9]) *gs* below line. [10]) *dm* here crossed out. [11]) *b* below line.
[12]) Between *yul* and *lha* here is crossed out the passage *rji . . . ḫtshos (bśos)*, which follows *yul* in l. 49.
[13]) *ñuṅ?* [14]) Something here crossed out. [15]) *sic* (for *ron-na*).
[16]) *baṅ(?)* here crossed out. [17]) *rja* here crossed out. [18]) Insert here *ni?*
[19]) *btu* here crossed out. [20]) = *gcen*.

Rkyaṅ-ron[1]).Rṅog-bkra.że.ḫo | nu.bo.tha.chuṅs.ni. | Khug-ron-gyi.Rmaṅ-dar.że [52]
ḫo. | yul. Rji. Luṅ-daṅ-baḫi.naṅ. |
kha.yaṅs.kyi[2]).ran.ma.mchis. |
[3]) mgrin.ya[ṅs] [53] kyi.ni.chab.ma.mchis. |
[4]) pu.bo.gchen.po.[5])Yi[d]-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam.ni.| yul.Byaṅ-ka.Snam-rgyad.du.gśegs [54] te.
kha.yaṅs.kyi.ni.chab.ḫtshal.
mgrin.yaṅs.kyi.rtsi.ḫtshal. |
Rkyaṅ-ron.Rṅog-bkra.ni. | yul.Pyi[6])-ḫbrog. [55] Brgyad-goṅ.du.
kha.yaṅs.kyi.ni.rtsi.ḫtshal. |
[7]) mgrin.yaṅs.kyi.ni.chab.ḫtshalo |
Khug-ron. Rmaṅ- [56] dar.ni: | yul[8]).Ḫbrog-pyi. Gtaṅ-sum.na. |
ḫbrog.rtsi.ba.paṅ.puṅ.ni.ḫtshal. |
bre.mo.neḫu [57] kol: ni.ḫthuṅ. | żiṅ.mchiso. ||[9])
da.re.śig.re.śig. | na. | yul. Byaṅ-ka.Snam-brgyad.na.| pu.Yid- [58] kyi-gdaṅ-pyam.daṅ.
pha.ḫbroṅ.g-yag.Skar[10])-ba.gñis.mjald.naḫ.| ḫbroṅ[11]).g-yag.| [59] Skar-baḫi.mchid.nas.|
"na.ni.gże.niṅ.saṅ.| Gnam.gyi.ya.bla.Dguṅ.gi.ya.steṅs[12]).nas. [60] rje[13]).yab.bla.
bdag[14]).drug.| Mgon-tshun-pywas[15]).| ḫis.bskoste. |
rta.yul.ni.ḫbrog.yin. [61] baḫi.rigs.
g-yag.yul.ni. | byaṅ.yin.baḫi.rigs.
na.| phu.Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam.ga.la [62] gar.bżud".ches[16]).mchi.na.|| [17]) phu.Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-
pyam.gyi.żal.nas.| "rje.ya.bla.bdag. [63] drug.Mgon-tshun-phywas.bskoste. |
rta.yul.ḫbrog.yin.kyaṅ.bden.
g-yag.yul.pyaṅ[18]).yi[n] [64] gyaṅ.bden. |
na.| da.de.riṅ.saṅ.lta.na.| rta.daṅ.g-yag[19]).gñis.śaṅ.myi.ḫthab.ḫo.| [65]
rta.sṅa.ba.ni.rtswa.la.za.ḫo. |
g-yag.ḫpyi[20]).ba.ni.chu.ḫthuṅ.śig[21]). |
g-yag.sṅa.ni.rtswa.zo.śig. [66]
[22]) rta.ḫpyi.na.ni. | chu.ḫthuṅ.śig.|"
ches.gsuṅ.na[23]). | [24]) ḫbroṅ.g-yag.Skar-ba.ma.bgriṅs.te. | [67]
|| ḫbroṅ.gi.phyi.phyogs[25]).kyis. |
rba.g-yas.kyis.ni.blaṅs. |
rba.g-yon.kyis.ni.bzar.
te.phu.Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam.ni.de.ru.bkroṅso.|| [68]
śa.bya.za.ni.rhul.rhul.
khrag.sa.ḫthuṅ.ni.cib.cig[26]). |
rus.pa.gle.ḫcha.ni.khrum.krum.
mgo.spu.rjis.khyer.ni. | ban.ban. || [69]
phu.[27]) Yid[28])-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam.ni.de.ru.bkroṅso.
da.re.śig.na. | nu.Rkyaṅ-ron.Rṅog-bkra.daṅ. | Khug-ron.Rmaṅ-dar[29]).gñis.kyi. | [70]

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[1]) *rmaṅ* here crossed out. [2]) *rtswa-ma* here crossed out. There is perhaps omission of a *ni*.
[3]) *mgrin-yaṅs-kyi* here crossed out. [4]) *yu* here crossed out. [5]) *gyi* here crossed out.
[6]) = *Phyi*. [7]) Something here crossed out. [8]) *pyi* here crossed out.
[9]) *d* here crossed out. [10]) Something here crossed out. [11]) *y* here crossed out.
[12]) Something here crossed out. [13]) Something here crossed out.
[14]) *b* here crossed out. [15]) Read *phywa-ḫis-bskos*. [16]) = *ces*. [17]) *p* here crossed out.
[18]) = *byaṅ*. [19]) *g-y* here crossed out. [20]) = *phyi*. [21]) *sic* (for *żiṅ* or *ṅo?*).
[22]) *g* here crossed out. [23]) *s* here crossed out. [24]) Something here crossed out. [25]) *phyigs?*
[26]) *cib?* [27]) *yu* here crossed out. [28]) *pu* here crossed out. [29]) *g(?)yi* here crossed out.

rta.skad.ni.tsher.tsher.
rmań.skad.ni.tsher.tsher.
że.ḫo. | phu.Yid-kyi-gdań-pyam.gyi.gsuń.ma.mchiste.| Khug.ron.Rmań-dar [71] Rkyań-ron.Rńog-bkra.gñis[1].yul.Byań-ka.Snaṃ-brgyad.du.phu.rlag.nu[2].yis.tshol.] du.mchi.mchi.na.| [72] phu.Yid-kyi-gdań-pyam.gyi.bśos.kyi.żal.dań.dań[3].ni.ma. mjal | nońs.kyi.spur.dań.mjald. | nas.|| [73] nu. Khug-ron.Rmań-dar.gyi.mchid.nas.|
"phu.śa.ni.nu.yis.ma.blan. |
ltag.śa.[4]) [74] mjiń.gis.ma.gñer.bas |
sdań.gi.ni.sñiń.myi.chod.
byams.kyi.ni.lan[5].ma[6].lon. [75]
na.gtań.du.sñiń.re.na. ||
ro.khrag.khuń.du.ma.ḫthuńs.na.
ltag.śa.mjiń.du. [76] ma.gñer[7].na.| bas.
skom.kha.ru.skams.na.ḫdi.ji.nońs. |
phu.śa.nu.yis.[77] glano. |
Yid-kyi-gdań-pyam.gyi.śa.Khug-ron-Rmań-dar.dań.Rkyań-ron.Rńog-[78] bkras.gñero. |
sdań.gi.sñiń.gchado.
ḫbroń[8].g-yag.Skar- | baḫi.sñiń.gchado [79]
byams.kyi.lan.glan.no.|
phu. Yid-kyi-gdań-pyam.gi.lan.glan.no. ||" [80]
żes.gsuń.na.| Rkyań-ron.Rńog-bkraḫi.żal.nas.| [9]) "phu.Yid-kyi-gdań- [81] pyam.ni.
rta.la.ni.gań.mgyogs.
rmań.la.ni.rtsal.che.
bas.ḫbroń.g-yag.Skar-ba | [82] ma.thub.na.| khyod.dań.ńa.gñis.kyis.kyań.
sñag.na.ni.myi.slebs[10].
ḫbros.na.ni.myi.thar.
rgal[11].na.ni.myi [83] thub.
[12]) gyis.
phu.śa.nu.ḫis.myi.lon.
ro.khrag.khoń.du.myi.ḫthuńs.
śes.mchi[13].te.|| yul.Ḫbrog- [84] phyi.Ldań-gsum.du.
kha.yańs.kyi.ni.rtsi.za.
mgrin.yańs.kyi.ni.chu.ḫthuń.
du.ḫdońo".żes.gsuń.naḫ | [85] nu.Khug-ron.Rmań-dar.ḫi.mchid.nas. |
"rta.la.chab.gań.chuń.
rmań.la.chab.gań.chuń.
na.nu.Rkhyań[14]-ron.[86].Rńog-bkra.khyodo.|| da. pyi[15].slan.chadu.|
so.na.ni.yul.ḫbyi.ḫo. |
śi.na.ni.dur.ḫbye.ho. |
żes.mchi.nas[16]). | yul.myi.[87] yul.Skyi-mthiń.du.mchi.ḫo".żes.mchi.naḫ || pu[17]. Rkhyań-ron.Rńog-bkra.ḫi.mchid.nas. | "nu. Khug-ron [88] Rńog-bkhra[18].khyod.ni.yul

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[1]) *ph* here crossed out. [2]) *yid* here crossed out. [3]) *dań* repeated in error.
[4]) *ḫmch* here crossed out. [5]) *myi* here crossed out. [6]) *lo* here crossed out. [7]) *na* crossed out?
[8]) *ń* substituted for *g*. [9]) *pu* here crossed out. [10]) *slibs* written: a dot over *sli* points to the correction.
[11]) Correction from *rgyal*. [12]) *na* here crossed out. [13]) *na* here crossed out.
[14]) A first attempt to write *rkhyań* here crossed out. [15]) = *phyi*. [16]) *s* added below line.
[17]) = *phu*. [18]) *sic* (for *Rmań-dar*).

myi . yul . Skyi-mthiṅ . du . mchiste . myi . daṅ . bsen . bgyis . pas . saṅ . nam . nam . ża . [89] chig. na . || rta .

khyod . ni . khar . srab . gyis . srabste .
kha . druṅ . śu . bab . hkhor . chig[1] .
rgyab . du . sgas . sta . de[2] . rgyab . du . [90] sgal . byuṅ . śig .
glo . glos . mnan . te .
khoṅ . na . sñiṅ . ñams . par . śog . śig . "

ches . gsuṅ . nah || nu . Khug- [91] ron . Rmaṅ-dar . hi . żal . nas . | "pu . Rkhyaṅ-ron. Rṅog-bkra . khyod . ni[3] . yul . Pyi-hbrog . Ltaṅ-gsum . du . [92] soṅ . na . bżon . gyi . myi . myed . kyaṅ . skar . ma . g-yen . gyis . bżon . te . rgyab . bya . hbras . daṅ . tshag . ma . | [93] tshig . par . śog . śig . srab . gyi . myi . myed . na . hbrog . rtsi . pyor[4] . bas . raṅ . du . sra(b)s . te . kha . druṅ . śu . bab . [94] hkhor . bar . śog . śig . sñag . gyi . myi . myed . na . mgyogs . śa . khyis . sñogs . śig . hdzin . gyi . myi . myed . na . mgyogs | [95] gżi . khyen . gyis | hpoṅs . śig" . ches . mchi . nas | pu . Rgyaṅ-ron. Rṅog-bkhra . ni . Hbrog-phyi . Ldaṅ- [96] sum . du . mchiso ||

kha . yaṅs . kyi . ni . rtsi . htshal .
m[5])grin . yaṅs . gyi . ni . chab . htshal .

du . ma . [97] mchiso ||

nu . Khu(g)-[6])ron . Rmaṅ-dar . ni . yul . myi . yul . Skyi-mthiṅ . smra . yul . thag . rgyaṅ . du . mchi[s] [98] te . | mkhar . sa . mkhar . Skya-bohi . naṅ . na . Myi . Rma-bu . Ldam-śan . gyi . gan . du | mchiste . || rta . Rmaṅ-dar . hi . [99] mchid . nas || "de . riṅ . saṅ . lda[7] . na . rta . la . ni . ñam . ñes . rmaṅ . la . ni . yaṅ . thag . gyis . myed . na . || Myi . Rma-bu . [100] Ldam-śad . | khyod . chab . gaṅ . la . ru . bgyi . ham . myi . bgyi . yaṅ . ba . rab . du . sbog . gam . myi . sbog" || "chab . gaṅ . la . ru . bgyis . [101] la . yaṅ . ba . rab . du . sbogs . na" . || "de . riṅ . saṅ . lda[8] . na . ni . bśos . tshe . lo . brgya . la . ni . riṅ . bkhuro[9] . || noṅs . tshe . bdun . bum . [102] gyi . bdag . du . gśegsna . ni . rje . gdabo . |" żes . mchi . nas . || Myi . Rma-bu . Ldam-śad . daṅ . rta . Rmaṅ-dar[10] . gñis . tha [103] tshigs . ni . skam . la . bchas . dreḫu . rta . ni . dbye . la . stad . te . man . bchad . mtho . bchade[11] . bchad . gyi . mtheb . li[12] . goṅ . | tha . bgyis[13] [104] tshigs . bgyis . te . gñi . dro . thab . mo . gor . te . | bśos . na . ni . riṅ . bkur . noṅsna . ni . rdze[14] . gdab . phar[15] . bgyiste || [16]) rtah | [105] Khug-ron . Rmaṅ-dar . la . Myi . Rma-bu . Ltam-śad . bchibste . | stag . ral . gzig . ral . ni . skyes . gyi . riṅ . la . dregs . |[106] rta . bo . ni . braṅ . mnan . te || yul . Phyi-hbrog . Rgyad-gosu[17] . byon . na . | nu . Khug-ron . Rmaṅ-dar . hi . mchid . nas . "[phu . *bo . ṅo*] [107] tsha . na . Rgyaṅ-ron . Rṅog-bkhra[18] . la . ṅo . tsha . his . rtahi . ṅo . khob . śig . rmaṅ . gi . ṅo . khob . śig" . ches . mchi . na || Myi . Rma-bu . [Ldam[19])]- [108] śad . gyis . rtahi . ṅo . bkhab[20] . rmaṅ . gi . żal . bkab . te . || yul . Pyaṅ[21])-kha . Sman[22])-brgyadu . mchis . na . || pha . hbro[ṅ] [109] g-yag. Skar-ba . daṅ . de . ru . mjalo | Myi . Rma-bu . Ldam-śad . gyis . |

khu . lo . ni . sbyaṅs . gyis . mdzad . |
dbya[ṅ] [110] dkar[23] . ni . poṅs[24] . la . bkhrol .

te .

sṅun . na . ni . chi[25] . thud . thud . na .
hbroṅ . g-yag. Skar-ba[26] . thud . thud .
pyi . na . ci . breṅ . [breṅ] [111] na .
nu . Khug-ron . Rmaṅ-dar . breṅ . breṅ . |

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1) = *cig*. 2) = *stad-de*. Correction from *ste-de*.
3) *h* here crossed out. 4) = *byor (hbyor)*.
5) *br* here crossed out. 6) *g* here crossed out. 7) *Sic* (for *lta*). 8) = *lta*. 9) = *bkuro* (cf. l. 114).
10) Correction (from *nar*). 11) = *bcad-de*. 12) *le? lam?* 13) *s* below line. 14) = *rje* (l. 102).
15) = *par*. 16) *rtu* here crossed out. 17) = *goṅ-du* (l. 55).
18) = *bkra*. 19) *m* below line. 20) = *bkab*. 21) = *Byaṅ*. 22) *Snam* (ll. 53 etc.).
23) *k* added below line. 24) = *phoṅs*. 25) = *ci*. 26) *daṅ* here crossed out.

Myi.Rma-bu.Ldan-śar[1].gyis.
mchog.gar.ni.dra.bkhug.
glu.dmar.[ni] [112] ldań.bzar.
te.
dad[2].dgu.g-yasu.bab.na.
nam.mdzoń[3].g-yon.du.pyuń.
dad.dgu.g-yon.du.[bab.na] [113]
nam.mtshoń.g-yon[4].du.byuń.
te.h̲broń.g-yag.Skar-ba.ni.de.ru.bkhum.mo || nu.Khug-ron.Rmań-dar.h̲i | [114]
mchid.nas. ||
"pu[5].byams.kyi.ni.lan.lono.
Yid-ke[6]-gdań-phyam[7].byams.gyi.lan.lono ||
stań[8].gi.sñiń.chodo.
[115] h̲broń.g-yag.Skar-ba.stań.gi.sñiń.chodo ||
rta.pu[9].śa.ni.nus.lono.
ro.khrag.ni.khoń.du.h̲thuńso.
ldag[10].śa.ni.[mchiń[11]] [116] gyis.gñero. |
da.
g-yag.śa.ni.lha.ru.gśogs.śig.
g-yag.lgo[12].ni.rasu.dros.śig |
rńa.ma.[ban.chig] [117] ni.rta.
kho.boh̲i.rńog.la.thogs.śig. ||
da.pu[13].la.ńom.gdab.na.
Rgyań-ron. Rńog-bgra[14].la.ńom.[gdabo]" [118]
żes.mchi.nas. || Myi. Rma-bu. Ldam-śid[15].gyis.
g-yag.śa.ni.lharu.bkrald. |
g-yag.lko[16].ni.[rasu] [119] droste. |
rńa.ma.ban.chig.rta. Khug-ro(n).
Rmań-dar.h̲i.rńog.la.bthags.
te. ||
stań.gyi.ni.sñiń.bchad.
byams.gyi.[*ni.lan*] [120] blan. ||
yul.myi.yul. Skyi-mthiń.smra.yul.thag.rgyań.du.mchiso ||
da.re.śig.re.śig.na.[Myi.Rma-bu.Ldam]- [121] śad.ni.
Gnam.nas.ni.bdub-[st]e.
[sdud-ka] | ni.[bal] | nas.bchad. ||
sa.las.sri.lań[17].ste.chags. | [122]
sgrogs.ni.srin.gyis.bkhrol[18].te.
rje.ni. Dpan-ten[19].nońs.
g-yu.ni.bzań.grugs.
rje.grońs.ni.g- | [123] las.grońs.
g-yu.grugs.ni.dbu.las.grugs. |
rje.Dphan-te.ni[20].nońs.
sdug.ste.ni.rlag.gyi[s] [124] myed.

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[1]) *Sic* (for *Ldam-śad*). [2]) *d* here crossed out. [3]) = *mtshoń*, as in l. 113.
[4]) Correction (erroneous?) from *g-yas*. [5]) = *phu*. [6]) *Sic* (for *ki*). [7]) = *byam*.
[8]) = *sdań* (ll. 74, 78).
[9]) = *phu*. [10]) = *ltag*. [11]) = *mjiń*. [12]) = *lko* (l. 118). [13]) = *phu*. [14]) = *bkra*. [15]) *Sic*.
[16]) *h̲* here crossed out. [17]) Correction of *lag* (*ń* below line).
[18]) *n* here crossed out. [19]) *n* added above line. [20]) = *Dpan-ten-ni*.

nas. || pha.Gśen-rabs. Myi-bo-dad.dur.gśen. Rma-dad.bas.la.ni.
rgyal.skos.luṅ.du.[*ni*] [125] bchas. | ste.
gśin.ste.ñer.bu.ni.bchas.
rtan.baṅ.rtan.khod.mo.ni.bkhod.de.
bzaṅ.ni.se.la.bsag*ste* [126]
sa.ni.gral.du.dṅar.te. |
Do-ma-sñiṅ-dags.su.nu.Khug-*ron*. Rmaṅ-dar.h̲is.
"chab.gaṅ.ni.la.ru.bg(y)i-
[*yaṅ*] [127] ba.ni.rab[1].du[2].sbogste.
rje.gral.ni.mtho.gñer.
byaṅ.rtsi.ni.gad.mnabs.
mtshuṅs...[3] [128] mtshuṅs.
mñams.daṅ.ni.mñamso ||
gaṅ.hi.ni.pul.pyuṅo[4].
da.h̲i.ni.la.bsagso: ||
de.[*riṅ*] [129] saṅ.lda[5].na.phyugs.spo.ma.ñedu. Do-ma-sñiṅ-dags.khyed.rnams[6].
khyaṅ[7].da.de.daṅ.h̲dra.de.daṅ.[mtshuṅs] [130] gyis.
chab.gaṅ.ni.la.ru.mdzod.chig.
yaṅ.ba.ni.rab.du.sbogs.śig |
stan.pha.gaṅ[8].ni.na.śi— u [131] ñen.chig.
dro.dpyid.ni.riṅ.pho.naṅ.nas.[n]ub.h̲chug.śig. |
gża[9].[r]i[ṅ][sdug.daṅ] [132] d[re].mjalo | gsan.-i.[ph]bag[10].bdag. . . .
[133] -i.h̲tshal.daṅ.da.mjalo ||. | y-

B.

[1]... kum.nas[11].Rtsa-dags-snam-*cig*.kis.h̲phad.bu.bżes[12].
"naṅ.byas.na.nub.*bltam* [2]
nub.*byas.na*.naṅ.bltam.
dbyal[13].ci[*ṅ*].myi.h̲drul.
[dgun.ciṅ.myi.h̲khyag[s].
sgye.ma.dmyig.*ñuṅ*] [3] stsaṅ.h̲on.cig.
maṅ.sgye.ma.dmyig.ñuṅ.stsaṅ.baṅ.myig.ñuṅ | h̲on.cig.
bzaṅ.[*dar*] [4] [dar.cha].h̲om.h̲bu.yaṅ.h̲on.cig.
bstus.na.sen.rum.gaṅ.bgram[14].na.dbru.le.gaṅ.[5] [h̲on.cig. |]
skyo.ma.la.ba.rkyal.h̲on.cig. |
Do-ma-thugs-dags. | chus.bsen.rgan [6] rog.mgyogs.kho.de[15].byaṅ.rdzoṅ.yob.
ciṅ.dgu.la.h̲dzeg.pa.h̲on.cig."
ska[*du*][16].ma.gsu [7] ṅ.nas.bu.Gyim-po.spun.dr[u]g.ki.mchid.nas
"phah̲i.śid.gdaṅ.ṅo
yab.ki [8] ya.rmaṅ.gzugso."
Gyim-po.Ñag-g[c]ig.ki.mchid.nas.

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[1]) *s* here crossed out. [2]) *b* here crossed out. [3]) Read *mtshuṅs-daṅ-ni*. [4]) = *phul-phyuṅo*.
[5]) = *lta*. [6]) Correction (from *rma-nam*). [7]) = *kyaṅ*.
[8]) *ṅ* added below line; read *pha.ṅag?* [9]) = *gże*: something here crossed out. [10]) *bsag?*
[11]) *khum? n* in *nas* added below line. [12]) *bśes?* [13]) Something here crossed out. [14]) = *bkram*.
[15]) = *khod-de*. [16]) = *skad-du*.

"myi.dbul.[du.ni.dbul][1]) [9]
g-yaṅ.ridu.na.ri.da[2]).
phaḫi.śid.myi.theṅs.
yab.ki.rmaṅ.myi.tshugs.
so. [10] btsal. rgya.ru.btsal.yaṅ.rñed.śir.myi.rñed".cis[3]).gsuṅ.
bu.Gyim-po.spun.[drug] [11] gis[4]). "m[o][5]). rta[6]). nag.po.brgya.żig.bseḫi.maṅ.lag.la. g-yus[7]).na.lcuṅ.ga.khron.la[8]).lkhag[9]) [12] pa. lta[10]) .śu.smug.brgya.śig.bseḫi.maṅ.lag. la.brgyus.na.peḫu.smyin.ko.lta. ṅaṅ.bu [13] brgya.żig.bseḫi.maṅ.lag.la.brgyus.na. ṅur.bu.mtsho.mthar.ḫd[u]s.ko.lta. rta.dkar [14] po.brgya.żig.bseḫi.maṅ.lag.la.brgyus. na.ser.ba.ḫdris.ko[11]).lta.sṅon.po.brgya. [15] żig.bseḫi.maṅ.lag.la.brgyus.na.phug.ron. brag.la.ḫdus.ko.lta. | ḫon.kyaṅ [16] phaḫi.śid.ma.theṅs. mgyogs.kho.de[12]).byaṅ.rdzoṅ. du.ma.ruṅ. dar.dmar.po.btsos.gyis [17] spaṅ.po.żugs.gyis.gral.go.lta. dar.dgar[13]).po. btsos.gyis.kha.bo.gaṅs.pas.dkar | [18] ma[14]).nag.btsos.gyis.bya.slaṅ.ṅe.ld[i]ṅ.ḫon.gyaṅ .phaḫi.śid.ma.theṅs.yab.gyi.ḫ[b ?][15])aṅ[19] ma.tshugs. bzaṅ.dar.cha.ḫom.bur.ma. [ru]ṅ. lug.dkar.la.brgya.gnag.la.[brgya].sre [20] la.brgya.dgro.la.brgya.pa[16]).yab.gyi. phyag.tu.phul. ḫon.kyaṅ.skyibs.lug.d[u].ma [21] ruṅ. ma.ba.ru.ma.ruṅ.
sṅa.khrin.cheḫi.khrin.ma.blaṅs.
smra.dos.drag.ki.lcag. [22] ma.btab. |
bgab.ki.żo.bżos.kyaṅ.skyo.ma.ba.rkyal.du.ma.ruṅ. | rgyab.ki.bal.bal. [23] [da[17])]ma. yum.rtsaṅ.bdagi.btsun.moḫi.phyag.du[18]).phul. rmal.żiṅ.bkal.bkal. [24] bkal.żiṅ.bżu. bżu.bżu.żiṅ.bran.bran. bran.żiṅ.bdag.bdag. stsaṅ.phar[19]) [25] sgye.phud.sgye. sgye. ma.Rtsa-dagsu.ma.ruṅ.
naṅ.bas.na.nub.ma.bltam.
nub.bas. [26] na.naṅ.ma.bltam.
dbyar.ciṅ.rul.dgun.ciṅ.ḫkhyags. |
stsaṅ.phat.sgye.phud [27] sgyer.ma.ruṅ.
phaḫi.śid.ma.theṅs.
yab.ki.rmaṅ.ma.tshugs."
yab.Sten-rgan-[28]ñer-pa.ni.sku.mgur.cu.man.cad.sa.dog.rum.du.byiṅ.ḫgis.ma. mchis.
da [29] pha.yab.ki.mtshan.na[20]). rgyal. Nam.ḫi.skad.du.na.yab. Ltoṅ-teḫi. Mye-kru. Spu-rgyal. Bod. [30] gyi[21]). skad. du. na. Gloṅ-myig-loṅ[22]).na. Bya.Gloṅ-gi-lgo-daṅ-rje. ma.daṅ.yum.gi. [31] mtshan.ma. Bżag-steḫi.Ñar-ḫbyam. bśos.daṅ.nams.kyi.sras.bo. mo.lcam.sum[23]) [32] żig.du.bltam. lcam.gi.gjen[24]).mo.Tseṅ-ḫgi.Rba-ga. bo.mo.ḫbriṅ. mo.Tseṅ-ḫgi.Rbag- [33] żin. bo.mo.tha.cuṅs.Tseṅ-ḫgi.Rba-ga.yab. Ltoṅ-te-ḫi.Mye-kro[25]).na[26]).lug.ḫtsho.g-yaṅ[27]) [34] skyoṅ.du.gśegso | srin.yul.nag.pa.Dgu-sul.nas.sreṅ[28]). rje.nag.pa. Dgu-lcogs [35] ni.srin.rta.dreḫu.la.żon.de.mchis. yab. Ltoṅ-te. Mye-ku[29]). ni.śa.rlon.du.zos.khrag.rlon[30]) [36] du.ḫthuṅs.pags.rlon.du.gyond[31]). lug.ted[32]).g-yaṅ. ded.de.khab.daṅ.braṅ.du.byon.de.[37] Bżag-ste.Ñar-ḫbyam.daṅ.brnal.de.bżugso. saṅ.nam.naṅs.dguṅ.saṅs.na [38]"ṅa.rga[s].[t]e.lug.myi.thub.kis.bbo[33]).mo.Tseṅ-ḫgi.

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1) Cf. II. 80—1. 2) Read *rid-du-ni-rid.* 3) = *ces.*
4) *s* below line. 5) *ma?* 6) *p (ph)* here crossed out. 7) = *brgyus* as *infra.*
8) Crossed out? 9) *lkhug?* 10) *lā?* 11) *lha* here crossed out. 12) = *khod-de.* 13) = *dkar.*
14) *Sic* (or *rma?*). 15) *ḫbraṅ? rmaṅ?* 16) = *pha.* 17) *ña? ni?*
18) *b* here crossed out. 19) *Sic (= phaṭ).*
20) For *ni?* 21) *stsad* here crossed out.
22) *ḫ* here crossed out. *na* is perhaps an error for *ḫam* or *ṅam*, 'or'. 23) *m* below line. 24) = *gcen.*
25) *Sic.* 26) *Sic* (for *ni*). 27) *ṅ* below line. 28) *Sic* (for *srin*). 29) *Sic.*
30) Something here crossed out. 31) *d* here crossed out. 32) = *ded.*
33) = *bu-mo*: *ṅ* here crossed out.

Rba-ga . lug . htsho . g-yaṅ . skyoṅ . [39] du . thoṅ . śig". bmo[1]) . Tseṅ-hgi . Rba-ga . lug . htsho . g-yaṅ . skyoṅ . du . mchi . mchi . na[2]) . [40] śa . rlon . du . zos . khrag . rlon . du . hthug[3]) . don . sñiṅ . ni . sgyer . thur . la . gtur . de . Bżag-ste [41] Ñar-hbyam . gi . gan . du . htshal . te . mchis . de . ti[4]) . riṅ[5]) . sman . dags . glehu . cig . [42] khums . te . don . sñiṅ . ni . Bżag-ste . Ñar-hbyan[6]) . hgi . skal . ba . "śa . ni . kho . bos . htshal [43] . do . bo . mo . Tseṅ-hgi . Rba-ga . ga . re". żis[7]) . bgyis . na . "kho . bo . ma . śes . so . bu . khyehu . gor . yun . [44] riṅs . daṅ . ri . ka[8]) . spyugs . pas . gaṅ". "bo . mo . gor . yun . riṅs . daṅ . ri . ka . dud . mos . [45] hgeṅs". "saṅ . yaṅ . ṅa . don . gñer . du . hgro . hos . Tseṅ-hgi . Rbag-żin . ni . lug . htshor . [46] thoṅ . śig".

Tseṅ-gi . Rbag-żin . lug . htsho . g-yaṅ . skyoṅ . du . mchi . mchi . na . Nam-pa [47] hi . skadu[9]) . na . Cho-pyi . Cog-zu . Spu-rgyal . Bod . gi . skadu . na . na[10]) Spaṅ-hgi-boṅ-bu . Stag-cuṅ . daṅ [48] phrade[11]) . mjal . do | Spaṅ-hgi-boṅ-bu . Stag-cuṅ . hgi . mchid . nas . "Khar-tsaṅ . srin . yul . [49] nag . pa . Dgu-sul . nas[12]) . srin . rje[13]) . nag . pa . Dgu-lcogs . ni . srin . drehu . la . żon . [50] te . mchis . so . khyod . gi . pha . Ltoṅ-te . Mye-kro[14]) . yaṅ . śa . rlon . du . zos . khrag . rlon . du . hthugs[15]) . [51] pa[16]) gs . rlon . du . hbuṅs . so . khyod . ki . bo . mo . Tsen-hgi . Rbe[17])-ga . yaṅ . śa . rlon . du[18]) . zos . [52] pags . rlon . du . gyon . to . | khyod . kyaṅ . śa . rlon . du . zos . ma . khad . pags . rlon . du . gyon . ma [53] khad". Spaṅ-hgi-boṅ-bu . Stag-cuṅ . daṅ . śag . rag . cheru . bgyis . man . mtho . dam . du [54] bcad . Spaṅ-hgi-boṅ-bu . Stag-cuṅ . la . Nam-ti-go . cog . ni . skon . dril . bu . g-yag . sñiṅ [55] ni . boṅ . bu . Stag-cuṅ . hgi . mgul . du . btags . Nam-ti-go . cog . ni . go . cog . cog[19]) [56] dril . bu . g-yag . sñiṅ . ni . khrol . khrol .

Tseṅ-hgi . Rbe-ga . ni . khab . daṅ . braṅ . du . bros . te . [57] mchis . ma . Bżag-ste . Ñar-hbyam . hgi . sñan . du . gsol . la . "ṅan . bu . Spaṅ-hgi- [58][20]) boṅ-bu . Stag-cuṅ . daṅ . mjal . yab . Ltoṅ-te . Mye-kru[21]) . yaṅ . srin . nag . pa . Dgu- [59] lcog . kis . śa . rlon . du . zos . pags . rlon . du . gyond . pho . mo . Tseṅ-hgi . Rba-ga . yaṅ . [60] śa . rlon . du . zos . pags . rlon . du . gyond . ṅan . bu . ni . Spaṅ-hgi-boṅ-bu . Stag-cuṅ . daṅ . śag . rag . che [61] che . ru . bgyis . man . mtho . che . ru . bcad . dril . bu . g-yag . sñiṅ . ni . boṅ . bu . Stag-cuṅ . hgi . mgul . du . btags [62] Nam-ti-go . cog . ni . ṅan . la . bskon . te . lug . htsho . g-yaṅ . skyoṅ . du . bcugo . | ṅan . bu . ni . bros . de . [63] mchis . so". ma . yuhm . gi . żal . nas . "hdi . lta . chos . myed . na . do . mod . nam . sros . na . brtag [64] te . bgyiho . khyod . bruṅs . phag . na . gob . śig". do . nub . nam . sros . su . blta . żiṅ . gzigs . gzig[s] [65] na . "bo . mo . ci . zer . ci . bden . nas . śa . ni . rlon . du . zos . żin[22]) . pags . ni . rlon . du . gyon . [66] żin . ma . ṅa . ni . srin . daṅ . htshos . żin[23]) . yul . srin . yul . du . mchi . ho". rgyal . Nam-pahi . skadu . na [67][24]) Bya-rma-byahi . Rma-li . Byehu-rma-byehu-gi . Thiṅ-tshun . Spu-rgyal . Bod . ki . skadu . na . Khab-yo-byahi . [68] Hdab-bkra . myiṅ . daṅ . mtshan . spos . so | spaṅ . Phug-dir-pahi . naṅ . du . bcug . ste . bżago .

[69] ho . na . re . śig . re . śig . na . bya . Thaṅ-kar . Thaṅ-naṅ . gñis . śig . ya . me . byuṅ . | bya . Thaṅ-kar . gi[s ?[25])] [70] mjug . la . hjus . te . Gnam . hgi . pa[26]) . mtha . Dguṅ . hgi . pha . hbrum[27]) . sa . Phug-tir[28])-pahi . naṅ [71] na . Phy[i]-byi . Gnam-phyi . Guṅ-rgyal-mo .

spyan . de[29]) . lpags . kis . na[30]) . śaṅs . yogs .
śaṅ[s] [72] ki . gñer . mas . na[31]) . żal . yog .
żal . gi . gñer . mas . ni . sko . yog .

phyag . ma . dur [73] kis . htshal . Phyi-byi . Gnam-phyihi . żal . nas . "bu . ga . las . gar . soṅ . soṅ . ci . myi . ci . [74] khyi" . "myi . ṅan . bu . pha . yab . ki . mtshan . Ltoṅ . de . Me-[32]) bkru . ma . Bżag-

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1) = *bu-mo*. 2) *śa-rba* here crossed out.
3) *Sic* (for *hthuṅ*): so also in l. 50. 4) *Sic* (for *te-di ?*). 5) *rma* here crossed out. 6) *Sic* (for *m*).
7) *żis* (for *żes*). 8) = *kha*. 9) = *skad-du*. 10) *na* repeated in error. 11) = *phrad-de*.
12) *n* here crossed out. 13) *g* here crossed out. 14) *Sic*. 15) = *hthuṅs* as in l. 40: *s* below line.
16) *s* here crossed out. 17) *Sic*. 18) *tu* here crossed out.
19) A repetition. 20) *hgi* here repeated in error. 21) *Sic*. 22) *Sic*
23) *Sic* (for *zin ?*) 24) *kh* here crossed out.
25) *s(?)* below line. 26) = *pha*. 27) = *hgram*, as in IV l. 127. 28) Something here crossed out.
29) *de* crossed out.? 30) For *ni ?* 31) For *ni ?* 32) *b* crossed out?

ste . Ñar-ḫbyam. myi . ńan [75] cag . spun . gsum. srin . yul . nag . pa . Dgu-sul . nas . srin . nag. pa . Dgu-lcogs[1]) . [76][2]) mchis . te . pha . ḫań . śa . rlon . du . zos . phu . mo . ḫań . śa . rlon . du . zos. pags . rlon . [77] du . gyond. | ma . ni . yul . srin . yul . nań[3]) . pa . Dgu-sul . du . mchis. myi . ńan. bu . ni . bya . [78]Thań-kar . gi . mjug . ma . la . ḫjus . te . bros . te . mchis". "ḫo . na . bu . re . stug. re . bsńal". [79] żis[4]) . gsuń . ḫdi . nas . phor . bżud . la . dgu . ni . ḫdas . rab . dgu . ni . ḫbos. Gyim-po . [80] spun . drug.

myi . phyug . du . phyug.
g-yań . tshoru . tsho.

g-yuḫi . ltam . bkar . dar . gi . sñi . ḫdre[5]). [81] gser . gi . ltam . bkar . dar . gi . sñi . ḫdre. [82] Gyi(m)-po. Ñag-gcig . ni.

myi . dbul . du . dbul.
g-yań . ridu[6]) . rid.

droḫi . mjol[7]) . btsu[gs] [83] rta . rńahi . sñi . ḫdre. g-yuḫi[8]) . ltam . la . zun[9]) . pa . lta . byaste. "ma. zun[9]) . cig". g-yuḫi . ltam . la . non. [84] pa . la[10]) . byaste. "ma . non. | rta . rńaḫi . sñi . la . zin . pa. ltar . byos . śig[11]) . rto . baḫi . mdzol . la. [85] non . pa . ltar . byos . śig". | rto . baḫi . mdzol . la . non. pa . ltar . bgyis . te . mchis . mchis . [86] na. Gyim-po . Ñag-cig . kis . dphyań . lag . g-yas . ki . phu. duń . du . bcug . te . bsdams[12]) [87] [khab] . dań . brań . du . byon. smyug . kha . sbyor . gi . nań . du. bcug . ste . bżag | sań . nam. [88] nańs . dguń . sańs . na . śiń . thu . gdań . thu . ru . gśegs . gśegs . na. khab . dań . brań [89] [du . byo]n . na . bśos . tshal[13]) . ster . cig . la . bśan . bu . yu . ga[14])r . btsugs. rlańs . dań [90] thu[15]) . lta . lta . |skyem . pa . yo . gań . la . skyogs . kar . thal . gyis . btsugs . dkar. [91] dań . ltem[16]) . se . ltems. Gyi(m)-po . Ñag-cig . kis . myi . sbribs . bśos . [dań ?] [92] [gso]ld . myi. bskyems . skyems . kyań . gsold | "ḫdi . ci . rla . ci . bśan" . śiń . thu [93] [*gda*]ń . thu . ba . ltar . bgy-iste . bruńs . ki . phag . du . gab . ste . mchis. smyug . kha. [94] sby[o]r . gi . nań . nas. Byeḫu-rma-byeḫu . Thiń[17]) -tsun . żig . byuń. bśos . tshal . ster . cig [95] bśan . bu . yu . gar . btsugs . skyem . pa. yo . gań . la[18]) . skyogs . [th]al . kis. [96] -ug . gdzos . ki . la . bu . brt[19])abs. | "za . moḫi . nań . na . ḫdi. las . bzań . ma. [97] -is[20]) |pa . gcig . byuń" . nas . khab . dań . dbyal . du . bgyis . te . bśos . dań . nams. śiń [98] [bżu]gs.

pha . yab . ki . żal[21]) . nas[22]) . "bu[23]) . Gyim-po. Ñag . cig . phaḫi . drin . ma . na . sman . dags [99] — dań . mtshuń . ste . gańs . ki . ltoń . nas . sky[e]so. maḫi . drin . ma . zos . na . bya . khu[24]) . byug. [100] — dań . mtshuń . ste . tshań . dan . gżibs[25]) . na . skyeso. ḫon . kyań . phaḫi . śid . thoń . śig. yab. [101][26]) [ki . m]dad . rmań . tshugs . śig. gsuń.

stsań . phat . sgye . phut . sgye[27]) . rtsa-dags . ḫon . cig.
dbyal . ńu . ri . la[28]) . ńu. [102] [. . . . . ḫon . cig.
sgye . ma . la . [*ba*] . rkyal . lo[29]) . ḫon . cig.
bzań . dar . ca . [30]) ḫom . ḫbu . bltams.
rtsa . [sen . rum] [103] . . . .
[. . . . . can[31]) . dgu . la . ḫdzeg . pa . ḫon . cig.

gsuń . ḫdi . l]

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[1]) *lcags ?* [2]) Three *akṣaras* here crossed out. [3]) *Sic* (for *nag*). [4]) = *żes*. [5]) = *ḫdren*.
[6]) = *rid-du*. [7]) = *mdzol*. [8]) *lta(e)* here crossed out? [9]) = *zuń*.
[10]) *Sic* (for *lta*). [11]) *dra* here crossed out. [12]) *s* below line. [13]) *chal*: conceivably *tshol*.
[14]) *ń* here crossed out. [15]) Something here crossed out. [16]) *ste* here crossed out.
[17]) Something here crossed out. [18]) *sgy* here crossed out. [19]) *g* here crossed out.
[20]) = *mchis ?* [21]) *ń* here crossed out. [22]) *my* here crossed out. [23]) *m* here crossed out.
[24]) *khru ?* [25]) *gżiṅs ?* For *gżis ?* [26]) Something *(ph?)* here crossed out. [27]) *s* here crossed out.
[28]) *dbyal-ciṅ-ḫrul ?* Cf. ll. 2, 26—7. [29]) *lo* perhaps crossed out.
[30]) Something here crossed out. [31]) *ciṅ ?* Cf. l. 6.

TRANSLATION

A, End of the Good Age and Tragedy of the Horse and Yak.

[1] In . . . . great blessedness was on the top apart, evil luck was shut outside. In the twelve countries[1]), with the extra one Rtsi- [2] dań[2]) thirteen, great blessedness was on the top apart, evil luck was shut outside. In the twelve towns, [3] with Ḥbum-da-ńa[3]) thirteen, great blessedness was on the top apart, evil luck was shut outside. In the [turquoise ?] [4] *thod-thod*[4]), in the medicine *pad-pad*, great blessedness was on the top apart, evil luck was shut outside. In the — [5] great blessedness for the yak-cow was on the top apart, evil luck was shut outside. In the meadow great blessedness for the sheep was on the top separate, [6] danger[5]) was removed outside. In the moors blessedness for the horse, in the woods blessedness for the goat and *cha*[6]), [7] evil luck . . . In the farm[7]) blessedness for the *mdzo*[8]), evil luck . . . In the rock-shelter [8] great blessedness for the hog, evil luck . . . Great blessedness was general on the top, evil luck was shut outside [9].

Kings with piled stores;
Towns with essence of music[9]);
Fields with thick mowing;
Waters with clean [10] fords.
Great blessedness apart on the top;
Evil luck shut outside.
From the wild yak's[10]) stern malice, [11]
From the harmful *g-yań*[11]) kind,
Great blessedness was apart on the top;
Evil luck was shut outside.

[12] Then late or then soon the animals came nigh to change. For you, O Do-ma-sñiń-dags[12]), as the nine[13]) stars on high [13]

Ate uphill[14]),
Drank with care,

while

The nine[15]) chiefs poised apart,
Hairless[16]), were faint in pain,

in the [Gnam] heaven[17]) [14] the constellations, seven hundred thousand and seven myriads[18]),

Ate bit by bit;
Drank with care.

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[1]) Doubtless mythological.

[2]) 'Sap-pure'? But in place-names we usually (*eg* in *Phyi-ldań*) have *ldań*, which perhaps means 'wood' or 'seat'. [3]) Later enployed as a name of Bhutan (*Bum-thań*).

[4]) *thod-thod* and *pad-pad* are not known: perhaps invented *ad hoc*.

[5]) Or 'disease'? See the Linguistic note. [6]) Unknown: tiger? [7]) *snor*, = *nor?*

[8]) The hybrid of yak-bull and cow

[9]) Reading *rol-mo* in phase of *ral*⁰, which yields no meaning.

[10]) *Ḥbroń*, the yak-bull. [11]) See Linguistic note.

[12]) 'Peerless Heart-pure', to whom, apparently beings of the Golden Age, the whole narrative is addressed (cf. ll. 34, 126). [13]) Or 'all' (*dgu*).

[14]) Asappears more clearly *infra*, the heavens are conceived as pasture ground, the stars being the pasturing animals, which in Himalayan Lands feed 'up' (to the high pastures) or 'down' according to season (see Cooper, *Annals of a pioneer of commerce*, p. 393).

[15]) Or 'all' :: the 'chiefs poised apart' are perhaps the brighter stars or planets, which seem to hang nearer.

[16]) I. e. without aureoles. [17]) The highest heaven, the lower being Dguń.

[18]) The number recurs *infra*, l. 22.

Prompthy though from the valley Bza(ṅ)- [15] tho-re[1]) 's bow was bent, yet, *kha-le*[2]), in the castle above[3])

The arrow-tip was not red;
The deft archer [16] slew not the deer:
The stars fed uphill.

In the star-valley though the Ladies Six and Six[4]) [17] ploughed the fields, yet, *kha-le*, in the castle above

No unloading gave sweet taste: The stars fed uphill [18].

Though the Shepherdess star[5]) from the valley pastured her sheep, yet, *kha-le*, in the castle above

Trim, trim was the knitting[6]) [19]:
The stars fed uphill.

Though the Neatherdess star[7]) from the valley drove her cows [20], yet, *kha-le*, in the castle above

Empty hung the pail at the neck[8]);
The cup was not white inside:
The stars fed uphill [21].

Then, as the nine stars on high

Ate uphill,
Drank with care,

to those knowing that the animals were nigh to change, in the [22] heaven the constellation stars seven hundred thousand and seven myriads spoke thus: —

'Eat not bit by bit [23]!
Drink not with care!
Take not into ward!

Now in kinds, nine kinds [24], it is to be: in divisions, nine divisions, is to be division'. This said, in divided kinds it came to be.

[25] To the chiefless chiefdom came;
To the serfless serfdom was installed;
For the crooked of speech[9]) [26] was scorn:
For the storers[10]) steward-accounts;
To luck-sorters ear was lent [27].
The wild ox was knee-lame[11]);
The wild horse forehead-red.
A high race then [28] appeared;
A serf-race thence was chased.

Now, looking to to-day and to-morrow,

The strong is of mind unalert;
The swift [29] strives not with guile;
Upright man-child has weak wits[12]);
Prone beast's child has short scope[13]) [30].
One hollow log broken,
All the little chips threaten [31].

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[1]) On 'prompthy' see the Liuguistic note to IV 205. The archer, who may be Sagittatius and whose name has a form characteristic of N.-E. Tibet (sec *Tib. Lit. 'Text and Docc.'* II, p. 16), is mentioned in similar terms in Ms. XIX 004, fol. 9a, ll. 10—11. [2]) On this phrase see the Linguistic note. [3]) The sky summit.

[4]) Perhaps the Pleiades, *Smin-drug*. [5]) Unknown. [6]) I. e. there was no disorderly abundance: but see the Linguistic note. [7]) = Tib. *Be-rdzi*, one of the constellations (= Indian *Rohiṇī*).

[8]) Sc. of the cows. [9]) The animals with their imperfect speech?

[10]) Animals addicted to storing? Or is *dgro-ru-chags* = 'those with feathers *(sgro)* and horns'?

[11]) Ref. to the splayed knees of cattle, etc. [12]) Or 'bad mind' (*ñams-ñes*). [13]) See Linguistic note.

One hip of the roof support pulled,
All the roof support is shaken[1]).
One channel of the lung (mind) drawn aside [32],
All the lung veins are moved[2]).
King Dpan-te[3]) died;
The crane-bird pierced the egg;
The turquoise, the good one, [33] was smashed;
Of the sharp the temper failed;
Of the race[4]) the chieftain died;
Of the head the hair-knot gave way.
The animals [34] are nigh to change.
So, to-day, O Do-ma-sñiṅ-dags,
Where water is sought to be led,
The runnels[5]) shall wholly be fouled [35];
Rank, princely rank shall prize height;
Sap, pure sap[6]), be refuse food [36]
Where water is sought to be led,
The runnels shall wholly be fouled.
Yesterday, to-day, to-morrow [37] kindness and evil meet.

Chapter telling of the Beginning. The rest is to be spoken[7]). Here a small extract [38] is written.

History of the separation of horse and *kiang*.

At what time there were yesterdays of yesterdays ninety ninety nine [39], to-morrows of to-morrows (etc.: a *numerical rigmarole*: see note) .... in[8]) [the age of] Debts and Taxes,[9]) in [the age of] medicine and cooking, the horse's father and sire [40] had for name Father Khar-rtaḫi Yal-ba[10]): his mother was Gsaṅ-rtaḫi P[h]yod-ma. Consorting and taking their pleasure, they had offspring [41] born in Bya-ma-ron[11]) of Rta-za Luṅ-braṅ[12]).

As to the horse's abode, he abode in Gnam;
As to the steed's[13]) abode, he abode in Dguṅ [42].
Meanwhile
Of the long-mouthed[14]) was not grass;

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[1]) Translation conjectural: see the Linguistic note. [2]) See the Linguistic note.

[3]) A mythological king, mentioned again in ll. 122, 123.

[4]) Literally 'bone' *(rus)*, a common connection in Central Asia.

[5]) Evidently these played, as was natural, an important part in the life of the people of the Nam-shan-Kan-su region: see, for instance, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, pp. 362—8., *Nam* pp. 146—7.

[6]) As appears *infra*, 'sap' means the tastes of plants, grass, etc.

[7]) This reference to the oral source of the narrative is parallelled in the case of the Nam Ms., l. 180: see edition, pp. 138—9. [8]) Perhaps 'after' *(ḫog-tu)*.

[9]) More fully particularized in Text III, *infra*, pp. 48 spp. The phrase recurs *infra*, B. l. 29.

[10]) On the form of these names (clan-name, or other surname, individual name), and on hazardous etymologizing of them, see the Introduction. Where the sense is clear, it may conveniently be stated, since the names are, in part at least, significant or traditional. In the present instance that cannot be done *(rta* = 'horse', *gsaṅ* = 'secret' or 'purified'). [11]) Probably error for *Bye-ma-ron* (l. 47) 'Sand-defile'.

[12]) Here even the place ('Horse-woman Valley-residence'?) has a surname.

[13]) Here we have the first of the duplicate statements characteristic of this literature connected with, the Bon cosmology. The 'horse' is not different from the 'steed'. Possibly the duplication, which reminds us of Homer's distinction of the speech of gods and that of men, resulted from an original difference of language. The two words, *rta* 'horse', *rmaṅ*, 'steed', have and that each a long history in Central-Asian languages· The difference may, however, be a case of honorifics.

[14]) 'Long-mouthed' should be = 'water-course'.

Of the long-necked[1]) was not water.

So The horse descending, from Gnam was his descent;

The steed descending, [43] from Dguṅ was his descent.

Where did they descend? In a country [44], god country, Guṅ-daṅ, descending, the province, whose province was it? In the province and estate of Lha-za Guṅ-tshun[2]) [45] descending, place and home were granted them with the house-mistress [46].

For rice she gave them willow;

For greens stalks powdered, dried;

For sugar poured turnip-water[3]).

Having made it their province and estate,

To the horse a great disgust,

To the steed came great bile.

In Bye-ma-ron of Rta-za Luṅ-[47]braṅ,

By day were they pleased to get, they could not get;

By night, were they pleased to keep, they could not keep.

Scorning Lha-za [48] Guṅ-mo-tsun, they left Pug-mo's[4]) place and home and departed. Descending, where did they descend? [49] In the country Rji Luṅ-daṅ-ba[5]) descended, they fell in with the Rji Phyar-phyur; consorting and taking pleasure, [50] they had children born,

The horse three sons of the house,

The steed three brothers[6]).

The senior elder brother was Elder-brother Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam[7]); [51] the middle younger brother was named Rkyaṅ-ron Rṅog-bkra[8]); the junior younger brother was named Khug-ron Rmaṅ-dar[9]) [52]. In the country Rji Luṅ-daṅ-ba

Of the long-mouthed was not grass;

Of the long-necked [53] was not water.

The senior elder brother, Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam, going to the country Byaṅ-ka Snam-eight[10]) [54],

Took water of the long-mouthed,

Took juice of the long-necked.

Rkyaṅ-ron Rṅog-bkra, in the Outer-Wilds country [55] Highlands-eight,

Took juice of the long-mouthed,

Took water of the long-necked.

Khug-ron Rmaṅ-dar [56], in the Outer-Wilds country Gtaṅ-three[11]), was

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[1]) 'Long-necked' should be 'grass' (see Text IV, ll. 278, 282). The confusion here is perhaps intentional.

[2]) Guṅ Lady, of Lha (god) lineage. *Infra* (l. 48) we have Guṅ-mo-tsun.

[3]) *Bu-ram*, 'brown sugar' (Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, pp. 110, 282). The Tsaidam grows also a root 'in shape like a turnip', of taste 'insipidly sweet' (*Journey*, p. 170). Cf. Huc and Gabet (trans.), II, p. 86.

[4]) Pug-mo (Phug-mo, 'cave-mistress') seems to mean the above-mentioned house-mistress *(khaṅ-mo)*; cf. Text IV, ll. 55—6.

[5]) 'Valley-pure of the Rji'. *Rji* is probably = *rdzi*, 'wind'. See *infra*, l. 68.

[6]) *Mched*, a word often used as a politeness between persons of consideration (see *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 187). Here it is used as a duplicate of *spun*, the ordinary word for the sons in a household.

[7]) 'Miṅd-seat (peg)-mild (kiṅd, *byam*)'? [8]) 'Long (or *Kiang's*)-ravine Mane-dappled'?

[9]) 'Recess-ravine Steed-silk *(dar)*'?

[10]) *Byaṅ-ka*, 'Of the North (the Byaṅ-*thaṅ*)'. 'Snam-eight', probably 'The Eight Parts or Divisions *(snam)*', represents a form of name common in Central Asia ('the Four Garrisons' = Chinese Turkestan; 'The Six Cities' = Khotan, 'The Nine Ersins', etc., with which we may compare English 'The Six Counties', Greek 'Hexapolis', etc. Byaṅ-yi-Snam-brgyad is mentioned (together with Byaṅ-khams-Sna-brgyad) in M. Bacot's *Documents de Touen-houang*, p. 84.

[11]) Perhaps = 'Steps (of a ladder, *gdaṅ* = 'altitudes') - three: *Infra*, lt. 84, 95, *gdaṅ* is replaced by *bdaṅ*, in l. 9, by *ltaṅ*, which form we find also in other names, *Phyi-ldaṅ*, etc. In Text IV, ll. 159, 348 we have also *gdan*, *gtan*.

Taking of the wild's saps little, little,
Drinking of the berry[1]) fresh [57] distilled.

Then one time, one time, in the country Byaṅ-ka Snam-eight Elder-brother Yid-[58] kyi-gdaṅ-pyam and Father Yak-bull Skar-ba[2]) met. Said Yak-bull [59] Skar-ba: "Yesterday, to-day, to-morrow, by appointment from the high summit of Gnam, from the high level of Dguṅ [60], by the six highest lords-fathers, the revered protector Fates[3]),

Horse-country of right is the Wilds; [61]
Yak-country of right is the north-plain.

Elder-brother Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam, go where [62] you will." Said Elder-brother Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam: "Though by appointment of the six highest lords-fathers [63], the revered protector Fates,

Horse-country is the Wilds — 'tis true!
Yak-country is the north-plain [64] — 'tis true!

now, looking to to-day, to-morrow, horse and yak should not strive as foes [65]. Whereas

The horse first eats the grass,
The yak last drinks the water,
Let yak first eat the grass! [66]
Let horse last drink the water!"

This said, Yak-bull Skar-ba not agreeing [67],

By his Yak-bull enemy
With right horn seized,
With left horn tossed,

Elder-brother Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam there died [68].

His flesh the birds ate, rend, rend;
His blood the ground drank, sip, sip;
His bones the *gle*[4]) gnawed, crunch, crunch:
His head-hair the wind bore, *ban*, *ban*[5]) [69].

Elder-brother Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam there died.

Then one time Younger-brothers Rkyaṅ-ron Rṅog-bkra and Khug-ron Rmaṅ-dar [70]

In horse-speech said *tsher-tsher*[6]),
In steed-speech said *tsher-tsher*.

When of Elder-brother Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam no voice came, Khug-ron Rmaṅ-dar [71] and Rkyaṅ-ron Rṅog-bkra both to the country Byaṅ-ka Snam-eight went, went, in search of their lost Elder-brother [72]. Elder-brother Yid-kyi-gdaṅ-pyam's living face they did not meet, his dead corpse they met. [73] Said Younger-brother Khug-ron Rmaṅ-dar:

"Elder-brother's flesh not by younger avenged.
Nape-flesh [74] not fondled with neck[7]),
Heart of wrath not chastised,
Meed of kindness not gained [75].

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[1]) *Bre-mo* perhaps = *bre-ga*, 'a plant with small hairy berries, which are used for medicinal purposes' (Ś. C. Das' Dictionary). Rockhill (*Journey*, p. 169) speaks of two kinds of Tsaidam berries. *harmak* and *mori harmak*.

[2]) According to Huc and Gabet (trans. II, p. 81) 'the calf of a long-haired cow (female yak) and a yellow bull is called Karba'. The yak-bull's marked hostility towards horses' is noted also in Samuel Turner's *Account of an embassy to the court of the Teeshoo Lama*, p. 189.

[3]) *Mgon-tshun-pywa*, = *Mgon-btsun-phywa*, actually known in Bon-po writings (see Ś. C. Das' Dictionary) as having a city in Paradise.

[4]) Probably = *gre*, *greḫu*, 'bear. For bear-horse incidents cf. Dr. W. Filchner, *Om Mani Padme Hum*. p. 194, *Das Rätsel des Matschū*, pp. 85, 92. [5]) Perhaps = *ban-bun*, 'little by little'.

[6]) The sound of neighing. [7]) The well-known action of horses in company.

to give [this] is [my] heart's desire.

Body blood not drunk to the depth,
Nape-flesh not fondled at neck [76],
With thirst in dry mouth, did he die?

Elder-brother's flesh shall by Younger-brothers [77] be avenged. The flesh of Yid-kyi-gdań-pyam shall to Khug-ron Rmań-dar and Rkyań-ron Rńog-bkra [78] be a care.

Heart of wrath shall be chastised;
Yak-bull Skar-ba's heart be chastised. [79]
Meed of kindness shall be received;

Elder-brother Yid-kyi-gdań-pyam's meed shall be received" [80]. This said, Rkyań-ron Rńog-bkra spoke: "Seeing that Elder-brother Yid-kyi-gdań-[81]pyam,

As a horse, swift,
As a steed, great in might,

could not against Yak-bull Skar-ba [82] prevail, you and I, since together even we

Pursuing, cannot overtake,
Fleeing, cannot get away,
Contending, cannot [83] overcome,

therefore must be

Elder-brother's flesh not by younger avenged,
Body-blood not drunk to the depth.

To the country [84] Outer-Wilds Ldań-three[1]) let us go

Sap of the long-mouthed to eat,
Water of the long-necked to drink."

This said, [85] Younger-brother Khug-ron Rmań-dar spoke:

"For a horse, of little might,
For a steed, of little might,

O Rkhyań-ron [86] Rńog-bkra, are you. So henceforth it is thus —

'If I live, a country be mine;
If I die, let my tomb be made.

To the country, man [87] country, Skyi-mthiń[2]), I go." To this speech Rkyań-ron Rńog-bkra replied: "Younger-brother Khug-ron [88] Rmań-dar, when you are come to the country, man country, Skyi-mthiń and are beguiled into friendship with man, then, when some morrow [89] comes, you, O horse,

In mouth with a bridle bridled,
Sores at your mouth formed, shall wheel;
On your back with a saddle beset, on your back [90] have a load;
Side pressed to side,
Have a faint heart within."

Said Younger-brother Khug-[91]ron Rmań-dar: "Elder-brother Rkyań-ron Rńog-bkra, when you go to the country Outer-Wilds Ltań-three, [92] though rider be none, yet, ridden by uphill stars[3]), you shall have a back with bird-tumours [93] flecked. Though bridling man be none, yet by cleaving saps of the wilds self-bridled, with sores at your mouth formed [94], you shall wheel. Though pursuing man be none, be by the swift stag-hound pursued. Though seizing man be none, be by the deft [95] bowman shot." So much said, Elder-brother Rkyań-ron Rńog-bkhra went to Outer-Wilds Ldań-[96] three.

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[1]) See note to l. 56.
[2]) On the country Skyi see the Geographical Introduction and Text IV, Introduction.
[3]) See *supra*, ll. 13, 16, etc., and Text IV, l. 52.

Of the long-mouthed sap to eat,
Of the long-necked water to drink,

there was not [97].

Younger-brother Khug-ron Rmaṅ-dar, going to the country, man country[1]), called Skyi-mthiṅ, a far country [98], in a town, earth town, Skya-bo[2]), came before Man Rma-bu[3]) Ldam-śan. Said horse Rmaṅ-dar [99]: "Looking to to-day, to-morrow, the horse has poor wits, the steed no long scope[4]). O Man Rma-bu [100] Ldam-śad, where you would have water led or not led, are the runnels wholly fouled or not fouled ?" "Where water was led, [101] the runnels are wholly fouled." "Then, looking to to-day, to-morrow, during the hundred years of a life-time I will carry you far: when I go to be owner of a death time of seven hundred thousand[5]) [102], I will give an exchange[6]).'' This said, Man Rma-bu Ldam-śad and horse Rmaṅ-dar made terms [103] and agreement as to rations[7]). Mule and horse being placed on separate footings, inferior and superior grade being settled, in token of settlement thumb measures were impressed (?)[8]). Terms made, [104] agreement made, it was arranged that, the heat of the day being rest from fighting, [the horse], while alive, should carry far and on dying should give an exchange. Horse [105] Khug-ron Rmaṅ-dar, with Man Rma-bu Ltam-śad mounted, was as proud as if become a tearing tiger, a tearing leopard.

[106] When the horseman, in control of his servant, arrived at the gate of the country Outer-Wilds Highlands-eight, Younger-brother Khug-ron Rmaṅ-dar said: "Since there is shame before an elder [107], because of shame before Rgyaṅ-ron Rṅog-bkhra, cover up horse's face, cover up steed's face."[9]) Man Rma-bu Ldam-[108]śad having covered up horse's face, covered up steed's face, they came to the country Pyaṅ-kha[10]) Sman-eight, and there they met with Father [109] Yak-bull Skar-ba. Man Rma-bu Ldam-śad

His hair-ring took in his grasp,
His white [110] sling loosened to throw[11]).
At first, when he let out, let out[12]),
Yak-bull Skar-ba drew out, drew out.
Then, when he followed, followed [111],
Younger-brother Khug-ron Rmaṅ-dar followed, followed.

Man Rma-bu Ldan-śar

Where good, drew the net in;
Tossed high the red —[13]) [112].
Right rushed the cud-chewer,
When left came the point[14]);
Left rushed the cud-chewer [113],
When right[15]) came the point.

Yak-bull Skar-ba there was slain.

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[1]) On the phrase see Introduction, p. 10. [2]) Not known: on Skyi see Introduction.

[3]) 'Rma-son', national name of the people living near the Rma-chu = Upper Hoang-ho: see the Introduction. [4]) Cf. l. 29 *supra*.

[5]) On the number see Text IV, l. 42. [6]) 'Provide a substitute'?

[7]) See Linguistic note. [8]) See Linguistic note.

[9]) Thus the horse gets his blinkers? [10]) = Byaṅ-ka of l. 53.

[11]) Translation of these two lines somewhat conjectural: see the Linguistic notes on these two and the following. On slings in Tibet see Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, p. 120, *Journey*, p. 264 (with fig.), Dr. W. Filchner, *Om Mani Padme Hum*, p. 156. [12]) Sc. the cord of the lasso.

[13]) Translation of these two lines conjectural: see the Linguistic note. Possibly a red flag to excite the yak.

[14]) *Mtshoṅ* = *mtshon*, 'pointed weapon', 'spear', etc.

[15]) Keeping the original reading *g-yas*, alteredi n error.

Said Younger-brother Khug-ron Rmaṅ-dar [114]:
"Elder-brother's kindness is repaid;
Yid-ki-gdaṅ-phyam's kindness repaid.
Heart of wrath is chastised [115],
Yak-bull Skar-ba's heart of wrath is chastised.
Horse Elder-brother's flesh is by Younger-brother avenged.
Body-blood has been drunk to the depth;
Nape-flesh has been fondled with neck [116].
Now let yak's flesh go to the gods;
Yak's hide be cut up into goods.
Be his tail as a tassel [117] tied
To the mane of the horse, myself.
Now, since to Elder-brothers must be given satisfaction,
To Elder-brother Rgyaṅ-ron Rṅog-bgra I must give satisfaction" [118].
This said, Man Rma-bu Ldam-śid
Yak's flesh gave up to the gods,
Yak's hide cut up into goods [119],
Yak's tail as a tassel tied
To the mane of Khug-ron Rmaṅ-dar.
So
Heart of wrath was chastised,
Meed of kindness [120] received.
To the country, man country, called Skyi-mthiṅ, a far country, they went.
Then, one time, one time, Man Rma-bu Ldam-[121]śad
From Gnam being . . . . . fatigue,
The tie from the hair[1]) was burst;
From the ground fiends started to rise; [122]
Voices of demons resounded.
King Dpan-te-na[2]) died.
The good turquoise was smashed.
The king, dying, — [123] died;
The turquoise smashed utterly smashed.
King Dphan[3])-te died;
Dear, he had perished [124] and was not.
Father Gśen-rabs Myi-bo-dad[4]) and cemetery Gśen Rma-dad[5]),
With king-choosing duty commissioned, [125]
Agreeing, set up a care-taker;
Firm, power-firm, order established.
The good peak having pass adjoining[6]) [126],
The earth in gradation confirmed,
among the Do-ma-sñiṅ-dags Younger-brother Khu[g-ron] Rmaṅ-dar spoke:
'Where water was made to run,
The runnels [127] are utterly fouled.
Princely rank cares for height,
Good sap is food refuse.

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[1]) The topknot, as in l. 33. [2]) See l. 32 (Dpan-ten). [3]) = Dpan.
[4]) The divine founder of the Bon religion, 'the Chief Gśen Myi-bo-dad'. A human *gśen* was a priest of some kind. See Text IV, Introduction. [5]) Unknown. On cemetery *gśens* see Tucci (citation) in *Tibetan Lit. Texts and Documents*, III, p. 103. [6]) Translation conjectural: see Linguistic note.

Equal then with equal, [128],
Like then with like.
Whereof had been a summit,
Thereto a pass is joined.
So, looking to to-day [129], to-morrow, the animals are nigh to change.
O Do-ma-sñiṅ-dags, do you too
Do the like and equal thereof [130]:
Where water should have to be led,
The runnels entirely befoul.
.....[1]); [131]
Make the warm spring far away sink.
Yesterday, to-day, (or) *to-morrow* [132] *friend* and fiend meet .... [133] with ... meet....

B. Funeral of Father Sten-rgan-ñer-pa and story of Gyrim-po-Ñag-cig's Bride.

[1]....died[2]). The Rtsa-dags Snam-one[3]), having taken the little bag, did not say[4])
"Done by day, at night filled [2];
Done by night, by day filled;
In summer, not rotting,
In winter, not clotting,
Bag with small hole, [3] as grain come!
Large bag with small hole[5]), as grain-pit with small hole, come!
Fine [4] pieces of silk, too, as tamarisk come!
What gathered was rotten, what scattered was crumbling, [5] come full[6])!
For the gruel be there a cow-pail;
Let the Do-ma-thugs-dags[7]), by water refreshed,
[6] With swift old-age escort arranged, to the nine pure poised castles[8]) ascend!"
This not having been uttered [7], the Gyim-po brothers six said:
"Father has his high seat;
Our sire's [8] base aloft is laid."
Said Gyim-po Number-one[9]):
"Among poor men poor [9],
Among luck-spent spent[10]);
Father's height not dragged (down),
Our sire's base not laid
[10] should have been. On the plain, if attempted, success: on the height, no success" So he spoke. The Gyim-po Brothers Six [11] said[11]): 'If a hundred black mares are sewn to the

[1]) Reading here obscure and rendering difficult: see Linguistic note.

[2]) The subject of the verb 'die', if correctly read (ll. 1—2 being extremely obscure), should be Father Sten-rgan-ñer-pa, ll. 27—8; but see Introduction.

[3]) Root (or Grass, *rtswa*)-pure Party one'; cf. *Byaṅ-ka Snam-brgyad*, A. l. 53.

[4]) On the interpretation of these strange funeral utterances see the Introduction.

[5]) This seems to be the shroud. 'Hole' is literally 'eye', 'eyelet'.

[6]) The conception seems to be similar to that of the English burial service, 'sown in corruption', etc.

[7]) 'Peerless mind-pure' = *Do-ma-sñiṅ-dags*, Peerless Heart-pure', of A, ll. 12, etc. Here a particular individual, viz. the dead man, seems to be meant.

[8]) These are, no doubt, the 'nine stars above', or the 'nine chiefs poised apart', of A, ll. 12—3. The dead man is to go to heaven: see Texts II, l. 31, III, l. 23, IV, ll. 44, 244.

[9]) Literally 'Notch *(ñag)*-one' = 'Best' or 'Sole': the expression recurs in texts II and IV.

[10]) The expressions recur *infra*, ll. 80—2. [11]) On the import of this speech see the Introduction. It seems likely that the mares, horses, etc., here mentioned were, like the horses which for the benefit of travellers the Tibetans cast to the winds, made of paper, if not of some textile.

great limb of a *bse*, do we have, forsooth, jackdaws attracted (?) to a well [12]? If a hundred brown *śu*[1]) are sewn to the great limb of a *bse*, do we have, forsooth, *pehu*[2]) ripening? If a hundred young geese [13] are sewn to the great limb of a *bse*, do we have, forsooth, young ducks gathering on the edge of a lake? If a hundred white horses [14] are sewn to the great limb of a *bse*, do we have, forsooth, hail? If a hundred blue [15] are sewn to the great limb of a *bse*, do we have, forsooth, pigeons assembled on a rock? Well then: [16] Father's height be not dragged (down); to arrange couriers to the pure castles is not right. Through silk coloured red [17] is, forsooth, a meadow lined with fire? Through silk coloured white have we, forsooth, the mountain-ridge (?) white with snow? [18] Through peacocks (?)[3]) painted black do we get, forsooth, birds rising in flight?

Father's height be not dragged (down);
Our sire's tomb be not [19] built.

Pieces of fine silk are not to be tamarisk. Of white sheep a hundred, of black a hundred, of mixed [20] a hundred, of reddish grey a hundred, presented in the hand of our father sire, cannot be sheep in a rock shelter[4]) [21]. Mother cannot be a cow[5]).

Take not away the authority of what formerly had great authority [22]! Deal not a blow at saying of great weight! Though secretly milked as milk, gruel is not for a cow-pail. Hair of the back is hair [23]: given into the hand of our matron mother, the lady Rtsań-bdag[6]): when plucked out and spun, is spun [24]; when spun and handled, is handled[7]); when handled and moistened, is moistened; when moistened and stiffened with clay, is stiffened with clay: a crop-sack bag [25], a first-fruits bag. A bag is not fit for the Rtsa-dags[8]).

Done by day, not full at night;
Done by night [26], not full by day.
In summer rotting, in winter congealing,
A crop-sack bag is not for [27] a first-fruits bag.
Father's height be not dragged (down);
Our sire's base be not built."

Now Father Sten-rgan-[28]ñer-pa[9]), his body being sunk in the narrow, dark, earth beneath his monument pedestal, was not.

Now [29] a father and sire[10]) named, in the language of the Nam kingdom[11]), Father Ltoń-tehi Mye-kru, in the language of Spu-rgyal Tibet[12]) [30], 'Blind Eye-blind' or 'Blind-bird's-head and chief', and a mother and matron [31] named Bżag-stehi Ñar-hbyam[13]), consorting and taking their pleasure, had offspring three sister girls [32] born to them. The eldest girl was Tseń-gi Rba-ga; the middle sister was Tseń-hgi Rbag-[33]żin[14]); the youngest sister Tseń-hgi Rba-ga.

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[1]) Unknown: can it possibly be *śu-mo-za*, 'pulse', or *su-mi*, 'a medicinal root resembling turnip', Ś. C. Das 'Dictionary)'?

[2]) Perhaps = the *pehu*, *spehu*, *dpehu*, *po-ma*, *pho-ma*, of Text IV, l. 116. [3]) Reading doubtful.

[4]) In A. ll. 6—8 the sheep are in the meadow, the hogs in the rock-shelter.

[5]) The function of the mother in this connection is very obscure: that wives accompanied their husbands in the tomb is in regard to Tibeto-Burman peoples out of the question.

[6]) Perhaps 'corn mistress': in Text II, ll. 15—6, the mother of the Six Gyim-po brothers is named *Ldehu-zahi-hbriń Sman-skyol.*

[7]) On the technical terms here see the Linguistic notes.

[8]) Here again, the bag seems to be the shroud.

[9]) On this person and his name see Introduction, p. 9. [10]) The expression has so occurred in A, l. 39.

[11]) On the Nam names see Linguistic note: on their general form see the Introduction.

[12]) On Spu-rgyal-Bod see p. 56.

[13]) 'Strength-mild' with *hbyam* as in *Yid-kyi-gdań-hbyam*, *supra* A. ll. 50, etc.? But in Tibetan *hbyam* has several meanings. [14]) = *Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi* of Text II. On these names see p. 6—7, *Nam*, pp. 131—4.

Father Ltoṅ-teḫi Mye-kro went to pasture his sheep, guard his *g-yaṅ*[1]) [34]. From the black-fiend kingdom Dgu-sul[2]) came [35], riding a fiend horse-mule, the black fiend-king Dgu-lcogs[3]). Father Ltoṅ-te Mye-ku's raw flesh he ate, his raw blood [36] he drank, his raw skin he put on. Driving the sheep, driving the *g-yaṅ*, he came to house and home [37], and, sleeping with Bżag-ste Ṅar-ḫbyam, stayed there. When morning dawned and day broke [38], [he said]: "I, being old, cannot manage the sheep. Send your daughter Tseṅ-ḫgi Rba-ga to pasture the sheep, guard the *g-yaṅ* [39]." The daughter Tseṅ-ḫgi Rba-ga going about pasturing the sheep, guarding the *g-yaṅ*, [40] he ate her raw flesh, drank her raw blood. Taking out the heart, he packed it in the bottom of a bag, and came to Bżag-ste [41] Ṅar-ḫbyam, presenting it. During the day it was made into a dumpling[4]) mixed with herbs, [42] and the extracted heart was Bżag-ste Ṅar-ḫbyan's portion.

"I have eaten the meat [43]: where is daughter Tseṅ-ḫgi Rba-ga ?". "I don't know. Young children are dilatory [44], and the mountain is full of banished men." "Our daughter is dilatory, and the mountain is filled with she-devils" [45]. "To-morrow we must go to take care of her. Send Tseṅ-ḫgi Rbag-żin to pasture the sheep" [46].

When Tseṅ-gi Rbag-żin was going to pasture the sheep, guard the *g-yaṅ*, she fell in with, in the Nam-pa [47] language, Cho-pyi Cog-zu, in the language of Spu-rgyal Tibet, "Meadow Ass 'Little Tiger'"[5]) [48]. Said Meadow Ass "Little Tiger": 'From Dgu-sul of the black-fiend-country Khar-tsaṅ[6]) [49] came the black fiend-king Dgu-lcogs, riding a fiend mule [50]. Your father Ltoṅ-te Mye-kro's[7]) raw flesh he ate, his raw blood he drank, [51] his raw skin he packed up. Your sister Tseṅ-ḫgi Rbe[8])-ga's raw flesh also he ate [52], her raw skin he put on. Your raw flesh he will eat, just the same, your raw skin put on, [53] just the same." And Meadow Ass "Little Tiger" made great fun and cut many hand-span gestures [54]. To Meadow Ass "Little Tiger" all the Nam-tig[9]) people attach at the neck a yak-heart [55] call-bell[10]). At the sound [56] of the yak-heart bell Tseṅ-ḫgi Rbe-ga[11]) ran away to house and home [57] and reported to her mother Bżag-ste Ṅar-ḫbyam: "This humble person[12]) met Meadow [58] Ass "Little Tiger". Father Ltoṅ-te Mye-kru's raw flesh has been eaten by the black-fiend Dgu-[59]lcog, and his raw skin put on. Elder sister Tseṅ-ḫgi Rba-ga's [60] raw flesh also has been eaten and her raw skin put on. Of this humble person Meadow Ass "Little Tiger" made great fun [61] and cut many hand-span gestures. A yak-heart bell is fixed to Ass "Little Tiger's" neck [62]. All the Nam-tig people put it on the bad fellow and appointed him to pasture sheep and guard *g-yaṅ*. This humble person ran away [63] and came." Said the mother matron: "Such lawlessness! It must be looked into at once, this evening [64]. Hide yourself among the dung-hill swine." That evening, when it was dusk, she was on the watch, looking, looking [65]. "What my daughter said, is it true? If after the eating of the raw flesh, the wearing of the raw skin [66], I have been living with the fiend, to the country,

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[1]) This may be a duplicate of 'sheep', as in the case of 'horse' and 'steed' *supra*, A. ll. 41, etc. But *g-yaṅ* can certainly mean 'goat': see Text IV, ll. 148—00, possiby also *supra*, A. l. 11.

[2]) On the nomenclature, local and personal, see the Introduction, p. 9—10.

Dgu-sul, here mythological, was (like Khar-tsaṅ of l. 48 *infra*) a real place within the purview of Śa-cu in Kan-su: see *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 368.

[3]) The Go-ya-go-phu of Text II, ll. 5, etc.

[4]) *Gleḫu*, 'lump', ‚clod', may here denote a boiled pastry dumpling with meat, a viand known in China and Tibet.

[5]) *Spaṅ-ḫgi-boṅ-bu Stag-c(h)uṅ.*

[6]) On this place in Kan-su see *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, pp. 28, 32, 102, 109, 316 etc.

[7]) *Sic.* [8]) *Sic.*

[9]) The Tig people of the Nan-shan: see the Geographical Introduction.

[10]) See Linguistic note. [11]) *Sic.*

[12]) Salf-depreciatory, as often = 'I, your poor daughter'.

fiend country, I go." She [1]) changed her name and designation to, in the language of the Nam-pa [67] kingdom[2]), Bya Rma-byaḫi-Rma-li, Byeḫu Rma-byeḫu-gi Thiṅ-tshun, in the language of Spu-rgyal Tibet, Khab-yo-byaḫi [68] Ldab-bkra, and settled and stayed in the Phug-dir meadow.

[69] Now one time, one time, there arrived singly[3]) two birds, Thaṅ-kar and Thaṅ-nan[4]). Grasping the tail of Thaṅ-kar [70], — in the land Phug-tir-pa, at a place where the further end of Gnam and the further edge of Dguṅ meet, [71] was Phyi-byi Gnam-phyi Guṅ-rgyal-mo[5]), with

Eye-skin covering nose,
Nose-[72]wrinkles covering mouth,
Mouth-wrinkles covering chin.

Hastily she saluted [73].

Said Phyi-byi Gnam-phyi: "Child, whence and whither are you going? Are you human or [74] dog?" "A humble human being. Father sire's name Ltoṅ-te Me-bkru, mother Bżag-ste Ñar-ḫbyam. We humble people [75] are three children. From black-fiend-country Dgu-sul came black fiend Dgu-lcogs [76]; father's raw flesh he ate, elder-sister's raw flesh he ate, raw skin [77] he wore. Mother is gone to the country, black-fiend-country, Dgu-sul. This humble person [78] grasped the tail of bird Thaṅ-kar and fled away here." "Ah child, sorrow and suffering" [79]. This said, she[6]), journeying on, traversed nine passes, crossed nine fords.

The six Gyim-po [80] brothers,
among rich men rich,
among luck-fat men fat,

in turquoise notches drew silken snares, [81] in golden notches drew silken snares. Gyim-po Number-one [82]

among poor men poor,
among luck-spent spent,

setting traps of rope,[7]) [83] drew horse-tail snares. When he acted as if he had caught in a turquoise notch, [they said], 'Do not catch'; when he acted as if pressing on a turquoise notch [84], [they said], 'Do not press. Act as if you had caught in a horse-tail noose [85]. Act as if pressing upon a trap of rope'. Having gone on, acting as if pressing upon a trap of rope [86], Gyim-po Number-one put the sling in the sleeve of his right arm and tied it up: [87] going to house and home, he set down and stayed in the reed pile.

When morrow came [88] and day dawned, he went to gather wood, gather sticks: he coming [back] to house and home [89], the place where was set the portion of food for one meal was heaped with moisture [90]; where for one full serving of drink a ladle was set in the ashes, overflowed with curds[8]) [91]. The meal not touched (?) by Gyim-po Number-one [93] was consumed, the drink not drunk was consumed. 'Is this supernatural or an outrage?' — acting as if gathering wood [93], gathering sticks, he hid among the swine of the dung-hill. From within the reed-pile [94] a bird, a peacock dapple-tailed[9]), where the portion of food for one meal [95] was put, where for one full serving of drink a ladle was set in the ashes, laid [96] out the milked buttermilk. "Among women has been none finer than this one" — so he made her his wife and associate[10]) and lived consorting and taking pleasure with her. [98].

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[1]) The daughter, not the mother: see the sequel.
[2]) On the names of places see the Introduction and the Linguistic notes.
[3]) Separately or together? see the Linguistic note.
[4]) For similar bird-names see Text IV, l. 94. See also here, Linguistic note.
[5]) Marmot Sky-marmot Guṅ (= Dguṅ, 'heaven')-queen'. [6]) The girl.
[7]) ? See Linguistic note. [8]) Translation here doubful: see Linguistic note.
[9]) This is Byeḥu Rma-byeḥu Thiṅ-tsun, as in l. 67. [10]) See Linguistic note.

Said the father-sire: "Son Gyim-po Number-one, in gratitude to a father a pure medicament, equal to [99] . . . is produced from the ice-summit: in showing gratitude to a mother a bird equal to a cuckoo [100] is born in dwelling and estate. Well then, give your father [101] height; set up your sire's funeral monument. Say[1]) 'Let crop-sack bag, first-fruits bag come to the Rtsa-dags. In summer not rotting . . . [102]. . Let the bag come as milk pail! Let the pieces of good silk yield tamarisk! May grass, rot . . . . [103] Let . . . climb up to the nine . . . ." This utterance . . . . .'

Linguistic Notes

It would be tedious to cite in these notes the recurrent instances of deviation from the regularized orthography of ordinary Tibetan texts and of the dictionaries: such, for example, are (a) the frequent confusions of *tenuis*, *media* and aspirate (e. g. *bchu*, *gchad*, l. I = *bcu*, *gcad*, *phyin* l. 4 = *byin*, *stig-pha* l. 7 = *sdig-pa*), (b) the variations occurring in the appending of suffixes and particles (e. g. *yaru* ll. I etc., *yar-ru*, l. 3 etc.; *pyi-ru*, ll. 2 etc., *phyir* l I; *tshalo* l. 36, *tshal-lo*, l. 35; *stodu*, l 20, *stod-du* l. 18; *mtshani*, l. 40; *hog/nah*, l. 39; *mchiste*, l. 42, *bab/te*, l. 43, *bab-te* l. 44; *ra-hi* and *chahi* l. 6), and similarly in other expressions (e. g. *kho-nan*, l. 10 = *khon-nan*), (c) absence of final *s* (e. g. in *ñam*, l. 29, *bžug*, l. 41, *hthuṅ-śig*, l. 65, *hkhri-śig*, l. 23, *ś* < *s-c*). Deviations of these kinds, which are extraordinarily frequent in the texts and in the Central-Asian documents and which recur not very rarely in ordinary Mss. and xylographs, will be found classified in the Linguistic Introduction, to which, as 'L. I.', a general reference may here be made.

L. 1, *rgyaṅ-sdig-pa*: 'Evil *rgyaṅ*'. This *rgyaṅ* cannot have anything to do with *rgyaṅ*, 'long' or 'distant' (l. 97), and its cognates from √*rgyaṅ* 'stretch', perhaps related to *hgyaṅ*, 'tarry'; nor can it be the *rgyaṅ* of l. 38, which seems to be = *rkyaṅ*, 'the kiang or wild ass'. It seems to be the *yaṅ* of l. 37, and therefore means 'curse', here opposed to 'blessing', or 'hate', in l. 37 opposed to 'kindness'. It is perhaps a *r-* form of *g-yaṅ*, 'luck', which has taken a sinister meaning. *Lhab-ma* = *lhag-ma* 'remainder': on -b/-g see L. I.

LL. 1—3, *Rtsi-daṅ . . . Hbum-daṅ*: Cf. *Guṅ-daṅ*, l. 44, *Luṅ-daṅ-ba*, l. 52, *P(h)yi-ldaṅ*, IV 195, *Dbye(and Bye)-ldaṅ*, IV 199, 208, in all which we have perhaps one and the same second syllable, favoured in fictitious place-names. The syllable might be = *daṅ*, 'pure'; but it might also be the *gtan*, *gdan*, 'seat', of the likewise fictitious *Gtan-bzaṅs*, 'seat-fine', of IV 159; or it may be some other locution of N.-E. Tibet.

L. 4, *thod-thod*, *pad-pad*: Unknown. In the gaps perhaps *g-yu*, 'turquoise' and *gcog*, 'meadow', might be understood.

L. 6, *gchado*: Error for *dgaro? byin-ṅa-ba*; *Ṅa-ba*, 'bad', 'dangerous', does not go well with *byin*, 'splendour', 'blessing', and *infra*, l. 7, *byin-ṅa* is clearly an error for *byin-na*, 'there being blessing', or *byin-ni*. Probably therefore the text here is corrupt.

spyiso: Aorist of *spyi*, which, not found in the dictionaries, is a normal Transitive of *hphyi*, 'be late', 'be outside'.

chahi: *Cha* (√*hcha*, 'snap at', 'mangle', as in l. 68 *infra*) probably denotes generally all ravenous creatures; but there is some reason for supposing that it denotes specially the tiger and is the *cho* of the phrase *cho-pyi*, 'little Tiger', noted *supra*, p. 10 and *Nam*, pp. 132—3, 252—53.

L. 7, *Snor*: Perhaps = *nor* in the sense of 'estate' or 'farm'.

Skyibs: A rock-shelter or other sheltered place: in B 20 we have *skyibs-lug*, 'sheep of the shelter'. The eypression recurs in Mdlle Lalou's *Inventaire*, No. 1134.

L. 8, *stiṅ*: For *sdig*: on *-ṅ/-g* see L. I. L. 9, *dgor*]: = *dkor*, see L. I.

ral-mohi: *ral-mo*, which seems to be unknown, is probably a scribal error for *rol-mo*, 'music'.

ta-ba: = *tha-ba*, 'thick', 'firm', of which *hthas-pa*, with the same meanings, will be an Aoristic form (√*htha*).

rna: Perhaps = *rṅa*, 'reap', since *rna*, 'ear', does not seem to be used of grain: *na*, 'meadow', 'pasture', seems less probable. On *n/ṅ* see L. I.

L. 10, *stigs*: = *stegs*, 'ford' or 'access' to a stream: see L. I.

kho-nan: = *khon-nan*, see L. I.

L. 11, *g-yaṅ-gyi-tshehu-rigs*: *G-yaṅ* must here denote the goat, which signification is in some other passages, probably including B 11. 36, 38, 39, etc., *infra*, certain; the *g-yaṅ* being there associated with the sheep.

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[1]) Concerning this speech cf. Introduction and ll. 1—6 *supra*.

It seems possible that *g-yaṅ*, 'goat', is really connected with *g-yaṅ*, 'luck', which itself occurs in l. 26 *infra* and elsewhere. For the expression *sg-yaṅ-dkar*, 'sheep', *g-yaṅ-gźi*, 'an orgy in Tantrik mysticism, in which a stuffed human skin is said to be required', 'the whole skin of an antelope on which religious men sit', *g-yaṅ-lug*, 'the effigy of a sheep made of butter used at a religious ceremony', *g-yaṅ-lugs*, 'skin of an animal used for clothing', by the side of *g-yaṅ-khug*, 'the bag in which auspicious articles are kept', *g-yaṅ-bum*, 'the auspicious pot in which sacred gold ornaments . . . are kept', warn us that a *g-yaṅ* is properly an object of protective or amuletic efficacy. Further we see that it is often a stuffed skin, and so will apply to the dried carcases or stuffed skins of sheep, goats and other animals which may sometimes be seen suspended in the outhouses of Buddhist monasteries in Tibet, and which to European visitors the monks, no doubt conscious of the non-Buddhist, Bon-po, character of the objects, exhibit with some apparent demureness. The objects are, no doubt, 'scapegoats', concerning which, under the designation *glud*, much is said in another (IV) of the texts from N. E. Tibet. But whether 'luck' or 'goat' or something else will be the primary meaning of *g-yaṅ* is a question which may pierce deeply into the development of Tibetan language and Bon-po usages.

tsheḫu: This will be = *ḫtshe* (on *-eḫu/-e* see L. I) in the sense of 'mischief', 'doing mischief'. The harmful character of the goat, enemy of all vegetation and creator of deserts, is recognized also in the expression *tshe-tshe* = 'goat'; in N. E. Tibet, with its scanty vegetation, a process of deforestation, observed by travellers (see Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, II, p. 81), and implied by a number of old place-names ending in *tshal*, 'forest', was perhaps noted in ancient times.

L. 12, *Do-ma-sñiṅ-dags:* The rendering 'Peerless heart-pure' is confirmed by the variant *thugs-dags* in B l. 5: the beings so addressed will be the creatures of the paradisial age. *Dags*, however, may be not *dag*, 'pure', 'holy', but the *d(w)ags*, 'bright', 'cheerful', of *yi-d(w)ags*, 'spirits' or 'manes', and of the district names *Dwags-po* and *La-dwags* (Ladak), the *w* being often omitted. The *Rtsa-dags*, 'root-pure', of B, l. 1 will contain the same syllable.

L. 13, || *pas . . . na . . . || pas:* On the separation of these Postpositions from the clauses, often verses, to which they belong see L. I. *g-yen-du:* = *gyen-du*, 'uphill'.

phyi-g-yal-cho-dgu: 'The nine outside-dangling chiefs': *g-yal*, as equivalent to the *yob* of B l. 6, should mean 'dangling', cf. *yal-yol*, 'careless', *yol*, *g-yol*, 'curtain'. *Cho*, ‚chieftain', = Tib. *co*, *gco*, *gtso*, *cho*, *jo*, which recurs in l. 25, is probably identical with the *cho*, 'first', 'beginning', of l. 37 (√*ḫcho(s)*, *bcos*, *bco*, 'make ready'), Cf. also *cho-braṅ*, 'family', *cho-rigs*, 'lineage', *cho-ris*, 'descent'.

ma-mad: = *ma-mod*, 'not being'. *ldar-zug:* 'languor-pain'.

zil-du: 'Little by little': *zil* might be connected with *zil-pa*, 'dew-drop'; but more probably it is the *sil* of *sil-bu*, 'a little', *sil(gsil)-ma*, 'particle' (√*gsil*, *bsil*).

L. 14, *smra-le:* An adverbial expression, 'promptly': see Linguistic note to IV, l. 205.

L. 15, *gźi:* = *gźu*, 'bow' (see L. I.), as in l. 95.

khyaṅ-kha-le: This might be a single expression meaning 'all in vain'; but certainly *khyaṅ* can be for *kyaṅ*, 'although', 'even', 'also', as in l. 129; and *kha-le*, which can hardly be = *kha-le*, *khva-le*, 'handful', may be the common expression *ka-le*, 'slowly', 'go slow'.

rdzaṅ: = *rdzoṅ*, 'castle', which is the form used in B ll. 6, 16.

mdeḫu-rdze: = *mdaḫ-rtse*, 'arrow-point'; cf. *mduṅ-rtse*, 'spear-point'. The form *rdze* recurs elsewhere.

L. 16, *g-yen-gyis:* On Instrumental in expressions of space, time, and manner see L. I.

L. 17, *dbog:* From *ḫbog*, 'unload': cf. IV, l. 144.

dṅar . . gsol: ‚Tasted sweet': *gsol* = 'take a meal'.

L. 18, *snal-da:* = °*ma*, 'knitting-yarn'.

L. 19, *yeṅe-yeṅ:* On the form of reduplication see L. I. The word means 'properly sorted' (see the Dictionary). But perhaps the contrary meaning (√*g-yeṅ*, 'waver') is intended.

L. 20, *zeḫu:* = *rdzeḫu*, 'small pot', 'cup', perhaps a 'Diminutive' of the preceding *zo*.

L. 22, *khyen:* = '*mkhyen*', 'know', unless it is a scribal error for the *khyed*, 'you', of l. 12.

L. 23, *śig:* Concerning the *ś* see L. I.

Ll. 23—4, *rigs-nas*, *chad-gyis:* On the Instrumental see L. I.

L. 24, *dbyuṅ:* Aorist of *ḫbyuṅ*.

L. 25, *cho:* 'Chief': see *supra*, l. 13.

ḫbraṅ: = *bran*, 'serf', 'servant' (from *ḫbraṅ* | *ḫbreṅ*, 'follow'?); on *ṅ* | *n* see L. I.

L. 26, *mtho-btsams:* Under *mtho*, 'high', Ś. C. Das gives *mtho-mtshams*, °*ḫtshams*, 'evil design', 'brew mischief'; but in the passage cited by him the sense of 'scorn', 'scoff', which he gives for *tho-ḫtsham*, °*ḫtshams*, seems not less appropriate. It may be suspected that in these expressions we have *mtho*, 'thumb', 'hand-span'; cf. *mtho-dam* and *mtho* in B. ll. 53, 61, signifying a mocking hand-gesture. *Btsams* is Aorist of *ḫtshams*.

phya: Probably = *phywa*, 'lot', often associated with *g-yaṅ*, 'luck': recurs in VI, l. 2, and *passim*.

L. 27, *rta-men:* On the analogy of *ba-men*, 'wild ox', this should mean 'wild horse'.
śid: In *śid-rabs*, here antithetic to *ḫbraṅ-rabs*, ‚serf-race', and in B. ll. 7, etc. and in IV, l. 271, *śid* clearly means 'high', 'height': a shorter form *śi* is seen in the Locative *śir* of B. l. 10, antithetic to *rgya-ru*, 'on the level plain'. From the occurrences in B it appears that *śid*, 'funeral', is really 'height', and denotes exposure of the dead on a mountain.

L. 28, *dran-myi-(ḫ)bad:* 'Thought not alert'.

L. 29, *dkyus-myi-tshol:* 'with *dkyu*, or *dkyus*, not endeavour *(ḫtshol)*'; *dkyu*, 'race', 'run', *dkyus*, 'length', 'untruth', 'bold', 'insolent', *dkyus-ma*, 'vulgar', 'inferior', *sgyu*, 'craft', 'deceit', *sgyu-ma*, 'illusion'. The sense may be either that the swift does not care to race or that he does not condescend to guile.
ḫgreṅ-myi . . . dud-phyugs: ‚Upright man' antithetic to 'prone beast'.
yaṅ-thag-tshal: This must mean 'has a short scope' *(thag* = 'rope', 'distance'), so that *yaṅ* must be = *yan*, 'light', 'slight'. But we have also *yaṅs*, 'extensive', and *yaṅ-ba-riṅ*, 'having a wide outlook (*Tibetan, Literary Texts* etc., II, p. 53); and this word, in the sense of 'long', occurs frequently *infra*, e.g. in ll. 42, 52, *kha-yaṅs* and *mgrin-yaṅs*; so that possibly a negative, actually given in the parallel passage l. 99, has dropped out.

L. 31, *se-skyer-dbyi-mo-grig:* Perhaps = *rtse-khyer* (⁰*ḫkhyer* or *kyer*, 'upright'), 'one roof-supporting hip (sc. side-post)', the reference being to the side uprights of the Tibetan tents.
Se = *rtse*, 'top', recurs probably in l. 125 *infra*; also in Nam. *Gloḫi-srol-koṅ:* Perhaps 'interior *(khoṅ)* channel of the lungs'; but *glo* can mean also 'mind', and *srol*, 'usage', 'habit', yielding the sense 'one mental habit'. But *srol-koṅ* has probably a special sense, since a certain medicinal herb is named *srol-goṅ-pa*.
Glo-rtsa may be 'lung-vein'. Other, or metaphorical, meanings are to be seen in *glo-dkar*, 'small window', *glo-phug* ('side-cavity'), 'niche', 'cupboard', *glo-ḫbur*, 'projection in a building'.

L. 33, *phud:* 'Topknot' = *sdud-ka* l. 121.

L. 34, *da-di-riṅ:* 'Now to-day *(de-riṅ)*'.
yaṅ-ba: Evidently in this text = *yur-ba*, 'runnel', 'water-course', perhaps from *yaṅs*, 'long', if not from Chinese *yang*.

L. 35, *mtho-gñer:* ‚Cares for height', *mtho* having frequently a social or ethical application, 'rank', 'arrogance', etc.

L. 36, *gża-riṅ-duṅ-gsaṅ:* = *gżes-riṅ* ('yesterday') — *deṅ/diṅ* ('to-day') — *saṅ* ('to-morrow').

L. 37, *yaṅ:* 'Curse'? 'Enmity'? — see on l. 1, *rgyaṅ*, and cf. *dre*, l. 132.
yid-kyi-rje: = *thugs-rje*, 'kindness'.
cho: 'Beginning': see on l. 13.
lobs: Imperative of *lab*, 'say'.
gżug (lect.?): ‚End' = *mjug*; cf. IV, l. 143, *żug*.

L. 38, *rgyaṅ:* Probably here = *rkyaṅ*, 'kyang', the wild ass, whose ancestor appears *infra* (ll. 51, etc.) as Rkyaṅ-ron Rṅog-bkra.
gaṅ-khar: 'At what time *(kha)*'.

Ll. 38—9, *rga-gże . . . gsaṅ-pyo-ga:* In this numerical rigmarole *gże*, no doubt, means 'yesterday' and *gsaṅ*, 'to-morrow': perhaps *rga-gże* is a scribal error for *gże-ga-gże*, cf. *gsaṅ-ga-gsaṅ*. *Ga*, especially in *dgu-ga-dgu-ga-dgu*, is probably the word for '10', which in this, or approximate, form appears in Hsi-hsia and several dialects of the Tibeto-Chinese borderlands. *Pyo* is entirely unknown, unless it is somehow related to the *phod* of *saṅ-phod*, 'next year'.

L. 39, || *na . . . | nah:* On the punctuation see L. I.
rman: = *sman* 'medicine': on *r-/s-* see L. I.

L. 40, *Khar-rtaḫi-Yal-ba . . . Gsaṅ-rtaḫi-Pyod-ma:* In these texts, as in old Tibetan generally, the first part of the name is the surname, being either genealogical, tribal, etc. or naming a place of origin or residence, or descriptive. The use of the *quasi*-Genitive forms in *-ḫi* to express apposition occurs rarely in normal Tibetan: an example is seen in the expression *Ka-ni-kaḫi-rgyal-po*, 'King Kanika', on which see *Indian Antiquary*. 1903, p. 349. Cf *Nam*, pp. 190—1.
nams: Aorist of *nom*, 'enjoy', as in B l. 31.

L. 41, *ron:* = normal *roṅ*, 'gorge', 'valley', is usual in this text.
rta . . . rmaṅ: Rmaṅ, as a synonym (perhaps honorific or dialectical) of *rta*, 'horse', is certain in Central-Asian Tibetan (*Tibetan Literary Texts, etc.*, II, p. 258); for cognate words in various languages see *Linguistic Survey of India*, I. II, Comparative Vocabulary. The repetition with a synonym is stylistic, cf. *spun* and *mched* in l. 50.

L. 42, *ran:* Here = 'shave-grass', whereas in l. 47 we have *ran*, 'right', 'satisfactory': or for *raṅ*, 'be pleased'. In l. 52 the scribe has corrected the common word *rtswa*, 'grass', into the special name. *ran.*
kha-yaṅs, mgrin-yaṅs: 'mouth-long' (sc. water-course) 'neck-long' (sc. grass): here and elsewhere, as compared with l. 54, the two are inverted, perhaps with intentional confusion.

L. 44, *Guṅ-daṅ, Guṅ-tshun: Guṅ* = *Dguṅ*, 'heaven', cf. *Guṅ-rgyal-mo* in B l. 71. On *daṅ* see l. 1.
Tshun = *btsun-mo*, 'honorific term for a woman of rank'.
dad: = *sdad*, 'freehold'

L. 45, *khaṅ-mo:* 'Lady of the house'.
stsald: Aorist of *stsol*, 'give', 'send', often confused with *gsald* from *gsol*, 'pray', 'put on', 'eat', 'drink', 'give to eat or drink', and with *h̲tshald* from *h̲tshol*, 'seek', and from *h̲tshal*, 'ask', 'consent', 'require', 'ought', 'eat', 'offer'; cf. ll. 54 sqq.
bsgams: Perhaps = *bskams* (|'*skom*), 'dried'. But beside 'thirst' *skom/skam* is apt to mean ‚drink', see also note on *h̲gam*, l. 103 *infra*.
ṅar-phye: 'Stalks *(ṅar)* -powdered *(phye)*'; cf. *lcags-phye*, 'iron filings', *rdo-phye*, 'stone-grit', *bag-phye*, 'wheat-flour', etc., etc.

L. 47, *glan . . . gzuṅ:* The *g*-forms are properly Prospective; cf. *glan* in l. 77, contrasted with *blan*, Aorist, in l. 73.

L. 48, *phyuṅ-ste-bskrad-na:* 'Having gone forth (|'*phyin* or |*h̲byuṅ*) and departed (|'*skrod*, *bgrod*)'.

L. 50, | *du-b(l)tam:* The usual construction with *bltam*, 'gave birth *to*', e.g. in B, l. 32: on the punctuation before *du* see L. I.

L. 51, *Rkyaṅ* (ll. 85, 87, 91, *rkhyaṅ*): = either *rkyaṅ*, 'kyang', or *rgyaṅ*, 'long'.

L. 53, *Byaṅ-ka:* 'Of the north (sc. the Byaṅ-thaṅ)'. On the *suffix ka* see L. I.

Ll. 54, 55, *h̲tshal:* See note on l. 45.

L. 56, *paṅ-puṅ:* = *phaṅ-phuṅ*, 'bit by bit'.

Ll. 56—7, *neh̲u-kol: Kol* is perhaps connected with *bkol*, *h̲kkhol*, 'boil', *khol-ma*, 'anything boiled'.

L. 60, *phywa* | *h̲is:* Punctuation as in L. I.

Ll. 60—1, *yin-bah̲i-rigs:* 'Ought to be'.

Ll. 61—2, *ga-la-gar:* 'Whither, where': cf. B, l. 73, *ga-las-gar-soṅ*.

Ll. 64, *śaṅ:* ‚Enmity': not attested in ordinary Tibetan, but perhaps occurring, as *śa*, in the phrase *śa-lon*, °*lan*, 'revenge' (*śa-blan*, °*glan*, °*lon*, infra, ll. 73, 76—7, 115).

Ll. 65—6, *zo-śig, h̲thuṅ-śig:* From *zos-cig, h̲thuṅs-cig*; see L. I.

L. 67, *phyi-phyogs:* Cf. *phyogs-phyi-ma*, 'adversary' ('outside party').
bzar: Aorist of *h̲dzar*.

L. 68, *cib-cig(b):* Perhaps onomatopoeic; but cf. *sib*, *to* 'soak in'.
h̲cha: See note on l. 6.
ban-ban: Perhaps onomatopoeic; but cf. *ban-bun*, 'little by little'.

L. 69, *re-śig:* From *res-cig*; see L. I.

L. 72, *bśos:* Here, as in ll. 101, 104 and elsewhere, used for *bsos*, *sos*, Aorist of *h̲tsho*, 'live'.

L. 73, *śa . . . blan:* See note on l. 64.
ltag: The back of the head and neck.

L. 74, *chod, lon:* Clearly not Imperatives (of *chad*, *len*), but perhaps exclamatory.

L. 76, | *bas:* On punctuation see L. I.

Ll. 77—9, *glan . . . gchad:* Prospective *g*-.

L. 81, *rta-la . . . gaṅ-mgyogs:* 'What swiftness a horse can have'.

L. 82, *thub:* 'Be a match for', 'withstand'.
sñag: By-form (properly Aorist, *sñags*) of *sñeg*. *slebs*: 'Overtake', as elsewhere in these texts.

L. 86, *h̲byе:* Apparently Imperative of *h̲bye*, 'be opened'.

L. 88, *nam-ża:* This and °*żar* = 'when' (*Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 109).

L. 89, *khar . . .kha-druṅ:* 'At mouth . . . before (*or* near) mouth'.

L. 90, *byuṅ-śig . . . śog-śig:* = *byuṅs-cig . . . śogs-cig*; see L. I.

L. 92, *bya-h̲bras-daṅ:* 'With bird (caused)-tumours'.
tshag-ma-tshig: Tshag-tshig, 'dark spots or speckles': on *ma* in such expressions see L. I.

L. 94, *sñogs:* Imperative of *sñeg*.

L. 95, *gżi-khyen:* 'Bow-skilled' *(skyen)* = *h̲p(h)oṅ-skyen*, 'archer skilled', l. 15, where also *gżi* = *gżu* has occurred.

L. 97, *Skyi-mthiṅ: mthiṅ* means 'spread out', 'level surface (sc. plateau)', |'*h̲diṅ*, *btiṅ*, *thiṅs*, *sdiṅs*; but the possibility of a Chinese word *(t'ing)* has to be borne in mind.

L. 99, *de-riṅ-saṅ . . . ñam-ñes . . . yaṅ-thag:* See notes on ll. 29, 34, 36.

L. 101, *bśos:* See note on l. 72.

L. 102, *rje, rdze* (l. 104): 'Exchange', 'substitute') *(√rje, brje)*.

L. 103, *skam-la-bchas:* 'Arranged for *skam*': in *skam-chas*, 'all goods except livestock', *skam-phogs*, 'allowances or wages of an officer or servant in barley-flour, tea, coin, etc., but not in cooked food', it is understood that we should recognize the word *skam*, 'dry', as in *skam-zan*, 'dry food', *skam-pag*, ‚flour of barley', etc. But it seems possible to think instead of *h̲gam, bgam, h̲kham*, 'cram into the mouth', 'gobble', *kham-cig*, 'morsel', *khams*, 'appetite'. In any case, however, the general sense is 'arrange for rations'.

dbye-la-stad: 'Put on a separate footing' *(√h̲bye, h̲byed)*.

man-bchad-mtho-bchad(-d)e: 'Low *(man, dman)* separate, high *(mtho)* separate'.

mtheb-li-goṅ: Since *mtheb* = 'thumb', the phrase denotes a Central-Asian thumb-signature, i. e. a figure showing the shape and size of the signatory's thumb (see *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 67 and Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, X, pp. 73—4, *mtsho-le-goṅ* in M. Bacot's *Documents*, p. 119, and Boyer, Rapson and Senart, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Plate XII).

Le(li)-goṅ is unknown; but cf. *le-brgan*, 'diaper design', *le-na*, '*striped* broad sheets of cotton and wool'.

L. 104, *gñi-dro-thab-mo-gor-te:* 'The heat of the day being holiday (*h̲gor*, 'delay', 'linger') from fighting *(h̲thab-mo)*': cf. *dro-dgors* in *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, III. p. 75.

L. 105, *skyes-riṅ-la-dregs*: 'Proud to the length *(riṅ)* of having become'.

L. 107, *khob-śig:* From *khobs-cig:* see L. I.

L. 109, *khu-lo:* This may be 'hair *(khu, khu-lu, khul*, 'the soft down of furs')-circle', sc. lasso, being the *dra*, '*net*', of l. 111.

sbyaṅs-gyis-mdzad: 'Seized *(spyaṅs)*': on the phrase with Auxiliary *mdzad* see L. I.

dbyaṅ-dar (or *dkar*): *Dbyaṅ (dpyaṅ, h̲phyaṅ*, 'dangle') will be the cord of the lasso: as *dphyaṅ* it recurs (cord of a trap) in B, l. 86. *Dar* would mean 'silk', which is the material of the nets in ll. 80, 81: *dkar*, if that is to be read, = 'white'.

L. 110, *poṅs-la-bkhrol:* 'Loosened *(√khrol, sgrol)* to throw *(√h̲phoṅ(s), h̲phen, h̲phan)*'.

thud-thud: 'Let out' the lasso length *(h̲thud*, 'add on a piece', *mthud(= h̲thud)-ma*, supplement', V, l. 11).

L. 111, *dra-bkhug:* 'Drew in (*h̲gugs*, 'summon', *khug, bkug*, 'draw') the net'.

mchog-gar: 'Where best *(mchog)* or allowable *(chog)*'.

glu-dmar: The 'red *glu*' should be something to provoke the yak; but *glu* is known only as 'song'. *Gru-dmar* (in Ś. C. Das' Dictionary, s. v. *gru*) is 'a reddish lustre from precious stones'.

L. 112, *ldaṅ-bzar:* A compound verb, *ldaṅ*, 'rise', and *bzar (h̲dzar)* 'lift'.

dad-dgu: Cf. *ldad*, 'chew', *skyug-ldad*, 'chew the cud': *dgu* for *-gu*, a suffix, as in *khyi-gu*, 'puppy'.

Ll. 112, 113, *mdzoṅ . . .mtshoṅ:* = *mtshon*, 'pointed weapon' (lance): on *ṅ/n* see L. I.

L. 116, *(lha-ru)-gśogs:* Imperative of *gśegs*, 'go'; cf. l. 118, *(lha-ru-)bkrald*, 'let go': hence *lha-ru* has nothing to do with *lha-ru*, 'cartilage', nor *gśogs* with *gśog*, 'cleave'. The yak's flesh 'goes, or is left, to the gods' by being cast away.

lgo (*lko* l. 118): = *ko*, 'hide', 'leather'.

rasu(ras-su)-dros: 'Cut up (Imperative of *dra*) into utensils (*ras-ros*, '(various) kinds of utensils')'.

ban: = *phan*, 'tassel'.

L. 118, *bkrald:* Aorist of *h̲kkhrol*, 'let go'; cf. l. 110, *bkhrol*.

L. 119, *bthags:* Aorist of *thogs* (l. 117), *h̲dogs*.

L. 120, *re-śig:* See note on l. 69.

L. 121, *sdud-ka(kha):* 'Hair-knot' = *phud*, l. 33.

laṅ-ste (= *laṅs-te:* see L. I.) *-chags:* The Gerund in *-te*, followed by an Auxiliary (*chags*, 'began') is often equivalent to an European Infinitive.

L. 122, *bkhrol:* This may be the *bkhrol*, 'loosened', of l. 110, or Aorist of *h̲kkhrol*, 'make noise' (cf. B. l. 56).

L. 123, *dbu-las:* 'From the head', sc. completely.

Ll. 123—4, *rlag-gyis-myed:* = *lhag-med*, 'without a remainder'. On the Instrumental see L. I.

L. 124, *skos-luṅ-du-bchas:* 'gave orders *(luṅ-du-bchas)* to elect *(skos)*'.

L. 125, *rtan-baṅ-rtan* = *brtan-dbaṅ-brtan*.

khod-mo-ni-bkhod: 'Arranged an arrangement': this *khod (√h̲kkhod)* recurs in B, ll. 6, 16.

se-la-bsags: Cf. l. 128 *la-bsags*. The phrase *la-sogs (stsogs)*, √*sog, gsog, h̲tshog*, 'collect', 'assemble', is common with signification 'etc.'. But here, where it is antithetic to *bzaṅ-se*, 'good peak or top *(rtse)*, and to *p(h)ul-p(h)yuṅ*, 'attained a summit', that sense does not fit: for *la* means a 'pass', and the idea is of a pass as a lower altitude and a means of transit beside a mountain peak.

L. 126, *dṅar:* 'Put in order'.

chab . . . mnabs: See *supra*, ll. 34—6.

L. 128, *pul-pyuṅo:* Cf. the common *phul-tu-phyin*, 'attain a climax', *phul-byuṅ*, 'perfect'.
L. 130, *mdzod:* Imperative form in subordinate clause, due to Imperative *(sbogs-śig)* in main clause
L. 131, *n(d?)ub-h̲chug(s)-śig:* 'Make *(h̲chugs*, √*h̲jug, bcug, gcugs, chug)* to sink'.
L. 132, *dre:* 'Fiend', 'enemy', = *yaṅ* of l. 37.

B

L. 1, *naṅ:* = *naṅs*, 'dawn'.
bltam = 'Filled' (Aorist of *ltams*).
L. 2, *dbyal* (= *dbyar*, as in l. 101) *-ciṅ . . . dgun-ciṅ:* On *ciṅ* in expressions of time see L. I.
h̲om-h̲bu: = *h̲om-bu:* on *h̲-* (after *m*) see L. I.
L. 4, *sen-rum:* = *ser-ru*, 'putrefaction'.
dbru(l)-le: Adverbial form (cf. *smra(l)-le*, etc.), possibly from a *dbrul* = *brul*, 'crumble'.
bgram (bkram): Aorist of *h̲grem, dkram, khroms*, etc., 'scatter', 'spread'.
gaṅ: 'what'? or 'full'?
L. 5, *skyo-ma-la:* 'For (sc. in place of) the gruel': cf. l. 22.
chus-bsen: 'By water revived': *bsen* for *bseṅ* (√*seṅ, gseṅ, bseṅ)*; on *-ṅ/-n* see L. I.
L. 6, *kho(d)-de:* Concerning *khod*, see note on A, l. 125.
7, *śid-gdaṅ:* On *śid*, 'high', 'height' (also *infra*, ll. 9, 16, 27) see note A, l. 27. *Gdaṅ* may be = *gtaṅ*, 'is given'; but it might be for *gdan*, 'seat', 'divan': see also note on A, ll. 1—3, and *infra*, l. 88, where *gdaṅ* = 'stick', 'log'.
L. 8, *ya:* 'On high'.
Ll. 8—9, *myi-dbul-du-ni-dbul:* For the expression cf. ll. 80, 82.
L. 9, *theṅs:* Aorist of *h̲then*, 'draw', a word important in the Bon religion (see Ś. C. Das' Dictionary) and in these texts, where it conveys the idea of 'pulling strings', 'controlling'.
tshugs-so-btsal: On such phrases with *h̲tshal* (whereof *btsal* is Aorist), 'desire', 'be said', 'ought', see L. I.
L. 10, *rñed:* '(You might) get (success)', an idiom which recurs in IV, l. 121.
śir: Locative of a *śi*, which will be a short, primary, form of *śid*, 'height'.
L. 11, *bseh̲i-maṅ-lag:* Perhaps 'the many limbs, or large limb, of a *bse*': on the problem of *bse* see the Introduction.
lkhag (lkhug?): Reading and signification obscure: perhaps for *rkug*, from √*h̲gugs, bkug, khug*, 'summon', 'attract'.
L. 12. *ko-lta:* The phrase recurs in ll. 13—15, also in l. 17 *(go). Ko (go)* is a particle, sometimes used as an asseverative at the end of a sentence, and *lta* is 'look', or 'like': so that the combination may mean 'It is, forsooth, as if'; cf. *lta-żig*.
L. 14, *h̲dris:* Perhaps = *h̲bris*, 'diminished', *h̲dri* and *h̲bri* being often confused.
L. 17, *gral:* 'Lined' *(√h̲grel*, 'arrange'); cf. *gral*, 'row', 'rank'.
kha-bo: Unknown: read *ri-kha-bo*, 'mountain ridge'?
L. 18, *slaṅ-ṅe:* Adverbial form from *sloṅ*, 'rise'.
h̲baṅ: = *baṅ-so*, 'tomb', the *rmaṅ*, 'funeral monument', cf. ll. 8—9, etc.
L. 19, *h̲om-bur-ma-ruṅ:* Locative of goal after *ruṅ*, as in ll. 20, 21, 22, 25, 27.
sre: ‚variegated' *(√sre*, 'mix').
L. 20, *dgro:* = *gro*, 'reddish grey'.
L. 21, *khrin:* Perhaps a *d/n* form of *khrid*, 'instruction', 'tutelage': *khrin* recurs in *Tib. Lit. Text and Documents*, II, pp. 8, 23—4.
L. 22, *btab:* Aorist of *h̲debs*.
L. 22, *bgab:* 'Concealed' *(√h̲gebs)*.
L. 23, *rmal:* 'Plucked' *(√rmel)*.
bkal: 'spun' *(√h̲khal, h̲khel)*.
L. 24, *bżu:* This is known only in the sense of 'melted', 'digested' *(√h̲ju)*, or 'burned'; *bśu* would mean 'stripped', 'flayed'.
bdag: This seems to be Aorist of *h̲dag*, 'stop up (interstices) with clay'.
L. 28, *mgur-cu:* = °*chu*.
byiṅ-h̲gis: = °*gis*. On the *h̲* inserted after a nasal see L. I.
L. 29, Nam *Ltoṅ-teh̲i Myc-kru* = Tib. *Gloṅ-myig-loṅ* = 'Blind Eye-blind': see Introduction. *Infra* the Nam word *kru* appears also as *skro* (ll. 33, 50) and *ku* (l. 35) and *bkru* (? l. 74). It may be cognate to the Tib. *gloṅ*. *Ltoṅ* also appears in Tibetan as *ldoṅ* and *loṅ*. On the Nam suffix *teh̲i* see the Introduction.
L. 30, *lgo:* = *mgo*, 'head'.
L. 31, *nams:* See note on A, l. 40.

L. 32, *du-bltam:* See note on A, l. 50.
Ll. 31—3. On the names see the Introduction; on *Tseṅ-ḫgi (ḫ°)* see L. I.
L. 33, *g-yaṅ:* See note on A, l. 11.
L. 36, *ted, ded:* 'Drive', 'lead' *(√ḫded).*
L. 39, *thoṅ-śig*: Imperative of *gtaṅ, gtoṅ (< thoṅs-cig).*
L. 40, *ḫthug:* = *ḫthuṅ*, 'drank': on *-g/-ṅ* see L. I.
don-sñiṅ: 'Extracted *(√ḫdon)* 'heart', a phrase which in later Tibetan occurs with the meaning 'real purpose', perhaps from a different *don.*
thur-la-gtur-de: 'Having packed *(√ḫthur*, cf. *gtur-ba*, 'wrapper', 'wallet') at the bottom'.
L. 41, *ḫtshal-te-mchis:* 'Came consenting' cf. *infra*, IV, ll. 224, 288, 296, etc.
L. 42, *khums:* 'Made' (√*ḫkhums*, on which see *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, pp. 19. 24. 9. etc.
ḫbyan(m)-ḫgi: On *ḫ* after *n(m)* see L. I., and cf. l. 57.
ḫtshal: 'Eaten': see note on A, l. 45.
L. 43, *żim (żis):* On *i/e* see L. I and cf. l. 79. With *żes* we often find *bgyid* = 'say'.
Ll. 43—4, *gor-yun-riṅs:* 'Lingering *(ḫgor)* — time — long'.
L. 47, Nam *Cho-pyi Cog-zu* = Tib. *Spaṅ-ḫgi-boṅ-bu.*
Stag-cuṅ: On the Nam and Tibetan names see the Introduction; on *ḫ* in *ḫgi* (after *ṅ*) see L. I.
L. 48, *cuṅ-ḫgi:* See L. I.
L. 50, *ḫthugs:* On *-gs/-ṅs* see L. I.
L. 51, *ḫbuṅs:* 'Made into a bundle' *(√ḫbun, ḫphun):* cf. *buṅs*, 'heap', 'mass', *phun-chag*, 'bundle'.
L. 53, *Stag-cuṅ-daṅ:* '*By* Stag-cuṅ'.
śag-rag: 'Speech *(śags)* coarse *(rags)*'.
man: = *maṅ:* see L. I.
mtho-dam: 'Hand-span-asseverations', probably mocking gestures. In l. 61 *mtho* suffices.
L. 54, *skon-dril-bu:* In l. 61 *dril-bu*, 'bell', only. *Skon* = '(as) dress'; cf. l. 62 *bskon-te*, 'having put on'.
L. 56, *khrol:* 'Sound *(ḫkhrol)*', as in A, l. 122, and IV, l. 127.
L. 57, *ṅan-bu:* 'Humble child', self-depreciatory, like *bdag-ṅan-pa*, 'I, your humble servant', recurs *infra*, ll. 62, etc.
L. 62, *ṅan-la:* 'On the mean person'.
L. 63, *yuḫm:* see L. I.
L. 64, *bruṅs-phag:* 'The swine of the dung-hill' (*bruṅs*, cf. l. 93).
gob(s)-śig: = *khobs*, Imperative of *ḫgebs*, etc.
L. 65, *zos-żin:* For °*zin* (forming a Perfect, see Lexica), as in *ḫtshos-zin*, l. 66; or for *żiṅ*, as in *gyon-żiṅ?*
L. 67, Nam *Bya-rma-byaḫi-Rma-li* = Tib. *Khab-yo-byaḫi-H̲dab-bkra:* On the names see Introduction: the form *Byeḫu-rma-byeḫu-gi-Thiṅ-tshun* recurs in l. 94 (°*tsun) infra.* On *yo* see note to l. 90.
L. 68, *bcug-ste-bżago:* 'Put and left *(√ḫjog)*': cf. l. 87.
L. 69, *re(s)-śig:* See note on A, l. 69.
Thaṅ-kar, Thaṅ-naṅ: In text IV, l. 95. we find bird-names *Thaṅ-prom* and *Thaṅ-g-yag*; and in the Dictionary we have *thaṅ-dkar*, 'white-tailed eagle', = *Thaṅ-kar* here. Possibly therefore *thaṅ* is a Nam word = 'tail'; cf. Tib. *ḫthaṅ-po*, 'lower parts of the body', *ḫthaṅ-gos*, 'petticoat', found also as *mthaṅ*. *Prom* may be Hsi-fan *prom*, 'white', and *naṅ* = *snaṅ*, 'bright'. (or *nag*, 'black' (as in l. 77 *infra*), suggested by Dr. R. Stein).
ya-me: 'Together' (*ya-med*, 'not a pair', 'single')? Or 'peerless' (*ya-med*, 'without peer or rival')?
L. 70, *Gnam-ḫgi . . . Dguṅ-ḫgi:* On *ḫ* see L. I.
ḫbrum: Perhaps a scribal error for *ḫgram*, 'shore', 'boundary', since in IV, l. 12. 6, we have *Gnam-kyi-p(h)a-mtha-Dguṅ-kyi-p(h)a-ḫgram*: but the form *ḫbrum* recure in no 1134 of Mdlle Lalou's *Inventaire*,
L. 71, *Guṅ(Dguṅ)-rgyal-mo: Guṅ-rgyal*, 'Heaven-king', is known as name of an early king of Tibet.
Ll. 71, 72, *yog, yog:* √*g-yog, g-yogs*, 'cover'.
Ll. 72—3, *phyag-ma-dur-kis-ḫtshal:* 'Hastily *(dur-gyis)* saluted *(phyag-ma-ḫtshal = phyag-ḫtshal)*'.
L. 75, *cag:* Plural termination.
spun: 'Brother (or sister)'.
L. 77, *naṅ:* = *nag* (ll. 34, 49, 75): on *-g/-ṅ* see L. I.
L. 78, *re-stug(sdug)-re-bsṅal:* On *re . . . re* see Ś. C. Das' Dictionary, s. v. *re* 3.
L. 79, *żis:* On the *i* see L. I., and cf. l. 43.
ḫbos: 'Crossed', 'passed': *ḫbo*, a form of *ḫpho.*
L. 80, 82, *myi-phyug-du-phyug . . . myi-dbul-du-dbul:* With the form of expression cf. ll. 8—9.
tsho(-)ru-tsho: This seems to be *tsho*, 'fat'.

L. 80, *ltam-bkar:* In l. 83 the word is *ltam*, simply. Locative of *ltam-bka* (for °*kha*) = *ltoṅ-ka* (or °*ga*), 'groove', 'notch'.
ḫdre(n): See L. I.

L. 82, *droḫi-mjol* (= *mdzol*, 'trap'): *Dro*, which in ll. 84, 85, becomes *rto* (= *sto*, 'rope'?), is perhaps a variant (cf. *Mye-kru* and '*kro*, supra) of *dru* in *dru-bu* (and °*gu*), 'skein', 'clew'.

L. 83, *zun:* This, which in l. 84 becomes the normal *zin*, must be Aorist and Imperative (= *bzuṅ*, *zuṅs*) of *ḫdzin*, 'hold', 'take'.

L. 86, *dphyaṅ:* 'Hangings', 'cords', of net: see note on A, l. 109.

L. 87, *kha-sbyor:* Usually 'remnant', must here be simply ‚collection' *(sbyor)*.
bcug-ste-bżag: Cf. l. 68.

L. 88, *śiṅ-thu-gdaṅ-thu:* 'Gather wood, gather sticks', recurs in ll. 92—3.
On *gdaṅ*, a word widely attested in Tibeto-Burman, see, A, l. 50 etc.

L. 89, *bśos-tshal(= chal)-ster-cig-la:* 'For one serving *(ster)* of victuals *(bśos)* for a meal *(tshal)*. The *bśos* here *(= bsos, ḫtsho)* is quite different from the properly spelled *bśos* ('copulatus') of the phrase *bśos-daṅ-nams* (*supra*, l. 31).
bśan-bu-yu: 'Food *(= bsaṅ-bu)* — utensil': *yu* is known with the signification 'handle'; but here perhaps it is the *yo* of *skyem-pa-yo*, l. 90, and *yo-byad*, 'implement', 'furniture'. But, since that *yo* should also be the *yo* of *khab-yo*, 'house-managing' or 'acting as wife' (?), it is probably in essence verbal and here means 'arrangement'. The food and drink (vessels) were 'set out'.
gar-btsugs: 'where were put'.

Ll. 89—90, *rlaṅs-daṅ-thu-lta-lta*: 'Were heaped *(ḫthu)*, as it were, *with (daṅ)* vapour or moisture': cf. *dkar-daṅ-ltems*, ll. 90—1, 'running over with *dkar* ('white' = curds, milk and butter)'.
skyogs-kar: 'In the ladle or bowl *(skyogs-ka = skyogs)*' or 'in the place *(kha)* for the bowl'.
thal-gyis-btsugs: 'was set in the ashes': on the Instrumental *gyis* see L. I.

L. 91, *ltem-se-ltems:* On the form of reduplication see L. I.
sbribs: Possibly for *sgribs (ḫgrib, sgrib)*, 'diminished', since *br-* and *gr-* are sometimes confused.

L. 92, *ci-rla-ci-bśan:* In the other version the phrase is *ji-cho-ji-brla*, 'Is it real or supernatural'. *Bśan* usually means ‚cruel', ‚fierce', 'carnivorous', butcher.

L. 93, *bruṅs-ki-phag:* Cf. I. 64.

L. 96, *gdzos-ki-la-bu-brtabs:* 'Placed in readiness (ḫstob, used of a meal) cooked or to be cooked (*gdzos* from *tshos*, *ḫtshos ?*) buttermilk *(la-bu = la-po ?)*'.

L. 97, *khab-daṅ-dbyal-du-bgyis:* 'Made his wife *(khab)* and companion or concubine (*dbyal* for *dbral* = *ḫbrel-mo* of *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 437 : 18 ?)'. *Dbyal* = Tib. *dbyar*, 'summer', occurs in ll. 2, 101.
bśos-daṅ-nams: See l. 31 *supra*.

L. 99, *ltoṅ:* = *ltoṅs*, 'summit'.
drin-ma-zos: Drin-gzo, 'be grateful'.

L. 100, *tshaṅ* ('habitation')-*daṅ-gżibs(gżiṅs ?): Gżibs* or *gżiṅs* must be for *gżis*, a recognized form of *gżi*, 'land', 'estate'; cf. *rdzis*, in V, l. 26.
thoṅ-śig: See l. 39.

Ll. 101—3: Text imperfect: see the parallel in ll. 2—6, 24—5, 26—7.
mdad: See Ś. C. Das 'Dictionary, s. v. *mdaṅ*.

Chapter II

The Story of Gyim-po Ñag-cig's Bride

INTRODUCTION

The story contained in this fragment[1]) corresponds in general to a portion (B. lines 29—103) of the preceding MS., and it breaks off at approximately the same point. But there are considerable divergences. Here the fiend has devoured not a father and a sister, but a father and a mother and six children. The part played by the ass, the escape of the girl, in the form of a peacock, and her capture by Gyim-po Ñag-cig, and the experiences of her mother, are curtailed and otherwise seriously modified. We have therefore an independent recension of the tale.

In this recension also we have proper names given in their Nam-language form, with Tibetan translations; and this in itself suffices to prove its Nam origin. But in nomenclature also there are divergences. The fiend Dgu-lcogs from Dgu-sul becomes here the fiend Go-ya-go-phu: the girl Tseṅ-ḫgi-rbag-żin becomes Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi; the place to which she escapes is 'Gye-mo in the meadows' instead of 'the Phug-dir meadows'. Thus we must reckon with some difference of dialect also. The form *Rbeg* might even represent the Turki *Beg*; but in Tibetan documents from Central Asia we have a Dpal-bżer Rbeg-chuṅ (II, p. 377) and a Paṅ-tshab Rbeg-chuṅ (II, pp. 150, 305), the former with a Tibetan title and the latter with a gentile name pointing to north-eastern Tibet. As a Tibetan word, *Rbeg* might be = *sbeg*, 'lean', 'thin', or be connected with *sbe-ga*, 'athletics'. But in the other MS. we have to deal with *rbag* and *rba(g)-ga*, although once (B, line 56), the form given is *rbe(g)-ga*; and no doubt *rbag* is the more original form. On *a* > *e* see *Nam*, p. 367.

Among these differentiating features the place-name 'Gye-mo in the meadows' is only superficially one; since it is probable, as has been explained in the Geographical Introduction that it is identical with the Byar-mo plain of *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, II, p. 106, which, as part of the Phyug-tshams district, will also have been in the 'Phug-tir' meadows (*supra*, p. 10, cf. *Nam*, pp. 32—5).

Matters relating to the ass Żu-tsog-żu, and to Yab-Ñal-ldeḫi-thol-phrom and his Gyim-po sons have been discussed in connection with Text I (pp. 9—10). The fiend's name, *Go-ya-go-phu* (line 6, shortened in line 11 to *Go-phu*), is of the type *yul-myi-yul* already discussed (p. 10) and seen also in the *Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi* of the present text; but what a *Go* may be is not known: it might be = *go-bo*, 'vulture', proverbial enemy of owl 'Blind Eye-blind' (*Nam*, p. 134).

TEXT

[1] Go-[ph]us.zos.gyis.med. | maḫi.bsobs.żugs.nas. | do.nub.bu.mo.tha.chuṅs.Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi....

[2] ri[2]).bsad.gyi.śa.bsad.gyi.mchin.pa.bu.khyo.żig[3]). | mdag.ma.maṅ.dum[4]).gyi.naṅ.du.bsregs.na | g.... [3] pa.ni.khol.żiṅ.ḫdug.na. | bu.drug.pha.daṅ.ni.bdun.ma.

[1]) India Office Library Ms. Stein collection Ch. 75 IV fr. 1 (vol. 56, fol. 41), scroll, 40,5 × 25 cm, damaged: *reeto*. ll. 31, *dbu-can*; *verso*, coll. 26, Chinese. Pl. III. [2]) *ḫi?* [3]) = *śug?* [4]) *rum?*

brgyad.zos.kyi.mchin.pa.daḫi[1].yan.gyis.ma.*(thag.tu?)* [4] mchin.pa.ni.gnam.du.yar. gyis.soṅ. | phyi.da.nam.naṅs.na | Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi.Żu-tsog-[ż]u.*til.cha.* [5] ṅa.ni.thog. lug.ḫtshoru.bżud.bżud.na | srin.Go-ya-go-phu.maḫi.bsobsu.żags.nas.lug.g- .... [6] pha.mtha.ru.mchis.na. | Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi.lugi.tshu.m[th]a.ru.bros. | srin.Go-ya-go-phu. lugi.tshu.mtha.ru.mchis. | [7] na | Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi.lugi.pha.mtha.ru.bros.śiṅ.mchis.na | ri.kha.boṅ.bu.żig.de.ru.mchis.na | 'khyod.gyi. [8] til.cha.ṅas.ni.ṅa.thog.śig.Żu-tsog-żus.ni.ṅa.skon.cig.bdag.ni.rma.byeḫu.ḫdzon.mo.żig.[d]u.phru[l] [9] te | ḫdi.nas.par[2]. zoṅ.daṅ.spaṅ.la.G-ye[3].mo.phar.ḫdaḫs'.daṅ.smra.żiṅ.dum.pa.żig.mchis.gyis.śiṅ.Go-ya-go [10] [-*phu*].ga.la.rma.byeḫu.mched.drug.cig.mchis.gyis.d[e]r.bżud.cig[4]. | Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi.rma.byeḫu.gchig.du.ḫphrul | [11] nas.ḫphur.te.soṅ. | ri.kaḫi[5].boṅ.bu.Żu-tsog-żu.myon[6].til.cha.ṅa.ni.thogs. | srin.Go-phus | Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi. [12] lags.sñam.ste. | bżab.bżab.ste.'bzuṅ'.żes.bgyis.na | ri.kaḫi[7].boṅ.bus.Żu-tsog-żu.ni.bor.til.cha.ṅa.ni. borte | [13] bros.te.soṅ. | srin.Go-ya-go-phus.lug.rma[8].lug.ni.ḫchas[9].slad.du.log |: | [10] [14] yul.myi.yul.Skyi-mthiṅ.na. | Skyi[11]-rgyal.Bod.kyi.skad.du.na. | yab.Sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-ba | rgyal.Nam-paḫi.skad. [15] du.na. | yab.Ñal-ldeḫi-thol-phrom.la. | khab.chen. chuṅ.gñis.śig.mṅaḫ | khab.gyi.chen.ma.ni.Ldeḫu-zaḫi-ḫbriṅ[12]. [16] Sman-skyol. | khab. gyi.chun[13].ma.ni.Skegs-zaḫi.Yar-mo-btsun.bśos.daṅ.nams.gyi.sras.na | bu.g-yas.khyim [17] gyi.spun.drug. | Skeg-zaḫi-ḫbriṅ-te.Yar-mo-btsun.la.ni.sras.Gyim-poḫi.Ñag-cig | re. śig.re.śig.na | [18] kha.ba.mtho.dgu.ni.gnam.nas.babste | phu.g-yas.khyim.spun.drug. ni.dar.gyi.rtsaṅ.sñi.daṅ.byaḫu[14].śor. | Gyim-po. [19] Ñag-gchig.ni.ra.bal.gyi.sñi.daṅ. byeḫu.śor | g-yas.khyim.spun.drug.byeḫu.śor.bżud.bżud.na[ḫ] | [20] Gyim-po.Ñag-gi[15].sñi. la.rma.byeḫu.żig.thogs.śiṅ.ḫdug. | ra.bal.gyi.sñi.las.phyuṅ.ste | dar.gyi.sñi.la.btags | [21] nas.slaru.bżud.nas.Gyim-po.Ñag-cig.'sñi.ñul.du.bżud.do'.żes.gsum.ṅa[16] | byeḫu. sñi.ñul.du.soṅ.soṅ.na | [22] dar.gyi.sñi.las.ni.śor.te | yaṅ.rma.byeḫu.ra.bal.gyi.sñi.la. ni.thogs.śiṅ.mchis[17].Gyim-po.Ñag-cig.la. | [23] 'byeḫu.mgo.brag.byin'.żes.byas.kyaṅ. myi.btub. | 'byeḫu.sum.brag.byin'.żes.byas.kyaṅ.myi.btub. | bcu.brag.brgya[18].brag. byin. [24] byas.kyaṅ.myi.btub.ste | rma.byeḫu.ñin.żiṅ.ni.bruṅs.gi.rgyab.du.btags. mtshan.[ż]iṅ.ni.lhumsu[19].stsald | [25] brnal.gi.rmaṅ.lam.na. | 'na.chuṅ.gżon.*sdug*.dbu. dog.bskyed.pa.żig.lhumsu.stsald'.ces.rmis. | ma.Skeg. [26] -za.Yar-mo-btsun.ni.bro. skho[20].ru.bżud.bu.ra.ḫtshoru[21].bżud.de.slar.byon.na[22]. | bśos.kyaṅ.raṅ.-i..... [27] 'ḫo.na.ḫdi.go.ji.cho.ji.brla'.żes.ste | bruṅs.gyi.rgyab.na.yib.ciṅ.bżugsna | sn-e[23]..... [28] gżon.sdug.dbu.thog.bskyed.pa.żig.byuṅ.ste | phyag.tu.nas.bcab[24].[st]e..... [29] rma.byeḫu.bsob.ḫub.ces.bsdus | khab.bya.bdaru[25].btag..... [30] dan.bśos. śiṅ.bżugs.yab.Ñal-lde.Thol-phrom..... [31] bgres.śiṅ.dguṅ[26].du.gśegs | bya.rgas. khab...

TRANSLATION

[1] ... Not devoured by Go-ya-go-phu[27]) there remained the mother's hollow [corpse]. In the evening the youngest daughter Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi, [2] when the daughter aud husband[28]) had burned in a large heap of cinders the liver of the corpses of the slaughtered family, [3], was

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1) *daḫi* added below *pa*: perhaps the intended reading was *paḫi*. 2) = *phar*. 3) *Bye?*
4) Read *ciṅ?* 5) *Sic* (for *khaḫi*). 6) *byon? gyon?*
7) = *khaḫi*. 8) = *ma*. 9) *ḫches?* 10) *yul-sten-yul-thaṅ-brga* here crossed out
11) *Sic* (for *Spu*). 12) *te* here crosed out: see l. 17. 13) *n* for *ṅ*. 14) *Sic* (for *byeḫu*).
15) For *Ñag-cig-gi*. 16) *Sic* (for *gsuṅ-na*). 17) *bn* here crossed out.
18) *brgya* added below line. 19) Something here crossed out. 20) = *sko*. 21) = *ḫtsho -ru*.
22) *ni?* 23) *rtse?* 24) *bcar? |bcan?* 25) *bduru? zaru? bdaru* = *bdar-ru*, 'to inspect'.
26) *d* a correction (from *du*). 27) Go-ya-go the Elder.
28) This translates *bu-khyo-śug*: *bu-khyo-żig*, 'daughter husband one': in the story however there is no mention of husbands of the daughters.

engaged in boiling the .... No sooner was the liver of the devoured six daughters, with the father seven and with the mother eight, left to itself than [4] the liver went away up into the sky.

At dawn next day Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi, carrying Żu-tsog-żu's *til-cha-ṅa*[1]) [5] went about pasturing the sheep. The fiend Go-ya-go-phu came from the remains of the mother [6] to the far side of the sheep. Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi fled to the near side of the sheep. The fiend Go-ya-go-phu coming to the near side of the sheep [7], Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi fled to the far side of the sheep. Thither came a mountain-ridge ass. 'Let me be fitted with your [8] *til-cha-ṅa*: let me dress you in Żu-tsog-żu['s *til-cha-ṅa*]. I will change into[2]) a riding peacock [9] and, riding away from here, pass beyond to Gye-mo in the meadows'[3]) — this said, they made a compact.

To where the fiend Go-ya-go-phu [10] was came six peacock brothers: and, while they moved about there, Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi changed into a peacock [11] and flew away. The mountain ass put on Żu-tsog-żu's *til-cha-ṅa*. Thinking he was Rbeg-ga-rbeg-śi [12], the fiend Go-phu came creeping, creeping: 'caught', he deemed. The mountain-ridge ass cast off Żu-tsog-żu's cast-off *til-cha-ṅa* and [13] was off in flight. Fiend Go-ya-go-phu, having mangled everything, sheep or not sheep, retired.

[14] In a country, man-country[4]), Skyi-mthiṅ a certain, in the speech of Spu-rgyal Tibet[5]), Father Exalted-eld-tending, in the speech of the Nam-pa[6]) kingdom [15] Father Ñal-ldeḫi-thol-phrom[7]), had two wives, senior and junior. The senior wife was Ldeḫu-zaḫi-ḫbriṅ [16] Sman-skyol[8]); the junior wife was Skeg-zaḫi Yar-mo-btsun[9]). Consorting and taking pleasure, they had offspring, children of the right hand house six brothers [17], to Skeg-zaḫi Ḫbriṅ-te Yar-mo-btsun, one child Gyim-po Number-one[10]).

One time, one time, [18] when snow nine spans [deep] had fallen from the sky, the six brothers of the right hand house went with thorn-snares of silk to catch birds. Gyim-po [19] Number-one went with snares of goat-hair to catch birds. While the six brothers of the right-hand house were going about catching birds, [20] in Gyim-po Number-one's snare a peacock was caught. Released from the goat-hair snare, it became entangled in the silken snare and [21] came back. 'Go into the snare caché' said Gyim-po Number-one. The bird went and went into the snare caché, but, [22] coming out of the silken snare, again the peacock was entangled in the snare of goat-hair. To Gyim-po Number-one it occurred [23], 'Send a stone [at] the bird's head': he did so, but did not hit. 'Send three stones [at] the bird': he did so, but did not hit. 'Send ten stones, a hundred stones' [24]: he did so, but did not hit. By day the peacock stuck behind the dung-heap[11]); by night it vanished[12]).

[25] In a dream, when he was asleep, he had a vision of a girl, young and pretty, who with a nod of her head vanished. His mother Skeg [26]-za Yar-mo-btsun went to gather herbs[13]), the son went to pasture the goats and returned. After his meal... [27] 'Ho, this thing, is it real or supernatural?' he thought, and placed himself in hiding behind the dung-heap. There... appeared... [28] young and pretty, giving a nod of her head. Squeezing in his hand

[1]) Meaning obscure, but perhaps a head-ornament: cf. *tog-til*, a swelling or bump on the head: or is *til-cha-ṅa* = Burushaski *tiliaṅ*, 'saddle' It is obvious that some normal trapping of asses is meant.

[2]) In Text I, B, l. 69, the girl escapes by holding on to a flying bird's tail.

[3]) On G-ye-mo see the Introduction. In Text I, B, ll. 68—70, the place is 'the Phug-dir (tir) meadows'.

[4]) On the phrase and the country see the Geographical Introduction to Text I, A, ll. 87, 97, etc.

[5]) *On Spu-rgyal see* p. 56. [6]) See *supra*.

[7]) On the forms of this and the following names see the Introduction to Text I.

[8]) (Ldeḫu-wife-middle (sister) Medicament (Herb)-conveying (or cooking). *za*, elsewhere *bza*.

[9]) 'Skeg-wife Lady Yar-mo'.

[10]) On Gyim-po see the Introduction to Text I, p. 9. *Ñag-cig*, 'Notch-one', 'Number-one', see note to I B, l. 8 (translation).

[11]) Tibetan farm-houses often have truly Baronial dung-hills. [12]) See the Linguistic note.

[13]) Literally 'saveurs' *(bro)*; cf. the 'saps' *(rtsi)* of Text I, ll. 35, etc.

barley, ... [29] the peacock appropriated the remainder. He seized her to take her for wife .... [30] and had her for consort.

Father Ñal-lde-thol-phrom.... [31] becoming old, went to heaven[1]). The children of the right-hand house[2])...

Linguistic Notes

Ll. 1, *bsobs:* Anything hollow or stuffed, such as a cushion; here the eviscerated corpse: *żugs* = *bżugs*, 'remained'.

L. 2, *bu-khyo-żig:* There is here no place for *khyo*, 'husband': the correct reading may be *żiṅ* (on *-g/-ṅ* see L. I), and the meaning, 'the grieving *(khyo = skyo)* child (girl)'.
maṅ-dum: 'Great collection'.

L. 3, *daḫi-yan-gyis:* 'In the interval thereof': on the Instrumental see L. I. and cf. *yar-gyis*, l. 4.

Ll. 4—5, *til-cha-ṅa:* Recurs in ll. 8, 11, 12. Note *skon* in l. 8, 'put on', 'dress', as in I, B, ll. 54, 62.
thog: = *thogs*, *ḫthog*, 'hold', 'carry'.
bsobsu-żags: Unless *żags* is an error for the *żugs* of l. 1, it may be = *bżag*, 'inner parts of the body'.

Ll. 6—7, *na:* On the punctuation see L. I.

Ll. 8—9, *ḫdzon-mo*, *zoṅ:* Apparently = *zon*, *bzon* ('ride'), and its Imperative, *zoṅ(s)* < *zons*): or is *zoṅ* = *soṅ*, 'go'?
ḫdaḫs: Imperative form from *ḫdaḫ*.

L. 10, *cig:* = *ciṅ* (cf. l. 2 and see L. I), unless indeed '*der bżud*' is a speech, which is unlikely.

L. 13, *lug-rma(i. e. ma)-lug:* On the *ma* in such expressions see, Schiefner in *Mélanges Asiatiques* (Saint-Petersburg), III (1857—9), pp. 12—16: *ḫchas:* 'Having mangled' (*ḫcha*, cf. IA, l. 6, etc.).

Ll. 14—5, Tib. *Sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-ba* = Nam *Ñal-ldeḫi-thol-phrom:* On the forms of these names see Introduction. *Sten-ṙgan-gi-ñer-ba* means 'Exalted-old-of taking-care *(gñer)*', and it refers, no doubt, to a heavenly *(sten)* origin or domicile. In the Nam from *ṅal-lde* is probably related to Tib. *ṅal*, 'fatigue', *mṅal*, 'sickness', and means 'old', while *thol* will be = the Central-Asian Tibetan *thol*, 'bury', perhaps derived from Nam, and *phrom* is an Auxiliary verb. The story relates in both texts, as will be seen, to the personage's death and burial, the latter a subject of constantly recurrent interest in the Tibeto-Chinese borderlands, as, of course, in China.
Ldeḫu-zaḫi-ḫbriṅ ... Skeg-zaḫi-ḫbriṅ: These are gentile names of a fairly common type, wherein *za* = Tib. *bza*, 'woman', 'wife', and the use of *ḫbriṅ*, 'middle', to distinguish from *phu* or *gcen*, 'elder' 'eldest', and *nu*, *chuṅ*, or *tha-chuṅs*, 'younger', 'youngest', is also normal: it was naturally common in cases where all the brothers or sisters had the same name; cf. *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 151 and for examples of *ḫbriṅ*, pp. 438, 454.
Sman-skyol may be Tibetan, 'Medicine-conveying or cooking *(skyol/skyel)*', a translation of a perhaps etymologically similar Nam form: and *Ldeḫu/Lde* is a famous ancient term of Tibetan royalty, appearing, for instance, in the names of the legendary *Lde* dynasty and in that of the historical king Khri-sroṅ Ldeḫu(and Lde)-btsan. Its probable meaning is 'high fortune or rank', or 'warmth' and it existed in the Nam language also.
Skeg ... cannot be plausibly etymologized (Tib. *Skeg* is 'name of a constellation'); but *Yar-mo-btsun* will be 'lady (*btsun*, see note on IA, l. 44) *Yar-mo* — ('Yar-woman' or 'high woman').

L. 17, *bśos-daṅ-nams:* See note on IA, l. 40, B, l. 31.
Gyim-po Ñag-cig: See I B, ll. 8 sqq.
re-śig: See IA, l. 69, and L. I.

L. 18, *rtsaṅ-sñi:* 'Thorn *(rtsaṅ)* snares'.

L. 21, *sñi-ñul: Ñul* = 'creep', 'go secretly': perhaps the *sñi-ñul* is the actual trap, while the *sñi* is widespread netting.

L. 23, *byeḫu-mgo-(la)-brag-byin:* The omission of the Postposition *(la)* is perhaps colloquial.
żes-byas]: *Byas*, 'done', = 'said': see note on IB, l. 43.

L. 24, *ñin-żiṅ .... mtshan-żiṅ:* On *żiṅ* see L. I. *bruṅs:* See IB, ll. 64, 93.
lhumsu-stsald: Lhums = 'womb', *lums* = 'bath'; here the phrase may mean 'vanished'. It occurs in Ms. 84 XIV (vol. 56, fol. 30), where the context is obscure; but the meaning accords with the expression in the *Pāśaka-kevalī*.

L. 25, *dbu-dog* (l. 28 *thog*)-*bskyed:* 'Making a head-sign'. *(= °rtags?)*: cf. *mgo (= dbu)-ḫjog*, 'a nod'.

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[1]) On 'going to heaven' see Text I.

[2]) The narrative here breaks off at the same point as in Text I, B.

L. 26, *bro:* 'Savours (sc. herbs)'.
bśos: 'Victuals', as in IB, ll. 89—99.
L. 27, *ḫdi-go:* 'This thing', *go/ko* a particle frequent with Demonstratives.
ji-cho-ji-brla: = *ci-rla-ci-bśan* of IB, l. 92.
Cho = 'substantial'; *brla*, *rla* = *bla* (see L. I) 'high', supernatural.
L. 28, *bcab:* Aorist of *ḫchab*, 'conceal'.
L. 29, *bsob:* Obscure.
ḫub-ces-bsdus: 'Gathered (seized)': see Ś. C. Das's Dictionary, s. v. *ḫub-pa*.
bdaru-btag: 'tied up to inspect *(bdar-ru)*'?

Chapter III

The Decline of the Good Age

INTRODUCTION

This fragment, of lines 51[1]), contained in the MS. described below, opens with a passage similar in purport to the commencement of the long text (IV) from the Skyi country. It describes the decline of humanity after the retreat of the gods (?) to heaven. Religion and conduct deteriorated, and fiends and demons wrought mischiefs. Evilly disposed and uncontrolled people became rich, high and assuming. This resulted in continual downfall, the stages of which, however, are not very clearly discriminated.

One result belonging to a period called 'Approach of the age of Debts and Taxes'[2]) was division of the original single sovereignty. There came to be many kings in place of one, and the several countries developed different religions and wisdoms. Futile attempts by good people to preserve the traditions of the golden age, to react against the corruption and provide for a better future, are related at length. Towards the close of the age there were many wars, with various fortune, between kings, some of whom were of low extraction.

In the actual period of Debts and Taxes, when 360 years had elapsed, a certain Black-face king from beyond a great lake to the west of the realm of China acquired power and ruled China during 60 years; after which there came from the country of the Bug-chor a king named the Great Drug, who annihilated the Black-face king of China and the king of the Bug-chor and governed both countries during 72 years. There ensued a division of the Drug people into Eastern Drug and Western Drug, which warred with one another.

The fragmentary text well illustrates the use of the formula of the Good Age and succeeding ages of deterioration as introduction to narrations of actual historical occurrences. The historical references have been considered elsewhere (*Tibetan Texts and Documents*, vol. II, pp. 279—280).

In style and matter the text is closely related to the opening part (lines 1—40) of IV. But it shows no sign of connection with the Skyi country, and its horizon is Central-Asian, not Tibetan. By one striking feature of orthography (prefixing of *h̲* after a syllable ending in a nasal: see p. 53) it is associated with I B, while another (indication of vowel-prolongation in *byo-h̲o(s)-śig*: see p. 53) connects it with the writing of the Nam text. Therefore this No. III belongs primarily to the Koko-nor region or to Kan-su.

The dual heaven (*Gnam*, the highest heaven of the gods, *Dguṅ*, the lower heaven, prospective abode of the pious), perhaps also the hell and the period of 700,000 years, belong, as we have seen, to the Bon cosmology. Whether the same should be said concerning the doctrine of successive Ages of Decline we may leave unexamined; but the predominantly ethical

[1]) India Office Library MS., Stein collection, Ch. 73. XV. 4 (vol. 56, fol. 35): part of a scroll of yellow paper, now fol. 1, size 25 × 37 cm, but with a large gap near the right hand top of the Tibetan text. *Recto*, coll. 28 (parallel to the short side) of a Chinese Buddhist text; *verso*, ll. 51 (parallel to the same) of ordinary Tibetan writing, smallich, and rather regular and neat. Pl. IV. [2]) Mentioned in I A, l. 39.

conception of the Ages, so different from that indicated in I, is not likely to have been original in the Bon doctrine. Though the text has no inkling of Buddhism, some influence may have come from a religion so long domiciled in Central Asia: and, in fact, the same ethical tone pervades the eloquent Buddhist addresses on the occasion of the foundation (A.D. c. 822; see *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, pp. 99—107) of a great monastery in the Koko-nor region. Thus a Buddhist, and so ultimately Indian, theory may explain the facts, since China had a different conception. But there were other religions in Central Asia, Mazdaism, Manichaeism and perhaps already some rumours of Christianity: and we might even think of an earlier Greek influence (from Bactria), since even in Hesiod the very ancient and widespread notion of Ages has already an ethico-social tinge. On the whole the preference belongs to Buddhism, which in Central Asia was far the most influential: the ethical details are not alien to the style of Buddhist or Brahmanical preaching, and the somewhat practical, or prosaic, tone may be only one of several reminders that Central Asia is not India.

TEXT

[1] gnam.du.bro[s].nas | yul.dań.ra.st[o]ń.par.gyur.to | bar.bar.du.sa.dań.chos.ma.nor[1].par.rjed.na || [l]hag..... [2] stoń.pa.la.rjed.pā.ni | ji.la.yań.myi.phan.teḫ | ḫgreń.myi.ḫo.cog.gtham.zer.naḫ."lha.ḫdiḫ.sńun.lta[r]..ḫgoḫ.la.myi.drag.na.ji.ñes". [3] śes.zer.bar.ḫoń.noḫ ||

ḫuń.nas.chos.dań.tshe.ńan.pa.la.babste | ḫdreḫ.dań srin.gyis.gnod.dgur.brg[y]a.lańs.myi.g-yon.chan[2].myi.la. [4]dńan.dgur.byed.pā|myi.srun.pa.rnams.ni||phyug.po.dań.mthon.po.dań.kha.drag.por.ḫoń.ńo || .... -i.myi.myi.la.ńan.myi | [5] byed.paḫi.myi.rnams.ni | ńo.dmaḫ.żiń.dbul.la.ñon.mońs.par.ḫoń.ńoḫ. ||

ḫuń.nas.sńa.ma.*bas.chos.ńan*.pa.dań.tshe.ńan.paḫ | [6] la.bab.ste | skyin.ḫdań.ḫbab.du.ñe.ba.dań. || mńaḫ.rgyań[3].stoń.tsam.gyis.chod.jiń.rgyal.po.[g]cig.*las.rgyal*.poḫi.grańs.mań. [7] bar.ḫoń.ńoḫ || rgyal.po.so.so.nas.thugs.thub.byaste.gnaḫi.chos.bzań.po.dań.gtsug.lag.[bzań].po.na | .... ń.ńo || ..... [8] so.so.nas.thugs.thub.du.byaste.yul.re.chos.re.gtsug.lag.re.re.byas.par.ḫoń.ńoḫ.

ḫuń ... *(15 akṣaras missing)* [9] ḫgreń.myi.ḫo.cog.sñiń.gyur.te[4].ji.byed.dgu.myi.ruń.bar.ḫoń.ńoḫ || blon.po.yań.mańste[5].bcuḫi.steń... *(15 akṣaras missing)* [10] yań.blon.po.gcig || bcug.par.ḫoń.ńoḫ || myi.rabs.sńa.maḫi.chos.gtsug.lag.bzań.po... *(15 akṣaras missing)* [11] dań | ḫgreń.myi.ḫo.chog || ḫphyas[6].te.ńan.du.byas.nas.dor.bar.ḫoń.ńoḫ || chos.sar[7].pa.ji.ltar... *(15 akṣaras)* [12] ḫgreń.myi.ḫo.chog.dań | yul.sa.gñis.la.phan.bar.myiḫ.ḫoń.gyi.gnod.jiń.ñon.mońs.par.ḫoń.ńo(?)... *(13 akṣaras)* [13] myi.la.ñen.myi.byed.jiń.drań.mkhrań.byed.pā.rabs.phyi.phyir.żiń.myed.par.ḫoń.ńoḫ |

ḫuń.nas.sńa.ma.bas.kyań.. *(13 akṣaras)* [14] la.bab.te.myi.rabs.phyi.phyir.żiń.bu.żig.byuń.na.yań.śed.rdzogs.ma.ran.par|śed.rdzo[g]s.smra.baḫi... *(13akṣaras)* [15]skyin.ḫdań.ḫbab.khar.ni || buḫ.maḫi.lto.nas.byuń.nas.sla[8].ba.gsum.nas. |[9] da[10].phrad.de.lo.sum.cu.[l]o..tshe... *(13 akṣaras)* [16] tshigs.ḫdi.man.chad.kyi.myiń.ni | tshe.ńan.pa.dań.dus.ńan.pa.skyin.ḫdań[11].ḫbab.du.ñe.baḫi.m[tsh]an.ma.ḫo.... *(13 akṣaras)* [17] myiḫo.chog.la.stoń.jig || dus.ńan.pa.dań.tshe.ńan.pa.la.yań.gtsug.lag.la.sred.pa.myi.la.ńan. [myi.dge.nas] .... s.mi[12].ḫbyuń.my[i] [18] srid.doḫ | tshigs.ḫdiḫ.yi.ger.bris.la.gcig.gis.gcig.ston.jig || ḫdzańs.pas.ni.mńan.mod[13].ńan.pas.ni.rna.ba.ya.cig.tu[14] [19] [th]os.na.ya.chig.tu.thalde || myi.ñan.mod.ḫjańs[15].pa.ḫgaḫ.tsam.gyis.tshigs.

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[1]) *noń?* [2]) = *can.* [3]) *rgyad?* [4]) See Linguistic note. [5]) *mńaste?*
[6]) *ḫphyis?* [7]) = *gsar.* [8]) = *zla.* [9]) *dra* here crossed out. [10]) *rta?*
[11]) *daḫdań* written: *g* here crossed out. [12]) *myi?* [13]) *yod?* [14]) *bu?* [15]) *ḫdzańs*,".

hdi.gzuṅsu.bzuṅs.te.chos.tshul.gñis.kyaṅ. | [20] gnahi.gtsug.lagi.chos[1].bzaṅ.po.ltar. byasna | dusla.babste.hchi.na.yaṅ.gśin.yul.nah....yul.du.phyin.teh | ñon.myi.moṅs. pa (?) [21] skyid.doh | skyin.daṅ.hbab.pahi.hog.tu.lhahi.dus.bzaṅ.po.la.babste | myiho. chog.sbyir[2].htsho.bahi.lo.brgyas[3].sṅar.htshoh.ho | [22]

tshigs.hdi.thos.te.gzuṅsu.myi.hdzin.jiṅ.myi.ṅan.pa.ni.phyis[4].htshoh.bahi.dus.las. lo.brgyah.brgya.la[5].phyiste.htshohi..tshigs.hdi.thos [23] kyaṅ.ma.thos.mthoṅ.yaṅ. ma.mthoṅ.ba.ni.myi.legs.ñes.gyi.bar.du.htsho.ho ||

huṅ.[gyi.ho]g.na.gnam.gyi.skas.bar.byin.ba... [24] hdra.bzaṅ.po.ni.żag.sum.żiṅ. re.śig.byo[6].śig. || lus.ni.żag.lṅa.żiṅ.lan.chig.kru[7].śi[g] || phu.nu.gñen.bla.ñi.[8]du. sdug.pa.rnams [25] chaṅ.lud.jig.zan.byin.chig | rol.mo.rtsed.mo.byo.ho (?)[9].śig | bdagi. sñiṅ.la.sems.na.yaṅ | "dus.[ṅan].pa.la.bab.boh | tshe.ṅan.pa.la.bab.bo | [26] gson.po. la[10].brgyahi.brgyags.tshol.ba.bas | gśin.yul.na | lo.khri.bum.gyi.brgyags.tsho[l].du. ruṅ.ṅoh" | sñam.du.s[ñ]oms.teh | [27] dus.ṅan.pa.daṅ.tshe.ṅan.pa.hdi.myur.du.zad. par.smon.teh | skyin.daṅ.myur.du.hbab.par.smon.[n]oh | phu.nu(?).ñe.du.chaṅ.lṅa.pa. yaṅ | [28] bdag.chag.tshe.ṅan.pa.la.babste.myi.dgah.bahi.mya.ṅan.bsaṅs.pahi.chaṅ. glud.do.zan.byin.no.żes.-tad.thosla[11].gad.mo.daṅ.[rtsed][29]mo.byas.te.chaṅ.lud.jig. zan.byin.chig ||

huṅ.nas.bdag.chag.yul.na.lha.chen.po.ji.yod.pa.daṅ | sgo.lhahi.rnams.dus[12].ma. nor [30] bar.rjed.jig || dusu.rjed.ma.nusna.yaṅ.sla[13].ba.tshes.żag.gsum.la | skuh.śed.la. lus.khrus.te.lha.la.phyag.htshol.la.tshigs.hdi.skadu. | [31] byo[14].śig | "dus.ṅan.pa.la. hbab.bo | tshe.ṅan.pa.la.bab.boh | myi.ho.cog.la.dbaṅ.ma.mchis.so || lha.la.phyag. htshal.ba.yaṅ. | lus | [32] gchigi.phyir.lha.mchod.jiṅ.phyag.htshal.ba.ma.lagso | gnam. sa.gṅis.kyi.hog.na.hgre[ṅ].myi.ho.chog.srid.la.phan.ba.yon. [33] dbul.żiṅ.phyag. htshal.loh | dus.ṅan.pa.ni.myur.du.zad.par.smon.toh || lhahi.dus.[b]zaṅ.po.la.myur. du.bab.chiṅ.myi [34] sṅa.ma.śi.bahi.rnams.kyaṅ | dus.bzaṅ.po.la.myur.du.sos.par. smon.toh || huṅ.gyi.[ph]yir.lha.la.yon.hjal.żiṅ.phyag.htshal.[35]lo".żes.gyi[15].śig || pha. myes.sṅar.śi.bahi.rnamsla.yaṅ | tshigs.hdi.skad.smos.la.gtoṅ.ma.gyi[16].sig | "de.ltar. byasna.ji[17].la. [36] phan".że.na |.| bdag.gson.pohi.tshe.dus.ma.ran.bar.ye.hdrog.du. myi.hjih | dus.ṅan.pahi.naṅ.na | bdagi[18].bu.tsha.hjaṅs[19].śiṅ.rags.par.hoṅ [37] ṅoh || śi. na.yaṅ.gśin.yul.na.lam.log.par.myi.hgroh | skyid.yul.du.hgroh | skyin.daṅ.hbab.pahi. hog. | [—] ihi.brgyahs.sṅar | [38] htsoh[20].hoh || dbul.po.yaṅ.bdagi.ñams.ji.yod.pa.las. | hdih.bżin.gyi[21].śig ||" [tsh]igs.hdih.gcigis.gcig.[ ]t[o]n[22].jig || hgreṅ.[39] [myi.ho]. chog.kyaṅ.ñan.na.legso ||

"huṅ.nas.sṅa.ma.bas.kyaṅ.tshe.dus.ṅan.pa.la.babst[e] | sky[i]n.hdaṅ[23].hbab.du.ñe. bahi.hog[24].mah | [40] *ji*.ltar.hoṅ".że.na | gnam.sa.gñis.gyi.bar.nah || bar.gyi.rgyal.po. Bar.Śan-śe.las.[che].ba.myed.de.thog.ma.dehi.srid.brlag.par. [41] [ho]ṅ.ṅo || huṅ.gyi. hog.tu.rgyal.po.gcig.la.gcig.dmag.draṅste | rgyal.po.naṅ.hthab.par.hoṅ.ṅoh | srin.no. chog.ni.dgah [42] ...ltad.mo.ltaho | lha.ho.chog.ni.myi.dge.ste | myi.la.myig.ma. chags.nas.bżin.rgyab.du.phyogs.sō || huṅ.gyi.tshe.res.hga [43] ...s.las.hoṅs.pahi. rgyal.po.yaṅ.srid.brlag.par.hoṅ.ṅo || res.hdah[25].ni.myi.tha.mal.pa.daṅ | bran.las. rgyal.por.phyin.te | [44] ...-g.jiṅ.hdug.par.hoṅ.ṅo. || huṅ.nas.gcig.la.gcig.dmag.draṅ.

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1) *hos?* 2) *spyir?* 3) *brgyah?*
4) *phyi-la? phyi-ma?* 5) *brgyas.*
6) = *byos.* 7) *khru?:* = *khrus.*
8) = *ñe?* 9) = *byos.* 10) Correction (from *ld?*) Read *lo.*
11) *skad-thogs??* 12) *rus? nus?* 13) = *zla.*
14) = *byos.* 15) = *gyis.* 16) = *gyis.*
17) *lta* here crossed out. 18) *-dig?* 19) = *hdzaṅs.*
20) *htshoh?* 21) = *gyis.* 22) *ston*, as in l. 18?
23) *ṅ* below line. 24) *log? pog?* 25) *hgah?*

ste.res.hgah.[s]us.rgyal.res.hgah.sus [45] *pham*.bar.hoṅ.ṅo. || huṅ.nas.bar.hdihi.tshe.ni[1].skyin.daṅ.hbab.pahi.tshe.yin.no ||

huṅ.nas.skyin.daṅ.hbab.[sa ?[2]]pahi: [46] dusla[3].sum.brgyah.drug.cu.las.sa[4].daṅ || Rgyah.yul.gyi.hog || mtshoh.chen.po.żigi.pha.[rol].nas.rgyal.po.g[d]oṅ.nag.po.śiṅ.rta. [47] nag.po.żon.ba.żig.lo.drug.cuhi.bar.du.dar.te | Rgya.mgo.nag.po.de.la.phyag.htshal.żiṅ.des.bkol.bar.hoṅ.ṅoh | rgyal.po.dehi. [48] tshe.lo.drug.cu.hdahs.nas || Bug.chor.gyi.rgya.sa.hdam.bahi.khuṅ[5].bu.nas.byuṅ.ste || myiṅ.ni[6]. Drug.chen.po.żes.bya.bahs. || [49] Rgyahi[7].rgyal.po.gdoṅ.nag.po.daṅ. | Bug.chor.gyi.rgyal.po.gñis.. | myed.par.byas.te.Rgya.daṅ[8]. Bug.chor.gñis | hbaṅs.rgyal.po. [50] des.bkol.żiṅ.dphyah[9].hjal.bar.hoṅ.ṅo || Drug.chen.pohi.rgyal.pos.lo.bdun.cu.rtsa.gñis.dar.toh | lo.bdun.cu.rtsa.gñis. [51] dar.pa.daṅ. | ñi.ma.śar.logs.kyi.Dru-gu.daṅ | ñi.ma.nub.pa.logs[10].gyi.Dru-gu.gñis.hthabste. | [tho]g.ma.ni.nub.phyogs.kyi.Dru-gu | ...

TRANSLATION

... [1] having fled to heaven, the country and region became deserted. Since from time to time to show honour without fail to the land and the religion and for the rest *of the time* [2] to be honouring what was [now] void was profitable for nothing, in the talk of all humanity[11]) it came to be said, 'Since the gods are not, as aforetime, stern in command, what harm?' [3]

Thereafter, since religion and life had fallen upon evil days, all sorts of harm from demons and fiends rose[12]) in hundreds. Wrong-minded men did to men [4] every evil. Ungentle persons became rich and high and in speech overbearing. *Good* men, men who did no evil to men [5], became humble-minded, poor and wretched.

After that, as *even more than* before religion and life had fallen upon evil days [6], on the approach of the [age of] Debts and Taxes, in place of the one king, with power limited to eight thousand years, the number of kings came to be large. [7] The kings being severally self-confident, *disregarded* the old good religion and good wisdom: [8] owing to individual self-confidence there grew up for each country its several religion and wisdom.

After that ... [9] all humanity, having become sentimental, was incompetent for whatever should be done. Councillors being many, over ten of them ... [10] a single councillor would be appointed. The good religious wisdom of earlier generations .... [11] all humanity, after doing evil in contempt of it, came to throw over. According to a new religion ..... [12] among all humanity, injuries being done which could be of no advantage to country and land, misery came to pass .... [13] People who acted uprightly, doing no harm to men, became, as generations succeeded, non-existent.

After that, since even more than before *religion and life* [14] had fallen upon *evil days*, as the generations of men succeeded, even if a child was born, in respect of full vigour it was not satisfactory. As to what was called full vigour, *it sufficed* [15] in the time of Debts and Taxes if a child born from his mother's womb attained three months: if he reached that point, thirty years [16], ... years ... life-time. This saying is thenceforward termed 'sign of the bad life and bad time approaching [the age of] Debts and Taxes'.

Observing the sign, some people will say, [17] 'Show this to all humanity. Even with the evil time and evil life it is impossible that to men with affection for wisdom [18] there should not be *regret* from dissatisfaction with evil. Inscribe this saying in writing and show it one

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[1]) Something here crossed out. [2]) *hbabs?* [3]) Lect.? [4]) *su?* [5]) *khaṅ?*
[6]) *myi-hdi?* [7]) *s* here crossed ont. [8]) *ṅ* below line. [9]) = *dpya*. [10]) *phyogs?*
[11]) 'Upright-standing men' *(hgreṅ-myi)*.
[12]) Fiends usually *rise (laṅs)* from the ground: cf. p. 19, l. 121).

to another. Heeded by the wise, while with the wicked, even if heard in one ear, [19] it passes unheeded out at the other, this saying may be really received by some few wise. Complying, [20] according to the good religion of ancient wisdom, with religion and morality both, even in death when the time comes, they may, *while* in the realm of Hades, *attain* the ... country and have bliss free from misery. [21] When, after [the period of] Debts and Taxes, the good age of the gods comes, may all men in general soon live the life of a hundred years'. [22]

Hearing this saying, bad men do not grasp it, while from their later life-time centuries and centuries are subtracted; even when they hear the saying, ... [23] they do not hear, when seeing do not see, and men live between good and evil.

After this, as if putting in steps up to heaven, [24] do good once in every three days. Wash the body once every five days. Invite elder and younger brothers, senior kinsmen, dear relatives [25] to beer and give food. Have music and diversion. In your breasts be the thought, 'The bad time has come, the bad life has come. [26] Enough of seeking provision for a life of a hundred years. We must seek provision for a hundred thousand years in the kingdom of death"[1]). In your thought thus thinking, [27] and praying that this bad time and bad life may soon wane, pray that [the age of] Debts [and Taxes] may soon come. Elder and younger kinsmen, even of the fifth beer[2]), [28] who are dejected at the thought that we have fallen upon a bad life, invite to beer, washing away their sorrow, and give them food'. Having heard this and making laughter [29] and mirth, invite to beer and give food.

After that may we without mistake of time honour the great gods and particular gods[3]) in the country. [30] Even if unable to show timely honour, at least on three days in the month let us for health's sake wash our bodies and, offering homage to the gods, make use of these words: [31] 'We are fallen upon a bad time: we are fallen upon a bad life. All men are powerless. In doing homage to the gods also [32] we are not rendering homage and worship to the gods for the sake of one body. It is for benefit to the life of all humanity under heaven and in earth both that we make gifts [33] and do homage. We pray that the bad time may soon wane. We pray that, with the good time of the gods soon to come, [34] even those who die beforehand may soon be living in the good time. To this end we make gifts to the gods and do homage'. [35] Even to fathers and grandfathers who die beforehand do not omit to say these words. 'What is the good of so doing?' [36] — if this is asked, that our own lifetime should be unsatisfactory does not make us wince in the least. In the evil time may our children, being wise, comply. [37] Even in death may they not, in the realm of Hades, take a wrong road. May they pass to a realm of happiness. In the [period of] Debts and Taxes may they soon have a life of a hundred years. [38] May the poor also, so far as our thought goes, do likewise.' These words give one to another. If humanity [39] hear, it is well.

After this, as more than before the evil life-time comes, upon the 'Approach of the [period of] Debts and Taxes, [40] how will it be?' — if this is asked, in the space between heaven and earth there was no great king except Bar San-śe[4]): so it was his state that first declined. [41] After that, as the kings led armies one against another, there was internal strife among kings. All the fiends [42] beheld the spectacle with delight. All the gods were unhappy and, not letting their gaze be attached to men, averted their faces. In that age [43] those kings also who from time to time appeared declined in their state. Sometimes men from the common people and from slaves arrived at kingship [44] and were ruling. After that, leading armies one against another, sometimes one was victorious, sometimes one [45] was vanquished. So the life of this period is the life of Debts and Taxes.

Subsequently, [46] after three hundred and sixty years of the time of Debts and Taxes, there came from the far side of a great lake[5]) west of the land and China country a black-

[1]) 'Hades' *(gśin)*. [2]) = 'fifth degree of kinship'? [3]) Or 'private' *(sgo-lha)*.
[4]) Probably a mythological, not merely legendary, king. [5]) The Lop-nor region?

face king, [47] riding in a black chariot, who flourished during sixty years. The Chinese black-heads[1]) did homage to him and were by him enslaved. When of that king's time [48] sixty years had passed, there came from a hollow in the Chinese[2]) swamp-land of the Bug-chor[3]) one called the Great Drug. [49] Having annihilated the black-face king and the king of the Bug-chor, both, that king enslaved the people of China and of the Bug-chor, both, [50] and they paid taxes. The Great Drug king flourished during seventy and two years. When he had flourished during seventy and two years, [51] the Dru-gu of the east and the Dru-gu of the west fought. At first the Dru-gu of the west ....

Linguistic Notes

Linguistically this text is nearer than I and II to normal Tibetan. Its pervading peculiarities are (a) appending of *h* to words terminating in vowels, of which examples may be seen in nearly every line (e. g. *teh*, *nah* and *hgoh*, l. 2, *hdreh*, l. 3, *noh*, l. 5) (b) the forms *jiṅ* for *ciṅ* after *d* (ll. 6, 12, 13, 32) and (l. 44), *jig* for *cig* after *ṅ* (l. 17), *n* (ll. 18, 38), *d* (l. 30), (c) numerous Imperatives in *śig* after omitted-s. For *ci* it has always *ji*.

Occasional peculiarities are (a) *hdaṅ* for *daṅ* after a nasal (ll. 15, 16 etc.), parallel to the *hgi*, *hbu*, etc., of IB, (b) the reduplicated vowel in *byo-ho(s)-śig*, l. 25, = *byo(s)-śig*, ll. 24, 31, a feature which connects the text with the Nam language.

As in the other texts, confusion of *tenuis* and aspirate is frequent, e. g. *kru(s)*, l. 24, = *khrus*, l. 30; *chog*, ll. 12, 17, 21, 31, 41, 42, = *cog*, l. 31; *chag*, ll. 28, 29, = *cag*; *chan*, l. 3, = *can*; *chig*, *gchig*, ll. 24—5, 29, = *cig*, *gcig*; *chiṅ*, l. 33 = *ciṅ*.

L. 2, *gtham:* 'All together', Aorist *btham* of *htham*, 'unite'.
hgoh: = *bsgo*, 'command', 'direct'.

L. 3, *chos . . .la-bab*] 'It fell upon a religion (time, etc., etc.)', a recurrent form of expression.

Ll. 3—4, *gnod-dgur . . . dṅan-dgur-byed:* Locative of result, after 'do'. *Dgu*, 'nine', = 'all', 'each and every'; *dṅan* = *ṅan*, as elsewhere also (e. g. IV, l. 8).
g-yon-chan(can): 'Left-handed', 'perverse'.

L. 6, *mṅah-rgyaṅ:* 'Power-length'. But probably *rgyaṅ* should be *rgyad*,, which we have translated.

L. 7, *thugs-thub:* See Ś. C. Das' Dictionary.

L. 9, *sñiṅ-gyur:* 'Become heart': in N. E. Tibet there seems to have been a confusion, extending to the Nam language, of *sñiṅ*, 'heart', with *sñan*, ‚affectionate', 'affection'; cf. IV, l. 10.

L. 11, *hphyas:* Aorist of *hphya*, 'abuse', 'deride'.

L. 13, *draṅ-mkhraṅ:* 'Straight firmness' = 'uprightness'; cf. IV, l. 8, and the *hldaṅ-kraṅ* of Nam.
żiṅ: On *żiṅ* in expressions of time, etc., see L. I.

L. 15, *khar:* 'At the juncture or time' *(kha)*.

L. 17, *stoṅ-jig:* = *ston-jig*, l. 18: perhaps for *stoṅs* | *stons*.

L. 18, *srid:* 'Possibility'.

Ll. 18—19, *mñan . . . ñan:* = *sñan*, 'listen'.

L. 21, *hog-tu:* 'After'.

L. 24, *żag-sum-żiṅ:* Temporal *żiṅ:* see L. I.

L. 25, *lud* = *glud*, l. 28: = *blud*, 'pour out', 'offer', 'invite'.

Ll. 25—26, *sems-na-yaṅ . . . sñam-du-sñoms-te:* A not infrequent pleonasm in introducing and closing a quotation.

L. 26, *bas:* 'Not to mention'.

L. 27, *phu-su:* 'Those who are elder sons'; but *su* is perhaps en error for *nu* (elder and younger').

L. 29, *sgo-lha: sgo* = 'private', as often; cf. *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., I, p. 135, n. 1, *sgo-sgohi-mchod-pa*, 'private several worships'.

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[1]) = 'common people'. [2]) Or 'plain' *(rgya)*.

[3]) The Bug-chor (or *cor* = county) probably included Western Kan-su and the adjacent regions. On this district and on the Drug or Dru-gu mentioned below see *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, pp. 276—280. The event and the date are not identified.

Ll. 30—1, *ḫtshol.la . . . byo:* Imperatives connected by *la:* cf. l. 35,, *smos-la-gtoṅ.*

L. 33, *dbul:* Future or Aorist of *ḫbul, phul.*

L. 34, *sos:* Aorist of *ḫtsho.*

L. 36, *ye-ḫdrog:* = *ḫbrog*, 'accident', 'harm caused by an evil spirit', occurs with *ḫdrog*, 'wince', 'shudder', in another contemporary MS. also (*infra*, VI, l. 142)
myi-ḫjiḫ: 'Not heavy *(lci, lji)*, important'? or 'not *(even)* a flea' *(lji, ḫji)?*
rags: Apparently = *rag* or *rag-lus*, 'compliant'.

L. 42, *bźin:* 'Face', the original meaning of the word.

L. 44, *sus . . . sus:* Instrumental of *su*, 'who': 'one . . . another'.

L. 47, *mgo-nag:* 'Black-heads', = the common people (usually Chinese). See, further, *Tib. Lit. Texts and Documents*, III, p. 77.

L. 51, *dar-pa-daṅ:* 'With (i. e. after) his flourishing', a known idiom.

Chapter IV

Ages of Decline: the Skyi kingdom and its religion

INTRODUCTION

The interest of this text[1]), which is great, relates principally to the pre-Buddhist religion and mythology of the Skyi kingdom, which we have already seen reason for identifying with the country of the T'ang-chang or Tang-hsiang; but doubtless the picture would represent also the other peoples of eastern and north-eastern Tibet.

The text, fragmentary at beginning and end, starts with an account of successive ages of mankind: at the point where it starts we are concerned with periods of moral decline, but there are indications that the theory admitted also the reverse. After about 40 lines of this pessimistic opening, which in tone is quite similar to the text contained in MS. III, the language becomes wilder, poetic and interspersed with verses; we find ourselves deploring the degradation of a certain 'Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ king', and a very varied assortment of divinities, among whom the chief appears to be the great *mtshe* His-po-his. Next we have a genealogy of that divinity, born in the mountains, and an account of his wonderful prowess and of the king's devotion to him. A subordinate being, Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne Tshog-po, is then introduced, with statement of his origin and circumscribed functions: after which come genealogies of Turquoise, Barley, Wheat and Cotton, conceived as powers, with particularizations of the grades and species of these products, which perhaps were governing factors in the economy of the country. After a passage (lines 162—174) affirming the king's fealty to all these there are tributes of allegiance, in all the sunlit (i. e. southward-facing) mountains, to a certain Pu-Rma-bo, 'Elder-brother Rma-bo', and in all the shadowy (i. e. northward-facing) mountains to the Lady Yul-ma (lines 175—185); then also to the Tibetan king (lines 186—193) and to a queen Khri-mo Khri-cog (lines 193—198). Next comes a long story (lines 198—227) of a Boy Smon-bu, and a shorter one (lines 229—241) of a Myaṅ girl-queen, followed by a number of proverbs and allegorical titles applied to the king. We then enter upon a long (lines 245—291) and elaborate glorification of the king, celebrating (a) his fealty to his father, Hi-de the Great, his mother P(h)ra-dag, his family of brothers, the various divinities and powers already mentioned, and Elder-brother Rma-bo's leading (lines 245—259); (b) his person and loyalty to teacher and ministers (lines 260—265); (c) his protection against demons and oppression (lines 265—270); (d) his natural capacity as a ruler

[1]) India Office MS., Stein collection, vol. 69, foll. 76—83, originally a roll of approximately equal sections, pasted together; yellowish Chinese paper of the coarser kind, c. 363 cm. long × 26 cm. wide, now in folios c. 43—48 cm. in length; fragmentary at commencement, some gaps at left, worn and rubbed in places, especially at the right margin. The script is not uniform in size and neatness, and the first two folios (no. 76—7) have a separate Stein number (85 IX 4) and differ in punctuation from the remainder in which the interpunkt between words is usually the colon (:), not the single dot (.). *Recto*, 211 columns of Chinese text, in large script, being a part of a translation of the *Ghana-vyūha*; *Verso*, Tibetan text, lines 353, adequately spaced, extending across nearly the whole width; fragmentary at beginning, probably nearly complete at end; rather small, cursive, *dbu-can* script, with many corrections, usually immediate and in continuation, by the original scribe. Pl. V.

(lines 270—275); (e) his prudence, justice, and watchfulness (lines 275—289). This encomium ends with a passage (lines 289—291) which seems to indicate that it has been recited on the occasion of a scapegoat ceremony on the king's behalf. The remainder (lines 291—353) of the text relates incidents of placation of fiends threatening the rulers of the several adjacent districts of Tibet, each of which performances the Skyi king is stated to have repeated. With this 'all fiends' section the MS. and, approximately at least, the text also, come to an end.

The expression *Myi-Rma-bu*, 'Man Rma-bu', which we have previously met (p. 29—30), as surname of a man of the Skyi country, means simply 'Man Peacock-son', i. e. member of the race occupying the region of the Rma-chu (or chab), the Peacock-river or upper Hoang-ho. In lines 175—185, as we see, Myi-Rma-bu is said to owe some allegiance to an Elder-brother Pu-Rma-bo and further to a consort, Yul-ma, who in line 184 is entitled 'high mother'; being associated with Pu-Rma-bo and placed on a par with him, she is, no doubt, his wife. The royal lady *(ljam Khri-mo)* Khri-cog is possibly wife of Myi Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king; the other relations are a father, Hi-de, the great, who is in heaven, a mother, the lady P(h)ra-dag, who survives, and the sons, the His brothers, *(bu-His-bu-spun)*. It is conceivable that Pu-Rma-bo, 'Elder-brother Rma-chief', was senior only in relation to the last-named; but the citation of these comes much later than that of Pu-rma-bo, who, being mentioned with great deference (lines 175 sqq.) and as influential (lines 249, 253) in relation to Myi-Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king, is clearly *his* elder brother. We have therefore a family of persons related as follows:—

Hi-de, the great (dead) = Queen Phra-dag

Pu-Rma-bo = Yul-ma Myi-Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-rgyal The *His* brothers

Myi-Smon-bu (possibly not so related).

This is the royal family of the Skyi-kingdom, the T'ang-chang kingdom of the Chinese histories[1]).

These furnish a genealogy as follows (Russian translation by Père Hiacinth Bichurin, I, pp. 109—112, cf. Bushell, p. 528).

1. Lyan (i. e. Lyang)-tsin;
2. Lyan-mihu (grandson), c. 425 A.D.;
3. Lyan-mihuan (son);
4. Lyan-hutzŭ (grandson of no. 2);
5. Lyan-mičži (Lyan-yantsŭ, younger brother of no. 5, a usurper);
6. Lyan-mitsi (d. 485 A.D.);
7. Lyan-mibo (son of no. 6) — lived at Chou-chi;
8. Lyan-michen — set up by the Chinese, being popular;
9. Lyan-midin, in whose time the Chinese Chou dynasty (557—589 A.D.) suppressed the kingdom and constituted the district Than-chou.

The dynastic name *Lyang* is probably identical with the *Ḫldyaṅ* of the Nam text (*Nam, an ancient language* . . . , p. 333), who were the T'ang-chang people, both words representing a *ldyaṅ* (cf. Chinese *lien* = *ldem*[2])). The conditions apparent in our text belong evidently to a period prior to the abolition of the local dynasty; and the names *Mitsi (Rma-hi)*, *Mibo (Rma-bo)* and *Michen (Rma-Mchiṅ)*, and the relations between the persons, render it highly probable that Michen is in fact the Myi-Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king, of the text, whose reign accordingly should be dated somewhat later than 500 A.D. The name *Mchiṅ* has, apparently, nothing to do with the name of the country, *Skyi-mthiṅ*, as given in Texts I and II (*supra*, pp. 29—30, 45);

[1]) See the Geographical Introduction.

[2]) The district Ljaṅ-sṅon in Skyi, which is mentioned in line 315 of our text and also, as Skyi-ro-lchan-sṅon, in no. 1068 of Mdlle Lalou's *Inventaire*, may perhaps contain in its name the same element.

but it might be connected with *Mi-ch'iṅ*, which is given in the T'ang *Annals* (see Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, p. 338) as the name of one of the Tang-hsiang tribes. The *ḫdi*, 'this', frequently (lines 57, 105, 163, 193, 227, 247, 275, 279, 297) appended to the name of the king, is probably not temporal, but local, and is the opposite of *da* in *Ḫbon-da-rgyal*, 'the Ḫbon-there king'[1]), as opposed to 'our king here': it seems to be a not very significant idiom, since in line 343 the Rkoṅ king also is *Rkoṅ-ḫdi Dkar-po*.

One further personal reference in the text may help to confirm this inference. The Tibetan king, who in line 186 receives the authorized Royal Tibetan designation (*Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, II, p. 99; Lhasa Edicts edited by L. A. Waddell, J. R. A. S. 1909, see p. 938) *Ḫo[l]-lde Lha-dpal Phu (Spu-)-rgyal*, is in line 187 named Ḫo[l]-de Lha-dpal Guṅ-rgyal. The residence of the Tibetan king is given (l. 320) as Sogs-yar in Yar-khyim (= Yar-luṅ, Yar-kluṅs); and he is therefore anterior to Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, c. A. D. 600=650, who transferred the capital from Yar-luṅ to Lha-sa. One of the ancestors of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, Bya-khri, who resided in Yar-luṅ, bore the name *Spu-de Guṅ-rgyal*[2]), wherein, as we have already (pp. 34, 41) seen, *Guṅ (Dguṅ)-rgyal* means 'Heaven-king'. Obviously he is identical with the Guṅ-rgyal of our text; and we thus obtain a date, c. 500 A.D., for one of the, hitherto legendary, ancestors of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po.

The very unflattering descriptions which the Chinese give[3]) of the manners and customs of the T'ang-chang and Tang-hsiang suffice to identify the people with the 'Tangutans', Panak-sum, Go-lok, visited and described by Przevalski (*Mongolia*, II, pp. 109 sqq.), Rockhill (*The Land of the Lamas*, pp. 72 sqq., 188 sqq., see also Index), Futterer (*Durch Asien*, I, cc. VIII, IX), the Vicomte d'Ollone (*In Forbidden China*, pp. 229—281), and Dr. W. Filchner (*Das Rätsel des Matschŭ*, pp. 105 sqq., *passim*). They have extended beyond their ancient domain, being found in the Koko-nor region and as far up the Hoang-ho as its sources. Though their system of life is nomadic, they have permanent settlements in various places, even in the more westerly parts of the country; and in the valleys of the tributaries which reach the Hoang-ho in the Koko-nor region these seem to be somewhat numerous, while along the T'ao river, which we may take as the old eastern boundary, there are towns, Shin-she (Zin-cu), T'ao-chou (Teḫu-cu), Min-chou, known from at least the VIIIth century A.D.: Ho-chou, on the Ta-hia-ho, a tributary of the Hoang-ho, considerably west of the T'ao-ho (in its S-N course), was perhaps even far older and more considerable: it is not very far (on the map) from the terminus of the Chinese Wall in those parts and may have been under direct Chinese administration. Naturally, in suitable districts, especially towards the Chinese border, which would be the T'ao river with its districts Miṅ-chou, Ti(k)-tao-chou and Lin-t'ao-chou (see *Nam*, p. IX), there would be cultivation[4]) — at Kuei-té on the Hoang-ho, south of the Koko-nor, wheat, millet, hemp, broad beans and peas are the principal crops, while a little cotton also is grown (Rock-hill, *Journey*, p. 90). Hence it is not surprising that our text pays homage to barley, wheat and cotton, as well as to turquoise, which is universally prized as ornament in the Nan-shan countries and Tibet[5]). That the water-supply, always a great problem in north-eastern Tibet, and the provision of irrigation channels were matters bulking large in people's thoughts appears from the series of similes in lines 276—9; where also there is allusion to travellers, sc. the trade-caravans such as now traverse the country from Sung-p'an to Tankar and Hsi-ning (Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, pp. 54, 156, 189, *Journey*, pp. 58, 117; d'Ollone, *op. cit.* pp. 251—5).

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[1]) *Tibetan Literary Texts. etc.*, II, p. 5. [2]) A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, p. 79.

[3]) See Bushell, J. R. A. S. 1880, p. 528; Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, pp. 337—8. Cf. a Chinese emperor's remark (Bichurin, I, p. 112) concerning a T'ang-chang king.

[4]) The *Later Han Annals* and the *Sui Annals* state that 'the five cereals are not much in evidence' (Wylie, Revue de l'Extrême-Orient, I, p. 433 and De Groot, op. cit. II, p. 185. [5]) See *infra*, p. 84.

It is not surprising to find that the several species of turquoise have names (lines 123 sqq.) indicating an origin outside the Skyi country: these are 'bird-egg turquoise which came with Spu-rgyal (the eponymous king of Tibet)', 'Rkoṅ-kingdom turquoise', 'Kyara-kyura turquoise', 'Ha-ża round' turquoise, 'Me-ñag round', 'Gnam-po middle-horn', 'Ne-tso (once Myeco, line 121) 'blue-long(?)'. Similarly cotton, attributed primarily to China (line 159), is 'China cotton', 'Mon cotton', 'Southern cotton', 'Bal (Nepal?) cotton' (lines 160, 173—4). The specifications of barley are descriptive merely; but those of wheat include 'Mon-Stalk-flexible-high' and 'Mon-dwarf' (lines 155—6).

Here, further, we may enumerate the regions of Tibet named in connection with local divinities or fiends, viz. Dags (333 = Dwags), Dbye-mo (324), Gnubs (299), Hol-pu (331), Klum (311), Mchims (336), Mdo-ro (345), Myaṅ (340), Ñas-po (309), Rkoṅ (343), Rṅegs (327), Rtsaṅ (291), Skyi-ro (315), Thaṅ (305), Yar-khyim Sogs-yar (320). It would appear in lines 231—241 that the Myaṅ country, defferent from the Myaṅ of l. 340, was in specially close relation to Man Rma-bu Mchiṅ-king and perhaps claimed as owing allegiance to him.

In the Skyi country itself we may perhaps locate the Sñi mountains (lines 88—90), the Gdiṅ-Six (246), the Phyi (or Dbye)-ldaṅ-Three (195, 199) and the pass Dgu-ba; possibly also districts or tribes implied in the names Rod Dbye-thog-bde (186—7), and Rod-mo-lha and Dor-mo-lha (194).

For identifications of the above localities reference may be made to the notes on the passage and the Geographical Introduction.

There are several allusions in the text (lines 54—5, 68—70, 109—111) to the 'high town (or fort, *rlan-mkhar*)' and the 'high road zig-zag', in which we easily recognize the model of the modern Tibetan *rdzoṅ* (*vulgo* Jong) with winding ascent; further, to the noble's house and cattle-yard *(phyugs-ra)* and to the 'low town' *(dmah-mkhar)* of the people, to the felt house *(bal-khyim)*, the 'rain-house' *(char-khyim)*, and the 'wooden-house' *(śiṅ-khyim)*. We find no mention of the earth-covered, quasi-underground, structure described by the Vicomte d'Ollone (*In Forbidden China*, pp. 232—4, cf. Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, II, pp. 289, 291). Buddhist monasteries, which now are scattered through the country and include, in the establishment of Labrang, one of the most splendid shrines of Tibetan Buddhism (illustrations in d'Ollone, pp. 282—6, and Kozlow, *Mongolei, Amdo, und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto* (trans. Filchner), were, of course, along with every other feature of Buddhism, lacking.

From the account (lines 107 sqq.) of Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne Tshog-po, who is described as 'lord of subordination' *(ñan-kyi-bdag)*, 'official of superiority' *(stan-kyi-druṅ-po)* and 'lord of services' ('wages'?, *lo-de-bdag*), we can see that the system of government included a sort of chief minister or Diwan. In lines 167—8 the king is said to stand himself in this relation to the great divinities; and, further, he is called 'official of *si-si*'[1]), an obscure expression: in lines 260—263, where the same expressions occur, mention is made of deference to the influence of an aged teacher (or teachers) and the distinguished *(źal-bzaṅs)* Ldoṅ, ministerial, house[2]).

The text is certainly religious. In part it is even ritual, as is proved by the fact that in several places (lines 121, 139, 152, 158, 174, 183, 185, 193, 198, 303) repetition of formulas is replaced by directions as to their modification in particular uses. This may explain why what originally may have been composed in connection with Myi-Rma-bu Mchiṅ-king's sovereignty, and perhaps for his coronation, retained an interest at Tun-huang in the VIII th(?) century, more than 200 years, no doubt, after his decease, and possibly two centuries later than the suppression of his kingdom. In that country at least, and perhaps also in some religious establishment at Tun-huang, the rites may have been still in use. The opening section of the text, with its marked difference of form and tone (as well as in punctuation and its somewhat larger script), came perhaps from outside and was prefaced as a matter of usage.

[1]) *tshi-śi?* Cf. *Tibetan Lit. Texts and Docc.*, II, p, 49. [2]) See *Tibetan Literary Texts, etc.*, I, p. 302, n. 1.

The religious content consists in the celebration of certain divinities and the record of certain, scapegoat, rites. Among the divinities we must include Turquoise, Barley, Rice and Wheat, conceived as spirits, and provided with genealogies, grades and enumerations of species. Even portions of them may, as we shall see, have a magical value and, for the occasion, a name. To these products the king stands in a relation of submission or allegiance *(ñan)*.

Of the more personified divinities some, mostly named also in Bon texts, are cited only as classes or as titles, 'nines', which may be equivalent to 'all': they may be briefly enumerated as follows:—

(1) *Lha* (lines 58, 101, 165, 351), including, in Tibetan Buddhism, 'the whole class of petty and minor gods' (Sanskrit *deva*, Central-Asian *nātha*, Burmese *nat*, etc.), Buddha being *Lha-yaṅ-Lha*, 'god-of-gods': the title is applied also, like Sanskrit *deva*, to kings and nobles. The Tibetan *Lha* are for the most part chthonian, *sa-bdag*, 'earth-lords'. In lines 294—345 we have mention of the *lha* of many different countries, in most cases with their proper names; but it is not clear whether they were national.

(2) *Rje* (lines 58, 101, 165), 'lord' or 'chief', not elsewhere mentioned among divinities.

(3) *Gsas* (lines 58, 101, 165,) These two are known in Bon-po writings[1]).

(4) *Pha*, 'Father' (lines 58, 101, 166).

The meaning of *gsas* is not stated; but there is ground for supposing that in Tibetan and Nam alike it is merely a form of *btsas*-'offspring'.

(5) *Gar* (lines 58, 101, 165), 'dance' (or *mgar* 'smith's work', *dgar* 'encampment'), might conceivably mean 'Army-commander', since Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po's famous war-minister, Gar (Ḫgar, Mgar) Gdoṅ(Ldoṅ, Stoṅ)-btsan, bore that (tribal?) surname.

Lha (line 96) and *Gsas* (74, 96) are sometimes prefixed to the term *mtshe* as classificatories.

The term *Bon*, likewise appearing (lines 58, 101, 166) in these groups, must be understood as equivalent to *Lha-Bon*, 'Divine Bon' (an incarnation, like the present incarnate La-mas?), which also occurs several times (lines 60, 87, 164, 222, 228) and which is elsewhere also known (*Tibetan Texts*, etc., II, pp. 394—5).-But we have also *g-yaṅ-bon*, 'luck-Bon', *phywa-bon*, 'lot-Bon', mentioned with individual names, while the Rgya-Bon of line 349 is simply a Bon priest. Who may be the *Glun*, contrasted in line 98 with the Bon, we cannot pretend to determine.

The usual designation of the priest is *gśen*, which in mundane usage is probably (*Tibetan Texts*, etc., II, p. 395, III, pp. 102—4) equivalent to *gśed*, 'executioner'. But it may originally have meant 'wise' (Tibetan *śes*, 'know', etc., Hsi-hsia *se*: see now H. Hoffmann in ZDMG XCVIII, pp. 340—358); and it is certainly an old religious term, since *Gśen-rabs* 'Gśen-preeminent', is a title of the legendary founder of the Bon religion. We cannot pursue the term further; but we may remark that *śed* means 'strength' and *Gśed-bu*, 'son of Gśed or Śed = Manu', is a word for man in general *(mānava)*. All this suggests that *gśen* was an older term than Bon and that the founder of the Bon religion may have been a *gśen*: in the Skyi kingdom the priests were not yet known as Bons.

When we have added the already described cosmographical scheme with its heavens Gnam and Dguṅ, we have perhaps exhausted the Bon religious framework and may turn to what seems to be a deeper, more primitive, stratum.

Mtshe, the commonest divine designation, is clearly a general term. In the verse-passage lines 81—85 we have the *mtshes* of the long mountains, of the wide expanses, and of the precipice-ledges; in line 71 we have a 'harvest-bag' *mtshe*, and a 'gold-mine' *mtshe*; in lines 73—74 a Lho-brag ('Southern crag') *mtshe*, a swamp *mtshe*, a *mtshe* of the upper meadows, a Gsas *mtshe*, a G-ya *mtshe*; in line 96 Gsas *mtshe*; in lines 97—8 'the highest *mtshe* of the Bon,

[1]) See A. H. Francke's translation of the *Gzer-myig*, in *Asia Maior*, I, p. 167.

the lowest *mtshe* of the Glun': we also have several mentions (lines 86, 99, 101—7, 288) of feminine *mtshes*, *mtshe-ma* or *°mo*. Thus the *mtshes*, while often associated with localities, are not invariably so: in three instances (lines 223, 288, 294) a *mtshe* or *mtshe-mo* is an article contributed, in the last occurrence along with a nail, some wool, etc., to a scapegoat. Any connection with the words *rtse*, 'top', 'peak', *tshe*, 'time', 'life-time', *htshe* 'injure', *mdze*, 'leprosy', *mdzes*, 'charming', is ruled out. There remains only *mtshe*

> 'an evergreen grass which does not grow more than a cubit in length and is burnt as incense, also mixed with snuff in Tibet'.

If this should seem to present difficulty, we have only to refer to the spirits of turquoise, barley, etc., already mentioned, and to the *mtshes* as part contents of the scapegoats; but more may be added. All over north-eastern and eastern Tibet (Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, pp. 110, 282,) there is at present a large importation of incense-sticks from Lha-sa; in the tents of the nomads incense is burned upon the never failing shrine (*Journey*, p. 123); and, to judge from references (ibid., pp. 130, 132, 197—8, 201—2), it would seem that the traveller in any situation, however remote, is always prepared to perform with incense (Juniper spines) some little ceremony (*Journey*, p. 243, *Land of the Lamas*, (p. 245), Przevalski, *Mongolia*, II p. 113[1]): as to the tobacco, every Panaka man carries it in the form of snuff, and the first action upon receiving a visit is an exchange of ceremonial sniffs. As incense in such universal use, the *mtshe* might reasonably be a spirit no less potent than turquoise, barley, cotton and wheat. Its association in the scapegoat figure with the objects cited is evidently in harmony with this interpretation; and the further citation of *yuṅs*, 'turnip' or 'mustard', and *bse*, which is either a certain plant or a piece of *serow* leather, is confirmatory; for the Bon literature has retained *Yuṅs* and *Bse*, as well as *G-yu*, 'turquoise', in its pantheon.

The text, however, is devoted primarily and throughout to the glorification of a *mtshe* who has progressed further in the direction of abstractness and personification. This is the *mtshe* His-po-his, who however does not seem to be identical with the supreme *(bla) mtshe* Srad-po, 'the hard or firm', see p. 81—2. It was the coming of this *mtshe* that put an end to the decline of the age and the insignificance of Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king. Among the mountains of Skyi the divine-*mtshe* Khar-ba and his consort, *mtshe*-mother Khrun-bzaṅs, produced their son, the supreme *mtshe* Srad-po (lines 79—86); but it was among the Sñi mountains, meadows and vales (lines 88—9) that the *mtshe*-son Khrun-bzaṅs Ljon-bzaṅs, 'Height-fine Tree-fine', was born to *mtshe*-father Raṅ-roṅ, 'Separate defile' (?), and *mtshe*-mother Byaṅ-paṅs, 'Pure-height'. There is some obscurity here; for in lines 98—9 we are told that 'There is the lord *mtshe* His-po-his; there is the feminine *mtshe* Byaṅ-paṅs, there is Sum-zur (= Byaṅ-paṅs, line 106). They came holding the chieftain, they came holding the supreme Bo-bla ('Hero (or elder, *pho*)-exalted'), the son': Khrun-bzaṅs Ljon-bzaṅs should metronymically (which system may have been usual among the T'ang-chang) be son of Khrun-bzaṅs and so also of Divine-*mtshe* Kharba, not of Raṅ-roṅ and Byaṅ-paṅs; but here apparently His-po-His is husband of Byaṅ-paṅs and father of Bo-bla (elsewhere Bo-bkra). We cannot agree to such an uncertainty concerning the chief persons in the mythology. It seems necessary to identify His-po-his with Khrun-bzaṅs Ljon-bzaṅs, whose prowess is in lines 91—98 elaborately described; and Byaṅ-paṅs must be his mother, Bo-bla his son. The supreme-*mtshe* Srad-po must be either *mtshe*-father Raṅ-roṅ or some one more remote. Possibly the relations of these *mtshes* correspond to the situation in the family of Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king.

In any case it is evident that the *mtshe* His-po-his is brought out as a new discovery, to cope with the evils of the time. It will be no accident that his name resembles that of Hi-de,

[1]) See also Desgodins, *Le Tibet* (1885), p. 380, Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, II, p. 60, Stötzner, *Ins unerforschte Tibet*, p, 230.

the great, the father of Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king, who is the divinity's chief protégé and devotee. The accession of the popular prince to the throne which naturally fell to his elder brother was guaranteed on the part of the priests by the institution of a new great divinity.

It does not seem necessary to say anything further in regard to individual *mtshes*. Of *bses* one or two are particularized: in line 117 we have reference to a genealogy of Bse Śaṅ-śaṅ Ru-riṅs ('Long-horn'); in line 240 we have the Bse Be-co; in lines 293—4 and 303 the Bse Pyaṅ-paṅ; but the three last references are in connection with contents of scapegoats. The *bse* Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne Tshog-po, whom we have mentioned as a sort of Prime Minister of the *mtshe* His-po-his, seems to have occasioned some difficulty to the author of the text, who says (lines 116—9) that, upon inquiry as to him, we do not find in the lineage of the above-mentioned Bse Śaṅ-śaṅ Ru-riṅs, father of *bses*, any *bse* Goṅ-kar: the real parents of Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne Tshog-po are Duṅ-gi-glaṅ-po, 'Elephant[1]) of Shells', and Gyuḫi Ḫpra-mo, 'Turquoise Fine', and he proceeds to describe the origin of turquoise. *Bse* is clearly a deer, the *serow* deer: *sib-bse*, which can hardly be connected with *sib*, 'be soaked in', *sib-bi*, 'a certain disease', *sib-bu*, 'a kind of smallpox or measles', is *prima facie* a kind of *bse*, an impression which the author apparently seeks to remove. *Goṅ-kar* should mean 'at the top'; in regard to *Be-ne* we might think of the Hsi-hsia word *ne*, 'king', in which case *Be* could be the kingdom *Be-cu*, sometimes mentioned during the period (*Tibetan Literary Texts etc.*, I, p. 274, n. 5). This could not be the Chinese district Wei-chou, constituted in 624 A.D. (Bushell, *op. cit.* p. 528 (13)) out of part of the country of the Pailan; but conceivably it was a district on the Wei river, near to the T'ang-chang: it will be observed that in 792 A.D. and in 802 Wei-chou was a T'ufan (Tibetan) city, while in 842 the Tibetans 'overran the country as far as Wei-chou' (ibid., pp. 505, 509—10, 523). *Tshog-po* might mean 'of Tshog (= Cog)-ro', concerning which see *Nam*, p. 58, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., I, p. 279, n. 5, II, pp. 15, 85 (Tshog), 302, 457). Possibly therefore Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne Tshog-po is the spirit of a province, or feudatory kingdom, the head of which was chief minister of the T'ang- chang state.

Lastly, as quasi-divine we may mention the 'kings' or 'ancestors' of lower valleys (*mdaḫ*, line 93), of estates (*gżi*, line 94), of birds (line 94), of goats (line 94), of turquoise (line 123), of barley (lines 142—3), of wheat (lines 153—4). There may also be 'heaven deer' and 'fiend deer' (lines 200—1) as well as ordinary deer.

The *Dmus* and *Sris* are beings of evil tendency, and in lines 266—7 we read of *Rmu*-thieves and *Sri*-thieves. But they are not wholly so, since the *Rmu*-thieves are 'respected' (*btsun*, or feminine?) and in line 223 the *Dmus* are associated with the *lha* and the *gsas* as 'the three kings', receiving homage. In Ś. C. Das' Dictionary *dmu* is defined as 'a malignant spirit, a kind of evil demon that causes dropsy in those on whom his malignant eye falls'; and a connexion with water is implied in the expression '*dmu-dag* drinks' (line 258). The *sri* are stated to be 'a kind of devil or demon devouring esp. children, a vampire.... supposed to live underground'. Inthe Bon-po *Gzer-myig* (trans. Francke, *Asia Maior*, I, p. 166, 169—170) both *Dmus* and *Sris* are mentioned.

Uniformly hostile and aggressive are the fiends (*srin*; in line 266 the commoner word *bdud* is used), who in many cases are attached, like the *lha*, 'gods', to particular countries (lines 231 sqq., 292—349); but in lines 206 sqq., 306, 307 we have a fiend of the wilds *(ḫbrog)* and in line 308 a fiend of the high pasture-land *(thaṅ)*. The fiend of the wilds in lines 205 sqq. is obviously a storm-cloud: the local fiends usually threaten the local king with conveyance to the fiend-country of 'fire not hot, water not wet'.

The threat of the fiend is almost invariably met by invoking a human expert, a priest *(gśen)*, who places the person threatened under the authority of the local god *(lha)* and

[1]) Bull?

buys off the fiend by means of a scapegoat. Since we have perhaps nowhere else so full an account of this procedure[1]), the matter may be somewhat further expounded.

Concerning the *glud* we learn from the Tibetan Dictionary of Ś. C. Das that it means 'ransom', and *glud-tshab* ('ransom-substitute') is

> 'the ransom offered to some malignant spirit, consisting of one's effigy made of barley or wheat straw, and its interior filled with grain, edibles, cloth, medicine, and precious articles such as gold, silver or coins, and then thrown in the direction from which the evil spirit is supposed to have come. There are several varieties of this kind of ceremony'.

We hear nothing further concerning the practice or ritual of the *glud*, which would hardly be favoured by the dominant Buddhist religion, using against the demons other means. But its antiquity is guaranteed by an eighth-century document from Chinese Turkestan (*Tibetan Literary Texts* etc., II, p. 392), where a part of the ceremony is set forth; and in Colonel Waddell's *Lamaism* (pp. 484—6) we are informed concerning a procedure entitled 'Barring the door against the earth-demons', wherein a ram's skull, containing 'some gold leaf, silver, turquoise, and portions of every precious object available, as well as portions of dry eatables, rice, wheat, pulse, etc.' and with pictures and names subscribed, is nailed against the outside af a house, above the door, in the expectation that 'the demons will accept the gifts and wreak injury on the painted figures in place of the real occupants'.

In the present text we have such statements as

> 'Employing the divine-*bon* Ḫpraṅ-zu, the luck-*bon* Theg-leg, the lot-*bon* Kyur-ra, each morn he placed his body in fealty to the *Dmus*, the gods *(Lha)* and the *Gsas*, the three kings. A *mtshe* Number-one and a *Yuṅs*, 'One-filling', he cast away as his body's scapegoat. The fiend of the Waste, Phyag-ma Yed-mo, came consenting' (lines 222—4).
>
> 'The Rtsaṅ king Phwa-ha summoned the Rtsaṅ *(g)śen* Sñal-nag: Turnip (*Yuṅs-mo*, feminine) 'One filling' and Turquoise *Slag-cen* and *Bses* Pyaṅ-paṅ and P(h)a-myig having been put in fealty to... the Rtsaṅ god Pu-dar, and *mtshe-mo* 'Number-one' and Turnip 'Good-filling' and Nail *(Zer-mo)* Ḫpaṅ-bzaṅs and a Mon sheep Ḫbras... wool, a small *bre*, having been cast as scapegoat for [the king's] body, the fiend, Rtsaṅ fiend, Pod-de came accepting: the man went free, the Rtsaṅ king Pwa-ha went free' (lines 293—7).

Elsewhere the objects inserted in the scapegoat include other *mtshes* or *mtshe-mos*, turquoises or *bses*. Several times we have expressions such as—

> 'By night he summoned to be (or 'cast away as') his body's scapegoat *(glud)*;
> At dawn he came to his body;
> By night he was placed in fealty (submission) to the fiend;
> At dawn he took for luck *(g-yaṅ)*? (lines 224—5, 239—240, 310—312, etc.).

What was the container of the object cast away for the fiend is not stated. The expression 'took for luck' *(g-yaṅ-du-blan)* allows, however, an inference: the word *g-yaṅ*, 'luck', occurs in the text with the meaning 'goat' (see also *supra*, pp. 33 n. 1, 35), and we may take note also of the Tibetan expressions—

> *g-yaṅ-dkar*, 'white *g-yaṅ*', = 'sheep';
> *g-yaṅ-gźi* (1) 'an orgie in *Tantric* mysticism, for which a stuffed human skin is said to be required'. (2) 'the whole skin of an antelope on which religious men sit';
> *g-yaṅ-lug*, '*g-yaṅ* sheep', 'the effigy of a sheep made of butter used at a certain religious ceremony;
> *g-yaṅ-lugs*, '*g-yaṅ* dress', 'skin of an animal used for clothing'.

[1]) On the subject in general see Professor Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Vol. III: 'The Scapegoat'.

All this is suggestive of connection of *g-yaṅ* with a stuffed skin; and it is probable that the stuffed sheep skins seen sometimes in the outhouses of Buddhist monasteries, concerning which the monks seem somewhat reticent, are really *g-yaṅs*, survivals of ancient practice: S. C. Das remarks (*Journey to Lhasa*, p. 123) that in the lobby of the great monastery in Gyantse he found 'a grand collection of stuffed animals, such as the snow-leopard, wild sheep, goat, yak, stag, mastiff, etc., and a Bengal tiger'. It seems likely that the receptacle cast away at night was a skin, probably a sheep (or a goat)-skin, and that during the day it was kept in, or about, the dwelling as a luck-object. The fiend worked its will upon the substitute (i. e. some fearless persons extracted the contents) during the night, and not upon the king's sleeping body or upon his soul, absent in safe-keeping of the god.

The objects included in the scapegoat receive, as has been seen, proper names and are sometimes *(mtshe-mo, zer-mo)* feminine. It is likely, therefore, that they are meant to impress the fiend as representatives of the great spirits of the products (turquoise, barley, turnip, leather, etc.) named in the particular instance. The nail is associated with scapegoat rites in Babylonia and many other countries[1]). Similarly wide-spread is the use of thighs or thigh-bones (lines 217, 234).

The religious practices and the divinities which we have specified belong obviously to a stratum earlier and more primitive than the Bon framework, with its cosmological system. The religion, therefore, at the date represented by the text manifests the same double character as the text itself, in which the sober ethical opening of lines 1—56 is only a preface to the wild, poetical style and diction of the remainder. Here the text attributes to all the Tibetan countries which it mentions the same kinds of local divinities, fiends and scapegoat practices which it patronizes. The inclusion of China (lines 348—350) as a finale may, as perhaps is intimated by the mention of *bons* in place of *gśens*, be an imagination. The practices may have persisted long in the Tibetan countries and may have lingered in the studies of some Bon-po establishment in Tun-huang.

This duplicity reflects perhaps the economic situation. A spirit of turquoise, which, found in Honan, is used as ornament by both men and women all over Tibet and without a supply of which 'no traveller passing through Hsi-an on his way to the Koko-nor, Mongolia, or Tibet should omit' (Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, pp. 24, 59—60); a spirit of the *mtshe* plant used for incense; a spirit of the turnip, which furnished a sweet drink for horses (*supra*, p. 26 n. 30 and Rockhill, *Journey*, p. 170); and spirits of different animal species would accord with the nomad mode of life; but the same might not be the case as concerns barley, cotton, wheat, which the nomads would obtain, if at all, only from more settled neighbours, who indeed are generally to be found here and there. Hence we may infer in the T'ang-chang kingdom itself a modification, in the river valleys on its east, nearer to China, of the pure nomadism of the swampy *thaṅs* of its western half. The citations of the different species of the several products, with names partly of countries of origin and partly based upon other distinctions, seem, despite some mythological ingredients, to be realistic: barleys 'fetid' and 'fragrant', or 'Produce-six', Chinese 'Hunchback' wheat, 'Ha-ża Round' turquoise, and even the poetic ones, e. g. 'Peacock-iron turquoise', 'the barley which in the meadow Ldiṅ-myi-ldiṅ, in the river-head district, flies high as a male vulture', may remind us of a seedsman's, or other commercial, catalogue.

As has been mentioned, the tone has a certain 'excitement', as if the composition was designed, which it certainly was, for oral, and partly ritual, recitation. The summing up of Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king's merits in lines 241—289 is elaborately rhetorical and poetic.

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[1]) See *The Golden Bough*, III. The Scapegoat, *passim*.

The two stories (lines 198—227, 229—241) are also poetical; and elsewhere also there are, as in Text I, interwoven verses, where the chief rhetorical artifice is antithesis.

The original language cannot have been Tibetan: it must have been the language of the Skyi or T'ang-chang kingdom, probably therefore an early stage of the Hsi-hsia. Many of the expressions, especially proper names, are non-Tibetan: they are collected in the Linguistic Notes to the text. The special features of the Tibetan as such have been recorded in the Linguistic Introduction.

TEXT

[1].....[par.ḫoṅ.ṅo][1]) | | d[a].yaṅ.s[ri]n. [2] gis.myi.g-yon.chan.kyi.rogs. byas.phas[2]) || myi.g-yon.can.stobs.che.bar.ḫoṅ. [3] ṅo ||

[4] ๏ |:| myi.phyug.jiṅ[3]).nor.bdog.naḫ | ṅan.pa.yaṅ."ḫdzaṅs".śiṅ.żes.bstod.par.ḫoṅ. ṅo || [5] myi.dbul.baḫi.phyir. | ḫdzaṅs.kyaṅ."ṅan.to".żes.smad.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || dper.pha. ma | [6] gñis.la.bu.spun.gñis.bdog.na | bu.gcig.gis.pha.log.pa.la.ṅan.dgur.byas | [7] pas. nor.btsald.te.ḫoṅs.na.pha.ma.gñis.kyaṅ."bu.des.nor.rñed.ḫdzaṅs.po".żes [8] bsdod[4]). par.ḫoṅ.ṅo | bu.gcig.draṅ.mkhraṅ.che.myi.pha.log.po.la.dṅan[5]).myi.byed.nor.myi | [9] tshold.te | gtsug.lag.gi.myi.ni."ṅan".ces.smad.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || ḫuṅ.ltar.pha.ma.gñis [10] kyaṅ.sñiṅ.gyurd.te || bu.ḫdzaṅs.ṅan.kyi.bye.brag.kyaṅ.myi.phyed | bu.ḫi.ṅo.yaṅ myi.sñoms [11] par.ḫoṅ.ṅo ||

myi.ched.po.phyug.po.żig.gis.ma.rig.par.tshig.ṅan.pa.daṅ | brdzun.żig.zer.na. yaṅ[6]) | [12] myi.ḫo.cog.gis.gsag.byas.te || ku[n].gyis.mñan.de.stod.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || myi. ched.po.daṅ.phyug.poḫi.kha | [13] nas.dgod.myi.bro.paḫi.tshig.thos.na.yaṅ.kun.gyis. dgad.moḫi.ra.mdaḫ.byas.te | bgad.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || [14] myi.dbul.po.ḫi.p[h]yir.kha.nas. srid.la.phan.paḫi.tshig.bzaṅ.po.bden.pa.żig.zer.na.yaṅ.sus.kyaṅ. | [15] myi.bñan[7]). bar.ḫoṅ.ṅo || la.la.chig.bden.pa.de.thos.na.yaṅ || rna.ba.yi[8]).gcig.tu.thos.na. | rna. ba.ya.cig. | [16] tu.phyuṅ.ste | yid.la.myi.ḫdzin.bar.ḫoṅ.ṅo | "bden".żes.sus.kyaṅ.myi bñan[9]).myi.bstod.par.ḫoṅo || [17] dgod.bro.baḫi.tshig.cig.byas.kyaṅ.sus.kyaṅ.myi. bgad.par.ḫoṅ[.ṅ]o ||

rabs.pyi.pyir[10]).żiṅ.myi.gñen | [18] dgu.yaṅ.dbul.baḫi.pyir.gñen.tu.myi.rtsi.bar. ḫoṅ.ṅo || pyug[11]).po.gñis.ni.myi.gñen.myi.sdug.kyaṅ | [19] phyug.paḫi.pyir.gñen.sdug. tses[12]).śa.chaṅ.ston. | mo.ḫdre[13]).żiṅ.gñen.tu.ḫtham.bar.ḫoṅ.ṅo || [20] dbul.po.ni.dbul. baḫi.pyir.gñen.dṅan[14]).can.byas.ste || gñen.na.yaṅ.so.sor.bye.bar.ḫoṅo ||

[21] ๏ |:| rabs.[ph]yi.[ph]yir.żiṅ || lha.myi.ma.bye.baḫi.dus.bzaṅ.po.ltar.su.yaṅ. legsu.myi.byed | [22] par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || tshe.dus.ṅan.pa.la.bab.kyis || pyi.pyir.żiṅ.ḫgreṅ. myi.ḫo.chog.kh[r]el.myed.ltas | [23] myed.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || ṅo.tsha.myi.śes.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || bnaḫ[15]).gzuṅs.myed.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo[l]| nor.dad.kyi. | [24] pyir.bdagi.bdud.srog.gis.myi. ḫjigs.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || myi.pha.log.po.la.ṅan.dgu.byed.ciṅ.nor.tshol. | [25] bar.ḫoṅ.ṅo || ḫuṅ.gis.[kh]rel.ltas.myed.ciṅ.mnaḫ.zos.pa.sdig[16]).ste || pha.pas.bu.ṅan.bu.pas.tsa[17]). ṅan.de | [26] myi.rabs.pyi.pyir.żiṅ.ṅan.du.ḫoṅ.ṅo || lus.kyaṅ.pha.bas.bu.thuṅ.pa.śe. dag[18]).tu.ḫoṅ.ṅo || ci.bya.ḫo.chog. | [27] pa.tsam.bus.myi.phod.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || "ji.lta". że.na.myi.dpaḫ.bo.gcig.lag.na.mduṅ.cig.thogste | [28] dmag.tu.khri.tu.stoṅ.gi.naṅ. na || phar.brgal.tshur.brgal.te.ḫoṅs.pa.bas.kyaṅ || myi.pha.log.po | [29] ḫi.chuṅ.ma.la. byi.bas[19]).byas.sam || phrog.rlog.byas.sam | rgyon.po.byas.sam || myi.la.ṅan.du.byas. pa | [30] gsnaṅ.żiṅ.myi.ḫdog[20]).par.legsu.bzuṅ.ste || ṅo.tsha.myi.śes.par || myi.ḫo.chog. la."gtham".zer | [31] bar.ḫoṅ.ṅo ||

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[1]) *na?* [2]) = *pas.* [3]) = *ciṅ*, so also *infra.* [4]) = *bstod.* [5]) = *ṅan.* [6]) *ṅ* below line. [7]) = *mñan.* [8]) *Sic* (for *ya*). [9]) = *mñan.* [10]) = *phyi-phyir.* [11]) = *phyug.* [12]) = *ces.* [13]) = *ḫdren.* [14]) = *ṅan.* [15]) = *mnaḫ.* [16]) For *cig?* [17]) = *tsha.* [18]) = *śed-dag.* [19]) = *ba?* [20]) *ḫdogs?*

rabs.pyi.pyir.żiṅ.skyes.pa.las || bud.myed.brlog.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || bud.myed.ṅo.tsha. myi.śes | [32] śiṅ.myi.srun.bar.ḫoṅ.ṅo || bud.myed.ṅan.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || spyar.bar.ḫoṅ.ṅo|| skyes.pa.phas.myi.zer.par || [33] mos[1].tshus.bskul.te.ñal.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo || bud.myed. gcig.nub.cig.la.skyes.pa.las.de[2].mos.brgyos.kyaṅ | [34] sñiṅ.myi.tshim.ste || da.duṅ. ḫdod.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo ||

[35] ๏ || che[3].ste.rgyal.po.ḫi.chuṅ.ma.man.cad || rgyal.po.bas.mo.ḫdzaṅ[4].su.rtsi.ste|| srid.kyi.naṅ.du.żugste | [36] rgyal.po.daṅ.blon.po.ḫi.bar.tu.żugs.nas.ḫphra.ma.byas. te || rgyal.po.daṅ.blon.po.gñis.kyaṅ.pye[5].bar | [37] ḫoṅ.ṅo || ḫuṅ.gi.pyir.ḫbaṅs.kyaṅ. ñon.moṅs.than.khol[6].b[y]ar.bar.ḫoṅ.ṅo||brlag.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo|[38] rabs.pyi.pyir.żiṅ.myi. ḫo.cog.khyo.bas.chuṅ.ma.kha.drag.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo||chuṅ.mas.pha.daṅ.bu|puṅ|pye[7].bar| [39] ḫoṅ.ṅo || phu.po.daṅ.nu.[b]or.pye.bar.ḫo[ṅ.ṅo] || ñen.dgu.[sdug].dgu.phye.ste[8]. ḫ[th]ab[9].ḫbreg.par.ḫoṅ. [40] gñen.gsod.par.ḫoṅ.ṅo ||

de.nas.g-n.....r.ḫoṅs[10]...m[*chuṅ.daṅ.phyud*].de.phyug.po.mthon || [41] ..... ṅ..gros.ma:dgal:na: | ḫtsh-l....-rab.[d]u.....ru | [42] tsh[a]d:ma:khad: | braṅ:pas: b[r]tags.ma:khad: || bśos:lo.b[r]gya.[ba]bs[11]) | [gro]ṅs.bdun.ḫ[b]um.gyi.[*bda*]g:du.g[ś]e-[*g*]s | [43] ma:khad: || bśos:lha:sa:dgeḫu:las:paṅ[12]):ma:khad: | groṅs:ltaṅ.khuṅ:g[r]u: bżiḫi:|bdag:du:gśegs. |[44] bśos:skad:by[*oṅ*:]byoṅ:|[13]) Gnam:Dguṅ:du:|yar:ma:khad. || groṅs:skad.tham.th[*u*]m:ni|gaṅ:ḫgram.[*d*]u. |[45] ḫ[*d*]ril[14]):ma:khad:|.|mgo[15]):ltas:ni:| skur[16]):mg[o.ye]ṅ.yeṅ: | żabs:bya:rgaṅ[17]) | ni:ḫdra:na:riṅ[18]) | rams. | [46]mthi[l]:ltar: | tshigsu:mthur:ma:khad: | sogs:mthil:ltar: | sbubsu[19]):żom:ma:khad: | bdags:raṃ[20]): [47] dkar:po:la:|po[21]):gśen:thod:kar:brgya:bsogs:te:|:|mo.bthab:[p]ya[22]):blhags:|[*srib*].sa: nag:po:la:|[48] ma.mo:gśen:żu:brab[23]):|brgya:sogs.te.|mo.[*bthab*:]pya[24]):bl[hag]s[t]e:| zuṅsla:ni:bzuṅ: | thagsla:ni:bthags[25]) | [49]..ñan:kar:ni | gzugs | stan:kar:ni:brgyab.... ḫo...m[26]):-[*c*]hu[ṅ].ma:bslus(?).na: | pu[27]):ya:gla: | [50] ...:btsugs.ma:kyis: | bya:ltar: g-o.....m.....md-:ma:bla:cud[28]):po:[b]cu:gñis:|[51].[yu]l:nas:[l]ña:ltar:|tshed.-i.. bcu.....n:[*bgyid*].gaṅs:rñil:ltar:[ma] | [52] [*khad*][29]):g-yen.[*dgu*]-i..-o.....ma:khad: |:|ḫphro[*g*:*po*]s:ni:phrogs:ma:khad: | tsham:pos[30]) |[53] btsam[*s*]:ma:khad:|.|phur.p[*o*]s: ni:pyuṅ[31]):ma:khad: | thom:pos:ni:gthoms:ma:khad: | srod:kyi:[ḫ]ṅra:dus[32]) | [54] ni. bżabs:[*ma*]:khad: | tho:ras:rgun:dus[33]):ni:rgus:ma:khad: | mtho:mkhar:gyi:rtse:nas: skuḫi:b[r]la:[ż]ig |[55] [-s]or[34]):ma:khad:|dmaḫ:mkhar:gyi:sgo:nas:sku[ḫi:]brla:żig:yar: ma:khad: |:| bal.khyim.gur.mo.char.khyim. [56] -re[35]:bo:śiṅ:khyim:khaṅ.mo:naṅ.nas. skuḫi.brla.żig:yar.ma.khad: | da:

ñan:kar:ni gzugso | stan:kar | [57] rgyabo:|.|
pon[36]):kar:ni.gzugso | gon:gar:ni:rgyabo:|.|

Myi:rma-bu:Mchiṅ.rgyal:ḫdi:|

ñan:ḫog:du:ni:gzugs | [58] ñan:ḫog:du:ni:sludo:|
nub:sum: | sku:ñan:du:gzugs:

na: | lha:dgu:gsas:dgu:daṅ:rje:dgu:gar:d[gu]:daṅ: | [59] [*pha*:*dgu*:]bon:dgu:daṅ: |:| rje: His:sten:chen:po: | daṅ.m[tshe]:His-po-his:bdag:[37]) | mamchis[38]): | [60] [*naṅ*:*sum*:sku.

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1) *sos?* 2) *re?* 3) Sic (for *ci?*). 4) = *ḫdzaṅs.*
5) = *phye.* 6) *khrol? khyol?*
7) = *phuṅ-phye*; *puṅ* written over *ra* (crossed out?). 8) ? 9) Possibly *ḫdab.* 10) *ḫoṅo?*
11) *las?* 12) = *phaṅ* (*lam*: *saṅ?*). 13) *d* here crossed out. 14) *ḫgril?*
15) *b* here crossed out. 16) = *sgur.* 17) = *rkaṅ.* 18) *ni*: *raṅ?*
19) *sṅubsu?* 20) *riṃ? ron?* 21) = *pho.* 22) = *bya* or *phywa.* 23) *bub?*
24) = *bya* or *phywa.* 25) *bcags? bdags?* 26) *ḫog-du?*
27) = *phu* or *bu.* 28) *cuṅ?* 29) *skar? gza?* 30) *s* below line. 31) = *phyuṅ.* 32) *ṅus?*
33) *ṅus? sus?* 34) Perhaps *yar.*
35) *gre? ḫdre?* 36) = *phon*, as also *infra.* 37) *daṅ* here crossed out. 38) *cha* here crossed out.

brla]:-kar:[spyon[1])]. | ñin[2]):sum: | g-ya[ṅ.du.gla]n:du.[lha:bon:]*Hpraṅ*-zu:g-yaṅ.bon: Theg-leg: | daṅ.phya[3]).bon [61] .....:Bo-bla:Srad | [yaṅ:][*bla*].m[*tsh*]e:Sr[a]d-[p]o: ma: m[chis] || [naṅ.sum |]sku.ru:s[*py*]on: | ñin:su[m]:g-yaṅ:du | [62] [*glan*:y]aṅ[4]):mtsh[e]:ma m[ch]i[s]:bla:mtshe:Srad-po:ma[5]).mch[i]s: |:| ñi[*n*]:sum:ñan:kar:gzugsu:yaṅ:mtshe:bla: | [63] [mtshe]:Srad-po:ma:mchis:|His-po[6])-h[i]s:bdag:ma:mchis: | stan:[k]ar:rgyabo:ñan: kar:rtsig:du.yaṅ:|[64]mtshe:His-po-his:bdag:ma:mchis:[b]la:mtshe:Srad-po:ma:mchis.: | hin:kar.gzugs[7]):ḫpan[8]):kar:rgyab:[d]u:yaṅ [65] mtshe:His-po-his:bdag:ma:mchis: |:| gon:[*ka*]r:sludu:yaṅ:mtshe:His-po-his:bdag:ma:mchis | [66] bla:mtshe:Srad-po:ma: mchis[9]):

da:myi:ñan:ḫog:du[:]gzug:ciṅ:[ñ]an:ḫog:du:yaṅ: | sludu:yaṅ:mtshe:His-po- | [67] his: [bd]ag:ma:mchis: | : | sku.rla:gaṅ[10]):ñan:khar:dpub:du:yaṅ: | mtshe:His-po-his:bdag: ma:m[chis] | [68] rla:mtshe:Srad-ph[o]:ma:mchis: |:| rlan:mkhar:rtsig:du:yaṅ.mtshe: His-po-his:bdag:ma:mchis: |:| [69] [bla:]mtshe:Srad-po:ma:mchis: |:| rla:khyim:pyug[11]): ra:rtsig:du:yaṅ:mtshe:His-po-his:bdag:rla:mtshe:Srad- [70] [po:*ma*:*mch*]is: |:| rla:lam: sgya:sgyo:rtsig:du:yaṅ: | mtshe:[12])His-po-his:bdag:rla:mtshe:Srad-po:ma:mchis | [71] ....[tshe]:byaṅ:thog:skro:gser | khuṅ:mtshe:la:rab[:]mtshe[: |]mtshe:His-po-his:[bdag]: ma:lags:|:|bla:mtshe:Srad-[72][*po*:*ma*:]lags:|Lho:brag:m[tshe:|]R[kyaṅ]-b[dzu]ṅs:daṅ: ldam:mtshe:Khar-ba:yaṅ.mtshe:His-po-his:bdag: | bla:mtshe: | [73] [*Srad*-]po:[*ma*:]lag-[s]: | sp[-..*bla*]ḫi:mtshe:Rum-baḫi[13]):ñan:mtshe:G[d]o-bo:yaṅ.mtshe: | His-po-his:bdag | [74] [*bla*].mtshe:S[r]ad-po:ma:lags | gas[14]):mtsheḫi:Thal-ba: | daṅ:g-ya:mtsheḫi: | Spur-buḫ[15]): | daṅ:spaṅ.mtsheḫi:[G]run | [75].....[n]:du[16]):yaṅ:mtshe:His-pho-his:bdag: ma:lags: | ñan:kar:gzugs: | stan:kar:rgyab | [76] .....*phon*:[k]ar:rtsig:gon:kar[17]):slud: gyi:mtshe[18]):btshal[19]): | mtshe:His-po-his:bdag | [77] ..... | hin:kar:gzugsu:ḫphan: kar:rgyab:kyi:mtshe:His-po-his:ma:mchis: | bla.mtshe [78] *Srad*:*po*:*ma*:*mchis*:

mtshe:H[i]s-po-his:bdag: | bla:mtshe:Srad-po:btsal:gaṅ:du:btsal:na: | gtshug:ri:yo: ḫa: | [79] .....h[i]s-po[20]):tos:dags:gñis: | tshol:gtshug:ri:yo:ḫa:gñ[*i*]s:na: | mtshe:His-po-his:bdag [80] ....[tsa]l: | gtshug:ri:yo:ḫa:gsum[21]): | cha[:daṅ]:sñams. | [drug]:tsa[22]): daṅ:steṅs:dgu:cha:da[ṅ]:gyu[d:-:cha] [81] ....s:dgu: cha[23]):pyi[24]):gyud:kyi:staṅ:na: | bcu:cha:[daṅ:ral[25])] | deḫi:ya:bla:steṅs: | na: |

ri:riṅ:po | [82] riṅ.[kyi]:mtshe:na:
bla:ri:riṅ:kyi:mtshe: |
dpye: cheḫi:mtshe:na |
bla:dpye:cheḫi:mtshe:
ḫpraṅ[26]):rub:kyi:mtshe[:na:] [83]
[b]la:ḫpraṅ:rub:kyi:mtshe: |.|
ri:riṅ:kyi:mtshe:na:
ḫbro[27]):ri:riṅ:kyi:mtshe |
dbye:cheḫi:mtshe:na: |
ḫbrog:dbye:che[ḫ]i:mtshe: | [84]
ḫpraṅ:rub:kyi:mtshe:na: |
ḫbrog:ḫpraṅ:rub:kyi:mtshe: |
ri:riṅ:kyi:mtshe:na:

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1) = *byon*. 2) *n* added below line. 3) = *phywa*. 4) *m* here crossed out.
5) *ma* added below line. 6) = *pho*, as also *infra*. 7) *u* here crossed out.
8) = *phan*, as also *infra*. 9) *s* below line.
10) = *khaṅ*. 11) = *phyug* 12) Something here crossed out. 13) *mtshe* here crossed out.
14) For *gsas?* 15) *i* here crossed out. 16) Correction of *pu?* 17) *d* here crossed out.
18) *bal* here crossed out. 19) = *btsal*, as *infra*.
20) Something here crossed out. 21) *na* here crossed out. 22) = *cha*. 23) ? (a blur).
24) = *phyi*. 25) *ris? ril?* 26) = *ḫphraṅ*. 27) *Sic* (for *ḫbrog*).

Skyi:ri:riṅ:kyi:mtshe: |
dpye:cheḫi:mtshe:na:
Skyi:dpye:cheḫi [85] mtshe: |[1])
ḫpraṅ:rub:kyi:mtshe:na: |
Skyi:ḫpraṅ:rub:kyi:mtshe: |:|
pa[2]):yab:kyi: | mtshan:ba:Lha-mtshe:Khar-ba: | ma:yum: [86] kyi:mtshan:ba: | Mtshe-maḫi:Khrun-bzaṅs[3]): |.| bu:gla.mtshe[:]Srad-po: |
naṅ[:]sum:sku:ru:spyon: |
ñin:sum:g-yaṅ.du:blan: |:| [87]
lha.bon:Ḫpraṅ-ru[4]):g-yaṅ.bon:Theg-leg: | pya[5]):bon:Kyu-ra: | rje:bla:Bo-[k]ra:sras: | gla.mtse:Srad-po:daṅ.
naṅ.sum:sku:ru:spyon: | [88]
ñin:sum:g-yaṅ.du:glan: |
nub:sum:ñan:du:gzugs:
kyi:mtshe: | His-pho-his:bdag:ma:mcis: |:|
ri:bzur: [89] [t]e:bzur.na:
Sñi:ri:bzur:te:bzur: |
spaṅ:ldeb:be:ldeb:na:
Sñi:spaṅ:leb[6]):be:ldeb: |
phu:daṅ:daṅ:na:
Sñi:pu[7]):daṅ:daṅ: |
mdaḫ:ljod: [90] [*ljod:na*]
[Sñ]i:mdaḫ:ljod:ljod: |:|
kyi:naṅ[8]):na:pha:yab:kyi:mtshan:ba:Mtshe:ba:Raṅ[9])-roṅ: | ma:yum:kyi:mtshan:ni: Mtshe-ma | [91] *Byaṅ-paṅs*: | pu[10]):mtshe:bu:Khrun-bzaṅs:[11]) Ljon-[bzaṅ]s: | mtshe:bu: [Ljon:bzaṅ]s: | thog:ya:ru:bltas:na: | the:briṅ:briṅ:na: | g-yu[92] *Rgya:re*:sṅ[o]: | g-yu: Moṅ[12]):re:sṅo: | lu[gis][13]):g-yaṅ:gyis:g-yu:..re.sṅo:ži[ṅ:*b*]žugs: | druṅ.ma:ru:bltas:naḫ: | [93]briṅ[:*bri*][14])ṅ:bse:bas[15]):dmar:baṅ[16]):bas:dmar: | baḫi:sa:Skyaḫi[17]):sa:tshigs:bltas:na. mdaḫ:rgyal:Drum:kyi:tshigs: | [94] [*kho*]ṅ:bltas:na: | gži:rgyal:Ḫod:kyi:khoṅ: | khrun: bltas:na: | pya[18]):rgyal:Rjeḫi:khrun: | spu:blta[s]:na:ra:rgyal:G-yaṅ[19]):kyi:spu | [95] sus: kyaṅ.ma.ḫtsal:sus:kyaṅ:ma:mthoṅ | pya:rgod:po: | Thaṅ-prom:Thaṅ-g-yag:kyis:mthoṅ. ste: | ya:maṅ:ya:ru:bkal | [96] tshigsu:gthubs: | mtshe:mo:Ñag-cig:ḫdab:kyi:sder:goṅ: [d]u:gthur:| de:btaṅ: | na: | lha:mtshe:Byaṅ-paṅs:gsas [97] mtshe:Sum-paṅs: | lags: | mtshe.mo: [Ñag]:cig:[ḫ]dab:kyi:sder:goṅ:[*du*][:g]thur:te:btaṅ. | na: | bon:kyi:ni:ya[*s*]: mtshe: | [98] glun:kyi:ni:mas:mtshe:lags: | ya:maṅ:ni:ya:ru:bkald: | tshi[g]s:maṅ:ni: tshigsu:gthubs: | mtshe:[His-po-]his:[99]bdag:lags: | mthse:mo:Byaṅ-paṅs:lagso || Sum-zur: lagso | rje:snams:te:gśegs: | bla:Bo-bla[20]):sras: | [100] snams:te:gśegs: | nub:sum:sku:ñan: du:gzugs: | kyi:mtshe:His-po-his:bdag:lagso |:| His-po-[hi]s [101] [b]dag:gyis:rje:dgu: gar:dgu: | lha:dgu:gsas:dgu:pa[21]):dgu:bon:[dgu][22]):His:sten:chen:po: | mtshe:mo:Sum- [102] zur:daṅ:[nub][23]):sum:ni:ñan:du:btsugs:ñan:kyi:bda[g:]po:yaṅ:His-[po]-his:bdag: ḫdi:lags:[so] [103] rla[n:]mkhar:steṅ:steṅ:rtsig[s:]kyaṅ:m[tshe:His-po-]hi[s:bdag:kyi]s: rtsigs:rla:khyim:rtsigs:kya[ṅ: |] [104] His-po-his:bdag:kyis:rtsigs ||

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[1]) Three attempted signs here crossed out. [2]) = *pha*.
[3]) Here above the line (after *l* crossed out) we have | *lo*: *ma*: ; part of the mother's name.
[4]) Elsewhere (ll. 60, 164, etc.) and possibly here also °*zu*. [5]) = *phywa*. [6]) *Sic* (for *ldeb*).
[7]) = *phu*. [8]) *ṅ* here crossed out. [9]) *reṅ?* [10]) = *bu*. [11]) metronymic.
[12]) *bam* (between *ṅ* and *re*) crossed out. [13]) = *lug-gis*. [14]) *yaṅ?* [15]) Two dots over the *s*(?).
[16]) *braṅ? buṅ*, 'bee'? [17]) *Skyiḫ*? [18]) = *bya*.
[19]) *ṅ* (below line) replacing *g* crossed out. [20]) *Sic* (for *bkra*); cf. l. 61. [21]) = *pha*.
[22]) *rje* here crossed out. [23]) ?

rla:laṃ:skya:skyo[1]): bgyis:kyaṅ: His-po-his:bdag:kyis:[bgyis] [105] [naḫ:]Myi:Rma-bu: Mchiṅ-rgyal:ḫdi: |

lha:la:ñan:kar:btsugso: | stan:kar:rgyabo:

phon:mkhar:ni:btsugso | [106] gon:kar:ni:sludo: |:|

pan[2]):kar:ni:rgyab: |

mtshe:la:ñan:du:btsugs: | na | mtshe:mo:Byaṅ-p[aṅs]:Sum-zur:[107] la:ñan:du:btsugso:| ๆ| ° | ñan:kyi:bdag:kyaṅ: Si[b-bse]: Goṅ-kar: Be-[n]e-[tsh]o[g]-po:la[gs] || stan:kyi: [108] druṅ:po:yaṅ:Sib-bse:Goṅ-kar:Be-[n]e-tshog-po:lags: |:| lo:de:bdag:kyaṅ:Sib-bse: Goṅ-kar: | [109] Be-ne-tshog-po:lags || rlan:mkhar:staṅ:st[e]ṅ:[rts]i[g]:du:yaṅ:Sib-bse: Goṅ-kar:Be-ne-tshog-po: | [110] ma:mchis: | rla:khyim:pyug[3]):ra:rtsig:du:yaṅ:Sib-bse: Goṅ-kar:Be-ne-tshog-po[4]):ma:mchi[s]: | rla:laṃ:staṅ:steṅ: [111] rtsig:du:yaṅ:Sib-bse: Goṅ-kar:Be-ne-tshog-po:[ma]:mchis: |: | ñan:kar:gzugsu:Sib-bse:Goṅ-[kar:] [112] [Be-ne]-tshog-po: ma:mchis:|stan:kar:rgyab:[d]u:yaṅ:[|]S[i]b-bse:[Goṅ]-kar:Be-ne-tshog-po:ma:[m]ch[i]s [113] pon[5]):kar:rtsig:du:yaṅ:Sib-bse:Goṅ-ka[r]: | Be-ne-tshog-po:ma: mchis: |:| gon:kar:sludu:yaṅ [114] Sib-bse:Goṅ-kar:Be-ne-tshog-po:ma:mchis:[6]) | [hi]n: mkar[7]):gzugs:pan[8]):kar:rgyab:du:Sib-bse: [115] Goṅ-kar:Be-ne-tshog-po:ma:mchis: | khaṅ.sku.gaṅ[9]).ñan.khaṅ.rla.gaṅ[9]) .dbub.du[:]yaṅ:Sib-bse:Goṅ-kar:Be-ne-tshog-po:ma: mchis° | [116]

nag[10]):ḫdi:bżin:du:g-yu:daṅ:nas:daṅ:po:ma:daṅ:ras:la:nan:ḫdi:bżin:bskor:ro: |°:|

Sib-bse:Goṅ-kar: | Be-ne-tsho[g-p]o: | [117] btsal | na:Bse:Śaṅ-śaṅ.Ru-riṅs: | kyi:rabs: smos:te: | bseḫi:pha:smos :| gyaṅ.bse:Goṅ[11])-gar:ma:lags | Sib-b[s]e:Go[ṅ]-gar | [118] Be-ne-tshog-po:ma:lagso: | pha:Duṅ-gyi-glaṅ-po:daṅ: | ma:G-yuḫi-ḫpra[12])-mo:gñis:smos: ste: | bseḫi:pu[13]):ru:cig:kyi:gy..s: | na: | [119] Sib-bse:Be-ne-tshog-po:Goṅ-kar:lags:so |:|

nub:sum:ñan:du:btsugs:na: |

ñan:khar[:ni]:btsugs[o]: |

[stan:*kar*:*ni*:]rgyabo: | [120]

[pho]n:kar:ni:btsugso |:|

gon:kar:ni:sludo: |:|

hyin:kar:ni:btsug[s]o |

d[pa]n[14]):kar:ni:rgyabo: |

bse:th[o]g:ma:[btsal:ḫdi:bskor:] [121] de:brtsigs: śiṅ:rñed:ces:bgyi:ḫo: |:| ° ||

g-yu:la:yaṅ:nan.ltag:ma:bżin:du:Mye-cho:Thiṅ-snar:g-yu: | Rgya[15])-sbraṅs: The[16])-th[og].. [122] Nam-po:Ḫbriṅ-ru:ma:mchis:śes:bgyi:ḫo: |:| nub:sum.ñan:[du:g]zugs: [ky]i: | g-yu:Ne-tsho:ma:mchis: | Thiṅ-snar.[*Ne-tsho*] [123] g-yu:btsal:Ne-[tsho:Th]iṅ-snar:Nam-po:Ḫbriṅ-ru:ma:mchis: |:|

g-yuḫi:pha:ni:g-yu:rje:Thaṅ-pho: | g-yuḫi:ma:ni:G-yu[ḫi] [124] -sko: | Spu-rgyal: mñam:las:g[ś]egs || kyi:g-yu:Bya-sgoṅ-nu-sgoṅ:: |:| da:rgyal:kyi:g-yu:Rma-lchags[17]): Rkoṅ-rgyal:kyi:g-[yu] [125] Thi[ṅ-s]nar:[18])myiḫi:g-yu || Sp[o]-mthiṅ-pyagi:g-yu | Kya-ra-kyu-raḫi:g-yu: | Ḫa:ża:Boṅ-ru:Me-ñag:Boṅ-ru:ñan:kyi:g-yu:ma [126] lags: |:| g-yuḫi: [G]nam-po:Ḫbriṅ-ru:g-yu:Rgyal-sbraṅs: | kyi:Khe-thog:Ne-tsho:Thiṅ-snar:ma:lagso |:| Gnam:kyi [127] pa[19]):mth[a]: | [Dgu]ṅ.kyi:pa[20]):ḫ[*bru*]m:na: |:|

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[1]) = *sgya-sgyo*, l. 70. [2]) = *phan*. [3]) = *phyug*.

[4]) Corrected from *pi*. [5]) = *phon*.

[6]) Something here crossed out. [7]) = *kar*. [8]) = *phan*.

[9]) = *khaṅ*. [10]) *Sic* (for *ṅag*, 'utterance', or *nan?*) Cf. ll. 152, 174, 183).

[11]) *b* here crossed out: *gar* = *kar*. [12]) = *ḫphra*, *phra*.

[13]) = *bu*. [14]) = *phan?* [15]) = *Rgyal*: see *infra*.

[16]) Perhaps corrected to *ke* or *khe*, which is the form recurring below.

[17]) = *lcags*. [18]) *kyi g* here crossed out. [19]) = *pha*. [20]) = *pha*.

Gnam:dań:sa:hthab:yeń:yeń.daṃ:daṃ: |
lchags[1]):dań:zańs:hthab:khrol:khrol: [128] sil:sil: |:|
dehi:p[*a*[2]):*lo*]gs[:n]a: |
brag:Gnam:du:zań.zań:
g-yu:brag:sńon:[m]o:Gnam:du:[zań].zań:
mtsho:[thadu[3]) |] [129] khyil:khyil:
g-yu:m[tsho:sńon]:m[o]:thadu:khyil:khyil: |
gru:yań.duń.gyi.gru: |
gdos:kyań.duń.kyi.gdos: |
skya:y[ań] [130] duń.kyi:skya: |:|
mtsho:pa[4]):ru:rgal:na: |
g-yu:mtsho:sńon:mo:pa:ru:rgal |
g-yu:brag:sńon:mo:la: |
g-yu:sta:gzań[5]:riṅs:kyis..[6]) | [131]
phud.cig:bthab:pa:la: | g-yu:rgal:te:mchis: | lha:g-yu:gam[6a]:dań:rogs:śig:ñan:gyi:g-yu:ma:lags: | gnam:[*kyi*] [132] [*rim:bdun:du:g-*]yu:mñan:g-yu[7]):gthod: | sta:re:pud:cig:bthab:na: | g-yu:rgal:te:mchis:srin:g-yu:na[ń]. [133].....[m]a:lags:sa:rim:bdun:du: | g-yu:mñan:g-yu:gthod: |:| sta.re:thabs:śig:bthab:nah: | [134] .....[g]al:żiń:ldag[8]):pa:rgal:te:mchis: |:|
lha:dań:chags[9]):kyi[10]): | bsod[11]): | myi:thugs:pud:kyi:rtan: [135] .....-u[:ma]:lags: |:| sta:re:thabs:śig:btab:nah: |:| myiń.ni.ni:Mon-bu:Mon-hdzu | g-yuhi:myiń[12]):ba:Ne-tso [136]Thiń-snar: | g-yu:Rgyal-sbrańs: | Gnam-po:Bri-hu-ru:ñan:kyi:g-yu:lagso: |:| g-yu:la:ñan:du:btsugs:na: | [137]g-yu:Ne-tso:Thiń-snar:ba[13]) | g-yu:Rgyal-sbrańs:Kye[14])-thog: |[15]) Nam-po:[16]) Bri-hu[17])-ru:la:ñan:du:btsugs: |
ñan:[k]ar [138] ni:btsugso: |
stan:ka[r:]ni.rgyab:bo: |
pan:kar:ni:btsugso:
bon:kar:ni:slud:do: |:|
hin:kar:ni:btsu[gso:] [139]
phan:kar:ni:rgyab:bo: |:|
"ñan:kyi:bdag":ches:mchi:ba:dań:"rlan:kar":la[s]:sts[o]gs:pa:hań[18]):g-yu:Ne-tso:[Thiń-] [140] snar:Gnam-po:Bri-hu-rus:rtsigs:śiń:"ñan:kyi:bdag":ces:smos:te:"ñan:kyi:bdag[19]):kyań.su":że[s] [141] smos:pha:gun:dań:rlan:kar:stsogs:pa | gun:smos:te: | "ñan:kyi:bdag:stan:kyi:drum: | ñan:kyi:bdag:lha:m[o] | [142] kyi:Bru-bdun:nas:mo:Byuń-drug[:]las:gśegs":śes:bgyiho: |:| ° ||
nas:kyi:pa[20]):yab:smos:na:Chab-bgo-ro-[d]u [143] Na)[21]-ldiń-myi-[ldi]ń-na | Po[22])-bya-rgod[23])-tsam-ldiń: | nas:kyi:ma:yum:kyi:mtshan:Chab-kyi-ma-żug-chab-żug-ser [144]..:na:s....[s]kad:na:g-yań.mo:dbog:tsam:skad: | gnag:pal[24]):che:na: | chud.dań: |[25]) g-yen:kyis:skal:kyis | [145] .....[l]agso |:| bu:Brgo-rpyi:nas:ni:dku:dań:d[r]in.kyi:nas: | kyis:ñan:kyi:nas:ma:lags: | gro:kha: [146] .....gdod:kyi:skal:kyis: | ñan:kyi:nas:ma:lagso: | Sńo-mo:Krańs-mańs:dań: rab:mo:bżi[:|] [147] .....s:kyi:gsań.kyis:

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1) = *lcags*. 2) = *pha, phar*. 3) = *thad-du*. 4) = *pha*. 5) See Ś. C. D. *gzań-riń?*
6) *sta-re?* Cf. l. 132. 6a) *Sic* (for *gnam?*). 7) *m* here crossed out. Read *gnam?* 8) = *ltag*.
9) = *lchags (lcags)*. 10) *rtan* here crossed out. 11) *Sic* (for *bzod?*). 12) *ni* here crossed out.
13) *ba?* Crossed out? 14) Corrected from *kyi*. 15) *m* here crossed out.
16) Something here crossed out. 17) : *hu* here added below line. 18) ń below line.
19) *ces* here crossed out.
20) = *pha*. 21) *m* here crossed out. 22) = *pho*. 23) *m* here crossed out. 24) = *phal*.
25) *g* inserted above this and below *ma-żug* in l. 143.

ñan:kyi:nas:ma:lags: | nas:mo:Byuń-drug:lha:nas:lha:nas: | [148] .....gso:|:|[1]) nas:la:ñan:du:btsugs:naḫ: |[2]) nas:mo:Byuń-drug: | [149] .....n[3]): | du:ñan:du: btsugs: |:| lug:dań:g-yań.gyis.bgyis:naḫ: | [ga]d-rga-my[i]-chad: | [150] .....gyis: naḫ[:]Gser-khań-ser-mo:Myi-lud-dgaḫ:Ża-ża-lhag-ma:la:ñan:du:btsugs: |:| [151] ....[s:]-u:dum:pha:las[4]):ñan:du:btsugs: |:| [nas]:sńo:mo:la:ñan:du:btsugso: |:|

ñan.kar.n[i]:btsugs | [152]

stan:kar:ni:rgyab: |

pon:kar:ni:btsugs: |

gon:kar:ni:rgyab: |

hin:kar:ni.btsugs: |

pan[5]):kar:ni:rgyab: |°|

nan:thog:ma:bżin:du:skor: [153] [ż]....s:[*bgyi*][ḫ]:|:|°|

[ñ]an:kyi:bdag[:]kyań.pho:ma:Klum-tsub:ces:bgyi:ste: | pha:yab:kyi:mtshan:ni: rtsań. [154] Ḫo-de:[Kho]r:[ba:] | ma:yum:du:smos:na: | ma:Drum-pań.Ḫdab-chen- |:| brun-ḫde-myed-ma: | bu:Smyig-gu-ldem-pań: |:| [155] Smyi-[g]u-sum-zur: | Mon:Smyig-ldem-pań- |:|sum-zur:Bzuń-par-bzuń: | Bcad-par-bcad: | dpe:ḫu:la: | [156] ñan:du:btsugs: |:|:po:ma:la:ñan:du:btsugs: |:| Mon-skur[6]): Lho-skur: Rgya-skur: Khor-ba: la: ñan: du: btsugs: | [157] Smyi-gu-ldem-pań:la:ñan:du:btsugs: |:|

ñan:kar:ni:btsugso: |

stan:kar:ni:rgyabo: |

bon[7]):kar:ni:btsugsoḫ[:|] [158]

hin:kar:ni:rgyabo: |

rlan[8]):kar:btsugso: |

nan:sńa:ma:bżin:du:bs[k]o[r]:ro: |:|

ras:la:ñan:du:btsugs [159][9]):yul:Rgya:yul:Gtan-bzańs:na:thań.na:Rgya-mo-thań.ḫbal: kyań.Śiń-la-ḫbal: |:| ḫbral:kyań:ni[:Rgya-ḫbra]l: | ḫ[bral] [160] ḫ[dz]ud:kyań:ni:Rgya-[gar]d-ḫdzud: | thań.na:ni:Rgya-mo-thań: | dań:tha:[ńa][10]):Mon-mo-thań.dań:tha:ńa[10]): Lho-mo-thań:dań:thań.ńa[10]).Bal-[161][11]) mo-tha[ń:k]yi.[*ras*]:[bthags:]pa:smos:te:|:|ras: la:ñan:du:btsugs:[śes]:bgyiḫo |°|

ñan:kar:ni:[162] ḫdzugs: |:|

[sta]n:kar:ni:rgyab: |:|

sku:ra:pyi[12]):ñan: | ra:pyi[12]):stan: |

ra:pyi[12]):bon:kar:btsugs: |

gon:kar:ni:rgyab: | [163]

hin:kar:ni:btsu[g]s |

pan[13]):kar:ni:rgyab: |

da[14]):Myi:Rma-bu:Mchiń-rgyal:ḫdi:

nań.sum:sku:ru:sbyon: |

ñin:sum:g-yań.du:blan | [164]

na:lha:b[o]n:[Ḫprań-zu:[g]-yań.bon:Theg-leg: | pya[15]):bon:Khyu-ra | rje:bla:Bo-bla[16]): sras: | bla:mtshe:Srad-po:Bru-bdun:dań.ñin:sum:g-yań. [165] du:blan:na:g-yań.yań. yon[:] |:| nub:sum:sku:bla:ru:spyon | nub:sum:ñan:du:ḫdzugs:na: | rje:dgu:ga:dgu: dań.lha:dgu:gsas: [166] dgu:dań:pha:dgu:bon:dgu:dań: | rje:His:sten:chen:po:dań: | mtshe:His-po-his:bdag:dań | nub:sum:ñan:ḫdzugs:na[:]ñan:kya[ń] [167] tshugs: |

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[1]) Something here crossed out.
[2]) *lha-nas-bru-bdun* here crossed out. [3]) *n* crossed out? [4]) For *la?*
[5]) = *phan.* [6]) = *sgur.* [7]) = *phon.* [8]) Error for *phan.* [9]) *ni* here crossed out.
[10]) = *thań.* [11]) *b* here crossed out.
[12]) = *phyi.* [13]) = *phan.* [14]) *da* crossed out? [15]) = *phywa.* [16]) *Sic* (for *bkra?*).

rlan:mkh[ar:*stań*]:st[e]ń.ni.rtsigs: |
rla:khyim:sgyugs[1]):ra:ni:rtsigs: |
rla:lam:sgya:sgyo:ni:bgyi[s |]
khań.sku.khań.[168]rla:khań | ñan:khań.ni.pub[2]): |:|
ñan:kyi:bdag:bgyis: |
stan:kyi:drum:bgyis: |
lo:de:bdag:bgyis: |
si:si:drum.bgyis | [169]

mtshe:la:ñan:du:btsugs:[*na*]: | His-po-his:bdag:Byań-pań:sum-zur:la:ñan:du:btsugs: | g-yu:la:ñan:du:btsugs | [170] na: | g-yu:Ne-tso:Thiń-snar:g-yu:Rgyal-sbrańs:Ke-thog: Nam-po:H̲bri-h̲ńu[3]):la:ñan:btsugs: | bse:la:ñan:[du]:btsugs:[171] na: | Sib-se:Goń-kar: Be-ne-chog[4])-po:la:ñan:du:btsugs: | nas:la:ñan:du:btsugs:nah̲: | lha:[mo:H̲bru]-b[*dun*: *nam*[5])]: [172] nas:mo:Gyuń[6])-[d]rug:la:ñan:du:btsugs: | spe:h̲u[7]):la:ñan:du:btsugs: |:| Skur-bu:Khri-btsugsla:[ñan:]du:btsugs: |:| [173] ras: la:ñan:du:btsugs:na: | Rgya:ras: Rtsań-h̲brań: | Mon:ras:Khul-thiń[8]):Lho:ras:Śa[ḡ] [174]-rnam:Bal:ras:Tshigs-ma:la: ñan:du:btsugs: | ñan:kar:ni:btsugs: |°|

| nan:ni:sńa:ma:bżin:du:h̲gor: | [175]

|:| bdag[9]):ri:tham:śad:la:Pu[10]):Rma-boh̲i:ñan:kar[11]):btsugs: | stan:kar:rgyab | sgo:ra: pyi:ñan: | s[*goh̲*]:ra:py[i]:stan: | [176]

śiń[12]).riń.thuń:yań:Pu:Rma-boh̲i:śiń: |
rtsi:bzań.ńan:yań:Pu:Rma-boh̲i:rtsih̲: |
gor:che:chuń.yań:[Pu:Rma-boh̲i:] [177] gor: |
chab:drań[13]).dro:yań:Pu:Rma-buh̲i[14]):chab: |
h̲brog:che:chuń.yań:Pu:Rma-buh̲i[15]):h̲brog: |
yul:phus:mdah̲s:kyań. [178] Pu:Rma-buh̲i:yul: |:|

Myi:Rma-buh̲i:Mchiń-rgyal:yań:phu:ya:blah̲i:ñan:mñan: | na: | Phu:Rma-buh̲i:ñan:du: m[ñan: |] [179] ñan:du:h̲dz[ug]s: | ñan:kar:ni:btsugs: | stan:kar:ni:brgyab: | sku:ra:pyi: ñan: | ra:pyi:stand:

śiń.riń.thuń:ya[ń] [180] Myi:Rma-buh̲i:śiń: |
rtsi:bzań.ńan:yań.Myi[16]):Rma-buh̲i:rtsi: |
chab:drań.dro:yań.Myi:Rma-buh̲i:chab: |
gor:che:chuń: [181]yań:Myi:Rma-buh̲i:gor: |
yul:pus[17]):mdah̲s:kyań:Rmyi:Rma-buh̲i:yul: |
h̲brog:che:chuń:yań.Myi:Rma-[buh̲i] [182] h̲brog: |

sribs:ri:tham:śad[18]): | lcham:kyi:ñan:du:mñan[:] | ñan:du:h̲dzugs:ljam[19]):Yul-mah̲i: ñan:[d]u:m[ñan: |] [183] du:btsugs: | Pu:Rma-bo[20]): | la:mań.ba:bżin:du:nan:sńa:ma: bżin:du:bskor:te:lcam:Yul-[ma:la:"m]ñan:du: | [184] h̲dzug":śes:bgyih̲o:: Myi:Rma-buh̲i:Mchiń-rgyal:kyis: | ma:blah̲i:ñan:du:mñan:ljam[21]):Yul-mah̲i:ñan:[du:] [185] mñan: |

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[1]) *Sic* (for *phyugs* (ll. 69, etc.)?); l. 271, *skyugs*.
[2]) = *phub*; see Linguistic note, ll. 46, 67. [3]) *Sic* (= *h̲u-ru* or *ń-ru*).
[4]) = *tshog*. [5]) *nam* crossed out? [6]) *Sic* (for *Byuń*, l. 143).
[7]) = *dpe-h̲u*, l. 155. [8]) *la:ñan:du:btsugs* here crossed out.
[9]) = *bdags*. [10]) = *Phu*. [11]) *kar* a correction of *du*.
[12]) *pu* here crossed out. [13]) = *grań*. [14]) *Sic*. [15]) *Sic*.
[16]) *bu* here crossed out. [17]) = *phus*. [18]) *d* added below line.
[19]) *ljam* (= *lcam*) below line, correction of *lham*.
[20]) *l* here crossed out. [21]) = *lcam*.

srib:ri:thams:śad:la: | ljam:Yul-ma:mań.ba[1]: "Myi:Rma-bu:Mchiń-rgyal:mań".żes: lan[2]:[lta]g:ma[186] bżin:du:bskor:ro: |:|

po:bla:la:ñan:du:mñan:Rod:Dpye-thog-bde:drum:la:ñan:du:myi:mñan: | H̲o[3])-[d]e: Lha-[dpal:]Phu[4])- [187] rgyal:[kyi]:ñan:du:mñan: |:| Rad[5]):Dpye-thog-bde:drum:ñan: du:mñan: | ñan:thu[6]):h̲dzugs: | H̲o[7])-de:Lha-dpal:Guń-[rgya]l [188] bas:

yul:kyi:pu[8]):ru:bżud: | na:
chab:dragi[9]):dkah̲:yań:byul: |
yul:kyi:mad[10]):ru:bżud:na: |
rje:żiń:h̲or:moh̲i: | [189] dkā:yań.byul |
[11])yul:kyi:phu.ru:bżud:na: |
drug:dań:żal:yań:tsom: |:|
mdah̲:ru:bżud:na: |
khab:drugi:sgo: | [190] yań.byul: |
pu:ru:bżud:na:
rtsi:drugi:mchog:kyań.gzigs: |
mdah̲:ru:bżud:na: |
phań:drugi:kh[y]im:yań:gzigs | [191]
yaru:sked:sken:thiṅs:
so:sm[r]a[12]):smya:bo:lag:riṅs: |
ya:ru:sken:ma:ru:sken:
chab:so:ña:tshol: |

P[ho-rgya]l:ñan:du: | [192] h̲dzugs: | Bya:Skog-theg-to:ñan:du:mñan: |:| tsugsu:h̲dzugs: | H̲o[13])-de:Guń-rgyal:kyi:ñan[14]):du:mñan: |[15]) [tsugsu] [193] h̲dzugs: |

Myi:Rma-bu:Mchiń-rgyal:kyań.h̲di:bżin:nan:skord[d]e:bgyih̲: |

da:ljam[16]):kyi:ñan:du:myi:[mñan]:[kh]ri:[mo:] [194] Khri-cog:kyi:ñan:du:myi:mñan: | Rod-mo-lha:la:ñan:du:mñan: | Dor-mo-lha:la:ñan:du:mñan: | ljam:khri:mo:Khri-cog:kyi:[ñan:du: |] [195] h̲dzugs: | pa:la: Pyi[17])-ldań:nas:bsu:yań.bsu: | dmah̲:rab:kyi: tshoms:nas:bskyań.yań:bskyań: | na:bań.na:ni: | [196] g-yo:g-yo: | h̲brum:du:yań.thu: thu | sne:h̲u:khyud:pyir[18]):lhań:tsher:tsam:żig: | myi:h̲dur:myi:khrug: | d[py]i:żal:tsam: | [197] żig:myi:h̲thur: | Myi:Rma-bu:Mchiń-rgyal:chuń.mo.bla:la:ñan:du:ma:mñan: | khri:mo:Khri-cog:[gy]i:[ñ]an:d[u:h̲dzugs [198]

Myi: Rma-bu: Mchiń-rgyal: yań: ljam: khri: mo:[19]) Khri-tsog[20]):kyi: nan: bżin: smos: te: skor:ro: |:|

[da[21]):yań]:bah̲i[22]):bu: | [199] myi:Smon-bu:żig: | yul:h̲brog:Dbye-ldań-sum:du:śa[23]): h̲chor:du:gśegs:g-yag.h̲gor:du:gśegs: | ..[h̲khor]:du: | [200] du[24]).gśegs:lha:śa:Kar-bu: żig:ni:lha:lam:dkar:du:bros:te:ru:dań:h̲ońs:se:h̲ońs |

sñegs:ni:ma:slebs:
[h̲ph]ańs:ni:[201]ma:phog: |

srin:śa:nag:po:żig:ni:srin:lam:gnag:du:bros:te: | gśug:dań.tshub.tshub: |

sñegs:te:ni:ma:slebs
[h̲państe[25])]: | [202] ni:ma:phog: |

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[1]) *bżin* here crossed out. [2]) *Sic* (for *nan?*). [3]) = *H̲ol.* [4]) = *Spu.* [5]) *Sic* (for *Rod?*).
[6]) = *du.* [7]) = *Hol.*, the most orthodox spelleng being, however, *H̲o-lde* (l. 321).
[8]) = *phu.* [9]) Read *drugi?* [10]) = *smad:* or *mdah̲*, as in l. 189?
[11]) *yu* and a smudge here crossed out. Before *drug* one syllable is lacking. [12]) *smra* crossed out?
[13]) = *H̲ol.* [14]) *n* (a correction) added below line. [15]) *tshu* here crossed out. [16]) = *lcam.*
[17]) = *Phyi.* [18]) = *phyir.* [19]) *m* here crossed out. [20]) = *cog.* [21]) *kha?* Cf. l. 213.
[22]) *Sic* (for *deh̲i?*). [23]) *tsho* here crossed out. [24]) *du* repeated in error. [25]) = *h̲phańs°.*

myi:śa:Spur-bu:żig:ni:myi:lam:spur:du:bros:te:
sñegs:te:ni:ma:slebs[1]):
hpańste:ni[2]):ma:pog[3]) [203]
śa:phas:se:byuń:Dńahs-po-hpral-gdahs:śig:phas:se:byuń: |
ru:bltas:ni:duń:gyi:ru: |
sna:bltas:ni:byań:gyi:sna:
spu: [204] bltas:ni:g-yagi[4]):spu: |
rmyig:bltas:ni:bsehi:rmyig: |
śa:sñegs:te:ni:slebs: |
hpańs:te:ni:bżigs:
śa:bragi[5]):mdo: [205] ru:chegs: |
:śa:la:mdah:yis:hpańs |
smral:la:drum:kyis:rlad[6]): |
śa:la:mad[7]):his:pog[8]):ston:ma:pog:
drum:kyis:bżi [206] gs:ston:na:ma:bżigs: |
mdah:mtho:ste:mchis: |
lha:brag:dkar:po:rtse:na: |
hbrog:srin:Dre:[dahi]:[tshań]
....-i [207] sgo:ru:zug: |
śa:bros:te:mchis: |
Dńas-po-hpral-gańs:bros:te:mchis: |
Le:hu:hbrog:la:goń:du[9]). | h[da]s:te:[mchis] |
Le:hu: [208] hbrog:Bye-ldań-sum:hdahs:te:mchis: |:|
śa.Dańs-po-hpral-gańs:ni:
sñegs:te:ni:slebs: |
hpańs:te:n[i]:bżi[gs:] |:|
[209] śa:Dńas-po-hpral-gańs:de:ru:bkum: |
śa:hca[10]):ni[11]):rhal:te:rhald: |
pags:bśu:ni:lji[12]):be:lji[b]
ciń.bżugs: | [210] nah:la:[13]) Dgu-ba:lahi:rgyab:nah: | hbrog:srin:Dre:da:żig:
pyi:rgo[14]):ni:lhogse:lhogs:
sgra:hbrug:re:ni:[h]dir:[ži]ń.
[*mchis*:] | [211] pyi:hu[15]):thoń:pa:żig:bkum: | la:Dgu-ba[16]):la:sladu:hdahste: | mchis:na: |
lha:brag:dgar[17]):pohi:rtse:nah: | [212] hbrog:srin:Dre:dahi:tshań:kyi:sgo:na: |
mdah:cig:ni:brug: | ciń:mchis: |
śa:cig:ni:rjes:śig:byu[ń:]
[rgya]:cig:ni: | [213] rjes:śig:byuń: |:|
śa:dań:ni:rgya:rjes:bcad: |
hbrog:la:goń:sum:hdas:te:
mchis: | kha:[yań]:[d]e[h]i:bu:[m]yi:[S]mo[n]-bu: [214] pu[18]):żig:
śa:pyed[19]):bśas:pyed:ma:bśas: |
pags:pyed:bśus:pyed:ma:bśus: |

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[1]) *slebs* (a correction) below line. [2]) *slebs* crossed out here: *ma* consequently written twice.
[3]) = *phog*.
[4]) = *g-yag-gi*. [5]) = *brag-gi*. [6]) *rlad* (a correction) below line. [7]) *Sic* (for *mdah*). *Ston* = *stoń*.
[8]) = *phog*. [9]) *goń:du* added below line. [10]) = *cha:ca* blurred. [11]) *rd* here crossed out.
[12]) Something here crossed out: read *ljib-be-ljib*.
[13]) *l* here crossed out. [14]) = *phyi-mgo*. [15]) = *phyi-ru?* [16]) *lh* here crossed out. [17]) = *dkar*.
[18]) = *bu*. [19]) = *phyed*.

hbrog:srin:[Dre:da:-żi-:-s:]
[*rtiṅ*] [215] mo.ni.gnam.du.brdabs: |
thig.rid.ni:sa[1]):ru:rduṅs: |
kha:ho[2]):de:ni:dmar:
so:ho:riṅ:ni:dgar: |
[sk[r]a[:]y[eṅ[3]].][r]i:[rir]:żiṅ.
pa[4]): [216]:se:mchis: |:| kha:yaṅ:dehi:bu:myi:Smon-bu:cuṅ:żig: |
spyan:cher[5]):żes:gzigs: | na: |
thugs:hul:żes:[sñeṅs].. [217]
sñeṅ.kyi:lam:du: | brla:żig:htsald: | dbu:skra:ñag:bdun:daṅ: | spyan[6]):kyi:rdzi:ma:
hbru:bdun:daṅ: | thugs[:*kyi*]:mtsho: | [218] ro:g-yu:bdun: | hbrog:srin:Dre:das:htsald: |:|
hbrog:srin:[7]) Pyag[8])-ma-yed-yed-mos: | htsald: | myi:Smon: | [219] Smon[9])-bu:cuṅ.żig: |
so:ya:dag:las:ni:chad:ma:khad: |
hchi:ma:dag:las:ni:hcel[10]):ma:khad: |
spyan:rlaṅ:ma:rl[i]ṅ:
lchags[11]): | [220] ldab:ma:ldib: |
thugs:rmaṅ.ma:rmoṅ:
żiṅ:bżugs:bżugs: | na: "myi:Me-hu:gñen:ba:ga:la:[bżugs:miṅ.] | [221] Se-ba:bśan:ba:ga:
la:mchis: | lhahi:pyag:tshaṅ:Ster-pyaṅ-tsha:żig:la:bżugs":śes:bgyis:[na..lhahi: |] [222]
pyag.tshaṅ:Ster-pyaṅ-tsha:żig:pas[12]):se:byon: | lha:bon:Hpraṅ-zu:g-yaṅ.bon:Theg-leg: |
pya[13]).bon:Kyur-ra: |:| [żi]g:gñar [223] te: | naṅ.sum:ni[14]):dmu:dag:lha:dag:gsas:dag: |
rgyal:ba:gsum:la: | sku:ñan.du:btsugs: | mtshe:ñag:cig:[daṅ:yu]ṅs | [224] dgaṅ.cig:
ni:sku:glud:du:bor: |:| na:hbrog:srin:Pyag-ma-yed-mos:htsalde[15]):mchis: |:|
nub:sum:ni:sku:glud:du: [225] bor: |
naṅ:sum:ni:sku:ru:spyon: |
nub:sum:ni:ñan:du:btsugs: |
hbrog:srin:Pyab[16])-mo:la:ñan:du:btsugs:naṅ:[226] sum:ni:g-yaṅ:du:blan:na: | kha:yaṅ.
dehi:pu[17]):myi:Smon-bu:la:g-yaṅ:du: | blan: |:| myi:Smon-bu:chuṅ.ni: |
[sṅar[18])].bas: [227] ni:da:bzaṅ: |
gże:bas:ni:da:[sgy]an[19]): |
gog:gog:ni:bżeṅs:
zor:zor:ni:sprags: |
da:Myi:Rma-bu:[Mchiṅ-rgyal:hdi[20]):] [228] lha:bon:Hbraṅ-zu:g-yaṅ.bon:Theg-le ga[21]) |
pya:bon:Kyur-ra:gsum:kyis: | nub:sum:srin:[pyin:*dgum*[22]).srin.] [229]ñan[23]):du:btsugs: |
gludu:bor: | naṅ:sum:ni:g-yaṅ:du:blan: |:|:|
|:| lha:Myaṅ.lha:bu:mo:[żig]:yul:ky[i]: | [230] bdag:mdzad:ciṅ: | bżugs: | yul:Myaṅ.
yul:Śiṅ-nagi[24]):bdag:mdzad:ciṅ: | bżugs: | srin:kyi:m[go:gnon:] [231] ciṅ:rñen[25]):mdzad:
na: | Myaṅ.srin:Phla- || ha-ji[26])-khuhi:mgo:gnon:rżen[27]):mdzad:ciṅ:bżugs: | [yul:pu[28]):ru]
[232] [g-yo]s:na: | Myaṅ.yul:Śiṅ[29])-nag[30]): | pu.ru[31]):g-yos: | gyis:myed:srin:phase:pyuṅ:
nah | [Myaṅ.srin.phase:] [233] byuṅ: | Myaṅ.srin:Pla-ha-ji-khu:phase:byuṅ: | Myaṅ.lha:

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1) *l* here crossed out. 2) = *hod*. 3) Read *sgra.yeṅ?* 4) = *phas*.
5) = *ce-re*.
6) *i* here crossed out. 7) *dred:da* here crossed out. 8) = *Phyag*. 9) *Smon* repeated in error.
10) = *hchel*. 11) = *ljags*. 12) = *phas*. 13) = *phywa*. 14) *c* here crossed out.
15) = *htshalde* or *htshald-de*. 16) = *Phyab*, *Phyag* (l. 224). 17) = *bu*.
18) *s-an?* 19) = *rgyan*: so again in l. 241. 20) *yaṅ?* 21) = *leg*. 22) *pyag-yu...?*
23) *c* here crossed out. 24) = *nag-gi: n* blurred. 25) *Sic*. 26) *braṅ* here crossed out.
27) *Sic* (for *rñen*). 28) = *phu*. 29) *sṅo* here crossed out. 30) *g* below line.
31) *g-ya* here crossed out.

bu:mo:żig | thum:thum:mnal:jiṅ[1])[.bżugs] [234] na: | Myaṅ.srin:Pla-ji-khus:skuḫi:brla:
żig:brkus: |:| thugs:kyi:mtsho:ro:g-yu:bd[un:]ḫtsal[d: |] M[yaṅ.lha] [235] bu:mo:żig:
thugs:bsam:ma:mkhyen: | kyis:rmaṅ.ma:rmoṅ: |
żal:gsuṅ.ma:mkhyen:kyis[:*ldab:ma:ldib*] [236]
spyan:gzigs:ma:mkhyen:kyis:rlaṅ:ma:rliṅ: |
bśos:ya:dag:las:ni:ḫcad[2]):[ma:]khad: |
[groṅ]s:[ma]:dag: | [237] las:ni: | [3])ḫjel:ma:khad: |
phraḫis[4]):ni:chad:ma:khad: |
srab:kyis:ni:rdol:ma:khad: |
gśen...mchis [238]:śig: | Myaṅ.śen[5]):Rgyaḫi:Myaṅ.yul:Thiṅ-snar:daṅ:Dpyaṅ-lad-lchog:
gñis:śig: | srin:yul:mye:my[i]:rlaṅ[6]): [239] chu:myi:rgum[7]):kyi:yul:du: | Myaṅ.srin:
Phla-ji-khuḫi:[gan]:du:gludu:bor: |:| nub:sum:ñan:du:bts[ugs:na:] | [240] M[y]aṅ.la:
bo[8]):żig:ñan:du:btsugs: | g-yu:Mye-co:[daṅ]:bse:Be-co:żig:ñan:du:btsugs: | Myaṅ.la[9]).
bo:mo: | [241] żig: | gnā:bas:da:bzaṅ:gże[10]):bas:da:rgyan: |
gnaḫ:Myaṅ.lha:bo:moḫi:ñan: | da:suḫi:ña[n:na:Myi:Rma]-bu: [242] Mchiṅ-rgyal:kyi:
ñan:to: |:| pho:ga.ga[11]):gi:ñan: | mo:gug:gi:ñan: | sim:baḫi:ḫodu[12]):ñan: | si:raḫi:dkar:
du: [243] ñan: |
śiṅ.khra:mo:ma:bcag[13]):
bya:ḫpar[14]):ba:ni:ma:bzuṅ.śig: |
mchig:khaṅ.mo:ni:ma:ḫbub:śig: |
khyi:sbag: [244] pha[15]):ni:ma:bskaṅ.śig[16]): |
myi:po:ñan:na:dva[17]):rtsi:pyi | rta:bo:ñan:na: | be:co: |
rkaṅ.bu: | btsun:śo:ñan: | bkā:śis: | [245] kyi:ñan:no: | bśur:le[g]s:kyi:ñan:no: ||
pha:Hi:de:chen:po:Gnam-ka:Loṅ-suṃ:na:bżugs: | pha:la:ñan: | [246] du:btsugso: | ma:
Pra[18])-dag:btsun:mo:Sa-ga:[19]) Gdiṅ-drug:na:bżugs:la:ñan:du:btsugso: |:| bu:His. [247]
bu:spun[20]):la:ñan:du:btsugso:|Myi:Rma-bu:Mchiṅ-rgyal:ḫdi:la:|mtshe:His-po-his[:daṅ]
mtshe:mo [248]Byaṅ-paṅ-sum-zur[21]): | daṅ: | Sib-bse:Goṅ-kar:Be-ne-chog-po:daṅ:g-yu:
Gnam-po:Bri-ḫu-ru:daṅ:Ne-tso:Thiṅ- [249]snar:g-yu:Rgyal-spraṅ [K]e-thog. |ḫdi:[*gsum:*
la]:ñan:du:btsugs: | Pu[22]):Rma-boḫi:kha:cug[23]):th[e]n:du:ñan | [250]
sñan:kar:Ba[:]bya:b[g]r[e]s:pas:kyaṅ[24]):gsaṅ. |rla:mtshe:Srad-po:daṅ. |mtshe:His-po-
his:bdags[25]):daṅ:bse:Be-ne- [251] chog-po:Goṅ-kar:daṅ[26]): | Myi:Rma-[b]o:Mchiṅ-rgyal:
kyi:dbu:la:gsol:[| na:] | bya:Dkyi:bas:sṅo: | bse:Be-ne-cog- [252] po:daṅ:bse:Goṅ-kar:
daṅ: | g-yu:Gnam-po:Bri-ḫu-ru:daṅ:g-yu:Rgyal-sprańs:Ke-thog:daṅ:dbu:la:ñan: [253]
du:btsugs: |:| Phu:Rma-boḫi:kha:tsug:then:du:ñan: |:|
sñan:kar:ba:bya:bgres:bas:gsa[*ṅ*:]rla:[mtshe:Srad] [254] -po:daṅ:His-po-his:bdag[27]): |
daṅ:bse:Be-ne-cog-po:Goṅ-kar:daṅ:g-yu:Ne-tso:[Thiṅ-snar:] | [255] Nam-po:Bri-ḫu-ru: |
g-yu:Rgyal-sbraṅs:Ke-thog:daṅ: | Mon:skur:Lho:sgur: | Rgya:skur:Khor-ba: | daṅ: |
[256] ras:Rgya:ras:Rtsaṅ-graṅ:daṅ: | Mon:ras:Khul-thiṅ:Bal:ras:Śags-rnams: | daṅ.Myi:
Rma-bu:Mchi[ṅ][28]) | [257]-rgyal:thugs:la:ñan: |:| sku:la:rtan[29]): | riṅ:la.rtan.na: | sku:
naṅ:du:myi:pul[30]):
pyi:ru:myi:ḫgyed[31]): |

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1) = *ciṅ*. 2) Corrected from *ḫtsad*. 3) *l(?)* here crossed out. *Ḫjel* = *ḫcel*, *ḫchel* (l. 219).
4) = *ḫphra*[0]. 5) = *gśen*. 6) *Sic* (for *rlan*). 7) *Sic* (for *dgu*). 8) = *lha-bo-mo*, as *infra*.
9) = *lha*. 10) Corrected from *gñe(?)*. 11) Read *gag*. 12) = *ḫod-du*.
13) Correction of *btsag:* or is *btseg* meant? 14) = *ḫphar*. 15) = *pa*.
16) *g* a correction (of *k?*). 17) *rba?* 18) = *Phra*. 19) *d* here crossed out.
20) *b* here crossed out. 21) *l* here crossed out. 22) = *Phu*.
23) Something here crossed out. 24) *kyaṅ* added below line. 25) = *bdag*.
26) *chog . . . daṅ* crossed out unintentionally. 27) *gñis* here crossed out. 28) *ṅ* below line.
29) = *brtan*. 30) = *bul*. 31) *nas* here crossed out.

[258] g-yasu:myi:yo[1]): |:|
g-yosu:myi:rtul[2]): |
lha:nas:kyi:Bru:bdun: | [3])mñan:skyems: | dmu:dag:skyems[4]): [259] kyi:pyaṅ:byaṅ.ku:| sku:ru:gsol: | na: | sku:na:mtshal:pyo:h̲or:h̲or: | khab:bya:rmaṅ:tsam:[h̲]or | g-yu [260] rla:g-yu:thiṅ:po:tsam:h̲od:daṅ:lam: |:| laṃ |:|
żal:la:ñan:na:| sten[5]):po:bya:bgres:then:[*la*]:ñan:|
riṅ:la:ñan:na:[261] [khaṅ][6]):mo:dgu:rnam:then:du:ñan: | sku:rtan:byaṅ.g-yu:then: du:ñan: |
żabs:la:ñan:na: | [sl] — :bye:h̲u:[rtsiṅ].la [262] Ldoṅ-khab:żal:bzaṅs:then:du: | ñan: |
da:ñan:kyi:bdag:kyaṅ:mtshe:His-po-hi[s]:bdag:lagso:| lo:[d]e: [263] bdag:kyaṅ:mtshe :His-po-his:bdag: | lagso: | si:si:drum:po:che:yaṅ:mtshe:His-po-his:bdag: [264] lagso:: | da:
ñan:gar[7]):ni:gzugso: |
stan:kar:ni:rgyabo: |
bon:kar:ni:rtsigso: |
gon:kar:ni:slud:do: | [265]
hin:kar:ni:slud:do: |
phan:kar:ni:rgyabo: |
Myi:Rma-bu:Mchiṅ-rgyal:h̲di:myi:ñan:raṅ:then: | de:slud:naḥ | [266] btsan:bdud: rkun:ma | btsun:rmu:rkun:ma: | Gnam:la:g-yen:dgu:rgun[8]):mas[9]): | gñar:na: | myi: [slebs][10]):sa[11]): [267] la:sri[12]):rkun:ma: | chud:rgun | rkun:mas:brag:hwod:de:chab:gsaṅ: bdag: | Ma-mos:gñar:[na:myi:]slebs: [268]
śa:gaṅs:goṅ:du:slud:na: |
khyi:lo:tsha:khaṅ.kyi:myi:zugs: |
prum:slaṅ:bra[13]):slud:na: |
myi:rkun:kyi[s]:myi:sl[e]bs [269]
na:boṅ:zan:slud:na: |
myi:lce:than:kyis:myi:slebs: |
khruṅ:khruṅ:dgu[14]):la:h̲phar:na: |
byan:lhag:gchan[15]):gyis [270] myi:slebs: |
lco[16]):ga:boṅ.rum:du:h̲khras:na: |
pya[17]):rje[18]):khrah̲is:myi:slebs:
[18])da:rlan:mkhar:sdaṅ[19]):st[e]ṅ |[271]rla:laṃ:sgya:sgyo:rla:khyim:skyug[20]):ra: | rla:lam: staṅ:steṅsu: | myi:rab:bgres:lob:du:gśegs:ś[i]g:śi[d].rab: | [272] lo[21]):[ż]ib:du:gśegs:śig: |
myi:ji:raṅ.then:na: |:|
myi:ñan:raṅ: | [22]) then: |
ñan:ji:ra[ṅ: | *then:na*]:
ñan:cab[23]): [273] raṅ:then: |
chab:ji:raṅ:then:na:
chab:gżuṅ:raṅ:then: |
gżuṅ:ji:raṅ:then: | na:
gżuṅ:rṅo:r[*aṅ.then*: |]
rṅo:ji: [274] raṅ.then:na: |

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1) = *g-yo*. 2) Possibly *rtal*. 3) *ñan* here crossed out. 4) *s* below line. 5) For *ston*.
6) Reading uncertain: *khraṅ?* 7) = *kar*. 8) = *rkun*. 9) *s* below line.
10) *l* here crossed out. 11) *ma?*
12) Something here crossed out. 13) Possibly *du*. 14) = *dguṅ*. 15) = *lag-gcan*. 16) = *lcog*.
17) = *bya*. 18) *pya-rje* here repeated and crossed out. 19) = *staṅ*.
20) *Sic* (for *phyugs?*): see ll. 69, 167. 21) = *lob*. 22) *then* here crossed out. 23) *chab?*

rṅo:h̲ga:tsam:daṅ.nah̲:
brag:mkhar:rtse:myi:rñil |
dbugs[1]):chab:tsam:śur:na...
chab: [275] sṅon:mo:rṅo:myi:skams |

da.Myi:Rma-bu:Mchiṅ-rgyal:h̲di: | dri:sog:rol:la:żal:ma:che:ljag[s:ma]:riṅ: | [276] myi:rmaṅ.śi:ro:tha[2]):la:khram:ten: | śiṅ.sgoṅ[3]).chagi[4]):mgo:thur:du:yu: | ten:ka:chen: la: | żal:ches:na: | yur:ba: | [277] ya:rol:kyi:nas:la:lhos: | gchuṅ.la:żal:ches:na: | yur:ba: ma:rol:kyi:nas:la:lhos | rje[5]):la:żal[:]ches [278]:na:yur:ba:ma[6]):rol:kyi:nas:la:lhos: | h̲baṅsla:żal:ches: | na: | śul:kyi:ma:rol:kyi:nas:la:lhos: |:| [si]:le: [279] dron:la:żal:ches: ljags:riṅs: | nam:pyod[7]):kyi:nas:la:lhos: |

Myi:Rma-pu:Mchiṅ-[*rgyal:h̲d*]i:ñan:h̲og:du: | [280] btsugso: |:| ñan:h̲og:du:slud[8]): | do: | lha:la:ñan:du:btsugs:na: | lha:h̲og:ni:rgad:spags | s[r]in:h̲og:ni: | 281] glud:h̲dor: | gnah̲:myi:lud:ni:ji:ltar: | zan:dags:ni:ji:ltar:pan[9]) | yul:lha:yul: ni:naṅ.na: | myi:sñi: myi: [282] khyim:bdun:żig: | rmos:nas:daṅ:brasu:rmos:na:khruṅs:mtshe:daṅ:yuṅsu: | h̲khruṅs: | mtshe[:]h̲kh[ruṅ]s:kyi: | [283] gżon:bzaṅs: | mtshe:h̲khruṅs:kyi:gña:riṅs: | lha: bżugs:na:yid:non: | bżugs: | myi:mchi[s̲:]na: | [284] bag:rnon:mchis: | srin:mchis:na: | srin:myig:rnon: | mchis: | myi:bag:rnon:kyis: | mtshe[:]gcig:]ña[g: [285] ñis:ñag:gsum: żig: | bcade[10]): | myi:bag:rnon:h̲tsal:te:mchis:| srin:myig:rnon:[ky*is*:*mthoṅ*:]ste: | [286] myi: bros:te: mchis: bag:rnon: bros :te: mchis: | srin:kyis: bsñags: na:srin: m[yi]g: rnon: [kyis]:bsñags | [287] na:myi:bag:rnon | ma:rma:then:ri[11]):then:spaṅs: | then:tsigs:gsum: kyi:thog:[*du*]:byon: | sri[n]...:de:[ru]:s[l]ebs: [288] | myi:bag:rnon:kyis: | mtshe:mo: ñag:gsum:żig:bor:na: | srin:h̲tsal:te:mchis:[myig.*rnon*.*h̲tsal*]:te: [289] mchis: | myi: thar:te:mchis:bag:rnon:thar:te:mchis: |

de:riṅ.saṅ.lta:na: | mtshe:ñag:ci[g:ñag]:ñis:[*ñag:gsum*:] [290] po:h̲di: | Myi:Rma-bu: Mchiṅ-rgyal:kyi:skuh̲i:gludu:bor:ro: | riṅ:kyi:khabsu:bor: | ro: | lha:dgu:ni:ñan:du: btsu[gs]: | [291]

my[i]:rje:raṅ:then:na:
myi:ñan:raṅ.then: |
ñan:ji:raṅ.then:na:
ñan:lha:raṅ:thend: |

yul:Rtsaṅ-śul:[m]tho...na:rje:Rtsaṅ. [292]rje:Pva-ha:żig:|srin[12]):Rtsaṅ:srin:Po-dah̲i: mchid: | nas | "mye:myi:dgu:chu:myi:rlaṅ:kyi:yul:du:b[kr]i":[*żes*:]bgy[i]s: | na: | [293] Ṛtsaṅ.rje:Phva-has: | Rtsaṅ.śen[13]):Sñal-ṅag:bgug:ste: | yuṅs:mo:dgaṅ.cig:daṅ: | g-yu: slag:[ce]n:daṅ | bse: [294] pyaṅ[14]):paṅ:pa[15]):myig:daṅ: | lha:la:ñan:du:btsugs:na: | Rtsaṅ. lha:Pu-dar:la:ñan:du:btsugs: | ...mtshe:mo: | . [295] ñag:cig:daṅ:yuṅs:mo:dgaṅ.bzaṅs: | daṅ. | zer:mo:h̲pan:bzaṅs: | daṅ:Mon:lug:h̲bras..... [kha]:*sba*[*l*] [296] bre[16]):ba:cuṅ: | daṅ:skuh̲i:gludu:bor: | na: | srin:Rtsaṅ:srin[17]):Pod-de:h̲tsal[18]):te:mchis: | myi:thar:te: [mchis]: | na: | [297] Rtsaṅ.rje:Pva-ha:thar:te:mchis: |

Myi:Rma-bu:Mchiṅ-rgyal:h̲di:lha:la:ñan:du:btsugs:na: | Rtsaṅ:lha:Pu-dar:la:ñan | [298] du:btsugso: |:| srin:la:khlud[19]):bor:na: | Rtsaṅ.srin:Pod-de:mye:myi:dgu:chu:myi: rlaṅ:bah̲i:yul:du:gludu:bor: | [299] ro: | ° |

Yul:Gnubs[20])-śul:Gliṅ-drug:na: | rje:Gnubs:rje:Sribs-pa:bżugs: | srin:Gnubs. | ni[21]): | [300] Rkaṅ-pran[22]): | kyis:"srin:yul:mye:myi:dgu:chu:myi:rlaṅ.kyi:yul:du:bkri":żes:

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[1]) *tsam* here crossed out. [2]) = *mtha?* Something here crossed out. [3]) Something here crossed out.
[4]) = *chag-gi*. [5]) *rṅe?* [6]) Error for *ya?* [7]) = *phyod*. [8]) *d* below line (correction of *su*).
[9]) = *phan*. [10]) = *bcad-de*.
[11]) *ṅ* here crossed out. [12]) Something here crossed out. [13]) = *gśen*, as elsewhere. [14]) *byaṅ?*
[15]) = *pha*. [16]) *pre? sre?*
[17]) Something here crossed out. [18]) = *h̲tshal*. [19]) = *glud*. [20]) *s* below line: *yul* here crossed out.
[21]) Error for *srin*. [22]) *bżugs* here crossed out. *pran* = *phran*.

bgyis:naḫ: | [301] Roṅ-po:Lde-khar:gyis: | srin:gan:du:glud:bor:na:Gnubs:srin:Rkaṅ-pran:gyi:gan:du:glud:bor: | lha:la: [302] ñan:du:btsugs:na: | Gnubs:lha:Mthon-drug:la: ñan:du:btsugs: | yuṅs:kar[1]:ni:dgaṅ-cig [303] daṅ:g-yu:Slag-cen:daṅ:bse:Byaṅ:paṅ:Pā-myig:daṅ: | lha:la:ni:ñan:du:btsugso: |

lha:la:ñan:btsugs: [304] pa:daṅ:srin:la:glud:bor:baḫi:rtan:btsal:ba: | ni:nan: sṅa:ma:bżin:du:bskor:ro: | ° |

lha:la:ñan:du[:b]tsugs:na [305] Thaṅ.lha:Ya-bżur:la: | ñan:du:btsugs:srin:gan:du:glud: bor: | na: | Thaṅ.srin:Pyo-pyo-moḫi:gan:du: | [306] glud:bor:ro: | ḫbrog:srin.Pyab-maḫi: gan:du:glud:bor | rje:Thaṅ.rje:Sum-po:ni:bśos:so: |:|

Myi:Rṃa:bu:Mchiṅ[2]- [307] rgyal:yaṅ:lha:la:ñan:du:btsugs: | na: | Thaṅ.lha:Ya-bżur: la:ñan:du:btsugs:srin:la: | glud:du.. | [308] bor:na: | Thaṅ:sin[3]:Pyo-pyo[4]-mo[5])[6]:ḫbrog: srin:Pyab-ma:la:gludu:bor:[*ciṅ*:]l[h]a:ḫog:du:[n]i:[g]daḫ[:] | [309] spags: | srin:ḫog:du: ni:glud:bor: | ° |

Yul:Ñas-po:Khra-sum:na: | rje:Draṅ:rje:Rnol-nam:żig.| Ñas-po: | [310] srin:Nag-ra-rgyas: | "srin:yul:mye:myi:dgu:chu:myi:rlaṅ.kyi:yul:du:bgri"[7]):żis[8]):mchi:na: | Draṅ: gśen: | [311] Ḫbroṅ-pyag:gyis: | lha:la:ni:ñan:du:btsugs: |[9]) Khlum:lha:Thugs-po: | la: ñan:du:btsugs: | [312] srin:gan:du:glud:du:bor:na: | Klum:srin: | Dom-raḫi:gan:du:glud: du:bor: |

Myi:Rma-bu:Mchiṅ-rgyal: | gyaṅ | [313] lha:la:ñan:du:btsugsna: | Klum:lha:Thugs-po:la: ñan | du:btsugs: | srin:gan:du:glu[du:b]or:nal[10]): | [314] Klum:srin:Dom-ra-rgyaḫi:gan: du:gludu:bor: |:| Myi:Rma-bu:Mchiṅ-rgyal:yaṅ:myi:l[h]a:raṅ:then.... |

[315] yul:Skyi-ro:Ljaṅ-sṅon:na: | rje:Skyi:rje:rmaṅ:po:żig: | srin:Skyi:srin:Tsa-luṅ-żaḫi: mch[i]d[:]nas.[*że*]s: | [316] "mye:myi:dgu:chu:myi:rlaṅ:kyi:yul:du:bgri"[11]):żis[12]):mchiḫ: | Skyi:gśen:Rgyan-ṅar:żig[13]):gñar:[t]e:|[srin]:|[317]ḫog:du:ni[14]):glud:bor:|lha:ḫog[15]):du: ni:gdaḫ:spags :|lha[16]):la:ñan: | btsugs: | na:[Skyi:]bla:Pya- [318] maṅs:la: | ñan:btsugs. | srin:la:glud:bor:na: | Skyi:srin:Tsha-luṅ-ża[17]):la:glud:bo[r:ro: |]

Myi:Rma- [319] bu:Mchiṅ-rgyal:yaṅ:lha:la:ñan:du:btsugs:na:Skyi:bla:Pya-maṅs:la: | ñan:[18]) du:tsugs:[*srin:la*] glud. [320] du:bor:na | Skyi:srin | Tsa-luṅ[19])-żahi:gan:du:glud: du:bor: | ° |

yul:Yar-khyim:Sogs-yar[20]):naḫ: | [321] yul:rje:Ḫo-lde:Spu-rgyal:bzugs: | na: | srin:Yar: srin:Pa-sna-riṅ-poḫi:mchid:nas: | "srin:[d]mu:*srin*:]yul: | [322] mye:myi:dgu:chu:myi: rlaṅ.kyi:yul:du:bgri[21])":żes:mchiḫ: |[22]) lde:gśen:Rmun-bu:bkug:ste: | lha:la:ñan:du: | [323] btsugs:na: | yar:lha:Śam-po:la:ñan:du:btsugs: | srin:la:gludu:bor:na: | Yar:srin: *Dra*:l:la:glud:du: [324] bor: |

yul:Dbye-mo:yul:drug: | na: | Dbye:rje:Khar-ba:żig:srin:Dbye:srin:Yug-moḫi:mchid: nas:"srin:[325]yul:mye:myi[23]):dku:chu:myi:rlaṅ:kyi:yul:du:bkri":żes:na: | Dbye:gśen: Kar-bu:Ljon-pyu[g]....[g]ñar | [326] te[24]):la:ñan:du:btsugs:na: | Dbye:bla:Spyi-gaṅ-gaṅsla:ñan:du:btsugs: | srin:la:glu[d:du:bo]r:na: | [327] Dbye:srin:Yug-mo:la:glud:du: bor: | ° |

yul:Rṅegs-śul:Gliṅ-braṅ-ce-ḫu:na: | rje:Rṅeg:[rje]:G[liṅ] [328] -ḫbraṅ-tse-ḫu:bżugs: | srin:Rṅegs:srin:Ra-lpags:kyi:mchid:nas:"srin:yul:mye:myi:dg[u:chu:]myi | [329] rlaṅ. kyi.yul:du:bkri":żes:mchi: | Rṅegs:śen[25]): | Rmuṅ-bus:lha:la:ñan:du:btsugs:na: |

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[1]) = *dkar*. [2]) *ṅ* below line. [3]) *Sic* (for *srin*). [4]) *l* here crossed ont. [5]) *so?*
[6]) *ḫ* here begun and left unfinished. [7]) = *bkri*. [8]) *Sic* (for *że*). [9]) *g* here crossed out.
[10]) *Sic* (for naḫ). [11]) = *bkri*. [12]) = *że*.
[13]) *ñ* here crossed out. [14]) *gl* here crossed out. [15]) *n* here crossed out. [16]) *l* here crossed out.
[17]) *l* here crossed out.
[18]) *c(?)* here crossed out. [19]) *ḫ* here crossed out. [20]) *'ar?* [21]) = *bkri*.
[22]) *ḫ* here crossed out. [23]) *ḫ* here crossed out (read *dgu*). [24]) Insert *lha?* [25]) = *gśen*.

Rṅ[egs]:lha: | [330] Pya-rmaṅ:la:ñan:du:btsugs: | srin:la:glud:du:bor:na: | Rṅegs:srin: Ra-lpagsla: | gludu:bor: |°| [|] [331].

yul:H̲ol-pu:Dag-daṅ[1]):na:|rje:H̲ol:rje:Zin-praṅ[2]):bżugs:|H̲ol:srin:Den-po-blah̲i:mchid: [nas]: | [332] "srin:yul:mye:myi:dgu:chu:myi:rlaṅ:kyi:yul:du:bkri":że:mchih̲: | Ljaṅ. tsa:gśen:kyi:Mun-żag[3]) [333] -tsas:lha:la:ñan:du:btsugs[4]): | srin:la:gludu:bor: |:| h̲o:la: śa:bzan: |:|°|

yul:Dags:yul: | [334] Śiṅ-nag:na: | rje:Dar:rgyal:Sprog-zin: | srin:Dags:srin:Phlad-po: mgo:dguh̲i:mchid:nas | [335] "srin:yul:mye:myi:dgu:chu:myi:rlaṅ:kyi:yul:du:bkri": że:bgyis:na: | rgyal:...[5]) ś[e]n:L[o]-das[6]):nas: | [336] ña[7]):la:ni:ñan:btsugs: | srin:la: glud:bor: |:|°|

yul:Mchims:[*yul*] | kyi:Dgra-sul: | na: | [337] rje:Mchims:rje:Ne-h̲u: | bżugs: | srin:Mchims: srin: | Pod[8])-l[*du*]ṅs[9])..-s[d]u[10])-khla[d][11]).[338] kyi:Pya-khyi-mah̲i:mchid:nas:|:|"srin:yul: mye:myi:dgu:chu:myi:rla[ṅ]:kyi:yul:du:bkr[i]":[że:nas:*M*]chim[12])[339]s:śen[13]):Do-rab H̲briṅ-rab:kyis[14]):mchid:nas: | lha:la:ni:ñan:du:btsugs: | srin:la:ni:glu[du]:bor: | [340] ꕥ Myaṅ:yul:Śiṅ-sṅon:na: | rje:Myaṅ-tsun:Rgyal-po-dog: | cig:bżugs: | Myaṅ-srin: | Gnag-braṅ- [341] -mah̲i:mchid:nas: | "srin:yul:mye[15]):myi:dku[16]):chu:myi:rlaṅ:kyi:yul:[du]: bkri":że:na:my-[17]) My[*aṅ.śen*[18])]: | [342] Rgyas:lha:la:ñan:du:btsugs: | srin:la:gludu: bor: |:|°|

[343] yul:Rkoṅ.yul:Bre-snar:na: | rje:Rkoṅ:h̲di:Dkar-po:bżugs:Rkoṅ.sr[in]...Den-[po]-h̲i:mchid: | [344] nas: | "srin:yul:mye[19]):myi:dku[20]):chu:myi:rlaṅ.kyi:yul:bkri":że:na: | Rkoṅ.śen[21]):..Dog-po-[dog]-ña: | [345] yis[22]):lha:la:ñan:du:btsugs: | srin:la:gludu:bor: |°|:

yul:M[d]o-ro: | .... luṅ.... |:rje: [346]Mdo:rje:H̲on-braṅ:bżugs:srin:Mdo:srin:Rkaṅ-mar:kyi:mchid:nas: | [23])"srin:yul:mye:myi:dku[24]): | [347] chu:myi:rlaṅ[25]):kyi:yul:du: bkri":że:na: | Mdo:gśen:Mar-rtas: ña[26]):la:ni:ñan:tsu[gs]:sri[*n*:la:*ni*:gludu:bor] [348]

yul:Rgya:yul:Gdan-bzaṅs:na:|rje:Rgya:rje:Mye-mtshaṅ:Rmaṅ-po:bżugs:|srin:[Rg]ya: [srin]:Myig-mar: [349] kyi:mchid: | nas: | "srin:yul:mye:myi:dgu:chu:myi:rlaṅ.kyi:yul: du[27]):bkri":że:na: |:| Rgya:bon:Leg-daṅ:Rmaṅ- [350] bas:lha:la:ni:ñan:btsugs:srin:la: ni:kludu[28]):bor[: |:|]

myi[29]):ji:raṅ:te[n][30]):na: |
myi:.ñan:raṅ:rten[31]): | [351]
ñan:ji:raṅ:then:na:
ñan:lha[32]):raṅ:then: |

lha:dgu:ñan:du:btsugs:[*na*]:srin:dgu:kludu[33]):bor: |:| [352] lha:h̲og:du:rkad[34]):spags: srin:h̲og:du:glud:kyis:slud:na: | myi:lud:.....[353] myi:skad:ma:mchis:na: | [35])ya: bla:bduṅ[36]) [:] po:yod:gzas[37]).ma:.....

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[1]) *d* here crossed out. [2]) = *phraṅ*. [3]) *żug? ż(i)g?*
[4]) *na* here crossed out. [5]) Space filled by corrected signs?
[6]) *s* crossed out or corrected to *r*. [7]) *Sic* (for *lha*; cf. l. 347).
[8]) Two signs here crossed out. [9]) *sṅu(?)* here crossed out.
[10]) *khu* here crossed out. [11]) *khlaṅ?* [12]) *m* below line.
[13]) = *gśen*. [14]) = *kyi* (*s* below line). [15]) Corrected from *myo*.
[16]) = *dgu*: after *dku* a *m* is crossed out. [17]) *my* crossed out.
[18]) = *gśen*. [19]) Corrected (from *myi*).
[20]) = *dgu*. [21]) = *gśen*. [22]) *yip* written?
[23]) Something here crossed out. [24]) Something here crossed out. Or *dgum* written?
[25]) *Plaṅ* written? [26]) *Sic* (for *lha*; cf. l. 336).
[27]) Something here crossed out. [28]) = *gludu*.
[29]) *r* here crossed out. [30]) = *then*. [31]) = *then*.
[32]) Two signs here crossed out. [33]) = *gludu*. [34]) = *rgad*.
[35]) Something here crossed out. [36]) *Sic* (for *bdud*). [37]) Corrected from *gzaṅs*.

TRANSLATION

Ages of Decline, the Skyi kingdom and its religion

[1] .... So, with fiends [2] giving aid to the perverse-minded, the perverse-minded came into great power [3]. [4] A rich man owning property came to be applauded, even if bad, as wise [5]. By reason of poverty even a wise man came to be decried as bad. For example: [6] Suppose there were a father and mother having two sons, if one son, after doing to others everything bad [7], came with gifts of wealth, he was applauded by father and mother both, "That boy has gained wealth: he is wise" [8]. If a son of great uprightness, doing to others nothing bad, did not present wealth, [9] he was decried, though an accomplished person, as bad. Father and mother both [10], having become so disposed, made no difference between sons good and bad. The sons' minds also became unsatisfactory [11].

If some big man, rich, said through ignorance something bad and false even [12], all people in a mass listened and applauded. If from the mouth of a big man, rich [13], they heard something not inviting laughter, all formed a laughing alliance and laughed [14].By reason of poverty, if a word, good and true, beneficial to life, was spoken, no one [15] listened. Even if some few heard the true saying, it was heard at one ear and passed out at the other [16]: into the mind it was not received. It was not listened to as true or applauded by anyone [17]. If a word inviting laughter was spoken, no one laughed.

As generations succeeded, all kindred [18] came to be reckoned, on ground of poverty, as not kindred. Two rich men, though not akin and not friends [19], would, by reason of riches, be (mutually) invited, as dear kin, to feasts of meat and drink and included among kin. [20] A poor man, by reason of poverty, was treated as a bad kinsman and isolated in the kindred.

[21] As generations succeeded, it came to pass that no one acted rightly as in the time when gods and men were not parted [22]. Having fallen upon a bad age, gradually all human beings became void of modesty, regardless [23]: they became unacquainted with shame; they became unobservant of oaths. With a view to wealth and property [24] they were not frightened by their devil life. They came to seek wealth by doing every evil to other parties [25]. Hence, being sinful oath-swallowers, unabashed, son worse than father, grandson worse than son [26], men became, as generations succeeded, bad. Even in body the son came to be inferior to his father in vigour. For whatever had to be done [27] the sons came to be incompetent. 'How?'—if this is asked, one brave man, spear in hand [28], would range hither and thither amid an army, among a myriad, among a thousand: not merely that, if he had ravished another's [29] wife, or robbed up and down, or committed theft and done injury to people, [30] he was not afraid of its being known: it was taken in good part; with no sense of shame, to all people he was said to be a fit associate [31].

As generations succeeded, the women revolted against the men. Being without shame [32], the women came to be ungentle, came to be bad, came to be enticing. Without a word on his part [33] a man, upon a woman's own invitation, would sleep with her. A woman in one night, after being embraced by a man again and again [34], still at heart unsatisfied, desired more and more.

[35] This being so, from the king's wife downwards, the woman, being accounted wiser than the king and being intimate with affairs, [36] came between king and councillors, causing contention; so that king and councillor came to be parted [37]. Consequently the subjects also came to be miserably oppressed and enslaved: they degenerated. [38] As generations succeeded, among all people the wife became more assuming in speech than the husband. Through the wife father and son came to be disunited [39]: sons elder and younger

became disunited. All relationships, all affections being parted, there came to be fighting and maiming [40]: killing of kindred came to pass.

Thence came ... There being ..... the rich was exalted [41] ..... [42] no matter! Though observed by the household, no matter! Though life was of a hundred years, and after death they became owners of seven hundred thousand[1]) [43], no matter! Though in life they had forfeited the happiness of the gods' world, no matter! Though at death they went to be owners of a gaping quadrangular pit[2]) [44], upon mention of life, whether they should be despatched to Gnam or Dguṅ[3]), no matter! The word 'death' being tabooed, on whatever shore they should [45] writhe[4]), no matter! Though, if their heads were looked at, with head bent and shaking; though with feet long like a bird's leg; with .... [46] trammelled in utterance, as if hollow-cheeked, no matter! Though pented roof-wise, as if hollow-shouldered, no matter! Though having on the white bright space [47] a hundred male *gśen thod-kar* gathered and in *mo* divination[5]) worsted; though, having on the black dark field [48] a hundred Ma-mo *gśen żu-brab* gathered, in *mo* divination worsted; in takings taken; in crushings crushed[6]) [49]; in fealties inserted; in liegeships rejected; while ..... not invited (deserved)[7]), senior elder brother [50] ..., putting not made; like birds, ... upper ... twelve; [51] from their country, like fishes, ... making, ice broken [52]; though the nine uphill (stars)[8]) ...., no matter! Though robbers robbed, no matter! Though subduers subdued (?), [53] no matter! Though banishers banished[9]), no matter! Though stunners stunned, no matter! Though at dusk fiend *(rṅe)* -gangs [54] lurked, no matter! Though at dawn thief-gangs stole, no matter! Though from the top of the high town[10]) some noble[11]) [55] was chased, no matter! Though from the gate of the low town some noble was hurled, no matter! Though from felt-house with its tent-woman, from rain-shelter [56] with its fiendess[12]), from wooden house with its lady, some noble was hurled, no matter! Thus were they

In fealties inserted, in liegeships [57] rejected;
In debits inserted, in credits rejected.

When this Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king[13]),

In fealties inserted, [58] to fealty summoned,
His person each night placed in fealty[14]),

nine gods and nine *gsas*, nine chiefs and nine *gars* [59], nine *phas* and nine *bons*, and the great His chief on high, the lord *mtshe* His-po-his, were not[15]) [60].

Each dawn to enter an exalted body,
Each day to take for luck.

a divine *bon* H̲praṅ-zu, a luck-*bon* Theg-leg, and a lot-*bon* [61] [Kyu-ra, a high chief] Bo-bkra the son, also, and a supreme *mtshe* Srad-po there were not. Also,

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[1]) The same period of time is mentioned in Text I, A, l. 101, *supra*.

[2]) Cf. Text I, B, ll. 27—8, and as regards burial, pp. 5 sqq.

[3]) The highest heaven and the sky: see *supra*, p. 23 n. 17, p. 43. [4]) 'Be dumped'?

[5]) The *mo* divination, from groups of circles depending upon casts of dies, etc. (Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 465; A. H. Francke, Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1924, pp. 1 sqq., 1928, pp. 110 sqq.), has here some obscure accessories. Apparently a white and black ground is indicated. Mother-deities (corresponding to the Pha?): cf. VI, *infra*. [6]) Or 'in tramplings tranpled'.

[7]) See Linguistic note. [8]) See Text I, A, l. 13—4

[9]) Rendering doubtful: see Linguistic note, p. 99

[10]) On the 'high-town' (sc. the castle) and the 'low-town' see Introduction, p. 57.

[11]) For a possible alternative rendering see Linguistic note, p. 99.

[12]) 'Female bear'? Reading and rendering doubtful.

[13]) On this person and his designation see Introduction, *supra*, p. 55.

[14]) See Introduction, *supra*, p. 61.

[15]) On the beings and proceedings mentioned in ll. 59—61 (also *infra*, ll. 87, 109, 164) see the Introduction, pp. 56—7. On the form of the name His-po-his, 'His, manly Ilis', see p. 59.

Each dawn to enter an exalted body,
Each day to take for luck [62]
there was not a super-*mtshe*, there was not a supreme *mtshe* Srad-po. Also
Each day to put in fealty
a supreme *mtshe* [63], a *mtshe* Srad-po, a lord His-po-his, there was not. Also
In liegeships to reject,
In fealties to build up [64],
a lord *mtshe* His-po-his, a supreme *mtshe* Srad-po, there was not. Also
On the here side to insert,
On the beyond side to reject [65],
a lord *mtshe* His-po-his there was not.
To the credit side to summon
a lord *mtshe* His-po-his [66], a supreme *mtshe* Srad-po, there was not.
So, also
In fealties to insert,
Into fealty to summon
men a lord *mtshe* His-po-his [67] there was not. Also a noble's mansion
In fealty to erect
a lord *mtshe* His-po-his [68], a supreme *mtshe* Srad-po, there was not. Also
To build a town on high
a *mtshe* His-po-his [69], a supreme *mtshe* Srad-po, there was not. Also
To build a high house, cattle-yard,
a lord *mtshe* His-po-his, a supreme *mtshe* Srad-po [70], there was not. Also
To build a high road zig-zag[1])
a lord *mtshe* His-po-his, a supreme *mtshe* Srad-po, there was not [71]

Among the *mtshes* of ... harvest-sacks, gold-mines, a chief *mtshe*, a lord *mtshe* His-po-his, there was not, a supreme *mtshe* Srad-po [72] was not. [For] the Lho-brag[2]) *mtshe* Rkyaṅ-bdzuṅs and the swamp *mtshe* Khar-ba, also, a lord *mtshe* His-po-his, a supreme *mtshe* [73] Srad-po there was not. [For] the *mtshe* Gdo-bo[3]), mean *mtshe* of the *mtshe* Rum-ba of the upper meadows, a lord *mtshe* His-po-his, [74] a supreme *mtshe* Srad-po, there was not. For the *gsas mtshe* Thal-ba, and the *g-ya mtshe* Spur-buh̲, and the meadow *mtshe* Grun[4]) [75] ..... a lord *mtshe* His-po-his there was not. For
Inserting in fealties,
Rejecting in liegeships [76],
Building in debit,
Summoning to credit,
if a *mtshe* was sought, a lord *mtshe* His-po-his there was [not] [77] ... For
On the here side inserting,
On the beyond side rejecting,
a *mtshe* His-po-his, a supreme *mtshe* [78] Srad-po, there was not.

When a lord *mtshe* His-po-his, a supreme *mtshe* Srad-po, was sought, where was he sought ?[5]) In the two quaking peak-mountains, [79] ... and Tos-dags[6]), he was sought; in the two quaking peak-mountains, the lord *mtshe* His-po-his [80] was sought. In the quaking peak-

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[1]) No doubt a zig-zag ascent into a castle.

[2]) 'Southern Crag', name of a district in S. Tibet, but here perhaps different.

[3]) None of the here mentioned individual *mtshes* are known, nor can their names be safely etymologized. *Spur-buh̲* (l. 74) is in l. 202 *infra* name of a certain deer. [4]) = Klum?

[5]) On the likelihood that the *mtshe* was primarily an aromatic plant see the Introduction.

[6]) Tos-dags (a proper name?) is unknown.

mountains three parts, the levels six parts, the plateaux nine parts, the ridge... parts [81], the ... nine parts and on the top of the outer ridges, ten parts, on the highest tops of their clefts,

Among *mtshes* of the long mountains [82]
Supreme long-mountain *mtshe*;
Among *mtshes* of the wide expanses
Supreme wide-expanse *mtshe*;
Among *mtshes* of precipice ledges [83]
Supreme precipice-ledge *mtshe*;
Among *mtshes* of the long mountains
Hbrog[1]) long-mountains *mtshe*;
Among *mtshes* of the wide expanses
Hbrog wide-expanse *mtshe*; [84]
Among *mtshes* of precipice ledges
Hbrog precipice-ledge *mtshe*;
Among *mtshes* of the long mountains
Skyi[2]) long-mountain *mtshe*;
Among *mtshes* of the wide expanses
Skyi wide-expanse *mtshe*; [85]
Among *mtshes* of precipice ledges
Skyi precipice-ledge *mtshe*,

with father-sire's name Divine-*Mtshe* Khar-ba; with mother-matron's [86] name *Mtshe*-mother Khrun-bzaṅs; a son, the supreme *mtshe* Srad-po[3]), with whom

Each morn to come to his body,
Each day to take for luck [87],

and with the divine-*bon* Hpraṅ-zu, the luck-*bon* Theg-leg, the lot-*bon* Kyu-ra, the supreme chief Bo-kra, the son, the supreme *mtshe* Srad-po, a lord *mtshe* His-po-his[4]),

Each morn coming to his body [88],
Each day taking for luck,
Each night putting in fealty,

there was not.

Among mountains winding, [89] winding,
Sñi[5]) mountains winding, winding;
Among meadows bending, bending[6])
Sñi meadows bending, bending;
Among upvales rising, rising,
Sñi upvales rising, rising;
Among downvales oval, [90] oval[7]),
Sñi downvales oval, oval,

of a father-sire named *Mtshe*-father Raṅ-roṅ[8]) and a mother-matron named *Mtshe*-mother [91] Byaṅ-paṅs[9]) was a son, *Mtshe*-son Khrun-bzaṅs Ljon-bzaṅs[10]); if looked at above, having on each middle finger one turquoise [92], green Chinese, one turquoise, green Moṅ[11]), each

[1]) Wild or uncultivated upland country, occupied only by nomads.
[2]) The *Skyi* = T'ang-chang country.
[3]) These divinities have been mentioned *supra*, ll. 58—9.
[4]) For note see previous page.
[5]) Apparently a district in Skyi and therefore not the Sñi *(Gñi)*-ba of *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., I, p. 280, II, p. 303. [6]) As in a valley. [7]) On 'oval' see Linguistic note.
[8]) 'Self (= separate?)-defile'. [9]) 'Pure-height' *(hphaṅs)?* [10]) 'Height-fine Tree-fine'.
[11]) On the Moṅ (Mon) people see the Geographical Introduction, and *Nam* pp. 150 sqq.

turquoise more green than sheep, than goat; if looked at in front [93], having a variegated grey ground[1]) [colour] with the middle parts more red than a *bse*[2]), more red than a bee[3]); if his joints are looked at, with the joints of Drum[4]), king of lower-valleys; [94] if looked at inside, with the interior of Ḫod, king of fields; if his height was looked at, with the height of Rje, king of birds; if his hair was looked at, with the hair of G-yaṅ[5]), king of goats; [95] by none sought, by none seen; if seen by the vultures Thaṅ-prom and Thaṅ-g-yag[6]), he bore them up, far up, and [96] tore them joint from joint. The *mtshe-mo* Number-one with her side talon clenched on high is the Divine-*mtshe* Byaṅ-paṅs, is the *gsas* [97] *mtshe* Sum-paṅs[7]). The *Mtshe-mo* Number-one with her side talon chlenched on high is the highest *mtshe* of the *bon* [98], the lowest *mtshe* of the *glun*[8]). Up, far up, he bore them, and tore them great joint from joint. There is the lord *mtshe* His-po-his [99]; there is the *mtshe-mo* Byaṅ-paṅs, there is Sum-zur[9]). They came holding the chieftain, they came holding the supreme Bo-bla, the son [100]. The lord *mtshe* His-po-his it is, who

Each night puts the body in fealty.

By the lord His-po-his [101] nine chiefs, nine *gars*, nine gods, nine *gsas*, nine *pha*, nine *bon*[10]), the great His on high, and the *mtshe-mo* Sum [102] -zur are

Each night put in fealty.

Of fealty the lord is this His-po-his [103].

When the high town aloft, aloft, is built, by the lord *mtshe* His-po-his it is built;
When the high house is built [104], by the lord His-po-his it is built;
When the high road zig-zag is made, by the lord His-po-his it is made [104].

This man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king,

To the gods in fealty set, in liegeship rejected,
In debits inserted, [106] to credits summoned;
On the beyond side rejected,

to the *mtshe* is set in fealty; to the *Mtshe-mo* Byaṅ-paṅs Sum-zur [107] he is set in fealty.

Lord of subordination also is Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne-tshog-po[11]). Officer of superiors [108] also is Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne-tshog-po. Lord of *lo-de*[12]) also is Sib-bse Goṅ-kar [109] Be-ne-tshog-po. For building the high town aloft, aloft, Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne Tshog-po [110] is not. For building the high mansion, animals' yard, Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne-tshog-po is not. For building the high road aloft, aloft [111], Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne-tshog-po is not. For putting in fealty Sib-bse Goṅ-kar [112] Be-ne-tshog-po is not. For rejecting in liegeship Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne-tshog-po is not [113]. For building in debits Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne-tshog-po is not. For summoning to credits [114] Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne-tshog-po is not. For setting on the here side, rejecting on the beyond side Sib-bse [115] Goṅ-kar Be-ne-tshog-po is not. For erecting a mansion, noble's mansion, subordinate's mansion, high mansion, Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne-tshog-po is not [116].

Following this formula, the repetition is to be gone through in regard to turquoise and barley and *po-ma*[13]) and cotton.

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[1]) But see Linguistic note. [2]) *Serow* (one-horned) deer? [3]) ? reading.

[4]) This and the following impersonations are unknown.

[5]) On the word *g-yaṅ*, as properly meaning 'goat', see pp. 33 n, 35 (l. 11).

[6]) Names of uncertain meaning ('Tail-white', 'Tail-yak'). For similar bird-names see Text I, B, l. 69.

[7]) 'Three (= Complete)-height'? [8]) Unknown.

[9]) 'Three-cornered' = 'Perfect', epithet of Byaṅ-paṅs, as in ll. 106, 169, 248.

[10]) See *supra*, ll. 59, 87.

[11]) On this person and his name (with various spellings) see Introduction, pp. 57, 62.

[12]) = 'Salaries', 'services'? See Linguistic note. Cf. ll. 168, 262.

[13]) This appears later as *pho-ma* (l. 153), *dpeḫu* (l. 155) and *speḫu* (l. 172). The rendering 'wheat' (Tib. *gro-ma*) is conjectural.

As to Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne-tshog-po, [117] if there is inquiry, in stating the lineage of the *Bse* Śaṅ-śaṅ Ru-riṅs[1]), though there is mention of a father of *bses*, there is no *bse* Goṅ-gar, no Sib-bse Goṅ-gar [118] Be-ne-tshog-po[2]). Stating the father['s name] as Duṅ-gyi-glaṅ-po[3]) and the mother as G-yuḫi-ḫpra-mo[4]), these two, as *Bse* son there was a son one-horn: [119] it is Sib-bse Be-ne-tshog-po Goṅ-kar.

When each night there is putting in fealty, [he]
In fealty is inserted,
In liegeship rejected, [120]
In debits inserted,
To credits summoned,
On the here side inserted,
On the beyond side rejected.

When the *bse* is first required, if this refrain [121] is worked in, there is success—this is to be said. In regard to turquoise also a repetition as above: Mye-cho Thiṅ-snar[5]) turquoise, Rgya-sbraṅs The-thog[6]), [122] Nam-po Ḫbriṅ-ru[7]), there are not —this is to be stated. Turquoise Ne-tsho each night putting in fealty there is none. If Thiṅ-snar Ne-tsho [123] turquoise is required[8]), Ne-tsho Thiṅ-snar, Nam-po Ḫbriṅ-ru, there is none.

Turquoise's father was Turquoise-king Thaṅ-pho; Turquoise's mother was Turquoise [124]-Choice. Turquoise which came with Spu-rgyal[9]) is Bird-egg Young-egg. That (Tibet) kingdom's turquoise is Rma-lchags[10]); the Rkoṅ-kingdom's[11]) turquoise [125] is Thiṅ-snar; man's turquoise is Spo-mthiṅ[12]); presentation turquoise is Kya-ra-kyu-ra[13]) turquoise. Ḫa-ża Boṅ-ru[14]), Me-ñag[15]) Boṅ-ru. Fealty turquoise [126] there is none. Of turquoises the Gnam-po Ḫbriṅ-ru, the turquoise Rgyal-sbraṅs-kyi-Khe-thog are not Ne-tsho Thiṅ-snar.

On the far limit of Gnam [127], on the far shore of Dguṅ[16]),
Gnam[17]) and Earth fought, sway, sway, hold, hold,
Iron and Copper fought, bang-bang, [128] ting-ting.

In their contention

Rock into Gnam pell-mell;
Blue[18]) turquoise rock into Gnam pell-mell:
By the lake [129] swirl, swirl;

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1) *Śaṅ-śaṅ* = 'crane' or 'a certain flower'; *Ru-riṅs* = 'Horn-long'.

2) Here it seems to be denied that this Sib-bse is a *bse*. He is really a son of Shell and Turquoise.

3) 'Elephant (or Bull) of Shells'.

4) 'Turquoise-fine'.

5) Elsewhere *ñe-tsho/ne-tso* = 'Parrot'. But since most of the varieties of turquoise are here named after countries, this also is perhaps a geographical name. *Thiṅ-snar* = 'Spread (or Blue, *mthiṅ*)-long'.

6) Elsewhere *Rgyal*; also *sprańs* and *Khe* or *Ke* or *Kye*. 'China-Profit-top (or 'harvest')'?

7) Inquired about.

8) 'Nam (country) Middle-horn; or error for *boṅ-ru*, 'round'?

9) The legendary first king of Tibet, who came down from heaven.

10) 'Peacock-iron'.

11) The Koṅ-po district E. of Lhasa and N. of the Tsang-po: cf. l. 343.

12) 'Spo-blue', Spo being a district S. E. of Rkoṅ.

13) *Kya-ra-Ryu-ra* is likely to be the name of a country, which, however, could hardly, at this date, be the Turk Karakoram in the Altai.

14) 'Ḫa-ża Round'. The Ḫa-ża people belonged to the Tsaidam and Lob-nor regions (see *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, pp. 1 sqq).

15) A people in the region of the lower Ñag-chu, the Ya-lung river in E. Tibet: see the Geographical Introduction.

16) This expression has occurred in Text I, B. l. 70. 17) Sky.

18) 'Bluish-green' *(sṅon-mo)*.

By the blue turquoise lake[1]) swirl, swirl.
Boat, too, was shell boat;
Mast, too, was shell mast;
Paddle, too, [130] was shell paddle:
To the lake's far side crossing,
To the blue turquoise lake[2]) 's far side there was crossing,
With the blue turquoise rock
When turquoise ..... [131]

for a first trial had fought, turquoise survived. Divine turquoise for ally of Gnam, fealty turquoise, was none. In *the seven stages of* Gnam [132] are fealty turquoise and headship turquoise. So, they having for a while fought, turquoise survived. Fiend turquoise ... there is none [133]. In the seven stages of earth[3]) are fealty turquoise and headship turquoise; so, they having for a while fought, [134] turquoise survived, as the top-most survived.

To the gods and iron belong endurance: man's mind is not for one while steadfast [135]. So, when they had fought a fight—[the man's] name was Mon-bu Mon-hdzu; turquoise's name was Ne-tso [136] Thiṅ-snar; turquoise Rgyal-sbraṅs, Gnam-po Bri-hu-ru, were fealty turquoise. As regards the putting in fealty to turquoise: [137] to turquoise Ne-tso Thiṅ-snar, turquoise Rgyal-sbraṅs Kye-thog, Nam-po Bri-hu-ru he was put in fealty [138]:

In fealty inserted,
In liegeship rejected,
On the debit side inserted,
To the credit side summoned,
On the here side inserted [139]
On the beyond side rejected,

'Lord of fealty', is stated and 'on the height' and so forth: 'lord of fealty' being stated with 'turquoise Ne-tso Thiṅ- [140] snar, Gnam-po Bri-hu-ru in the context; saying 'who is lord of fealty ?' [141], Fathers all and all others 'on the height' are mentioned. In 'Lord of fealty, officer of superiors', it is to be said that the 'lord of subordinates is the Goddess' [142] 'Seeds-seven'[4]), derived from the feminine barley 'Produce-Six'[5]).

To state the father-sire of barley, it is [143] 'He who in the meadow Ldiṅ-myi-ldiṅ, in the riverhead district, flies high as a male vulture'. The mother-matron's name is stated as *Chab-kyi-ma-żug-chab-żug-ser* [144][6]) ...; in speaking of ... is called *G-yaṅ-mo* Dbog-tsam[7]). In general black: according to apportionment by sap and height [145] is ..... The son, Brgo-rpyi[8]) barley, being fetid or fragrant barley, fealty barley there is none. According to apportionment as *gro-kha* [146] .... *gdod*, fealty barley there is none. Inclusive of the green *Kraṅs-maṅs*[9]), there are four principal (kinds). [147] According to purity of ... fealty barley there is none. The feminine barleys 'Produce-six' are divine barleys [148].

As to fealty to barley: There is putting in fealty to the feminine barleys 'Produce-six' [149] ...

If rendered with sheep and goats, *gad-rga-myi-chad*[10]) [150] ...

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[1]) The Koko-nor, the 'Blue Lake', is meant. [2]) Sc. the Koko-nor.
[3]) Apparently not known.
[4]) Mentioned again *infra*, ll. 171, 258.
[5]) Recurs in l. 172. [6]) 'Water-mother End-Water-end-Yellow' ? ?
[7]) 'Lucky Unload-measure' ?
[8]) Meaning unknown. [9]) 'Upright-abundant' ?
[10]) After these words, which possibly mean 'laugh-joy uninterrupted', there is a gap.

If rendered with ... there is putting in fealty to *Gser-khaṅ-ser-mo*[1]), *Myi-lud-dgaḫ*[2]), *Ża-ża-lhag-ma* [151]. With .... *dum-pha* there is putting in fealty. To green (barley) there is putting in fealty.

In fealty inserted [152],
In liegeship rejected,
In debits inserted,
In credits rejected,
On the here side inserted,
On the beyond side rejected.

The changes to be rung as before [153] .

Lord of fealty being given as Pho-ma Klum-tsub[3]), the father-sire's name is Corn [154] Ho[d]-de Khor-ba[4]). To mention the mother-matron: she is Mother Drum-paṅ Ḫdab-chen Brun-ḫde-myed-ma[5]). The sons, Smyig-gu Ldem-paṅ[6]), [155] Smyig-gu Sum-zur[7]), Mon Smyig Ldem-paṅ, Sum-zur Bzuṅ-par-bzuṅ[8]), Bcad-par-bcad[9]), are put in fealty to Dpe-ḫu [156], are put in fealty to Po-ma. Mon 'Hunchback', Southern 'Ḫunchback', China 'Hunchback' are put in fealty to Khor-ba [157], are put in fealty to Smyig-gu Ldem-paṅ:

In fealty inserted,
In liegeship rejected;
In debit inserted,
In credit set back; [158]
On the here side rejected[10]),
On the beyond side inserted[11]).

Changes to be rung as before.

Putting in fealty to cotton [159]. The country, China country, Gtan-bzaṅs[12]); the plain Rgya-mo-thaṅ[13]); the hair tree-hair: the *ḫbral*[14]) [160] also China *ḫbral*; the *ḫbral-ḫdzud* also China-country *ḫdzud*[15]). After mentioning the weaving of Rgya-mo-thaṅ plain, and Mon-mo-thaṅ[16]) plaiṅ, and the Lho-mo-thaṅ[17]) plain, and Bal [161]-mo-thaṅ[18]) plain cotton, 'putting in fealty to cotton' is to be stated:

In fealty [162] inserted,
In liegeship rejected;
Body-place[19]) outside in fealty,
Place outside in liegeship;
Place outside in debit inserted,
In credit rejected [163];
On the here side inserted,
On the beyond side rejected.

Now this Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king,

Each morn coming to his body,
Each day taking for luck, [164]

by day taking for luck the divine-*bon* Ḫpraṅ-zu[20]), the luck-*bon* Theg-leg, the lot-*bon* Khyu-ra,

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[1]) 'Gold-house Yellow'. [2]) 'Human-dung-rejoicing (in)'.

[3]) On *pho-ma* see l. 116: *klum (glum)* is 'fresh fermented rice, barley, or wheat, used instead of malt in making beer'; and *tsub* may be 'rub', 'churn' *(gtsub)*, or 'rough', 'acrid' *(rtsub)*.

[4]) 'Shining-formed'? [5]) 'Height ... Leaf-great Manure-without. [6]) 'Stalk-sway-height'. [7]) 'Stalk three-cornered (= perfect)'. [8]) 'Taking and taking'. [9]) 'Cutting and cutting'. [10]) *Sic* (for 'inserted)'.

[11]) *Sic* (for 'rejected'). [12]) 'Seat-fine', recurs below *(Gdan°)*, l. 348. [13]) 'China-plain'.

[14]) 'Separating'. [15]) 'Inserting'. [16]) 'Mon-plain'. [17]) 'Southern-plain'.

[18]) 'Nepal(?)-plain'; but Bal may be some region elsewhere.

[19]) = 'Own-place', 'Own person'? In l. 175 this is antithetic to 'gate-place' = 'exterior place'.

[20]) On the personalities named in ll. 164—6, see note to ll. 59—61.

the supreme chief Bo-bla, the son, the supreme *mtshe* Srad-po, with the 'Seeds-seven', [165] has luck more and more. In

Each night coming to his exalted body,
Each night putting in fealty,

in putting in fealty each night nine chiefs, nine *gar* and nine *lha* and nine *gsas* [166] and nine *pha* and nine *bon* and the great chief His on high and the lord *mtshe* His-po-his, he is also put in fealty [167].

The high town aloft, aloft, he built;
The high mansion [and] cattle yard he built;
The high road zig-zag, he built;
Mansions, nobles' mansions [168], liegeship mansions, fealty mansions he erected.
As lord of fealty he worked;
As officer of liegeship he worked;
As lord of *lo-de*[1]) he worked;
As officer of *si-si*[2]) he worked [169]

Put in fealty to the *mtshe*, to the lord *mtshe* His-po-his, to Byaṅ-paṅ Sum-zur he is put in fealty. Put in fealty to turquoise, [170] to turquoise Ne-tso Thiṅ-snar, turquoise Rgyal-sbraṅs Ke-thog, Nam-po H̲bri-h̲ṅu he is put in fealty. Put in fealty to the Bse, [171] he is put in fealty to Sib-(b)se Goṅ-kar Be-ne-chog-po. Put in fealty to barley, to the goddess' 'Seeds-seven' [172] and the feminine 'Produce-six' he is put in fealty. Put in fealty to *speh̲u*[3]), to Skur-bu Khri-btsugs[4]) he is put in fealty [173]. Put in fealty to cotton, to China cotton Rtsaṅ-h̲braṅ[5]), Mon cotton Khul-thiṅ[6]), southern cotton Śag[174]-rnam[7]), Bal cotton Tshigs-ma[8]) he is put in fealty.

Changes to be rung as before [175].

In all the sunlit[9]) mountains there is putting in fealty to Pu[10]) Rma-bo, in liegeship rejecting: gate-place[11]) outside in fealty, gate-place outside in liegeship [176].

Tree, tall or short, is Pu Rma-bo's tree;
Sap, good or bad, is Pu Rma-bo's sap;
Stone, large or small, is Pu Rma-bo's [171] stone;
Water, cold or hot, is Pu Rma-bo's water;
Waste[12]), great or small, is Pu Rma-bo's waste;
Farmland[13]), high or low, [178] is Pu Rma-bo's farmland.

Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king, too, submitting in fealty to an exalted elder brother, to Phu Rma-bu submits in fealty, [179] places in fealty:

In fealty inserted,
In liegeship rejected;

Place outside his person in fealty, place outside in liegeship.

Tree, tall or short [180], is Man Rma-bu's tree;
Sap, good or bad, is Man Rma-bu's sap;

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1) = 'Salaries', 'services'? See note on l. 108. 2) See Introduction, p. 57: cf. l. 263.
3) = *Po-ma*, etc., l. 116. 4) 'Hunchback-son Enthroned' = 'Hunchback' of l. 156.
5) In l. 256 this is Rtsaṅ-graṅ: meaning doubtful and words possibly Chinese.
6) Down (of cotton. etc.) -spread'? 7) In l. 256 Śags: meaning obscure.
8) Perhaps = *tshig-ma*, 'sinew', 'tissue', rather than *tshigs-ma*, 'sediment', 'refuse'.
9) D. e. the southern slopes of the mountains, as contrasted with the 'shadowed', or northern, slopes of l. 182 *infra*. On the difference between these in northern Tibet see Futterer, *Durch Asien*, II, p. 430, Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, II, p. 170.
10) 'Elder-brother' *(phu)*: concerning the person see Introduction, pp. 55—6. In l. 253 *phu* is written.
11) See note to l. 162, 'own-place'.
12) *H̲brog*, as in l. 83. 13) *Yul*, 'inhabited or cultivated country'.

Water, cold or hot, is Man Rma-bu's water;
Stone, large or small [181], is Man Rma-bu's stone;
Farmland, high or low, is Man Rma-bu's farmland;
Waste, great or small, is Man Rma-bu's [182] waste.

All the shadowed[1]) mountains submit in fealty to the consort, are put in fealty to consort Yul-ma[2]), submit in fealty, are placed in fealty [183].

As in the case of Pu Rma-bo at length, changes are to be rung as before: 'put in fealty to consort Yul-ma' [184] is to be the expression.

Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king, submits in fealty to the exalted matron[3]), submits in fealty to consort Yul-ma [185].

In [the case of] all the shadowed mountains the consort Yul-ma is to have the changes rung at length corresponding to the remaining repetitions[4]) at length in regard to Man Rma-bu Mchiṅ-king [186].

To the Po chief[5]) there is submitting in fealty: to Rod[6]) Dpye-thog-bde, the officer, there is not submitting in fealty. To H̲o(l)-de, His Majesty Phu[7]) [187]-rgyal, there is submitting in fealty. Rod Dpye-thog-bde, the officer, submits in fealty, is put in fealty.

When H̲o(l)-de, His Majesty Guṅ-rgyal[8]) [188]
To the high country journeys,
The steeps of the great[9]) rivers give way;
When to the low country he journeys,
The steeps of the royal land H̲or-mo[10]) [189], give way;
When to the high country he journeys,
With six .... there is meeting face to face;
When to the low country he journeys,
Doors of six mansions [190] yield place;
When to the high country he journeys,
Of the six saps[11]) the prime he sees;
When to the low country he journeys,
Houses of six heights[12]) he sees; [191]
Above the lean-waisted grow broad;
The supposed sick have long arms;
Above lean, below lean,
Watermen trap fishes.

The Po king places[13]) in fealty. [192] The bird Skog-theg-to[14]) submits in fealty, is placed and places. To H̲o(l)-de Guṅ-rgyal[15]) is submission in fealty, is placing [193] and being placed in fealty.

In regard to this Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king, also, the changes are to be rung in this way.

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1) = Northern slopes of the mountains — see note on l. 175 *supra*.
2) Consort of Pu Rma-bo: see Introduction, p. 55.
3) Mother? 4) Or 'above recitation'.
4) The chief of the Po district or tribe of E. Tibet?
5) *Rod* is perhaps a tribal name, and the person a subordinate of the Po chief. *Rod* recurs in l. 194.
7) = *Spu:* this is the Tibetan king, whose ancient title was *H̲ol-de-spu-rgyal.*
8) The Tibetan king, an ancestor of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po: see Introduction, *supra*, p. 56.
9) 'Six' *(drug)?*
10) Unknown: conceivably the H̲or-pa states, Hor-khog, in E. Tibet are meant.
11) I. e. succulent crops; cf. Text I, ll. 1, 56, 93.
12) = 'storeys'? See Introduction to Text V, p. 108, *infra*.
13) Is placed? 14) Allusion obscure. 15) See *supra*, l. 187.

Now there has not been submission in fealty to the consort: to Queen [194] Khri-cog[1])there has not been submission in fealty. To the Rod-mo goddess[2]) there has been submission in fealty: to the Dor-mo goddess there has been submission in fealty. For placing in fealty to the consort Queen Khri-cog [195]

From Pyi-ldań[3]) escort, escort;
From encounter with low classes guarding, guarding;
In the young runners [196] movement, movement;
Among the berries gathering, gathering;
Save loud outcry in embrace of friends[4]),
No hurry, no confusion;
Save[5]) of hips and face, [197] no covering up.

To the head wife[6]) Man Rma-bu, Mchiń-king, does not submit in fealty: to Queen Khri-cog he is placed in fealty [198]

Changes to be rung with mention of Man Rma-bu, Mchiń-king, as with the consort Queen Khri-cog.

Now, furthermore, a son[7]), [199] Man Smon-bu, to the country, the waste, Dbye-ldań-Three went to hunt deer, went to round up yak, went to round, up..... [200] A heaven deer Kar-b[8]), in flight on the white heaven road, with horns came came on.

Pursuing, he did not reach;
Shooting, [201] he did not hit.

A fien p deer, black, in flight on the bla ck fiend road, scurried and darted, darted.

Pursuing, he did not reach;
Shooting [202], he did not hit.

A man's deer, Spur-bu, in flight on man's road Spur[9]),

Pursuing, he did not reach;
Shooting, he did not hit. [203].

From beyond appeared a deer, from beyond appeared the deer Dńaḫs-po Ḫpral-gdaḫs[10]),

In regard to his horns, shell-horned;
In regard to his nose, wolf(?)[11])-nosed;
In regard to his hair, [204] yak-haired;
In regard to his hoofs, serow[12])-hoofed;
Pursuing, he caught the deer;
Shooting, he hit;
The deer in the rock vale [205] was checked;
At the deer with an arrow he shot;
Straightway direct he let fly;
The deer with the arrow he pierced, not vacancy did he pierce.
Direct he hit [206], not vacancy did he hit.
The arrow vanished on high.
On the gods' white rock peak
Dre-da[13]), fiend of the waste, had his lair;

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[1]) The Tibetan queen? [2]) = queen? *Rod* and *Dor* are perhaps tribal names: cf. l. 185.

[3]) Perhaps identical with Dbye-ldań-Three in l. 199, Bye-ldań Three in l. 208; but perhaps not with Phyi-ldań Three of Text I, A, ll. 84—5, 95—6. [4]) Or 'children' *(sneḫu)*. [5]) Or 'even'?

[6]) Or 'the exlted younger lady (queen)'? [7]) His son? (reading not clear). It might be 'a boy there.'

[8]) Perhaps 'awhite-son'. [9]) Perhaps connected with *spur*, 'scare', 'make fly'.

[10]) Meaning obscure: see Linguistic note. [11]) Perhaps 'fine' *(byań)*. 'Wolf' is *spyań*.

[12]) The one-horned deer. [13]) The 'there fiend': on *da* 'there' see Introduction, p. 56. The fiend's name appears in ll. 218, 224 as *Phyag-ma Yed-yed-mo*, which is feminine: in fact, we have in l. 225 *Phyab-mo*. 'The gods' white peak', which recurs in VI, ll. 145—6, is likely to be also the 'gods' mountain' *(lha-ri)* of Ms. XIX 004, foll. 7 b 13, 9 a 4, 16 a 9—10.

In the door of *the lair* [207] it (the arrow) stuck.
A deer came in flight;
Dṅas-po H̱pral-gaṅs[1]) came in flight.
Up to the Leẖu wilds he passed on;
To the Leẖu[2]) [208] wilds Bye-ldaṅ-Three he passed on.

The deer Daṅs-po H̱pral-gaṅs
Pursuing, he caught;
Shooting, he hit [209].

The deer Dṅas-po H̱pral-gaṅs[3]) there he slew. While he was
Carving the flesh, slice, slice,
Stripping the skin, rip, rip, [210]

behind a pass, the Dgu-ba pass, the fiend of the waste, Dre-da,
His head beyond kept averse,
His voice-thunder roar after roar,

came on [211]. Beyond he had killed a ram, and he came back traversing the pass, the Dgu-ba pass. On the gods' white peak rock [212], by the door of the lair of Dre-da, fiend of the Waste,

An arrow came whizzing;
A deer arrived somewhat after;
A *Rgya*[4]) [213] arrived somewhat after.
The deer and the *Rgya* on its track,
To the waste still upwards passing, went on.

At that moment the boy Man Smon-bu [214], one boy, had
The flesh half carved, half not carved,
The skin half stripped, half not stripped.

The fiend of the waste, Dre-da,
His back [215] flung up to the sky,
His foul drops[5]) beating the ground,
His mouth gleaming red,
His teeth wide apart,
His voice-throb echoing, echoing,

[216] appeared from beyond. At that moment the little boy, Man Smon-bu,
His eyes in fixed stare agaze,
His heart with a sob of alarm [217],

in the direction of his approach sent a thigh[6]). Seven head-hairs, eyelashes, seven bits, and of the lake-ground of his heart [218] seven pieces of turquoise the fiend of the waste, Dre-da, craved, the fiend of the waste P(h)yag-ma[8]) Yed-yed-mo craved. Little Man [219] Smon-bu,
Though above from life severed, no matter!
Though below by death craved, no matter!
Eyes not with mist moist,

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[1]) *Sic.* [2]) *Leẖu* may be merely = la, 'a pass', such forms, e. g. *byeẖu* = *bya*, being common in these texts: see Linguistic note. The name of the pass, *Dgu-ba*, is given in ll. 210, 211. [3]) *Sic.*

[4]) Rgya is 'an animal of the deer class, in appearance like the *Nilgai*, possibly the saiga antelope' (Ś. C. Das' Dictionary). It could also mean 'a Chinaman'.

[5]) Evidently the demon is a rain-storm.

[6]) Sc. of the slain deer? On the thigh, or thigh-bone, in magic see Introduction, p. *supra*. Cf. l. 234.

[7]) 'Demanded'? See Linguistic note to the passage.

[8]) Phyag-ma, 'broom', appears also in the name of the Marmot lady of Text I, B, ll. 71—3. In ll. 225, 306, 308 *infra* the fiend of the Waste is *Phyab-mo*, *Phyab-ma*.

Tongue [220] without blabber-blubber,
Heart without gloom-glamour,
he remained, remained. 'The man Me-ḫu, my kinsman, where is he residing? [221] Brother Se-ba, the slaughterer, where is he? With the god's butcher[1]) Ster-pyaṅ-tsha he is staying', he thought. [222] Thereupon the gods' butcher Ster-pyaṅ-tsha came from beyond. Employing the divine *bon* Ḫpraṇ-zu[2]), the luck-*bon* Theg-leg, the lot-*bon* Kyur-ra, [223] each morn he placed his body in fealty to the Dmus, the gods, and the Gsas, the three kings[3]); *mtshe* Number-one and *Yuṅs*[4]) [224], one-filling, he cast away as his body's scapegoat. The fiend of the waste, Phyag-ma Yed-mo, came consenting[5]).

Each night casting away as his body's scapegoat [225],
Each morn coming to his body;
Each night placed in fealty,
in fealty to the fiend of the waste, Phyab-mo[6]) [226]; each dawn taking for luck, at that time it was for the boy Man Smon-bu that he took for luck. Little Man Smon-bu

Than at first [227] more handsome,
Than yesterday more adorned,
Grew tall, huge, huge,
Grew compact, wide, wide.

Even so this Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king [228], through the divine-*bon* Ḫpraṅ-zu[7]), the luck-*bon* Theg-leg, the lot-*bon* Kyur-ra, these three, each night put in fealty to the fiend, the fiend Pyin-dgum[8]) [229], cast away a scapegoat; each morn he took for luck.

A goddess, Myaṅ goddess[9]), girl was acting as the country's [230] lord, acting as lord of the country, Myaṅ country, Black-Woods[10]). Pressing down the heads of fiends [231] and making them pliant, she was pressing down the head of the Myaṅ fiend Phla-ha-ji-khu and making him pliant. When in the high country [232] there was quaking[11]), in the Myaṅ high country of Black-Woods was no quaking. A fiend came from beyond, a Myaṅ fiend [233] came from beyond, the Myaṅ fiend Pla-ha-ji-khu came from beyond. The Myaṅ goddess girl being for a while asleep [234], the Myaṅ fiend Pla-ji-ku stole a thigh[12]) of her body, craved seven turquoises of the lake-ground of her heart. The Myaṅ goddess [235], one girl,

Since her heart knew no thought, dreamed no dream;
Since her mouth knew no speech, blabbed no blubber [236];
Since her eye knew no vision, had no moist mist.
Though alive from above severed, no matter;
Though dead from below [237] craved, no matter;
Though with kicks maltreated, no matter;
Though with bridle[13]) wounded, no matter.

There were [there] *gśens*[14]) [238], the Myaṅ [*g*]*śens* of the China Myaṅ country[15]), Thiṅ-snar and Dpyaṅ-lad-lchog[16]); these two, in the fiend country of fire not moist [239], water not hot[17]),

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[1]) Or 'cook'. [2]) Cf. l. 60 and l. 228. [3]) = *rje?* See Introduction, p. 58.
[4]) On these personified objects see Introduction, pp. 63—4. *Yuṅs* = 'Turnip'.
[5]) Or 'at demand'. [6]) See notes on ll. 206, 218. [7]) See l. 222 and reff.
[8]) Reading of name doubtful.
[9]) I. e. queen: on the Myaṅ country, here brought into close connection with Skyi, see Text V, Introduction.
[10]) Cf. l. 340: on forests in districts of E. Tibet see Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, pp. 231, 235—6 (Derge), 262, 265, 268 (the Ḫor-pa States). [11]) Earthquake. [12]) See l. 217, note.
[13]) *Srab*; but? miswriting. [14]) On *gśen* see Introduction, p. 58.
[15]) The Myaṅ country adjoined, and was more or less subject to China: see Text V, Introduction.
[16]) Etymology of these (Myaṅ or Skyi?) name-forms doubtful.
[17]) Probably a mistaken inversion: see *infra*.

cast away before the Myaṅ fiend Phla-ji-khu a scapegoat. Each night put in fealty [240], the Myaṅ goddess girl was put in fealty; a turquoise Mye-co[1]) and a *bse* Be-co were put in fealty. The Myaṅ goddess girl was [241],

Than of old more fair,
Than of yesterday more adorned.

To the Myaṅ goddess girl was in old times fealty. Now to whom is fealty? To Man Rma-bu [242], Mchiṅ-king, is fealty; to Man-stopper[2]) fealty; to Woman-adorer fealty; to the Cool-rayed fealty; to Si-raḫi-dkar [243] fealty.

[3])A wooden rack (?) do not break!
A bird in flight do not catch[4])!
A stone[5]) house do not roof in[6])!
A dirty[7] dog [244] do not —

When a man male is in fealty, *dwa-rtsi-pyi*[8]); when a horse male is in fealty, *be-co*[9]), a bundle. When the noble is subordinate, there is fealty to one of auspicious command, [245] there is fealty to the well-girdled.

[10])His father, Hi-de the Great, dwells in Loṅ-Three of Gnam[11]); to his father is putting in fealty [246]. To his mother, the lady P(h)ra-dag, dwelling in Gdiṅ-Six[12]) on earth, is putting in fealty. To the sons, the His [247] brother sons, is putting in Fealty. For(?) this Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king, to the *mtshe* His-po-his and the *mtshe-mo* [248] Byaṅ-paṅ Sum-zur and Sib-bse Goṅ-kar Be-ne-chog-po and the turquoises Gnam-po Bri-ḫu-ru and Ne-tso [249] Thiṅ-snar and turquoise Rgyal-spraṅ-Ke[13])-thog, these three, there is putting in fealty. To Pu-Rma-bo's counselling influence there is fealty [250].

In affection to the purer than the aged Ba bird, the supreme *mtshe* Srad-po, and the lord *mtshe* His-po-his, and the *bse* Be-ne-chog [251] -po Goṅ-kar and Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king's, head a prayer: to the more azure than the bird Dkyi[14]), the *bse* Be-ne-cog [252] -po, the *bse* Goṅ-kar, with turquoise Gnam-po Bri-ḫu-ru and turquoise Rgyal-sprañs-Ke-thog, by the the highest is putting in fealty. To Phu[15]) Rma-bo's counselling influence fealty.

In affection to the more pure than the aged Ba bird, the supreme *mtshe* Srad [254] -po, and the lord His-po-his and *bse* Be-ne-cog-po Goṅ-kar; and turquoises Ne-tso Thiṅ-snar [and] [255] Nam-po Bri-ḫu-ru, turquoise Rgyal-sbrañs-Ke[16])-thog; and to Mon 'Hunchback', southern 'Hunchback', China 'Hunchback' Khor-ba; and to [256] cottons, China cotton Rtsaṅ-graṅ, and Mon cotton Khul-thiṅ. Bal[17]) cotton Śags-rnams; and to the heart of Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ[257]-king, is fealty.

As to being firm in body, firm in life: His body[18]),

Within not sluggish,
Without not dispersed [258];
On the right hand not restless,
On the left not blunted;

while of heaven barley the 'Seeds-seven', of *mñan* drinks, of Dmu-dag drinks[19]) [259] the Pyaṅ-byaṅ[20]) sap, are his body's diet, in his body blood-throb, whirl whirl; marital life like a dream, a whirlpool; [a body] like turquoise [260], best azure turquoise, in hue and brilliance.

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[1]) See *supra*, l. 121. [2]) This and the following expressions seem to be epithets of Man Rma-bu.
[3]) These verses seem directed against *superfluous* actions. [4]) Sc. 'try to catch'?
[5]) Or 'ruined'? [6]) With wood? or 'build higher'? or 'canopy'? [7]) 'biting'?
[8]) Unknown: *dwa* is 'a plant yielding an acrid drug', and *gla-rtsi* is 'musk'.
[9]) In l. 240 *be-co* was a *bse*, a piece of *serow* leather(?).
[10]) Here follows (ll. 245—291) a long eulogy of Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king.
[11]) The highest heaven. Loṅ-Three 'Leisure (or 'Enjoyment, *loṅs*)-Three' is therefore ideal, not real.
[12]) Not known: some place in Skyi? [13]) *Sic.* [14]) Unknown. [15]) *Sic.* [16]) *Sic.* [17]) On Bal see l. 160.
[18]) 'Person'. [19]) See Introduction, p. 60. [20]) Unknown: *byaṅ-byaṅ*, 'pure-pure' seems possible.

In fealty to face[1]): to the exalted-one[2]), the old bird's influence fealty.

In fealty to life[3]): [261] to the nine *khań*(?)-*mo*'s influence fealty, to the body-firm Byań-g-yu's[4]) influence fealty.

In fealty to feet[5]): to Sl... byeḫu-rtsiń, [262] to the influence of the gracious Ldoń-house[6]), fealty.

So, while [he is] lord of fealty, the *mtshe* His-po-his is [his] lord; while [he is] lord of *lo-de*[7]) [263], the *mtshe* His-po-his is [his] lord; while [he is] great Si-si officer[8]), the *mtshe* His-po-his is [his] lord [264], So is he

In fealty inserted, in liegeship rejected;
In debits inserted, to credits invited; [265]
To the here side invited, on the beyond side rejected.

When this Man Rma-bu, Mchiń-king, self-dependent invites[9]) men in fealty to him [266]; by powerful devil thieves, by venerable Rmu[10]) thieves, since in the heavens[11]) he is served by the nine uphill (stars)[12]) as thieves, none is caught; on the earth [267] by Sri thieves, by sap-flow(?)[13]) thieves, since in his service is Ma-mo[14]) mistress of pure water, on her rock-watch, none is caught [268].

The stag up to ice-field invited
Hound-pack of the kennels grips not;
Mansion, small terrace(?), encouraged
Thief men do not reach [269];
Sick-poor[15]) man to eating invited
Men of tongue-strength do not reach;
Crane in flight in the heavens
By cooks deft of hand [270] is not reached;
Sparrow on...perching
By hawk, king of birds, is not reached.

So in high town aloft, aloft, [271] on high road zig-zag, in high mansion [and] cattle yard, on high road aloft, aloft, let the chief of men come to be celebrated by the aged; let the highest loftiness [272] come to be fully celebrated.

Where the man is self-acting,
Man's sway is self-acting[16]);
Where sway is self-acting,
Power [273] is self-acting;
Where power is self-acting,
Rule is self-acting;
Where rule is self-acting,
Skill is self-acting;
If skill [274] is self-acting,
With few resides skill.
Rock-fort, of summit not crumbling;

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1) I. e. to courtesy or consideration of people's social claims.
2) *Ston-po* would be 'teacher'. 3) I. e. health and age?
4) 'Pure Turquoise', perhaps not a Proper Name. 5) I. e. to servants or officials or subjects.
6) On the Ldoń, ministerial, family see Introduction, p. 59. 7) See l. 108.
8) See Introduction, p. 59; cf. l. 168. 9) Or 'summons' (or 'encourages'?).
10) No doubt = Dmu (see Introduction, p. 62): 'venerable' *(btsun)* may imply femininity.
11) Gnam. 12) See l. 52.
13) On the chthonian Sri demons see Introduction, p. 62; but, since the word also means 'be niggardly', the idea may be that of poor growth of crops.
14) 'Mother-deity' (cf. l. 48), here perhaps plural. 15) 'House *(na)*-poor'? 16) Sc. spontaneous.

Breath, to the draught's measure girdled;
Water-plant's[1]) [275] suction undrying.

So this Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king, on the side of vain questionings not big-mouthed, not long-tongued; [276] rack-stretcher beneath the corpse of men's fancies; handle at the bottom of the door of the wooden bird[2]); in respect of justice to those of great influence [277], a runnel opened upon the barley in the upper reaches; in justice to little people, a runnel opened upon the barley in the lower reaches; in justice to chiefs [278], a runnel opened upon the barley in the lower[3]) reaches; in justice to subjects, a runnel opened upon the barley by the lower stretches of the road; [279] in justice to *si-le*[4]) travellers, a 'long-tongue'[5]) opened upon the barley when there is urgency—this Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king, is put in fealty [280], invites to fealty. As regards being put in fealty to the gods: Under the gods *rgad-spags*[6]) beneath fiends [281] he casts a scapegoat. Like old man-dung[7]), like pure food, serviceable; in the country, the gods' country, a dwarf man, a man [282] of the seven habitations[8]).

If he ploughs, ploughing for barley and rice;
If there be growth, growth of *mtshe*[9]) and turnip;
If there be growth of *mtshe* [283], good maturing[10]);
If there be growth of *mtshe*, long neck[11]).
Is a god there? Mind-attentive he is there.
Has a man come? [284] Care-attentive he is come.
Has a fiend come? Eye-attentive he is come.

By a man care-attentive, should *mtshes*, one [285], two, three, have been chosen, at the care-attentive man's desire they are come. If seen by a fiend eye-attentive [286], a man is come in flight, care-attentive in flight he is come. If pursued by a fiend, pursued by a fiend eye-attentive, [287] a man care-attentive is come, under the shelter of three forces[12]), force of not speaking, force of [not] inquiring, force of abandoning, he arrives. [If] the fiend follows there [288]; if by a care-attentive man three *mtshe-mos* are cast, the fiend comes accepting, comes *eye-attentive accepting* [289]; the man goes free, care-attentive goes free.

So, looking to to-day and to-morrow, these[13]) *mtshes*, one, two, three [290], are cast as scapegoats for the body of Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king, are cast as abodes of his life. Nine[14]) gods are put in fealty [291]

Where chief man is self-acting,
Man's sway is self-acting;
Where sway is self-acting,
Sway's god is self-acting.

In the Rtsaṅ-śul[15]) country Mtho...was a king, Rtsaṅ-[292]king, Pva-ha. A fiend, Rtsaṅ-fiend, Po-da[16]) said: "To a country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]" [293].

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[1]) A medicinal plant which absorbs water. The spirit is equal to the task.
[2]) The rendering of the two phrases here is conjectural: see Linguistic note.
[3]) Error for 'upper'. [4]) An obscure term: see Linguistic note.
[5]) Evidently a water-conduit: cf. 'long-mouth' in Text I, A, ll. 42, etc.
[6]) An obscure expression: see Linguistic note.
[7]) Cf. ll. 150, 352; but possibly we might translate 'precepts' *(luṅ)* of men of old'.
[8]) Referring to the seven parts of the body (Ś. C. Das' *Dictionary*, s. v. *bdun-po*)?
[9]) Here the *mtshe* is patently a plant: see Introduction.
[10]) Youth' *(gżon)*: or is *żoṅ*, 'trading', intended. [11]) I. e. long stalk: see Text I, A, ll. 42, etc.
[12]) ?: see Linguistic note.
[13]) The word 'these' seems to imply an occasion on which this text is ritually used: see Introduction.
[14]) = 'all'. [15]) This can hardly not be = Gtsaṅ, the southern part of Central Tibet: it may be the Rtsaṅ-chen of *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, pp. 4, 298.; see the Geographical Introduction.
[16]) = Pod-de: cf. ll. 296, 298. This and the other personal names in this passage are etymologically obscure.

The Rtsań-king Phva-ha summoned the Rtsań [g]*śen* Sñal-nag; Turnip 'One-filling' and Turquoise Slag-cen[1]) and *bse* [294] Pyań-pań[2]) Pa-myig[3]) having been put in fealty to the god, put in fealty to the Rtsań god Pu-dar, and *mtshe-mo* Number-one [295] and Turnip 'Good-filling' and *zer-mo* Hp(h)an-bzańs[4]) and Mon sheep *H bras*...wool [296], a small *bre*[5]), having been cast as scapegoat for the [king's] body, the fiend, Rtsań-fiend, Pod-de came accepting: the man went free [297], the Rtsań-king Pva-ha went free.

This Man Rma-bu, Mchiń-king, being put in fealty to the god, was put in fealty to the Rtsań god, Pu-dar [298]. For the fiend he cast a scapegoat, for the Rtsań fiend Pod-de in the country of fire not hot, water not wet, cast a scapegoat [299].

In the Gnubs-śul[6]) country Gliń-Six[7]) was a king, Gnubs king, Sribs-pa. A Gnubs fiend, [300] Rkań-pran[8]), said: "To the fiend country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]". [301] By aid of the Rońb[9]) man Lde-khar[10]) he cast a scapegoat in the presence of the fiend, cast a scapegoat in the presence of the Gnubs fiend Rkań-pran. To the god [302] he was put in fealty, to the Gnubs god Mthon-drug[11]) was put in fealty. White-turnip 'One-filling' [303], turquoise *Slag-cen* and *bses* Byań-pań and P(h)a-myig[12]) were put in fealty to the god.

On the feat of being put in fealty to the god [304] and casting a scapegoat for the fiend changes are to be rung as before.

As to being put in fealty to the god [305]: He was put in fealty to the Thań[13]) god, Ya-bżur[14]) and cast a scapegoat in the presence of the fiend, cast a scapegoat in the presence of the Thań fiend Pyo-pyo-mo[15]) [306], cast a scapegoat in the presence of the fiend of the Waste, Pyab-ma[16]). The king, Thań king, Sum-po[17]) lived.

Man Rma-bu, Mchiń [307]-king, also was put in fealty to the god: put in fealty to the Thań god, Ya-bżur, to the fiend he cast a scapegoat [308]. Casting a scapegoat to the Thań fiend, Pyo-pyo-mo, and the fiend of the Waste, Pyab-ma, he was under the god [309] *gdaḫ-spags*[18]): under the fiend he cast a scapegoat.

In the Ñas-po[19]) country Khra-Three was a king, Drań king, Rnol-nam[20]). Said the Ñas-po [310] fiend Nag-ra-rgya[21]): "To the fiend country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]". By the Drań *gśen* [311] Hbroń-pyag[22]) he was put in fealty to the god, put in fealty to the Khlum god Thugs-po[23]) [312]. In the presence of the fiend he cast a scapegoat, in the presence of the Klum fiend Dom-ra[24]) cast a scapegoat.

Man Rma-bu, Mchiń-king, also [313], being put in fealty to the god, put in fealty to the Klum god Thugs-po, cast a scapegoat in the presence of the fiend [314], in the presence of the Klum fiend Dom-ra-rgya[25]) cast a scapegoat.

Man Rma-bu, Mchiń-king, also is a man-god, self-acting.

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1) 'Robe-great'? Recurs in l. 303. 2) Apparently = Byań-pańs cf. ll. 99, 303. 3) 'Father-eye'?

4) 'Nail Utility-fine'. On the nail and on the feminines here see the Introduction, p. 62.

5) A measure, about two pints, of grain and fluids.

6) A district in Tibet: see *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 300 and Geogr. Int. 7) Not known.

8) 'Foot-small *(phran)*'? 9) 'Defile-country', not particularized. 10) 'Treasury-staff'??

11) 'High-six': error for *Mthoń*°, 'Eye-six'? 12) On these see ll. 293—4.

13) Not known as name of a country; but cf. the great mountain range Thań-lha. and cf. Geogr. Int.

14) 'High-snout *(zur?)*'; or 'High-girdled' (*śur*, *bśur* in ll. 45, 274)?

15) Feminine. 16) See notes on ll. 206, 218.

17) The name may denote a *Sum-pa* man: see Text V, Introduction.

18) See Linguistic note on l. 280. 19) See Geogr. Int.

20) Drań is hardly likely to be the place named in *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, pp. 268, 271. Rnol-nam is etymologically not clear: an early king of Tibet was named Snol-nam.

21) Not clear, 'Black-goat (place)-plain'? *Infra*, l. 312, it is Dom-ra-rgya 'Bear-goat(place)-plain'.

22) 'Yak-bull-hand *(phyag)*'? 23) A Khlum (tribe?) and a Klum-ro, near to Mal-tro are mentioned in M. Bacot's *Documents*, pp. 84, 116, 134, 142, 158: Thugs-po = 'thick', 'sturdy'; see Geogr. Int.

24) = Nag-ra-rgya, l. 309, and Dom-ra-rgya, l. 314. 25) See note on l. 310.

[315] In the Skyi-ro country Ljań-sńon[1]) was a king, Skyi king, Rmań-po[2]). Said a fiend, Skyi fiend, Tsa-luń-ża[3]) [316]: "To a country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]". Employing the Skyi *gśen* Rgyan-ńar[4]), he cast a scapegoat beneath the fiend [317], under the god *gdaḫ-spags*[5]). Being put in fealty to the god, put in fealty to the Skyi high [god] Pya [318] -mańs[6]), he cast a scapegoat to the fiend, to the fiend Tsha-luń-ża cast a scapegoat.

Man Rma[319]-bu, Mchiń-king, also was put in fealty to the god, put in fealty to the Skyi high [god] Pya-mańs, and cast a scapegoat to the fiend [320], in the presence of the fiend Tsa-luń-ża cast a scapegoat.

In the Yar-khyim[7]) country Sogs-yar [321] was a country king Ḫo-lde Spu-rgyal. Said a fiend, Yar fiend, Pa-sna-riń-po[8]): "To the fiend, Dmu-fiend[9]), country [322], the country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]". Summoning the Lde *gśen* Rmun-bu[10]), he was put in fealty to the god [323], put in fealty to the Yar god, Śam-po[11]). To the fiend he cast a scapegoat, to the Yar fiend Dra-la[12]) cast a scapegoat [324].

In the country, Dbye-mo[13]) country, Six was a Dbye king, Khar-ba. Said a fiend, Dbye fiend, Yug-mo[14]): "To the fiend [325] country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]". Employing the Dbye *gśen* Kar-bu Ljon-pyug[15]) [326]..., he was put in fealty to the god, put in fealty to the Dbye high [god] Spyi-gań-gańs[16]). To the fiend he cast a scapegoat [327], to the Dbye fiend Yug-mo cast a scapegoat.

In the Rńegs[17])-śul country Gliń-brań-ce-ḫu[18]) was a king, Rńegs king, Gliń [328]-ḫbrań-tse-ḫu. Said a fiend, Rńegs fiend, Ra-lpags[19]): "To the fiend country, a country of fire not hot, water not [329] wet, [I] will carry [you]". By the Rńegs *[g]śen* Rmun-bu put in fealty to the god, put in fealty to the Rńegs god [330] Pya-rmań[20]), he cast a scapegoat to the fiend, to the Rńegs fiend Ra-lpags cast a scapegoat [331].

In the Ḫol-pu Dag-dań[21]) country was a king. Ḫol king, Zin-prań. Said a Ḫ ol fiend, Den-po-bla [332]: "To the fiend country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]". Being by the Ljań-tsa[22]) *gśen* Mun-żag-[333]tsa put in fealty to the god, he cast for the fiend a scapegoat.

In a country, Dags[23]) country [334], Black-Wood was a chief, Dar[24]) king, Sprog-zin. Said a fiend, Dags fiend, Phlad-po [335]: "To the fiend country, a country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]". Being by the royal [g]*śen* Lo-da-na [336] put in fealty to the god, he cast for the fiend a scapegoat.

In a country, Mchims[25]) country, Dgra-sul [337] was a king, Mchims king, Neḫu. Said a fiend, Mchims fiend., Pod-lduńs Sdu-khlad-[338] kyi-Pya-khyi-ma[26]): "To the fiend country,

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[1]) This district in the Skyi country seems to have a name containing the dynastic surname Ljań: see the Introduction, p. 55. [2]) 'The Great *(mań-po)*'.

[3]) = 'Belonging to Tsa-luń (valley)', which place is not identified. [4]) 'Ornament-strength'.

[5]) See note on l. 280.

[6]) = Pya-rmań of l. 330, 'Birds-*(bya)*-many'? Lot *(phywa)* — great (or 'dream', *rmań*)? A place 'Bya-mańs Wood' is mentioned in *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 232.

[7]) Yar-kluńs (Yar-luń) in southern Tibet, the region of the Yar-ḫbrog (Yam-dok) lake, where was the capital of the Tibetan kings prior to Sroń-btsan Sgam-po. The district Sogs-yar does not seem to be known in Literature. [8]) 'Father *(pha)* Long-nose'. [9]) See Introduction, p. 62.

[10]) 'Darkness-son'? The name recurs in l. 329. [11]) See Geogr. Int. [12]) Unknown.

[13]) Perhaps connected with the Dbye-ldań-Three of l. 199: see note on l. 195 and Geogr. Int.

[14]) 'Widow', again a feminine fiend. [15]) *Ljon-p(h)yug* = 'Forest (or Tree)-rich'? [16]) Unknown.

[17]) Mentioned (as a surname and without location) in *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 3; see Geogr. Int.

[18]) Unknown. [19]) 'Goat-skin'. [20]) See ll. 317—8.

[21]) Unknown: possibly connected with the Ḫol-kha district in Lokha; see Geogr. Int.

[22]) Ljań grandson', i. e. having a Ljań mother. A son of the Tibetan king Khri-lde Gtsug-brtsan was similarly Ḫjań-tsha (*Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 107).

[23]) The Dwags-po district in S. E. Tibet; see Geogr. Int. [24]) *Sic* (for Dags?).

[25]) Name of a village and district in S. E. Tibet, near the Bsam-yas monastery on the Ya-ru Gtsań-po (*Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., I, p. 280); see Geogr. Int. [26]) Feminine, 'Lot or Bird-bitch'??

a country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]". On the advice of the Mchims [339] *[g]śen* Do-rab H̲briṅ-rab[1]) he was put in fealty to the god: for the fiend he cast a scapegoat [340].

In the Myaṅ[2]) country Green-Woods[3]) was a chief, Myaṅ-tsun king Po-dog. Said a Myaṅ fiend, Gnag-braṅ[341]-ma[4]): "To the fiend country, a country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]." Being by the Myaṅ *[g]śen* [342] Rgya put in fealty to the god, he cast for the fiend a scapegoat [343].

In a country, Rkoṅ[5]) country, Bre-sna was a king Rkoṅ-h̲di Dkar-po. Said a Rkoṅ fiend Den-po [344]: "To the fiend country, a country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]". By the Rkoṅ *[g]śen* Dog-po-Dog Ña-yi [345] he was put in fealty to the god: for the fiend he cast a scapegoat.

In the Mdo-ro[6]) .... luṅ .. was a king [346], Mdo king, H̲on-braṅ[7]). Said a fiend, Mdo fiend, Rkaṅ-mar[8]): "To the fiend country, a country of fire not hot, [347] water not wet, [I] will carry [you]". Being by the Mdo *gśen* Mar-rta[9]) put in fealty to the god, he cast for the fiend a scapegoat [348].

In a country, China country, Gdan-bzaṅs[10]) was a king, China king, Mye-mtshaṅ[11]) the Great[12]). Said a fiend, China fiend, Myig-mar[13]) [349]: "To the fiend country, a country of fire not hot, water not wet, [I] will carry [you]." By the China *bon* Leg-daṅ Rmaṅ [350]-ba he was put in fealty to the god: for the fiend he cast a scapegoat.

Where the man is self-acting,
Man's sway is self-acting; [351]
Where sway is self-acting,
Sway's god is self-acting.

When to the gods nine[14]) there is putting in fealty, for the fiends nine casting a scapegoat [352], beneath the gods *rkad-spags*[15]), beneath the fiends invitation by a scapegoat: man-dung[16]) [353] .... of man there is no talk .....[17]).

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[1]) 'Pair-best Middle-best'? [2]) Cf. l. 229, where, however, a different Myaṅ country, 'Black-Woods', is envisaged; see Geogr. Int. [3]) Cf. l. 230. [4]) Feminine, 'Having a black house'??

[5]) The Koṅ-po territory, E. of Lha-sa and N. of the Ya-ru Gtsaṅ-po. On Bre-sna see Geogr. Int.

[6]) Probably = Mdo-Khams, N. E. Tibet.

[7]) This may contain the tribal name H̲on, on which see the Geographical Introduction.

[8]) 'Leg (or Foot)-red *(dmar)*'. [9]) 'Red-horse'?? [10]) See note on l. 159. (trans.)

[11]) *Ne-tsang* is the name of a Chinese popular hero (not a king). [12]) *Rmaṅ(= Maṅ)-po.*

[13]) 'Eye-red'.

[14]) = 'all'. [15]) See note on l. 280. [16]) See note on l. 281.

[17]) Here evidently the text is approaching to end. The following seven monosyllables are partly obscure in meaning and perhaps corrupt in script.

Linguistic Notes

The first part of this text, ll. 1—40, has great similarity to No. III, with which it shares both subject and general style and also a number of expressions, e. g. *g-yon-can*, *phyi-phyir-ẓiṅ*, *sñiṅ-gyur*, *draṅ-mkhraṅ*. The remainder, ll. 40—353, though in respect of syntax not seriously different, is in tone, style and vocabulary on a quite distinct footing. It contains a number of verse portions resembling those of text IA in style and syntax, and has a large number of unusual words and phrases, including many Proper Names which are not Tibetan and many irregularly-spelled names of substances, etc., persons, divinities and other, which are partly non-Tibetan and partly translations with meaning obscured by the irregularity. As regards the spelling of Tibetan words in general there is great caprice in the writing of *tenuis* and aspirate, especially as between *p* and *ph*, where part of the fault may be attributed to the cursive script, in which the differentiating part of the *ph*, especially when followed by subscript *y* or *r*, tends to, vanish. There are also many instances of irregularity as between *tenuis* and *media*, *media* and aspirate, and in regard to final nasals and omission of final *s*. The Prefixes also are often abnormal or irregular:

thus for equivalent of ordinary Tibetan *bla*, 'high', 'upper', etc., we find *gla* ll. 49, 86, *rla* ll. 68—9, 110, 167—8, 250, 260, 271, *brla(?)* ll. 54—6, 60.

L. 4, *jiṅ:* A form frequent in Text III.

L. 6, *pha-log(s)-pa:* 'Others', = *pha-rol-pa:* recurs ll. 24, 28.

L. 6, *dgur:* Locative of result, as in III, ll. 3—4.

L. 8, *draṅ-mkhraṅ . . .dṅan:* See note on III, l. 13, ll. 3—4.

L. 10, *sñiṅ-gyurd:* See note on III, l. 9.
phyed: √*ḫbyed*, 'divide', 'distinguish'.
ṅo: = *ṅo-bo*, 'nature'?; *myi-sñoms*, 'not steady'?

L. 12, *gsag-byas:* 'In a mass' (√*sog*, 'collect').

L. 13, *dgod-myi-bro . . .dgad-mo . . .bgad: Dgod/bgad* = Prospective/Aorist: so again in l. 17.
ra-mdaḫ: 'Association', 'company', etc., evidently from *ram*, 'company', (in *rogs-ram*, 'help') + a suffix *da*; cf. *ra-ḫdren*, 'help', from *ram-(ḫ)dren*.

L. 15, *bñan:* Cf. l. 16 and *bnaḫ* = *mnaḫ*, l. 23. The Central-Asian Documents have also *bñam* = *mñam*.

L. 17, *p(h)yi-p(h)yir-żiṅ:* See III, l. 13 and *infra*, ll. 21, etc.

L. 19, *ḫdre:* = *ḫdren:* see note on IB. l. 80.

L. 20, *dṅan:* Cf. l. 8.

L. 23, *bnaḫ:* See on l. 15. *Nor-dad*, 'devoted to wealth'.

L. 24, *srog-gis-myi-ḫjigs:* On the Instrumental-Ablative see note to V, l. 21.

L. 25, *mnaḫ-zos:* 'Oath-eaters' (√*za, zo*).

Ll. 26—7, *ci-bya-ḫo-chog-pa-tsam:* '(In) actually (*tsam-bu*) all (*ḫo-cog-pa*) things to be done (*ci-bya*).

L. 28, *bas-kyaṅ:* 'To say nothing of'.

L. 29, *byi-bas-byas:* = the usual *byi-ba-byas*, 'adultery'.
ṅan-du-byas: See note on l. 6 (Locative).

L. 30, *gsnaṅ . . .gtham:* Prospectives of *snaṅ* and *ḫtham*.

Ll. 31—2, | *śiṅ:* On the punctuation see L. I.

L. 32, *spyar:* Probably = *sbyar*, from *ḫbyor*, 'copulari'; but it might be connected with *ḫphyar*, 'assume an enticing attitude'.
phas . . .tshus (l. 33): 'From (on) that . . .this side'.

L. 35, *ci-ste:* 'What more?' or 'That being so'.

L. 37, *than-khol-b(y)ar-bar:* 'To be oppressed (*ḫthan*, cf. l. 269) — enslaved (*khol*) — *wretched (byur?)*': *byar-bar* can hardly be = *bya-bar*, 'to be made'.

Ll. 42—4, *bśos* = *bsos* (√*ḫtsho*): see note on IB, l. 89; but here the meaning is 'life'; cf. ll. 236, 306.

L. 43, *dgeḫu:* = *dge:* see L. I.
ltaṅ-khuṅ: Ltaṅ is always a difficult word: here it may mean 'wood', 'log' (= *gdan* in l. 348), so that *ltaṅ-khuṅ*, 'wooden hollow' or 'hollow log', = 'tomb' (Nam. *ḫldaṅ--rmaṅ*, 'wooden tomb'). Or = *gdaṅ*, 'gape'.

L. 44, *byoṅ-byoṅ:* Perhaps = *byon(s)-byon(s)* from *ḫbyon*, 'whenever came'.
yar: 'Be sent adrift'.
tham-thum: From *ḫtham*, 'blame'? or = *thum-thum*, 'packed up (away)'.

L. 45, *yeṅ-yeṅ:* = *g-yeṅ*, 'agitate', 'move to and fro': recurs in l. 127.
rams: Possibly = *gram*, 'cheek'.

L. 46, *mthur:* 'Halter'.
sbubsu-żom: 'Contracted (*zom*) pentwise': *sbub*, *ḫbub*, 'turn over', *ḫbubs*, to 'roof' (*phub*, 'roof', 'canopy', *gdugs-phub*, 'umbrella', *ḫphub*, 'pitch a tent'), is frequent in this text (e. g. ll. 168, 243) with the signification 'roof in', 'make a roofed building'.

Ll. 46—7, *bdags . . .srib(s):* See Introduction; cf. ll. 175, 185. (trans.)

Ll. 47—8, *p(h)o-gśen-thod-kar . . .ma-mo-gśen-żu-brab:* Technicalities of *mo*-dicing; *pho-gśen* and *ma-mo-gśen* will be 'male' and 'female' *gśens*, i. e. life-taking spirits (*gśed*, on which see p. 58).
Thod-kar (= *dkar*, 'white-headed (or skulled)'?) presents too many possibilities, and *żu-brab* (√*ḫbrab*, 'snatch'), for which the Nam language might suggest the meaning 'snatching tiger', is quite unknown. The two phrases may denote unlucky casts of the dice.
bthab . . .blhags: Aorist of *ḫthab*, 'contest', and *lhog*, *bzlog*, 'defeat', 'be defeated'.
pya: = *phywa*, 'lot'.
thags(bcags) . . .bthags(bcags): √*ḫthag*, 'crush', or *ḫchag*, 'break'.

L. 49, *ñan . . .stan . . .brgyab*] On these recurrent terms see note to ll. 56—7.
chuṅ-ma-bslus: This might mean 'wife seduced' (*slu*).
pu-ya-gla: Despite the lacuna, this certainly means 'senior (*ya-gla* = °*bla*) elder brother': cf. l. 178. *phu-ya-blaḫ*.

L. 50, *cud-po-cu-gñis:* 'Having twelve *cud-po*' (unknown).

L. 51, *gañs-rñil:* 'Ice-broken' (to catch fish?).

tshed: Perhaps = *htshed*, 'cook'; but the lacuna occasions doubt.

L. 52, *g-yen-(dgu):* No doubt = the 'nine uphill (adverse) stars' of IA, ll. 12, 17, etc.

Ll. 52—3, *tsham-pos . . . btsams:* Possibly 'by surprizers (*tshom-te*, 'surprized') surprized'.

L. 53, *phur(ñ?)-pos . . . p(h)yuñ: Phyuñ* usually means 'taken out', 'dismissed' (√*hbyin*): hence *phur-po*, 'dagger-man', is improbable; *phuñ-po* might be 'hosts' or 'companies' (*dpuñ*).

Ll. 53—4, *hrna-dus . . . rgun(rkun)-dus:* The parallelism shows clearly that *dus* means 'assembled', 'assemblage' (√*hdu*), as in *tshoñ-dus*, *dus-btsoñ*, V. l. 14.

Hence *hrna* (uncertain reading), antithetic to *rkun*, 'thief', must be *hrñe*, 'fiend', (cf. *Nam*, pp. 219—222), which agrees well with *błabs*, 'creep' (cf. II, l. 12).

Ll. 54—6, *skuhi-brla:* In this text, in which *brla* occurs as one of the forms of *bla*, *skuhi-brla* can certainly have the meaning of 'high-body (sc. person)', 'magnate', which is frequent in Central-Asian Documents (*Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., III. Vocabulary) and is indubitable in ll. 60, 87, *infra*. But, curiously, the rendering 'thigh (*brla*) of a body' would not be impossible, since the use of the thigh, or thigh-bone, in magical connections, well attested elsewhere, appears several times (ll. 217, 234) in the text. On *(sku)hi* see note to l. 73 and L. I.

-re-bo: Perhaps *gre-bo* (Fem. *mo*), 'a species of demon'.

Ll. 56—7, *ñan . . . stan, pon . . . gon:* These are recurrent antitheses in the text. *Ñan* (*sñan*, *mñan*, 'listen', 'obey') denotes 'inferiority'; *stan (sten, stañ)* 'superiority'.

Pon (also *phon*) and *gon* must be connected with *hphoñs*, 'poor', *hphañ*, *phañ*, 'be sparing', *phañs*, 'loss'; *gon* with *goñ*, 'price', 'value'; and the idea is that person X has always to pay and never to receive or else that he is always a subject for economy and never for largesse. *Kar* (*khar*, Locative *of kha*) = 'on occasion of'.

The fuller formula includes also the antithesis *hin/phan* (e. g. ll. 64, 114), in which *phan* is a derivative of *pha*, *phar*, *phas*, 'beyond', (cf. *phan-chad*, 'beyond', *phan-tshun*, 'thither and hither') and is quite parallel to *man/mar/mas* (√*ma*, 'low'), *tshun/tshur* (√*htshu*, 'come', *tshu*, 'this *side*'). In the text we have also *rlan* (√*rla*, a form of Tib. *bla*, 'high'). *Hin* which must be equivalent to *tshun*, 'on this side': this h-Demonstrative is dialectically important.

The 'beyond' is the superior, outside one's control; the 'this side' is what is within one's control.

Gzugs (from *hdzugs*) is used in alternation, and also in combination, with *btsugs* (from *htshugs*), both verbs being connected with *hjug*, 'enter', 'insert', etc.; *gzugs* should be the Transitive form, which seems most acceptable where the combination (*htshugsu-hdzugs*, etc.) occurs; but it is doubtful whether the distinction can be carried through. *Rgyab*, 'back', as a verb 'throw' and more generally 'put', is in this text used with the signification 'put back', 'reject', 'rebuff'.

L. 57, *Mchiñ-rgyal-hdi*; 'Mchiñ king this' (Anglice 'here'), is a recurrent expression ('our king'), opposite to *hdre-da*, 'fiend there', *Hbon-da-rgyal*, 'Hbon-there king'. This *hdi* is in l. 343 applied also to the Rkoñ(Kong-bo) king.

L. 58, *slud*; 'invite', 'summon', no doubt connected with *slu*, 'entice', 'seduce'. The word *glud*, 'scapegoat', very important in this text, is probably from the same original root (*lu*), being an 'offer', or 'inducement', to the fiend, who 'comes accepting' (*htshal-te-mchis*, ll. 224, 288 etc.). This conclusion is dictated by the existence in Tibetan of *b-* forms, *blu*, 'ransom', 'redeem', *blud*, 'offer', 'scapegoat'.

L. 58, *nub-sum:* 'nights three (every)', generally antithetic to *nañ-sum*, 'mornings three (every)', e. g. in l. 60.

Ll. 59 sqq., *His*, *Hprañ-zu*, *Theg-leg*, etc.: To etymologize these names seems inadvisable: some of them vary in spelling, and they are all primarily non-Tibetan. *Bo-bla*, elsewhere also *Bla (rla, gla)-mtshe* (ll. 61, 68, 87, etc.) or *Bo-bkra (kra)* (l. 87,), *Srad-po* is, however, doubtless = 'Male (or Elder, *pho*, as in *Pu-Rma-bo*, etc.) - eminent, the Firm *or* Hard' (Tib. *sra*, *sran*): *bkra* may be = Tib. *bkra*, 'of variegated colour', 'blooming'. But even so the name may be Nam, not Tibetan. *Hp(h)rañ* (= Tib. *hphrañ*, 'narrow foot-ledge'?) is *Hbrañ* in l. 227.

L. 59, *sten:* 'Exalted', as is *Sten-rgan-ñer-pa*, IB, ll. 27—8, II, ll. 14—5.

L. 60, *sku . . . kar (sku-ru)-spyon*, *g-yañ-du-glan:* On these frequently recurrent expressions see Introduction, p. 61. *Sku-brla*; 'High-body', see note on ll. 54—6.

L. 63, *rtsig:* 'Build', recurs *infra* (ll. 68 etc.) and in Nam.

L. 67, *dpub:* 'Roof in', 'erect', Prospective form of *hbubs*, on which see note to l. 46: l. 115 has *dbub*, l. 168 *pub*. L. 68, *rlan:* = *rla:* see on ll. 56—7.

L. 69, *p(h)yug(s)-ra:* 'Cattle-yard' = 'court-yard': cf. *gyañ-ra*.

L. 70, *rla-lam-sgya-sgyo:* 'High road (ascent to castle) zig-zag'. (Tib. *gya-gyu:* on *-/-u* see L. I.). In l. 104 we have *skya-skyo*.

L. 71. *byaṅ-thog-skro:* Obscure. *gser-khuṅ:* 'Gold-mine'. *rab:* 'Chief'.
L. 72. *ldam:* = *h̲dam*, 'swamp'; cf. *ldam-chu*, dirty water'.
L. 73, *sp-:* Perhaps *spaṅ*, 'meadow'. *Rum-baḥi:* Genitive of Apposition: see note to 1.86 and L. I.
L. 74, *g-ya:* = *ya*, 'high', (opposite of *ṅan*, in l. 73)? *G-yaḥ* might have other meanings, 'rust', etc.
L. 76, *btshal:* Aorist of *h̲tshal*, require', 'seek'; cf. l. 95.
L. 78, *gtshug-ri-yo-ha:* 'Peak *(gtsug)* mountains quaking *(yo-h̲a* = *yo-ba* or *yoh̲* = *g-yo*, 'move', 'quake'?)'.
L. 80, *sñams:* = *bsñams*, *mñam*, 'level'?
gyud: = *rgyud*, 'mountain-ridge *or* chain'; see L. I.
L. 81, *ral:* 'Anything rent', 'cleft', 'gorge'.
L. 82, *dpye-che:* 'Great expanse *(dbye, dbyes)*'.
h̲p(h)raṅ-rub: On *h̲phraṅ* see ll.59 sqq.: *rub* might be = *rud*, 'slip' *(sa-rud*, 'landslip', *kha-rud*, 'avalanche'), or *hrud*, 'rough', 'jagged'. Or rathes, *srubs*, 'fissure', 'chasm'?
L. 86, *mtshe-maḥi:* On *-h̲i* see note to l. 73.
Khrun-bzaṅs: 'Height-fine'. *gla:* See *supra*, note on. l. 49.
Ll. 88—9, *bzur-te-bzur*, *ldeb-be-ldeb:* On the form of reduplication see L. I. *Bzur* is Aorist of *h̲dzur*, 'step aside'.
Ll. 89—90, *phu . . . mdaḥ:* Upper and lower parts of valleys; cf. ll. 177, 188.
daṅ-daṅ: For *ldaṅ-ldaṅ*, 'rising, rising'? It might be 'pure, pure' *(daṅ)*.
ljod-ljod: Unknown: perhaps intended for *ljoṅ-ljoṅ* = *h̲joṅ-h̲joṅ*, 'oval', 'elliptical', which we have translated. *Ljod* recurs in Ms. XIX 004, fol. 1, b 4, *snar-mthaḥ-ni-ljod-mo-steṅs.*
L. 91, *the:* = *mthe*, 'thumb', 'finger', 'toe'.
L. 92, *g-yaṅ:* ,Goat'? or 'Sheep'?: see l.94 and note to IA, l.11.
L. 93, *sa-skyaḥi-sa:* Cf. *Sa-skya*, 'Grey-ground', name of a famous monastery; but here 'ground' would have to be metaphorical. With the reading *Skyiḥ* (for *skyaḥi*) we get the translation, 'his middle parts more red than . . .; his country the Skyi country'.
Ll. 93—4, *Drum*, *H̲od*, *Rje*, *G-yaṅ:* These 'kings' are unknown.
L. 95, *h̲tsal*: See note on l. 76.
Thaṅ-prom, *Thaṅ-g-yag:* 'Tail-white', 'Tail-yak(-like)': see note on IB, l. 69.
bkal: 'Carried (√*h̲khal*, *h̲gel*, 'load')': cf. *bkald*, l. 98.
L. 96, *gthubs:* 'Cut to pieces': Aorist of *h̲thub*, *gtub.*
Ñag-cig: See note to IB, l. 8 (translation).
gthur: = *gtur (√h̲thur)*, 'packed up', IB, l. 40: here applied to a closed or half-closed claw.
L. 97—8, *yas . . . mas:* Cf. l. 32 *phas . . . tshus*, *phus . . . mdaḥs*, and note on ll. 56—7.
L. 99, *snams:* = *bsnams*, Aorist of *snom.*
L. 106, | *na* |: On the punctuation see L. I.
L. 108, *lo-de:* This term, which cannot be = *lod(lhod)-de*, 'without hurry', 'slowly' (√*lod*, *lhod*, 'be loosened', as in II. 277—9, *lhos*), may mean 'services', 'officials': it bears a curious resemblance to the *lode*, 'earnings'(?), of the Central-Asian Kharoṣṭhī documents (ed. Boyer, Rapson and Senart, s. Index).
L. 115, *dbub:* = *dpub*, l. 67.
L. 116, *nan:* This is evidently the refrain, 'repetition' (*nan*, 'urgency', 'pressure', from √*ñon*, 'press', 'augment', 'reinforce'), itself, i. e. the formula with *ñan*, *stan*, etc.
Bskor: 'Made to go round (√*s̄kor)*', 'gone through in order'.
L. 118, *gyi : s:* Reading obscure: read *ru-cig-kyi-sras-na*, 'Among the sons of 'one-horn'.
L. 121, *brtsigs* (l. 140 *rtsigs*): Known as Aorist of *rtsig*, 'build', this might here have the metaphorical sense of 'build up (*or* in)'; but we might think of a *rtsig* form of the root *(h̲tshig?)* of *tshig*, 'word', *tshigs*, joint'.
rñed: 'There is success': cf. IB, l. 10.
ltag-ma: 'At the top', = *thog-ma*, 'at first', 'at the beginning' (sc. '*supra*').
Rgyal-sbraṅs The-thog: For serious etymologizing *sbraṅs*, *spraṅs*, present too many possibilities; but for *The* the readings *khe*, *ke*, *kye* (ll. 126, 137, 170, 249, 252, 255) are, no doubt, to be preferred, the word (with these variations) = 'profit', recurring in contemporary Mss. from Central Asia.
L. 122, *Nam-po:* recurs in ll. 123, 170, 255: in ll. 126, 136, 140, 248, 252 we have *Gnam*, 'Heaven'.
H̲briṅ-ru: 'Middle horn: (also in ll. 123, 126) becomes in ll. 136, 137, 140, 248, 252, 255 *bri-h̲u-ru*, in l. 170 *h̲bri-h̲ṅu*(?).
L. 124, *mñam-las:* 'Equally' ('together with').
L. 125, *Boṅ-ru:* 'Ass-horn'; but perhaps *h̲boṅ-ro*, 'round', is meant.
L. 127, *yeṅ-yeṅ:* See note on l. 45.
dam-dam: Possibly 'bound-bound (√*d̄am*)'.
khrol-khrol: 'Noise-noise'; cf. IA, l. 122, B, l. 56.

L. 128, *zań-zań:* 'Disarranged', 'confused': also *zań-zíń*.
L. 129, *khyil-khyil:* √*h̲khyil*, 'whirl'.
L. 130, *sta-gzań-riṅs-kyis:* Obscure.
L. 131, *phud-cig-bthab:* 'Had fought (Aorist of *h̲thab*) for a while': *phud* (l. 132, 134, *pud*) may be = *phud*, 'first' fruits', here 'trial'. *Sta-re*, 'so', occurs also in *Nam*, see p. 201 and Vocabulary.
L. 132, *gthod:* 'Top' *(thod)*.
L. 134, *ldag-pa:* 'The top one'.
rtan: = *brtan*.
L. 140, *rtsigs:* See note on l. 121.
L. 141, *drum:* = *druṅ*, 'official', 'subordinate'; cf. l. 168.
L. 142, *Byuṅ-drug:* L. 172 *gyuṅ*.
Ll. 142—3, *chab-bgo-ro...chab-kyi-ma-żug-chab-żug...:* = 'Water-head (*mgo*, cf. *chu-mgo*, 'river-head)... Water-mother Tail (end)-water-tail...': *żug* = *gżug* of IA, l. 37, and *mjng*.
L. 144, *dbog* See IA, l. 17.
chud: = *gcud*, 'essence', 'sap'.
L. 145, *Brgo-rpyi:* This should be = *bsgo-spyi* or *dpyi:* meaning obscure.
Ll. 145—6, *gro-kha...gdod-kyi-skal-kyis:* Reading imperfect and sense obscure: since *h̲dod* = 'come forth and *gdod* = 'first', 'early', the general sense may be 'according to distinction of late and early'.
L. 146, *dań:* = 'including'.
rab-mo: Feminine.
Krańs: = *krań*, *mkhrańs*, 'upright', or *grańs*, 'number' (amount)?
L. 148, *-gso:* Sc. *lagso*.
L. 149, *gad-rga-myi-chad: Gad* may be *gad-mo*, 'laughter' and *rga* = *dgah̲*, 'joy'. The gap prevents our knowing whether the phrase is a Proper Name.
L. 150, *Żа-żа-lhag-ma: Żа-żа* can hardly be for *za-za*, 'eat, eat': perhaps = 'wet, wet' *(bżah̲)*, all the better *(lhag-ma*, 'superiority' or 'remainder'?
L. 151, *-u-dum-pha:* Possibly *h̲u-dum-pa*, 'beardless'.
L. 154, *H̲o-de-khor-ba: H̲o-de* can be = *H̲od-de*, but that, further, it is = *h̲od-de*, 'shining' (as in l. 192, 215), is questionable: *(h̲)khor-ba* can mean 'complete', 'perfect'.
Drum-pań(phańs): 'Drum-height': *Drum* might be the 'Drum, king of lower valleys' (l. 93).
Ll. 155—6, *dpeh̲u* (l. 172, *speh̲u*)...*po-ma:* These may be identical with *pho-ma* (l. 153).
Ll. 159—160, *h̲bral-h̲dzud:* 'Separating-inserting': a reference to grafting?
L. 161, *bthags-pa:* ‚Weaving' *(√h̲thag)*.
L. 168, *drum:* See note on l. 141.
si-si: Unknown, unless it is the *tshi-si*, 'official', of *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II. p. 49.
L. 172, *Skur-bu Khri-btsugs*: 'Little-hunchback Throne-seated'. In ll. 153—7 this variety is unmentioned, as also are the next-mentioned varieties of cotton.
L. 174, *h̲gor-bskor*, ll. 116, 120, 158, etc., *skor*, ll. 152, 193, 198; *h̲gor* = *h̲khor* is seen in l. 199.
L. 175, *bdag(s):* See Introduction and n. on ll. 46—7.
tham-śad: From *thams-cad*.
sgo-ra: 'Gate-place' ('gate-ward'?).
L. 177, *phus-mdah̲s*: Cf. ll. 89—90, 188.
L. 178, *phu-ya-blah̲*: Cf. l. 49.
L. 185, *srib(s):* See l. 175 and reff.
ltag-ma: See note on l. 121.
L. 186, *Dpye (Dbye)-thog-bde:* Etymology ambiguous.
L. 188, *byul:* = *byol*, *h̲byol*.
L. 189, *tsom:* = *h̲dzom*, 'meet' (l. 195, *tshoms*).
L. 190, *phań:* = *h̲phań*, 'height'?
L. 191, *sked-sken-thiṅs:* 'Thin *(sken* = *skem)* waists spread *(thiṅs*, *h̲diṅ)*'?
so-smra-smya-bo: Smra perhaps crossed out and replaced by *smya: so-smya-bo* obscure. ('cured *(sos)* — -sickneos *(rmya)*'?).
chab-so: 'Water-livers'?
tshol: 'Seek *(h̲tshol)*'? or 'Snare *(mdzol)*'?
L. 192, *Skog-theg-to:* Etymology obscure.
L. 195, *h̲dzugs | pa:* As to the punctuation see L. 1.
dmah̲-rab(s): Later Tibetan *ma-rabs*.
tshoms: See note on l. 189.
na-bań: 'Young racers'?; cf. *bań-phrugs*, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 378: 78, B 2.

L. 196, *thu-thu:* Cf. I B, ll. 88—9.
lhań-tsher: Literally 'loud neighing' (see IA, l. 70, and *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 447 : 44. B 2): given in Ś. C. Das' Dictionary as 'an impressive expression; words that one feels'.
L. 197, *h̲thur:* Cf. *gtur*. I B, l. 40.
L. 199, *h̲chor...h̲gor:* 'Hunt...round up (= *h̲khor*, as in l. 174)'.
L. 200, *h̲oṅs-se-h̲oṅs:* On the reduplication see L. I.
L. 201, *gśug:* 'Thrust', 'knock' (√*śug*, *sug*).
tshub-tshub: 'Toss, swirl, storm' (√*h̲tshub*).
L. 203, *phas-se-byuṅ:* *phas*, 'from beyond', is treated as if it were Aorist of a √*h̲pha*. The expression recurs in ll. 222 (*pas-se-byon*), 232, 233.
Dṅah̲s (*Dṅas*, ll. 207, 209, *Daṅs*, l. 208 *-po-h̲pral-gdah̲s* (*gaṅs*, ll. 207—9): It seems as if the spellings *dṅah̲s*, *gdah̲s*, were intended to preclude the readings *daṅs*, *gaṅs*, which nevertheless have appeared. The etymology is obscure; *daṅs* could be = *dwaṅs*, 'bright', and *h̲pral* = *dpral*, 'forehead', but may be something quite other.
byaṅ: Perhaps = *spyaṅ*, 'wolf'.
L. 204, *bźigs:* From *h̲jig*, *bźig*, *bśig*, *bśigs*, 'destroy', here and in the next line and l. 208 used in the sense of 'hit'?
L. 205, *chegs:* 'Was checked': see. Ś. C. Das 'Dictionary, s. vv. *h̲cheg* and *tshegs*.
smral-la: Cf. I A, l, 14, where there is the same connection with shooting: etymology not clear, but the nation of. 'straightway', or 'promptly' seems probable.
drum-kyis: = *druṅ* (cf. ll. 141, 168, where, however, the sense is different): on the Instrumental see L. I.
rlad: Possibly related to *lad*, 'faint', 'exhausted'.
L. 206, *Dre-da:* See note on l. 57.
L. 207, *zug:* 'Stuck' (√*h̲dzugs*, see Ś. C. Das' Dictionary).
L. 209 *h̲ca:* = *h̲cha*, 'mangle': See notes on IA, l. 6, II, l. 13.
rhal-te-rhald: = *hral-te-hrald:* on the reduplication see L. I.
bśu: √*śu*, 'strip off', 'peel'.
Lji(b)-be-ljib: 'Onomatopoetic? Cf. *ljib-ma-ljib* in Addendum, p. 143.
L. 210, *h̲dir:* = *ldir*, 'roar (of thunder)'.
L. 213, *rjes-bcad:* 'Followed' (from *rjes-gcod*).
L. 214, *bśas:* Aorist of *bśah̲*, 'slaughter'. cf. V, l. 24.
rtiṅ-mo: 'Back' or 'tail'.
L. 215, *brdabs:* Aorist of *rdebs*.
so-h̲o: = *so:* see L. I.
yeṅ: 'Agitated √*g-yeṅ*)'. *Ri-ri*, 'echo', recurs in the Berlin Nam fragment, cited in *Nam*, p. 162.
L. 216, *p(h)a-se-mchis:* See note on l. 203.
cher = *cer-re*, *ce-re*, 'in a stare' (√*bcer*, 'glare').
h̲ul: Cf. *h̲ur*, 'any noise', *hur-hur*, 'an expression of amazement'.
L. 217, *sñeṅ:* = *sñeṅs* (√*sñen*), 'approach'.
h̲tsald: √*stsol*, 'send', often confused with *h̲tshal*.
L. 218, *h̲tsald:* In a similar connexion, l. 234, this probably means 'demanded' (√*h̲tshal*), and so here.
L. 219, *rlaṅ...rliṅ:* Cf. *rlan-rlon*, 'liquid', *rlan*, 'moisture'. Recurs in l. 236.
L. 222, *gñar:* Aorist of *gñer*, 'employed', 'be in charge'. Recurs in l. 266.
L. 224, *dgaṅ-cig:* 'One filling', recurs in ll. 293, 302: in l. 295 *dgaṅ-bzaṅs*, 'a good filling'.
| : | *na:* On the punctuation see L. I.
h̲tshalde: 'At demand' or 'consenting'.
L. 227, *gog-gog:* Cf. Western Tibetan *gog*, 'a lump'.
zor-zor: Cf. *zor-ma*, 'wide', 'spacious'.
sprags: = *sbrags*, 'conjunction', 'combination', e. g. of flesh and skin.
L. 231. *rñen...rżen:* Both = *mñen:* see L. I.
Phla-ha-ji-khu: Etymology obscure: recurs in ll. 233 (*Pla*), 234 (*Pla-ji*), 239 (*Phla-ji*).
L. 232, *gyis-myed:* On punctuation and construction see L. I.
L. 233, *thum-thum:* Cf. *mnal-thum-pa*, 'a momentary nap' (Ś. C. Das' Dictionary).
L. 234, *h̲tsald:* See note on l. 218.
Ll. 235—6, *ldab-ma-ldib*, *rlaṅ-ma-rliṅ:* See l. 219.
L. 236, *bśos:* 'Life', 'alive'; see note on ll. 42—4.
L. 237, *srab:* 'Bridle' seems here inapposite: perhaps error for *srubs*, 'wound'.
rdol: = *rtol*, *gtol*, 'pierce', (*rdol-gzer*, 'perforating nail').

L. 239, *rgum:* = *dgu*, which in this formula recurs *infra* many times (ll. 292, etc.); cf. *Nam*, Vocabulary.
L. 240, *bse Be-co:* On *bse* see Introduction: *Be-co* (unknown) recurs in l. 244.
L. 241, *rgyan:* Cf. l. 227.
L. 242, *pho-gag, mo-gug:* The √*hgegs*, *gag*, *dgag*, etc. is 'obstruct': that of *gug*, 'bend', 'reverse', in W. Tibetan also 'tickle' (cf. *dgu*, 'bend'; but *hgugs* is 'invite', 'summon').
si-rahi-dkar: Obscure: Ś. C. Das' Dictionary gives *si-ra*, 'worship'.
L. 243, *śiṅ-khra-mo: Khra* = 'criss-cross', whence 'variegated': *khram* has the same sense, and *khram-śiṅ* is 'a board (framework) on which the body of a criminal is stretched to flog him on the back', cf, *khram*, l. 276, and *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 91. Here the meaning might be merely 'cross-grained-wood'.
bcag: √*hchag*; cf. *śiṅ-bcag*, 'split wood'.
Ll. 243—4, *bzuṅ-śig...hbub-śig...bskaṅ-śig:* < *bzuṅs-cig*, etc.: see L. I.
L. 243, *mchig:* This is known with the signification 'stone for grinding', 'pestle', 'mill-stone'; but a *mchig* connected with *hjig*, 'destroy', or *htshig*, 'burn', would be conceivable. The meaning may be that a stone house does not need a pent-roof.
hbub: See note on l. 46.
L. 244, *bskaṅ(s):* Known as Aorist of *skoṅ*, 'fill', which is here inappropriate: possibly it is from *skon*, 'dress', the 'dirty dog' not requiring a coat. We look for something like 'A biting *(rbad)* dog do not incite'.
L. 245, *bśur:* Cf. *śur-bu*, 'girdle', 'belt', and l. 274.
Ll. 245—6, *Gnam-ka...Sa-ga:* On the suffix see L. I.
L. 249, *kha-cug (l. 253, °tsug) -then: Kha-cug(tsug)* is probably = 'advice', 'putting in a word'; cf. *lag-bcug*, 'putting in (√*hjug*, *bcug*) a hand'. On *then* = 'draw', 'pull', 'control', see note on IB, l. 9, and cf. ll. 272—4 *infra*.
L. 250, *sñan-kar:* On *sñan*|*sñiṅ* see note to III, l. 9.
L. 258, *mñan:* Meaning obscure. = Gñan, a class of mischievous divinities?
L. 259: *gsol*, 'eat' or 'drink'.
pyo: = *hphyo*.
L. 260, *lam-lam:* Apparently connected with *lham-me*, 'illumined', 'bright'. It occurs as *lha-me-lham* in Addendum, p. 150.
L. 261, *khraṅ(?)-mo: Khaṅ-mo* would be 'housewife', as in l. 56.
L. 263, *si-si-drum-po:* See note on l. 168.
L. 265, *then* | *de:* On punctuation see L. I.
L. 266, *btsan...btsun:* Here *btsun* is evidently taken as Feminine of *btsan*.
gñar: See note on l. 222.
L. 267, *brag-hvod: hvod* is probably a Nam word = Tib. *hbad*, *hbod*, 'be alert', 'call'. *Zugs* recurs in VI, l. 123.
L. 268, *khyi-lo-tsha-khaṅ: Lo* is 'circle', 'group' (sc. pack): as the scansion suggests, *tsha-khaṅ* is probably an error for *tshaṅ*, 'kennel', 'lair', etc.
zugs: Perhaps connected with *zug*, 'pain', *hdzugs*, 'prick', 'sting'; but it may be for *zuṅs*, 'seized' (on *-g*/*-ṅ* see L. I.).
prum-slaṅ-bra(ṅu? bu?): Prum may be = *phru-ma*, 'palace', 'castle'; and *bra* may be = *sbra*, 'tent'. *Slaṅ-bu* occurs as 'small field-terrace' (*Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., II, p. 352, III, p. 95).
L. 269, *na-boṅ: Boṅ* is no doubt, = *phoṅs*, 'poor'; but whether *na* is 'sickness' or 'house' may be questioned: the phrase occurs also in Nam. *(hnah-poṅ)*
than: = *hthan*, 'pressure', 'urgence'.
L. 270, *boṅ-rum: Boṅ* is unknown, perhaps 'clod' *(boṅ-pa)* or 'heap'; *rum* is a dark hollow'. (I B, l. 28).
hkhras: √*hkhra* (cf. *hkhra-sa*, 'prop', etc.).
L. 271, *lob:* Imperative form due to following Imperative.
śid-rab: 'Highest', or 'Supreme height': on *śid* see note to IA, l. 27.
L. 274, *śur:* Cf. *bśur*, l. 245.
L. 275, *dri-sog:* No doubt a synonym of *dri-log*, 'wrong questioning': *sog* is given in Ś. C. Das' Dictionary as a form of *sob*, which means 'null', 'vain', etc.; on *-b*/*-g* see L. I.
L. 276, *myi-rmaṅ-śi-ro-mtha:* 'end of the corpse (cf. *śi-bahi-ro* in Ś. C. Das' Dictionary) of men's dreams *or* delusions *(rmaṅ)*'.
Tha is possibly written *thi*, which might be 'rope', or even *the*, 'finger', 'toe'.
L. 276, *khram-ten (then):* On *khram* see note to l. 243.
sgoṅ-chag(s): = *sgoṅ-skyes*, 'egg-born' (sc. bird); cf. *hdab-chags*, 'winged' (bird), *gsog-chags*, 'winged animal'.

mgo-thur-du: For *sgo*, 'gate'? But *mgo-mthur* would mean 'head-halter' (cf. *mthur-mgo*, 'halter').
ten-ka: 'Influence' *(then)* or 'support' *(rten):* in ll. 350—1 *then* appears both as *ten* and as *rten*. Cf. also *lteṅ-ka* (from *ltens ?*), 'load', 'responsibility'.

L. 277. *lhos:* 'loosened' √*lhod, lod, glod).*

L. 278, *si-le* (for *sil-le ?*): Unknown.

L. 279, *nam-p(h)yod*: *Phyod* is 'push through'; cf. *lam-phyod*, 'push on'.

L. 280, *rgad-spags:* In ll. 308, 317, *gdah*⁰, in l. 352 *rkad*⁰. *Rgad* suggests *rgad, gad, dgad, dgod*, 'laugh'; but the second syllable may be = *pag*, 'barley dough', *dpags*, 'barley meal sop', *spag*, id, *spags*, 'pickle', 'pottage', etc. or *spags*, 'removed', and the whole may be 'refuse (*gad*, as in IA, l. 35) pap', or 'refuse put away'. Or 'laughing-stock'?

Ll. 283—4, *yid-non, bag-rnon, myig-rnon*: *Non* is evidently regarded sa = *rnon*, 'sharp'; but it may be related to *non, gnon, snon*, 'press', 'force', *nan*, 'pressure', 'urgency', etc.

L. 284, *ñag:* See note on l. 96 and IB, l. 8 (trans.).

L. 285, *ḫtsal:* See note on ll. 218, 234.

L. 286, *bsñags:* Aorist of *sñegs*.

L. 287, *ri:* May be = *dri*, 'ask question'.
tsigs: = *gtsigs*, 'compulsion'? or = *tshig*, 'word': (see note on l. 121).
thog-du-byon: May be = 'come under roof or shelter *(thog)*'; but *thog-du* can be = 'at the top', 'on', 'during', 'after'.

L. 290, *riṅ-kyi-khabsu:* 'As abode of his life'; cf. *riṅ-la*, 'during the lifetime'.

Ll. 291 sqq.: In the following passage, ll. 291—350, the proper names are etymologized only where the interpretations are somewhat more than possible. As mentioned *supra*, many of them are probably non-Tibetan, and even the apparently Tibetan may be deceptive.

L. 291, *Rtsaṅ-śul* ⟨*Rtsaṅs-yul;* cl. 299 *Gnubs-śul* ⟨*Gnubs-yul*, l. 327 *Rṅegs-śul* ⟨*Rṅegs-yul*.

L. 292, *dgu:* 'Hot'; see note on l. 239.
bkri: Aorist form of *ḫkhrid:* here Prospective.

L. 293, *bgug:* Aorist of *ḫgugs*.

L. 293, *dgaṅ-cig:* Cf. ll. 224, 302.

Ll. 293—5, *yuṅs-mo, mtshe-mo, zer-mo*: The Feminine termination may serve to individualize.

L. 304. *rtan-btsal:* = *brtan (as supra, l. 257, etc.)-rtsal*, 'firm dexterity'.

L. 306, *bśos:* See note on ll. 42—4.

L. 315, *Rmaṅ-po:* Probably = 'The Great'; cf. l. 348.

L. 327 *Rṅegs-śul;* See note on l. 291.

L. 333, *ḫo-la-śa-bzan:* An obscure note.

L. 343, *Rkoṅ-ḫdi*: On *ḫdi* see note on l. 57.

Ll. 344—5, | *yis:* On the punctuation see L. 1.

L. 348, *Rmaṅ-po:* cf, l. 315.

Chapter V

Sum-pa Mother's Sayings

INTRODUCTION

The text contained in the MS. described in the subjoined note[1]) is, as a collection of proverbs or pointed reflections, appropriately entitled *Sum-pa Mother's Sayings*; for, on the one hand, there is in the sayings a feminine and domestic note, which will be apparent to the reader of the translation, and, on the other hand, the Sum-pa people is appropriately represented in literature by the work of a woman, since the Sum-pa country was known to the Chinese as the country of the Eastern Women *(Tung-nü)*.

In eighth-century Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan the name *Sum-pa* is applied to a Central-Asian people known in Turkestan, from the third century at least, by other names, *Supīya* and *Sobyi*, and supposed to be identical with the Sien-pi, noted in Chinese writings as immigrants from north-eastern Asia. Of Sien-pi stock was also the T'u-yū[k]-hun or Tho-gon people, which in 313 A.D. established itself in the Koko-nor region and during 350 years, until ousted by the Tibetans in 663 A.D., was dominant there and in a considerable part of Chinese Turkestan and Kan-su. With that Sum-pa race there is no reason for connecting the kingdom of the Eastern Women, among whom the name, originally dynastic and recorded by the Chinese in the form *Su-p'i*, did not become ethnic until about the middle of the VIIIth century A.D. (Bushell, p. 532; but see now the Geographical Introduction).

The kingdom of the 'Eastern Women' is distinguished by the Chinese from a similar kingdom of 'Western Women', which we have been able (*Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., I, pp. 151—4) to identify with the Hunza-Nagar state in the Karakoram region. The *T'ang Annals*, however, retain a trace of earlier confusion when they state[2]) that it was 'to the north conterminus with Yü-tien' (Khotan) or 'south of the Tsung-ling mountains' and apply to it he name *Su-fa-la na-chü-chü-lo* (*Suvarṇa-gotra*, 'Gold-Race'). In *Nam, an ancient language*, pp. 17—9 we have discussed its position, which may be defined as having its eastern frontier more or less on the 103rd parallel of east longitude, from about Sung-p'an in the north to about Ya-chou in the south. On the north it may have been bounded by the great Bayankara range of mountains, separating it from the Tang-hsiang. The southern limit may have coincided more or less with

[1]) India Office Library: Stein Collection, MS. Ch. Fragment I; Roll of yellowish Chinese paper, of the coarser kind, c. 101 cm. long × 23 cm. wide, in two approximately equal sections pasted together; fragmentary and irregularly torn at the commencement. *Recto*, 60 columns (the first nine fragmentary or incomplete) of Chinese text, being Kumārajīva's translation of the Sanskrit *Vajra-cchedikā*, end part of § XIV, § XV and § XVI, and beginning part of § XVII; *Verso*, Tibetan text, lines 49, extending across the whole width, without margin; fragmentary at beginning, complete at end, leaving c. 25 cm. of length blank: *Dbu-can* script; lines widely spaced, lines 1—39 in a stiff, square, hand, lines 40—49 more cursive: IXth century? Of this text a complete Ms. is brought to light in the precious *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (II, no. 992) by Mdlle. M. Lalou, by whom a publication of it is in prospect. Pl. VI.

[2]) See Bushell, J. R. A. S., 1880, p. 531, Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, p. 340.

the grand route from Lha-sa to China, following somcuhat closely the 30th parallel of latitude: the southern neighbours being probably the people known to the Tibetans as Mi(or Me-)ñag. Thus the people occupied the valleys of the rivers Chin-ch'uan, Tung-ho, Ya-lung (Tibetan Ñag-chu), and their affluents, flowing more or less southwards or south-eastwards towards the Ḫbri (Dre)-chu, or Upper Yang-tse-kiang. Their western extension can only vaguely be estimated from the Chinese statement that from east to west was nine days' journey, which would imply very different distances according as it referred to the traveller's or the post-runner's daily average. The country was one of mountain valleys, in which was scattered a population of over 40,000 (*T'ang Annals*: the *Sui Annals* give 10,000) families, with 80 'cities, large or small'. The capital, in the 'K'ang-yen valley, a narrow, precipitous gorge, around which flows the Jo (Je) river in a southerly direction', may have been Kanze (Kantse) on the Dza tributary of the Ñag-chu, in connection with which Rockhill's notices (pp. 239, 257) of the storeyed buildings climbing the hill side recall the Chinese statement that —

'They inhabit houses: that of the sovereign is nine storeys high, those of the people six'. The incredible statement that to the west the country 'touches the San-po-ho (Yaru-tsang-po, or Brahmaputra)' is explained by the fact, adduced by Rockhill (J.R.A.S., 1891, p. 249 n. 2), that the Ñag-chu 'is frequently confounded by Chinese writers with the Yaru tsang po'. From the coloured maps it appears that the greater part of the country, dominated on the north by the vast Bayankara range of snow-mountains, is at a somewhat lower level than the Tibetan regions to its west: probably (we have reports of later travellers, Edgar, Fergusson, Tafel, Stötzner) it enjoyed a comparatively mild climate and had more abundant vegetation. It may have included Derge, Zog-chen and the Hor-ba states visited by Rockhill in 1889.

It is a coincidence that the Po-mo, or So-mo, State situated near Sung-p'an, which might correspond to the north-eastern extremity of the Eastern Women's kingdom, was reported by Rockhill (pp. 213, 244) in 1891, as 'at present ruled by a woman'. Later accounts agree.

Concerning the history of the state we are restricted to the information supplied by the Chinese Annals. In 586 A.D. it sent envoys to the founder of the Sui dynasty. During the period 618—626 A.D. the queen T'ang-p'ang sent envoys with tribute. 'After this time these tribes and the adjoining people frequently sent missions, and their rulers received Chinese titles, but they were gradually broken up by the attacks of the T'u-fan (Tibetans), to whom they alternately submitted, so that they came to be called by the Chinese 'Double-faced Ch'iang'. Since the year 742, they have elected a man to be their ruler. Afterwards they were known as Sup'i . . . Their prince Mulingtsan wished to join his country to the Chinese Empire, but he was killed by the T'u-fan during the period T'ien-pao (742—755). His son Hsino, with his chieftains and followers, fled to Lung-yu, the governor-general of which, Koshu Han, sent them with an escort through the Barrier, and the Emperor received them most honourrably[1]). Their country was annexed by the T'ufan'. In later times the whole country and the valley of the Dre-chu even far to the west has been under the suthority of the Chinese governor of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

From the Tibetans we have no account of the Sum-pa state[2]) or its institutions. Once or twice, in documents from Central Asia and in the Tibetan *Chronicle (Me-loṅ)* there is mention of Sum-pa individuals (*Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, I, pp. 156, 294, II, p. 242); and among the translators of Sanskrit Buddhist works two are cited as Sum-pas. In the century there was a Sum-pa Ye-śes-dpal-ḫbyor, celebrated as author of numerous works on astronomy, geography, medicine, Buddhism, etc. That the Sum-pas were not real Tibetans

[1]) In 755 'Hsinolo was appointed Prince of Huaiyi and given the imperial surname of Li', *T'ang Annals*, ap. Bushell, J. R. A. S., 1880, p. 472. [2]) For some notices see the Geographical Introduction.

is likely from their geographical situation; and this is confirmed by the mention in the Tibetan *Chronicle* (trans. A. H. Francke, p. 6) of Gtoṅ-Sum-pas, along with the Ldoṅ-Me-ñag, as a kind of 'inner dwarfs', i.e. foreigners within the country, in contrast to 'frontier dwarfs', outside foreigners. Since the kingdom was well known to the Tibetans during the VIIth and VIIIth centuries A.D.[1]), its name should somehow occur in the early notices of the wars with China. There is rather good reason for identifying the people with the Myaṅ and their country with the Myaṅ-ro or Myaṅ-yul of *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc. (Index). For the country must have been very familiar to the adjacent Tang-hsiang kingdom, with which, according to the *Sui Annals*, it had often been at war[2]). In our Text IV, 228 sqq. 339—341, a Myaṅ-kingdom is twice mentioned, the first time in specially close juxtaposition to the account of Man Rma-bu, Mchiṅ-king, of the T'ang-chang, and his family, and in ll. 241-2 apparently under his suzcrainty: and a story is told of its ruler, who was a girl. The name *Myaṅ* may, in fact, have been misunderstood as the Chinese word *ñaṅ*, 'woman'; the phonological relation *my*> *ny*>*ñ* being particularly easy, and may thus have engendered the Chinese notion of a 'Kingdom of women, *Nü-kuo*,. On the Myaṅ of ll. 339—341 see note, p. 97. and the Geogr. Int.

Independence, or dominance, of women has, as Rockhill observes (p. 213), been a characteristic of Tibetan society; possibly, considering also the case of Burma, we might say of Tibeto-Burman society. In Chinese Turkestan, where also there has always been great freedom of women, we have at present no strong ground for connecting it with Tibeto-Burman race; and the same must perhaps be said of the country of the Western Women, Hunza-Nagar, whence also, by a curious coincidence, we have a single literary work and that by a woman, a queen of the country (*The Prophecy of Vimalaprabhā*, see *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 139 sqq.). Fortune has also preserved, as the sole literary emanation from the T'u-yü[k]-hun kingdom of the Koko-nor region, a fragment of a narrative by a princess of that State (*ibid.* II, pp. 8 sqq). Concerning the status and manners of the Sum-pa women, as well as concerning other social features, the Chinese *Annals* record many particulars, of which the most relevant are as follows: —

> 'The sovereign has near her person several hundred women, and once every five days there is a council of state. When the sovereign dies, the people pay in several myriads of gold coins[3]), and select from the royal clan two clever women (one to reign, the other as assistant sovereign[4]) to succeed her in case of death. If the one who dies is a maiden, the other, a married woman, succeeds her, so that there is no possibility of the dynasty becoming extinct, or of a revolution'.
>
> 'They inhabit houses: that of the sovereign is nine storeys high, those of the people six. The sovereign wears a black (or blue) plaited skirt of a rough texture, with a black (or blue) robe with sleeves trailing to the ground, and in winter a

[1]) When King Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po first (c. 634 A. D.) presented demands to the Chinese court, he was encamped with his army near Sung-p'an (Bushell, *op. cit.* p. 444), so that he must have traversed part of the Women's Kingdom. In 692 A. D. (Bushell, p. 452) the Chinese founded in a Ch'iang. Man country, region of the T'ung-ho a 'Yeh-ch'uan, probably = Tibetan 'Rgyal-roṅ district (*chou*): in the yars 650, 654—8 661 the Tibetan king, Khri Man-slon-man-tsan was resident in Mer-khe, a place in the Rgyal-roṅ, and in 705 his son Khri-Ḫdus-sroṅ having died on his way to the Mo-so country, was there embalmed (Bacot, *Documents*, Index). Mer-khe is still important for its trade relations with Sung-p'an and the Koko-nor and Hsi-ning regions. In the time of Padmasambhava the Tibetan Buddhist teacher Vairocana was banished to the Rgyal-roṅ or Rgyal-mo Tsha-ba-ron, whence he subsequenthy returned to Tibet (see Toussaint, *Le Dict de Padma*, pp. 298—328. The people of the Rgyal-roṅ are still known to their Chinese neighbours in Ssū-ch'uan as 'Man' people.

[2]) It will be noticed that in Text IV, lines 229, 339, districts of the Myaṅ country are named 'Black-Woods' and 'Green-Woods', which accords with the above suggestion as to a comparatively mild climate and abundant vegetation.

[3]) Gold being one of the products of the country. [4]) The 'little queen' (*hsiao nü-wang*) of the *Sui Annals*.

lamb-skin gown ornamented with embroideries. She wears her hair done up in little plaits[1]), also ear-rings, and on her feet a kind of leather boot known (in China) as *so-i'*.

'The women do not esteem highly the men, and rich ones have always men-servants who arrange their hair and paint their faces with black clay *(t'u)*. The men do also the fighting and till the soil. The sons take the family name of their mother. (Rockhill, loc. cit., from the T'ang *Annals*)'.

From this it is clear that the Sum-pa people, perhaps in consequence of vicinity to China and of a relatively productive country, was, despite some other particulars contained in the Chinese accounts, more advanced in civilization than many peoples, especially nomadic or robber tribes, of inner Tibet. The matter of the sayings is somewhat surprizingly distinguished by kindly good sense, and absence of bizarre ideas and crude mythological or religious conceptions for which it might have been necessary to make allowance. It seems possible that the tone, which is one of ordinary morality and domesticity, may be connected with the matriarchal sociology, averse from violence in thought or expression. There is no reference to Buddhism, and the nearest approach to a religious allusion is in the saying that

'A bad utterance is a devil's entrance'

where the word for 'devil' *(bdud)* is one used, with an implication of fear and dislike, as much in the old Shamanist (Bon-po) religion, which is likely to have prevailed among the Sum-pas, as in Buddhism.

The imagery used to point the ethical content of the sayings accords with the life in the great mountainous regions of eastern Tibet: there are references to 'the hunter's snare', 'the rotten dwelling piled with dung', 'the dry rock chasm', 'the trace-horse turned adrift', 'the winter's snow on the mountains', 'the he-goat's horn', 'the top of the wilds', 'the runner's pack', 'the falcon's claw', 'sand desert and stony ground', 'the plain with one tree standing', 'the little spring and the vast lake', 'the grass of the wilds', 'being thrown by a horse in battle'; curiously modern is 'Prompt payment is bonus on a wise reckoning'.

The original language of the Sum-pas cannot have been Tibetan. The country was situated outside the limits of the early Tibetan kingdom, which perhaps did not anywhere reach the Ḫbri (Dre)-chu (Upper Yang-tse-kiang) either on the north or on the east: not till about the middle of the seventh century A.D. did the Tibetan kings begin to extend their power in either direction. The Sum-pas, having as their northern neighbours the Tang-hsiang of the Hoang-ho region and on the south some tribes akin to the Mo-so and Lo-lo of modern times, will have had, like these latter, a form of Tibeto-Burman speech widely different in phonetics and vocabulary from the Tibetan. The spread of Tibetan, which with variant pronunciations and survivals of local vocabulary is now used throughout eastern and north-eastern Tibet and Sino-Tibet[2]), may have been rapid, since it would naturally accompany the great expansion of the Tibetan dominions during the seventh and eighth centuries A D. and the growth of Buddhism with its monasteries and communities of monks, their seminaries and work of translation. The Sum-pa expressions mentioned in the Sui and T'ang *Annals*[3]) do not seem to be Tibetan. The 'Sayings', copied or translated at Śa-cu/Tun-huang (in Chinese Kan-su) during the ninth or tenth century, are in language rather near to ordinary Tibetan, though with some specialities, which may be set down partly to early date (e.g. unknown terms and variant spellings, such as are found in ancient Tibetan texts) and partly (e.g. *mu* = *mi*, 'man') to usages of eastern Tibetan dialects. These peculiarities are noted below.

[1]) Illustrations in Rockhill, *Journey*, p. 266, Vicomte d'Ollone, *In Forbidden China*, p. 236, Futterer, *Durch Asien*, I, p. 405, W. Filchner, *Om mani padme hum*, p. 113. [2]) Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, p. 361.

[3]) Title of the queen, *Pin-chin*; of feminine ministers of state, *kao-pa-li*; of the queen's husband *Chin-tsu* (cf. possibly 'home-man', cf. Tib. (and Ch'iang) *khyim*, 'home', and Hsi-hsia *tsun*, 'man'?). *Tsun*, 'man', is probably to be seen also in *Myaṅ-tsun*, 'Myaṅ-man', in IV, l. 339, where it is title of the (southern) Myaṅ king Rgyal-po-dog.

TEXT

Sum-pa-ma-śags-chen-po

[1]....[snam.-i]....[2]....[mi..rje.bl]....[3]...[na.yaṅ | gz.-k-s].....
1. [4].....[dag (dug? drug?).kyi.sgo.ris.la.myi.daṅ.mthuṅ ||].
2. .....[5].....[ṅag.hjam.myig].sñan.gyis.ni | pha.rol.pohi.sems.sru[ṅ].[6]
.....[-g.p-.s-ir.žiṅ.maṅ].la ||
3. [ph]rag.dog.pahi.myi.ni.že.sdaṅ.mye.ltar.hbar.[7].
4. .....-s.sñ-gs.na[1]) | bkah.khrims.gi.gžuṅ.sruṅs.la ||
5. byams.sdaṅ[2])...[8].....gi.dmyigs.ma.rod[3]).ba.žes.bya.ho ||
6. thad.gar.legs.pa.ni | phu.nu.[9]...[b]y[a].nus.la ||
7. rtag.du.[ñe]s.pa.ni | mu.su.la.dgra.yaṅ.myi.byed.do ||
8. legs.ñes.[10].-yu[4]).yaṅ | yid.rtsas.śig ||
9. bkah.l[u]ṅ.ñamsu.blaṅ.na | draṅ.dṅan.srog.gyi.rten.la ||
10. thog.du.bab[11]par.byas.na.ni.rtsis.hg[o].hdzaṅs.gyis.mthud.maho ||
11. bu.tsa.hdzaṅs.pa.sky[e]s.pa.ni | dpal.dmyig.gyis[12]khā[5]).mthoṅ.ṅo ||
12. chuṅ.ma.hdzaṅs.ma.bu.blaṅs.na.ni | khar.[rj]e.lag.du.thob.žes.bgyi.ho ||
13. bu.tsa.ṅan.pa.[13]skyes.pa.ni | srid.kyi.gzuṅs.rlag.ho | yul.gyi.mthah.khor.ho ||
14. bu.srid.ṅan.pa.skyes.pa.ni || [14]-l[6]).myiṅ[7]).gyi.dus.btsoṅ.ṅo ||
15. pha.bas.bu.hdzaṅs.na.ni | spaṅ.la.mye.thar.ba.bžin.la ||
16. pha.bas.bu.ṅan.na.ni | [8])mtshal.[15]chus.ded.pa.daṅ.hdraho ||
17. gñen.sdug.byams.pas.p[o]r[9]).na | g-yul.ṅor.rtas.bor.ba.daṅ.hdraho ||
18. pha.bu.hdzaṅs.pas[16]bor.na.ni | char.pa.hbab.nas.phyiṅ.ba.myed.pa.daṅ.hdraho||
19. khrel.myed.ṅan.pa.la.ni | ñe.riṅ.my[e]d.la ||
20. khyi.spuṅ.ltog[s][17]pa.la.mtshol.rten.myed.do ||
21. myi.ṅan.pahi.las.ni| da.bya.[na]ṅ.bya.la.lus.la ||
22. mo.ṅan.gi.sris.ni | kha.btog.rṅu.btog.[18]la.zad.do ||
23. ma.hdzaṅs.bu.hdzaṅs.na[10]).ni | gser.la.g-yu.spra.la |
24. ma.ṅan.bu.ṅan.na.ni | khaṅ.rul.du.lud.spuṅ.ba[11])[19]daṅ.hdra.ho ||
25. myi.phyug.po.la.ni || dbaṅ.po.nor.dad.can.gis.phuṅ.la ||
26. myi.hdzaṅs.pa.la.ni | [20]ṅan.pa.phrag.dog.can.gyis.rlag.ho ||
27. zoṅ.du.ni.sems.bzaṅ.ṅo | nor.du.ni.srid.che.ho ||
28. dpah.bohi.chu.[21]gaṅ.ni | śi.gyis.myi.hjigs.la ||
29. hdzaṅs.pahi.dran.myur.ni | śes.pas.myi.brel.lo ||
30. hdzaṅs.hjam.chi[22]gyis[12]).bkol.na.ni | pha.gol.daṅ.tshuṅs.la ||
31. ṅan.gtum.bskrags[13]).na.ni. | byams.drin.cen.yaṅ.dgrar[23]gyur.ro ||
32. las.dad.can.gyis.las.byas.na.ni | dguṅ.khyod[14]).kyaṅ.žiṅ.glog.ma[15]).daṅ.hdra.ho ||
33. [24]ma.ñes.par.bsad.pa.ni | sprul.gdugs[16]).yaṅ.sñiṅ.rje.ho ||
34. lhas.ma.bžes.par.lug.bśas[25]pa.ni | dmer[17]).hgyur.ro ||
35. dva.bśes.myed.ni | mu.su.hi.dgra.la.yaṅ.sdug.la ||
36. byur.ṅan.nad.bu.can.la.ni | [26]yi.dags.kyaṅ.sñiṅ.rje.ho ||
37. char.char.bab.rdzis.btab.na.ni | brag.khuṅ.skam.po.yaṅ.rlan.la. ||
38. naṅ.byan.gyis.[27]blo.byas.na.ni || khaṅ.pa.dgu.rim.yaṅ.myi.brtsa.ho ||
39. mtshon.rnon.po.ni.śubs.nas.phyuṅ.na.ni.rtul[18])[28]lo ||

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[1]) *ni?* [2]) *sruṅ?* [3]) *dor?* [4]) Read *rgyu*, 'material', 'cause'. *?* [5]) = *kha.*
[6]) Read *tshul*, 'morality'. [7]) Sic = *myin.* [8]) *m* added below line. [9]) = *bor.*
[10]) *na* added below line. [11]) *pa?*
[12]) = *chig(cig)-gis.* [13]) = *bsgrags.* [14]) Sic (for *tshod*, *khyoṅ?*).
[15]) *yaṅ* here crossed out. [16]) = *sbrul-gdug.* [17]) = *rmer.* [18]) *l* added below line.

40. myi.ma.hdris.na.ni || rgod.kyaṅ.dgrahi.tshul.lo ||
41. yul.ma.hdris.na | ñin.yaṅ.mtshan.daṅ.tshuṅs.[29]so ||
42. hbrog.lcog.spu.gu.ni.nam.naṅs.su[1].dgah.la || srin.bya.hug.pa.ni | mun.sros.su.smon.ho ||
43. pha.myes.[30]hdzaṅs.pa.la.ni. | bu.tshah.ṅan.pa.skyes.pa.ni. || gral.gyi.mthah.na.sa.sra.la ||
44. hog.rta.rjes[31]bor.na.ni || bres.kyi.mthah.hkhor.ho ||
45. ṅan.blo.rtul.gyis || hdzaṅs.rnon.po.la.myi.bsgam.ho[2])[32]dgun.kha.bas.ni || ri.myi.gaṅ.la ||
46. gtsos.ru.sñom.gyis.ni || khyu.phuṅ.la ||
47. myi.bdag.sñom.gyis[33]srid.rlag.go ||
48. myi.ṅan.pahi.sems.ni || raṅ.gyis.bskyed.la ||
49. ra.phohi.rba.ni | rlag.pas.bsriṅs[34]so ||
50. sna.myi.blan[3].pahi.chuṅ.ma.ni | byi.mo.daṅ.hdra.la ||
51. srid.ma.hdus.pahi.phu.nu.ni | mu.su.hi.dgra.ho || [35].
52. e..[hdraṅs[4]].kyis.sna.ma.draṅs.na[ni] || ṅan.pa.sgo.myi.hbyed.la ||
53. mgyogs.gyis.sna.ma.draṅs.na[36]ni || rgod.gyi.goṅ.myi.gcod.do ||
54. rje.sgam.po.yaṅ.dpe.myi.las.len.no ||
55. mgyogs.bcu[5].ru.yaṅ[37]bsbul.ma.lcag.gyis.bgyi.ho ||
56. lgehu.hdrim.sṅa.yaṅ || mgyogs.kyi.sgrom.hog.la ||
57. byehu.hphur[38]sṅa.yaṅ.khra.hi.lpar.thab.sa[6].so ||
58. bye.ma.sa.rdo.ni.spyad.ciṅ.sñil.la ||
59. myi.lpa.gas[7].rim.dgu.ni. || spyad.ciṅ.gsaro[8][39] ||
60. pha.ma.gñis.ni || btsal.kyis.myi.rñed.la ||
61. mye.daṅ.chu.ni | myed.du.myi.ruṅ.ṅo ||
62. gcam.hbu.mdo.myed.ni | [40]byed.dgur.myi.ñe.la ||
63. śa.lpags.rlon.pa.ni || draṅ.dgur.riṅ.ṅo ||
64. gñen.mthah.gśin.ni | [41]mtsho.la ||
65. śa.mthah[9].gśin.ni.hchi.ho ||
66. thaṅ.śiṅ.gcig.hgreṅ.ni || nags.mthah.myed.la[42]zug.la ||
67. [10]chu.myig.rṅo.cuṅ.ni | rgya.mtsho.hi.rtsi.ho ||
68. śa.za.gri.rnon.ni. | gcad.re.yaṅ.żim.re.la[43] |
69. gtan.gyis.rogs.bza.ni | gtam.re.yaṅ.hdzum.re.ho ||
70. myi.gdul.na.ni | tshig.daṅ.rlabs.[44]gyis.gdul.la ||
71. mñed.hdul.na.ni | yab.daṅ.drud.gyis.gdul | lo ||
72. bud.myed.[45]mo.lcam.bzaṅ.mos.ni || skyes.do[11].mar.gi.rabs.gcod.do ||
73. hbrog.rtsa.bzaṅ.[46]yaṅ | rkaṅ.hgros.dbyar.rjud[12].do ||
74. tshig.btad.lags.na.ni || srid.kyi.yu.ba.la || [47].
75. kha.smras.ñes.na | bdud.kyi.sgo.mo.ho ||
76. kham.sar.gri.rno.na[13].ni ||[14] bskud.pa.ni.rgyu.bahi.[48]gron.che.ho ||
de.bas.ma.hdzaṅs.byams.pas.bstan.pa.ni ||
srid.kyi.don.daṅ | mdud.par.[49]zuṅ.śig |
Sum.pa.ma.śags.chen .po.rdzogs.sho ||

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[1]) *su* below line. [2]) *ho* below line. [3]) Sic (= *blaṅ*, as elsewhere). [4]) ?. [5]) = *bcur*.
[6]) Sic (= *thabs*).
[7]) Sic (= *lpags*). [8]) *ro* below line. [9]) *h* below line. [10]) *m* here crossed out. [11]) *ṅo ?*
[12]) *rdzud ?* [13]) Read *rnon*. [14]) This interpunct should follow the second *ni*.

TRANSLATION

(Ll. 1—3 fragmentary)

1. [4].....: is like man. [5]
2. A mild voice and a friendly eye: are worth many... in the restraint of other people's minds [6].
3. An envious person: blazes like a fire of wrath [7].
4. .....: preserves the rule of law.
5. Mild, anger... [8]: is to be called sight not paralysed.
6. Each in himself good: elder and younger brothers [9] are able...
7. Perpetual harm: even an enemy does not do to any man.
8. Even if good and evil [10] be actual: look to the intent[1]).
9. Precept taken to heart: is the basis of life upright and bad.
10. Prompt payment [11]: is bonus on a wise reckoning.
11. A wise son born: is prosperity ocularly [12] seen.
12. A wise wife getting a son: is to be called fortune grasped.
13. Bad sons [13] born: are the world's rule retrograde. They are the country's [own] outsiders[2]).
14. Bad sons and daughters born: [14] are a mart of mis*behaviour*.
15. A son wiser than his father: is like fire let loose on a meadow[3].).
16. A son worse than his father: is like blood [15] swamped by water[4]).
17. Being thrown over by a dear kind kinsman: is like being thrown by a horse in battle.
18. A father thrown over by a wise son [16]: is like being without a felt[5]) in a shower.
19. If a bad person is without shame: it is as if near and far did not exist.
20. If the pack of hounds is hungry[6]) [17]: the [hunter's] snare lacks support.
21. A bad man's work: what should be done now is left to be done to-morrow.
22. A bad woman's devil: give a kiss or make her smart[7]) [18] and it is all over.
23. A wise mother with a wise son: gold with turquoise inset.
24. A bad mother with a bad son: is like a rotten dwelling heaped with dung [19].
25. A rich man: crowded by powerful wealth-seekers.
26. A wise man: [20] the envious wicked experience defeat.
27. In trade honest-minded: in possessions highly prosperous.
28. A brave man's forte [21]: he has no fear of death.
29. A wise man's quick thought: is not apart from knowledge.
30. To be mastered by a wise kind person [22]: is like being a hereditary servant[8]).
31. Violently abused: even a kind, friendly person becomes an enemy [23].
32. Work done by a believer in work: is like lightning even at night [24].
33. Killing where offence is not: is poisonous snake's mercy.
34. A sheep cut up without being accepted by the god [25]: becomes blemished.
35. A friendless wretch[9]): is dear to every man, though an enemy.

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[1]) Literally 'mind'. [2]) 'Frontier tribes' *(mthaḫ-khor)*.
[3]) Or 'boards' *(spaṅ)*. [4]) Rendering doubtful: see Linguistic note.
[5]) On a felt as a precaution against bad weather see Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, II, p. 252, Rockhill, p. 234, Fergusson, *op cit.*, p. 323. [6]) Sc. is not fed.
[7]) Rendering conjectural: see Linguistic note.
[8]) And so well treated. [9]) See Linguistic note.

36. To an unfortunate who is sick: [26] even goblins are compassionate.
37. If at every shower a pond is made: even a dry rock chasm is wetted.
38. Intention formed by a man of reserve[1]) [27]: is not detected even by the entire household around him.
39. A sharp weapon drawn from its sheath: is blunted[2]) [28].
40. Not having inquired about the person: even a laugh is enemy procedure.
41. Not having inquired about the country: is like night in day-time [29].
42. The roof-sparrow[3]) in the waste is glad at daybreak. The fiend owl prays for the dusk.
43. Bad sons born of wise father and grandfather [30]: stiff soil at the end of the row.
44. Under-horses[4]) cast aside by the owner [31]: are outsiders of the manger.
45. By disciplining[5]) an inferior mind: one does not rank with the sharp-witted [32]. By a winter's snow the mountain is not filled.
46. By one satisfied with a painted horn: the herd is ruined.
47. By a man satisfied with himself [33]: the state is ruined.
48. The mind of an inferior man: is his own creation.
49. A he-goat's horn: lengthens with loss [34].
50. A wife not given lodging: is a female mouse[6]).
51. Disunited elder and younger brothers: are enemies of everyone [35]
52. Not headed by a leader[7]): the inferior man opens no door.
53. Without a courier in the van [36]: the top of the wilds is not reached.
54. Even a profound king: takes example from people.
55. Even when the courier is blocked [37]: a movement can be effected by a whip.
56. The leather thong[8]), though in front: is beneath the courier's box.
57. Though the little bird flies [38] in front: the falcon's claw seizes him.
58. Sand desert and stony ground: with labour [yield] clusters.
59. A man's nine skin-layers: are renewed by work [39].
60. Father and mother: are not acquired by asking.
61. Fire and water: should not be lacking.
62. A man lavish in professions[9]) [40] whatever is to be done, is not at hand.
63. Raw flesh and skin: lengthen at every pull.
64. A kinsman[10]) pleasant at the end: [41] is as a lake.
65. Flesh pleasant at the end: is death.
66. A plain with one tree standing: is a grief[11]) to a boundless forest [42].
67. A spring of little resource: is the essence of a vast lake.
68. A flesh-eater's sharp knife: gives a savour at every cut [43].
69. A wife partnered by her husband: smiles at every speech.
70. In taming man: the taming is with words and influence[12]) [44].
71. In taming kindred: the taming is by the father and by friction[13]).
72. A woman [45] who is a good devoted wife: severs her husband's original lineage.

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[1]) *Nań-byan*, 'one who cooks indoors', has this sense.

[2]) This saying bears upon the preceding.

[3]) ? See Linguistic note. [4]) 'Side-horses', 'tracers' *(ḫog-rta)*.

[5]) A secondary meaning is 'blunting'. [6]) Coming in only at night.

[7]) Reading *ḫdroṅs:* possibly an error for *ḫdzaṅs*, 'wise'.

[8]) Translation conjectural; but see Rockhill, *Journey*, p. 268 n 3, 'They (the women) rest the bottom of the long churn-shaped bucket on the thick folds of the gown at the waist (back), and pass a strap around it and across their breasts'. See Linguistic note.

[9]) See Linguistic note. [10]) Or 'friend' or 'adversary' *(gñen)*. [11]) Sc. 'grievance'.

[12]) Literally 'wave': for the sense of 'influence' see *Tib. Lit. Texts and Documents*, III, p. 40.

[13]) For a secondary meaning see the Linguistic note.

73. Though the grass of the waste be good [46]: the runner finds it an impediment in the summer[1]).
74. Plighted word: is prosperity's handle [47].
75. A bad utterance: is a devil's entrance.
76. Smearing[2]) a sharp knife in clay: is a great waste of material [48].

Take therefore the teaching of the wise kind mother,
Bound up with success in life [49].

End of the larger '*Sum-pa-Mother's Sayings*'.

Linguistic Notes

In general the language of this text departs less widely than Nos. I and II, perhaps also than III, from what, if we possessed comparable texts of like date (other than the ‚documents' from Central Asia, which, in fact, are one or two centuries older), might be found to be normal popular Tibetan of the period (IXth or Xth century?). Confusion of *tenuis* and aspirate is not frequent, and the word-forms are, for the most part, straightway recognizable. There is some variation of Prefixes, and there are some old or dialectical phrases and words, of which latter *mu* = *mi*, 'man', ll. 9, 25, 34, is the most noticeable. On *gcam-ḫbu* for *bu* see L. I. The terminal *la* in the sayings seems to mean 'is like' or 'is a case of'.

L. 4, *sgo-ris:* Not known.

L. 8, *dmyigs-ma-rod-ba:* Translation uncertain; *rod* = 'pride', *rod-pa*, 'stiff', 'unable to help oneself'.
thad-gar: = ° *kar*, 'each by himself'.

L. 9, *mu:* = *myi*, 'man'? Cf. ll. 25, 34.

L. 10, *rtsas:* Imperative of *btsa*, 'scrutinize': for the r-Prefix cf. *rtsas-ma* in Ś. C. Das' Dictionary.
dñan: = *ñan*; see L. I.

L. 11, *rtsis-ḫgo:* = ° *mgo*, 'head of account', 'account', which occurs in Central Asia (*Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., III, Vocabulary).
mthud-ma: = *ḫthud*, 'an added piece'; cf. *thud-thud* in IA, l. 110. *Gyis* is perhaps for *gyi*.

L. 12, *khar-rje:* = *kha-rje*, 'good luck', 'fortune': but here the original, literal, sense of the expression, which is not obvious, may have been envisaged.

L. 13, *mthaḫ-khor:* 'End, or frontier, entourage', 'outsiders': opposite of *naṅ-khor*.

L. 14, *dus-btsoṅ:* 'Assembled traders' = *tshoṅ-ḫdus*, 'mart'.
mye-thar: 'Fire let loose': the phrase recurs in the Nam language.

Ll. 14—5, *mtshal-chus-ded: Mtshal* can mean 'vermilion', 'red ink'; *ḫded*, 'follow' or 'drive' (used of flocks and droves in I B, l. 36), here 'carry away'?

L. 15, *por:* The form with *p* is found also in Nam.

L. 16, *spuṅ:* = *dpuṅ*, 'heap' (| *spuṅ*, 'accumulate', *phuṅ-po*, 'mass'). *Spuṅ* recurs in l. 18, *phuṅ* in l. 19.
mtshol: mdzol, 'trap' (I. B. l. 84).

L. 17, *sris:* A form of *sri* (cf. *gźis* = *gźi*), a 'demon', 'vampire', often in a feminine connection, so that here perhaps it means a 'temper'.

L. 18, *kha-btog-rṅu-btog:* The word 'kiss' translates *kha-btug* as from *gtugs*, and *rṅu* = 'pain' (possibly it might be a form of *nu*, 'bosom'). *Kha-btog* might be Imperative of *kha-btag*, 'kill' (*Tibetan Literary Texts*): but the roots *tog*, *thog*, *dog*, *teg*, *ḫdlegs*, etc., have too many meanings for conjecture. The authoress may have known her meaning.

Ll. 20—1, *chu-gaṅ:* 'Value', etc.: see Schiefner, *Dzaṅs-blun*, pp. 116, 241, and *Tib. Lit. Text*, etc., I, p. 28.

L. 21, *śi-gyis:* Instrumental-Ablative after verb of 'fearing': cf. IV, l. 24.

L. 22, *bkol...gol:* | *ḫkhol*, *bkol*, *khol*, etc., 'make, or be, a servant'.
bskrags (bsgrags): 'Rated' (| *sgrog*) = *ḫgrags*, 'shout', cf. *sgra-sgrogs*.
dgrar: Locative of result; cf. *dmer-ḫgyur*, l. 25.

L. 23, *las-dad:* Cf. *nor-dad*, l. 19.
khyod: A dialectical form of *tshod*, 'measure', 'time'? On *khy*>*tsh* in E. Tibetan dialect see Jaeschke in Berlin Academy *Monatsbericht*, 1865, p. 443.

L. 24, *bśas:* Aorist of *bśaḫ*, 'slaughter'; cf. IV, l. 214.

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[1]) This saying bears upon the preceding.

[2]) The meaning is, perhaps, 'pushing up and down', as people do in order to sharpen or clean.

L. 25, *dmer:* See note on l. 22, *dgrar: dme/rme/sme*, = 'blemish', or 'rot'.
dwa] 'Misery', 'miserable': possibly Chinese *(to)*; see J. R. A. S. 1926, p. 517.
mu: See ll. 9, 34.
L. 26, *rdzis:* = *rdziṅ*, cf. *gźis* = *gźi*, etc.
L. 27, *khaṅ-pa-dgu:* 'Members of the household, nine *(*= all)'.
L. 29, *lcog-spu-gu: Lcog* might be for *lco-ga (co-ga)*, 'swallow', or 'lark'; *spu-gu* is unknown.
L. 30, *sa-sra:* If the text were Buddhist, we might conjecture a reading *sra-sra*, 'sinners', sc. offending monks made to sit at the end of the row (in the assembly hall).
h̲og-rta: Not in Ś. C. Das' Dictionary, recurs in another MS. text, VI, l. 98.
L. 31, *bsgam:* A form parallel to *sbam*, 'collect in a community or settlement'; cf. *gam, gams* (see *Tibetan Literary Texts*, etc., III, p. 22 ard *Nam*, Vocabulary): the two terms *gam(s)/goms* alternate with *bam(s(/bom(s)* in place-names, *H̲go-boms, Khri-boms, Ba-bams.*
L. 32, *gtsos:* = *btsos, tshos*, 'dye', 'dyed'.
L. 34, *sna-myi-blan:* See Ś. C. Das' Dictionary, s. v. *sna-len. mu:* = *mi*, as in ll. 9, 25.
L. 36, *rgod-gyi-goṅ-myi-gcod:* 'Does not cut out (sc. reach) the height of the wild country *(h̲brog)*'. In IV, l. 207 also the *h̲brog* is *goṅ-du*, 'in the high (country)'.
bcu-ru: = *bcur-ru(du): bcur (/h̲jur)* = 'block a road'.
L. 37, *bsbul:* = *bsgul, sgul, h̲gul*, 'put, or be, in motion'.
lgeh̲u: 'Diminutive' form of *lgo* (cf. IA, 1. ll. 116, 118) = *lko* = *ko*, 'hide', 'leather' (sc. strap).
h̲drim: Perhaps 'knot', or 'band', from *h̲grim*, to 'go round': the reference will be to the coolie's 'strap', which comes round his forehead or chest and supports his back-load.
L. 38, *lpar:* = *spar*, 'claw'.
thab-sa (thabs):] *thebs, h̲thebs*, 'reach', 'seize'.
L. 39, *btsal:* Aorist of *h̲tshal.*
gcam-h̲bu: Gcam-bu (on *h̲bu* = *bu* after a nasal see *supra* and L. I.) is given as 'insincere', 'flatterer', and *mdo-med* as 'imprudent'. It is, however, to be suspected that some domestic implement and 'without a string *(mdo)*' are contemplated. Cf. Bacot, *Dict. Sanskrit-Tibétain, gcam-bu* = *kartrima.*
L. 40, *byed-dgur, draṅ-dgur: Dgu*, 'nine', = 'every', as in l. 27.
L. 42, *rṅo-c(h)uṅ:* Of little capacity *(rṅo)*'?
L. 43, *gdul:* Prospective form of *h̲dul* (l. 44).
L. 44, *mñed*: = *ñe-du* (i. e. *ñed-du)/ñen/gñen*, 'kinsman'; but, since *mñe/mñen/mñed* is used of making leather pliable (by rubbing with the hand) and *h̲drud* = 'rub', there is, doubtless, a reference to that process.
L. 45, *do-mar:* Perhaps Locative of *do-ma* = *do-mod*, 'today'.
L. 46, *rjud:* Given in Ś. C. Das' Dictionary as = 'trouble', 'danger', 'disadvantage'.
L. 47, *bskud:* Aorist of *skud.*
L. 49, *zuṅ-śig: zuṅs-cig* < *zuns-cig.*
rdzogs-s-ho: An abnormal way of appending the asseverative *-o: supra* we have *khor-h̲o* ll. 13, 31, *lag-h̲o* ll. 13, 20, *smon-h̲o* l. 29, *bsgam-h̲o* l. 31. Irregularities in this respect (including *sho*) are not uncommon in the MSS. from Central Asia.

Chapter VI

MO-DIVINATION

INTRODUCTION

The Tibetan *Mo*-divination seems first to have been brought to light by Anton Schiefner[1]), who noticed in the *Bstan-ḫgyur* a tract with the title *Mo-rtsis*, also *Kevalī*, contained in Volume 123 of the *Mdo* section. By an intimation from Schiefner Albrecht Weber was led to study in a Berlin Ms. a short Sanskrit treatise on divination, entitled *Pāśaka-kevalī*, of which he published in 1859 and 1868 an edition, with Introduction and a translation. Next, from the Tibetan side, a fair amount of information was elicited from literary and oral sources by Colonel Waddell and published in his *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (1895), pp. 465—474. Waddell's work, which is replete with first-hand information on all matters of Lamaist doctrine and practice and is richly illustrated, did not investigate the early history of the *Mo*-divination, which in modern practice is adapted to Buddhist notions: he ascribed to it, however, a Bon-po origin. A new datum was furnished in 1912 by Vilhelm Thomsen's publication and translation[2]) of a Turkī text from a Ms. in Runic script and probably of the early IXth century A.D., brought by Sir Aurel Stein from the famous 'hidden library' of Ch'ien-fo-tung, near Tun-huang, in Western Kan-su. Like the Sanskrit and Tibetan tracts, this is a work of prognostics based upon casts of dice. In 1924 the attention of Professor A. H. Francke, who was studying the Tibetan items in the trouvailles of the Prussian Turfan expeditions, was attracted to the peculiarities of some small paper fragments, which upon a suggestion by F. W. K. Müller he found to be of the same character as Thomsen's Turkī text: a search among his notes of the Stein documents brought to light a similar fragment from Mazār-Tāgh (Khotan region); so that Francke was able to give with translation three fragments, to which in a subsequent article he was able to add three further pieces from Turfan[3]).

The prominent feature common to the Turkī and Tibetan Mss. is that they are composed of paragraphs, each headed by groups of small circles, or eyes, arranged in one line. Thomsen, who gave reason for regarding the Turkī Ms. as a 'fortune-book', does not seem to have drawn attention to the fact that in the case of each paragraph the number of groups is three. Francke, with the aid of Weber's account of the Sanskrit *Pāśaka-kevalī*[4]) and Professor Lüders' subsequent account of early Indian dicing[5]), was able to see that the groups represent the die-marks shown on the several casts of the dice, which were always three in number. In the Sanskrit text each paragraph commences with a citation of the names of the numbers, which never exceed four: and Waddell, whose work is not mentioned by Francke, had

[1]) The word *mo* is, however, given in this sense in Csoma Körösi's Dictionary.

[2]) *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, 1912, pp. 190—214.

[3]) *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy: 1924, III, pp. 7—12, 1928, VIII, 9, pp. 110—8.

[4]) Berlin Academy *Monatsberichte* 1859, pp. 158—180, and *Indische Streifen*, I, pp. 274—307.

[5]) *Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien*, in *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Society of Sciences in Göttingen, 1907, IX, 2 pp. 1—74.

recorded the modern Tibetan practice of using alternatively either a set of three dice or a single one, in both cases six-sided. Lüders had stated the old Indian usage with three dice, or three throws of a single one, and had described the pieces, which were oblong, rectangular in section and with ends rounded and bearing no numerial sign. Original features in Francke's discussion were (1) his quotation from the Tibetan *Mo-rtsis*, in which the paragraph headings use numeral letters in place of the groups of circles, and (2) his identification of certain archaeological finds from Central Asia as specimens of the dice-forms which, including some six-sided, had there been in use. To Francke must also be credited his citation of (I) Lüders' article on the Indian *Würfelspiel* (2) Hoernle's (therein mentioned) Bower Ms. text, (3) Turkī fragments of two texts published by Le Coq, and (4) a passage in the Tibetan version of the Gesar tale.

Throws of three four-sided dice yield 64 combinations, set out by Weber in a table which may be summarized as: —

1.1.1—4; 1.2.1—4; 1.3.1—4; 1.4.1—4 (16):
2.1.1—4 etc., (16): 3.1.1—4 etc., (16):
4.1.1—4 etc., (16) — total 64.

Evidently the total accounts for the 65 paragraphs in the Turkī Ms. A further point of correspondence is the fact that most of the Turkī paragraphs end with a formal statement 'This is good', 'This is bad', 'This is evil and good'[1]), which Thomsen gave reason for interpreting in the sense not of ethic, but of fortune: the Tibetan fragments seem, so far as their defective texts suffice to indicate, to have had in all cases a similar ending. This is somewhat noticeable, because in the *Pāśaka-kevalī* the paragraphs, though their substance enabled Weber to distinguish the fortunate and the 'mixed' combinations, have not the same formal ending, and the like is the case with its Tibetan equivalent, the *Mo-rtsis*. Francke raised the interesting question whether the fortunate and unfortunate combinations in Weber's Table would be found similarly distributed in the Central-Asian Tibetan fragments.

The remaining contents of the Turkī and Central-Asian Tibetan texts differ almost completely. The Turkī paragraphs give each severally the outline of a narrative or situation, which Thomsen found to be in details so characteristically Turk as to preclude the possibility that the text was a translation from another language. He conceived that the book was used as a basis for oracular responses suggested by random openings of it; a supposition which, as regards random opening, is rendered otiose by the discovery that the paragraph headings represent throws of the three dice. The Tibetan fragments are too inextensive to afford an adequate view of the contents of the Mss. to which they appertained; but a curious difference, which could not be observed by Francke, between the five specimens from Turfan and the single specimen from Mazār-Tāgh may be significant. All the Turfan specimens seem to resemble the Turkī Ms. in the circumstance that a narrative element enters into the interpretation of each throw: in the Mazār-Tāgh specimen this is not the case, and the difference is confirmed by the further circumstance that here the text is in verse; in the Turfan fragments verse is not apparent, and Thomsen found in the Turkī Ms. no trace, the text being 'undoubtedly in prose'. Since the Sanskrit text and its *Bstan-ḫgyur* equivalent are innocent of narrative, it looks as if the Turfan method was an adaptation to local ways of thinking, which from historico-geographical considerations and upon the evidence of Thomsen's Turkī Ms. we should be inclined to conceive as Turk.

Religious difference does not seem here to have played a part: the fragments from the two sources are simply Tibetan, whether Bon-po or Buddhist in tone, whereas the Turkī Ms. was thought by Thomsen to be Manichean. The *Mo-rtsis* is professedly Buddhist.

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[1]) A few substitute 'Know ye this', which in some cases indicates a less positive prognostic.

The view, first propounded by Waddell, that the *Mo*-divination of Tibet was fundamentally of a Bon-po character, requires to be treated with discrimination. Prognostication by means of dice-throws is presumably of high antiquity and wide-spread: in India, where dicing was common even during Vedic times, the *Pāśaka-kevalī*, appropriately, if not authentically, attributed to the Ṛṣi Garga, was, no doubt, the outcome of a long practice reduced to a system. The *Mo* procedure could well have reached north-eastern Tibet in pre-Buddhist times and so have acquired a Bon-po character; even later it may have been acclimatized first in a Bon-po milieu: something definite on this point may appear later. But first a word concerning the actual *modus operandi.*

In the case of the Turkī Ms. it seems that beyond the actual text, once it had been compiled, nothing was requisite. The consultant, whether private person or professional, needed only to make the throw, to trace the corresponding passage in the manual and adapt it to the particular circumstances. The same may be said of the *Pāśaka-kevalī.* But in Tibet, where, as Waddell mentions (p. 465), most families possess a *mo*-book, the use of dice is sometimes connected with a dice-board having numbered squares; and there are also various diagrams[1]) of squares and other shapes used in connection with counters other than dice and with groups of numbers (e.g. 10, 15, 21) far higher than the 3 of the dice or even of the 4 'eyes' in the highest throw (4 +4 +4 =12). This matter of a diagram receives prominence in connection with the text edited and translated *infra*: like the Turkī, it is contained in a Ms. brought by Sir Aurel Stein from the 'hidden library' of Tun-huang and probably is of approximately the same age.

The Ms., of which descriptive particulars are here appended in a note[2]), is, though fragmentary, at least at the beginning, and giving only 31 of the probable total of 64 throws, considerably more extensive than the Turkī text and within its limits is not less complete. The paragraphs are introduced by figures representing, by small *O*'s, as in the case of the other records, the respective falls of the three dice: the set-out differs, inasmuch as the groups of O's are not in a single line, but arranged in geometrical shapes and are separated by punctuation lines. The substance of the paragraphs in each instance commences with an oracular passage in verse, and then proceeds to expound in prose, usually after mentioning for what purpose the particular fall *(bab)* of the dice was (originally ?) effected, the prognostic signification in regard to various departments of ordinary human life. At the end of each comes the statement that 'this *mo*, for whatever cast, is good', or 'very good', or 'bad', or 'very bad', or 'not good', or 'middling', as the case may be.

This prose portion, very monotonous, but allowing of certain deductions, may be considered first. After the reference to the original (?) fall of the dice, it almost invariably expresses a supposition that the throw is in view of 'home *(khyim)*-luck' and 'life *(srog)*-luck', implying, it seems, that, whereas other applications would have been possible, the interest of the text is directed to domestic and personal life: a particular matter may then be elicited. What follows is a series of succinct statements of the auguries, in general uniformly good or bad, in respect of (a) business enterprises, (b) trading, (c) petitions to superiors, (d) arrival of travellers, (e) sick persons, (f) meeting with an enemy, (g) making a family connection, (h) recovery of lost property. This stereotyped list of topics, which might have

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[1]) See for instance Plates XIX and XX in the elephant-folio volume accompanying Emil Schlagintweit's *Buddhism of Tibet*, and the figure on p. 453 of Waddell's work.

[2]) India Office Library Mss. Stein 73 IV 3 a and 73 VIII, originally in concertina form (§§ 9, each 25 cm wide), but now arranged as foll. 34—36 cf. vol. 72, size c. 26 × 222 cm. *Recto* pp. 9 of a Tibetan *Prajñā-pāramitā-bhāvanā* in regular black Tibetan *dbu-can*: *verso* ll. 162 (parallel to the short side) of less black, more rounded, Tibetan script, in paragraphs separated by triads of geometrical groups of small circles. The Ms. vol. 55, fol. 6, ll. 34 × 25 cm (no Stein number) is similar to these two and probably the initial part of the same text: Pl. VII.

repaid consideration as representing the main interests of common life in Chinese Turkestan during the IXth and preceding centuries A.D., has in fact a significance of a different, and possibly a contrary, bearing. From Waddell's account (p. 470) we learn that in the modern manual of *Mo*-dicing (with a single six-lettered cube) 'the portent of each letter is to be divided into the following sections, namely—House, Favours, Life, Medical, Enemy, Visitors, Business, Travel, Lost Property, Wealth, Sickness, etc., which cover all the ordinary objects for which the oracle is consulted'. The substantial identity of the two lists of topics shows that the modern Tibetan practice is in continuation of the practice in N.E. Tibet and Kan-su during the IXth century A.D., In the *Pāśaka-kevalī* most of the topics recur, but scattered more sparsely over the several throws and not in a solid group under each; in most cases there is mention of circumstances, such as bodily marks, domestic occurrences and dreams, accrediting the predictions, which are announced also as divinely authorized: and the text is metrical. It is therefore still possible to suppose that the Tibetan Ms. here represents a Central-Asian elaboration of the Indian prototype. But in India also the *Kevalī*, which Weber was inclined to regard as not a modern work, may have been current in ampler and more stereotyped prose versions.

The introductory, metrical, portions (of varying length) of the Tibetan paragraphs are unmistakably original both in expression and in content. The verses, of six syllables, are highly oracular; and, apart from linguistic difficulties, the terseness of the style contributes further obscurity. But everything is characteristically Tibetan, with the spontaneously poetic view of their familiar scenery of high mountains, plateaux and lakes and its wild land-animals and water-fowl, the naturalness of this showing that it was not an affectation due to the soothsayer's jargon. There are also allusions to the actual region, especially the Skyi country of the Tang-hsiang people; and the language shares the peculiarities of the popular Tibetan of the north-east, as represented by the other texts contained in this volume.

The particulars curtly mentioned in these metrical introductions have no apparent relation to the fall of the dice either in respect of the numbers of 'eyes' actually shown or in respect of the sequences of the numbers, which sequences are in the *Pāśaka-kevalī* sometimes noted as significant. The animals, scenes and other particulars, presented impromptu in these passages as if requiring no introduction, must have had some basis extraneous to the numbers and well understood. It is difficult to conceive any such basis other than a diagram, or diagrams, wherein the objects named stood in relation to the dice-throws themselves or to the positions in which they lay: and the existence of such diagrams seems to be evidenced by the reference in Text IV, 11. 46—8, to persons 'having on the white bright circumference, or 'rows' *(rim)* ?, a hundred male *gśen*, white-headed, gathered', and again 'having on the black, dark ground a hundred *Ma-mo gśen*, *żu-brab*, gathered', in both cases 'in *mo*-divination worsted'. Here the high numbers suggest a comparison with those procedures in modern Tibetan divination which employ not dice, but seeds or stones in larger quantities; these derive their significance from the spaces to which they are assigned in the diagram, which is sometimes divided into squares, black and white. What sort of diagrams are envisaged in the Ms. is difficult to make out: though the verses refer to animals (e.g. horse, monkey, lion, yak, stag, goose, etc.,), scenes (lake, waterfall, mountain, sky, sun, moon, stars), and objects (thrones or chairs) in such a way as to render it evident that some of them are given in the diagram, this is not so worded as to distinguish the basic elements from items introduced by the interpretation. An identification with any group of objects included in modern Tibetan divining-charts or lists was hardly to be expected. Not to mention the spontaneous or professional changes of fashion to which such matters may be liable, the pervasive influence of Buddhism is likely to have transformed many of the details: moreover the fragmentariness of the Ms. precludes any general conclusion. Comment therefore is excusable only in regard to one or two matters which seem to be less obscure.

The occasional introductory statements as to the purpose for which particular throws of the three dice had fallen *(bab)* seem to record actual consultations. The objects in view had been as follows: —

No. 3, a '*ju* and *śiṅ-par*' Mo;
No. 4, a 'fiend Ma-ha' Mo;
No. 5, government or official authority *(then-dbaṅ-ñid)*;
No. 6, district happiness and ease:
Nos, 1, 2, 7, 8, 10, 13, 17, 19, 21—7, 29—31, home-luck and life-luck;
Nos. 9, 18, the wild medicament *śe-le*;
No. 11, a '*mcho-dar-la*' Mo;
No. 12, thought and wild medicaments;
No. 14, a 'wind mother-goddess';
No. 15, minor medicaments;
No. 16, divided authority;
No. 20, potent variegated medicament;
No. 28, thought and potent command.

Here the predominance of 'home-luck' and 'life-luck', which appropriates 18 of the total number of 31 throws, extends actually to all; for in the cases of other objects the text, after mentioning them as having so 'fallen' *(bab)*, goes on to say 'if cast *(btab)* for home-luck and life-luck'. This latter, which may be regarded as a general conception, is therefore the all-embracing topic of the composition: the compilation had that end in view, and this circumstance may explain the largely casual sequence of the throws, which, far from agreeing with the *Pāśaka-kevalī* and *Mo-rtsis* in their orderly progress from 1, 1, 1 to 4, 4, 4, is erratic in respect of each of the three numbers. It seems that the text is a collection of actual *responsa*, compiled by a professional from his own or other records with a view to use in prospective 'home-luck' and 'life-luck' practice. The statements concerning other, more specific, matters as objects of the original consultations should accordingly be veridical: and this inference is not negated by the tenour of the verses in those instances; in some of them it is, despite the general vagueness of the oracular utterances, positively plausible.

Among the specific topics those relating to medicaments *(sman)* are relatively numerous, viz. Nos. 9 and 18 ('the wild medicament *śe-le*'), 12 ('thought and wild medicaments'), 15 ('minor medicaments'), 20 ('potent variegated medicaments'): and this is consonant with the penchant of the Tibetan peoples, addicted in ancient and modern times (see *Nam* p. 280, n. 1) to ranging their mountain districts in parties seeking medicinal herbs or substances. The two instances relating to supernatural beings, Nos. 4 ('fiend Ma-ha') and 14 ('a wind Mother-goddess'), accord likewise with Ch'iang and Tibetan mentality in confronting difficulties of health or other circumstances. Three, viz. Nos. 5 ('government or official authority'), 6 ('district happiness and ease') and 28 ('thought and potent command', of which 'thought', perhaps signifying 'good ideas', recurs in later Tibetan practice), may reflect considerations of official or social expediency; while one, No. 16, ('divided authority') is a case of domestic contention. The remaining two, Nos. 3 ('*ju* and *śiṅ-par*') and 11 *('mcho-dar-la')* are linguistically obscure: in the former of them *śiṅ-par* is a regular expression denoting a 'wood-block' for printing, and the absence of further specification suggests, though not very forcibly, that a familiar text or diagram is envisaged.

It may be concluded with some confidence that the practice illustrated by the Ms. is characteristically Tibetan. There is no trace of anything Chinese, no mention of a tortoise diagram or of the *pu-k'a* with its masculine and feminine, strong and weak, lines, which in later times were both, the second as *spar-kha*, familiar in Tibet. The Ms. need not have been

inscribed in Tun-huang, where it came to light: the paper is that of many Tibetan documents of the period, and the text *recto* is in square Tibetan script. The number 64 need not point to China: it results from the Indian practice with three four-sided dice and is the total of the combinations in the *Pāśaka-kevalī*. The most plausible supposition is that the prose portions dealing with 'home-luck' and 'life-luck', with their stereotyped series of topics, follow the model of some Indian *kevalī* book which had reached Central Asia, and that the oracular verse portions are a contribution from the side, and in the style, of the Tibetan practitioners.

In using the term 'Tibetan' we have regard to the fact that the language is indeed Tibetan and that the regions of north-eastern Tibet adjacent to Chinese Kan-su were at the time when the Ms. was inscribed actually under the rule of the Lha-sa kingdom. It cannot be said that Tibetan was the native language of those regions, which will have been occupied by dialects, cognate, indeed, to Tibetan, of Ch'iang: nor is it feasible to determine what particular area of Tibet is represented by the popular dialect of the text. But that in the Tibetan area there will have been regional differences of popular speech is self-evident; and this is confirmed by the fact that the documents from Chinese Turkestan, which are likely to exhibit prevalently the popular language of the central government area, seem to lack some peculiarities which the *Mo*-text has in common with the others assembled in this volume. Those other texts are definitely connected with the Tibeto-Chinese frontier regions of eastern and north-eastern 'Tibet'; and in the *Mo*-text there are, as remarked *supra*, geographical allusions pointing to the same: the Tibetan speech of those regions is likely to have been in the main an expansion of that of the eastern dialect of Tibet proper, which would be the dialect of Khams. There seems therefore to be justification for incorporating the *Mo*-text along with the others in a volume of 'ancient literature from north-eastern 'Tibet'. The peculiarities of grammar and phraseology are treated in the notes.

The *Mo*-text, like the others, is devoid of references to Buddhism: like text No. IV, it makes explicit mention of *bon's* and *gśens* and of the scapegoat *(glud)* practices, all of which are connected with Bon religion. The view, announced by Waddell and subsequently adopted by Francke, that the *Mo*-practice in Tibetan Buddhism was derived from the Bon-po religion is accordingly confirmed.

TEXT

(1*) . . . s[o].dań.[thu]. . . (2*) . . . ma.haḫi.mo.la.bdab.ste || lha.ḫo.cog.thams.śad . . . (3*) rtu (rdu).ba.ḫam || lha.bgyegs[1].kyis.ḫphańs || gdon.khri . . . (4*) byas.kyań.myi.phan || ḫdron.po.la.bdab.na.myi.ḫkhor || gsol.śag . . . (5*) phya.la.btab.na.ńan || dgra.phya.la.btab.na.dgra.phrad.paḫi.ńo yod || mo.ḫdi.ńan. [1*]. (6*) [g]co.de.rje || mnaḫ.bsal.ni.yońs.myi.che || [b]tsaḫ.żiń.ni.bsdu.myi.ḫtshal || . . . (7*) [b]kur ([d]kar ?).moḫi.mo.la.bab.ste || dbyar.ni.lańs.dgun.ni.ñal || zas.su.zil.pa. . . . (8*) .-.o.gyań.ḫgreń.myi.ḫo.cog.la.gnod.pa.dań.ḫdra.ste || lha.bkur.phod.pa.żig || [s-i] . . . (9*) . . . bcas.na.dbab.myi.ḫdril || rje.btsan.ba.la.skyabs.btsal.na | dgras.myi.tshugs . . . (10*) gdon.lan.ma.mch[i]s || khyim.phya.dań.srog.phya.la.btab.na.bzań || [dku ?].pyan.[yoń.phya[ḫ].[lańs ?].[gcu ?] . . . (11*) . . . [bor].lag.byuń.na.rñed || gs[o]l.ba.la.btab.na.gnań || ḫbo.skyas.byas.byas.nag. . . . (12*) kyań. . . .

2* [°°/°°] | °/° | ∘ || [2]) kye.lho.ga.ni.mchiń.druń.naḫ ||
spreḫu.cig.ni.sgrin.bżed.ste ||
(13*) zas . . . kyi.dug.dań.mjal ||
phyir.żiń.ni.ñams.myi.dgaḫ ||
nams.kyań.ni.śa.ru.goń ||

[1]) = bgegs, *as in* l. 7. [2]) *For a similar verse see* ll. 85—7.

mo.hdi . . . (14*) chig.śin. . . . mo.la.bab.ste || mkhon.kyis.sna.drańs.te || pho.sa.nas. sri.dań.rgyal.byin.dań.hgoń.pa.che.ste || . . . (15*) bżin.myi.hgrub || so.nam.dań.chu. srid.bar.du.yań.żugs.żiń.hdug.pas || gdon.lan.hdi.dag.[bsdur.na].[gcher].na (16*) ...-ń. hb-ń || hog.du.ni.bye.zal.du.hgyur.ho || chu.srid.la.yań.gnod.do || khyim.phya.dań. srog.phya.la.btab.na || gdon.khyi. . . . (17*) . . . [iń].hdug || dgra.phya.la.btab.na.dgra. dań.phrad.pahi.ńo.yod.do || don.gñer.na.myi.grub | hdron.po.la.b[t]ab.na.myi . . . (18*) . . . s.na.myi.gnań || tshoń.byed.na.myi.ruń || mo.hdi.ci.la.btab.kyań.ńan.ho

3* ∘∘/∘∘ | ∘/∘ | ∘∘/∘∘ | [1]) kye.phu.sum.[na] . . .
(19*) . . . ba ||
mdah.suṃ.ni.ma.byi.na
gyur.sram.ni.sñan.ma.sra ||
klu.luń.ni . . . st[e]ńs.na ||
mu.sman (20*) . . . ms ||
[2]) bkah.sñan.ni.gsuń.bres.pas ||
dgyes.so.ni.khus.mi.gdab ||

mo.hdi.ni. . . . ñe . . . (21*) gtsug.lag.kyi.mo.la.bab.ste || . . . [yid].htad.ciń.hphrod.pa. dań.hdra.ste.bzań.rab.bo || khyim.phya.dań.srog.phya.la.btab.na.(22*) bzań || dgra. phya.dań.don.phya.la.btab.na || dgra.[rgyu ?].myed.don.grub || gsol.śags.byas.na. gnań || hdron.po.la.btab.na.ñe.bar.ho[ń] . . . (23*) ci.la.btab.kyań.bzań.rab.ho ||

4* ∘∘/∘∘ | ∘/∘ | ∘/∘ | [3]) kye.[go[ń.sre]g.ni.ma.bu.gñis ||
zas.kyi.ni.skal.pog.pa ||
[sru.sru ?].ni.lo.bz[ańs.pa ||]
[thig . . .] | (24*) cag.ni.
[skam.kyi.ni.skal].phog.pa
ya.chab.ni.[yań.yań].gsol ||
rdzehu.ni.hdun.tor.gyis
chab.k . . .
(25*) chab.htshal.ni.gnas.ma.mchis ||

mo.hdi.ni.[khyehu].[btsah.phyah].la.bab.ste || myi.khyod.gyi.sñiń.la.don.cig . . . (26*) dgra.żig.rdzi.ba.dań.hdraste.thugs.tub[4]).ma.byed.cig || khyim.phya.dań.srog.phya. la.btab.na || thugs.tub.ma.byed.m . . . (27*) thub.par.gyis || gsol.śags.byas.na.myi. gnań || hdron.po.la.btab.na.myi.hkhor || don.gñer.na.myi.hgrub || srid.phya.la.btab. na.srid (28*) myed || mo.hdi.ci.la.btab.kyań.ńan ||

5* ||∘∘/∘∘ | ∘/∘ | ∘/∘ kye.lay[5]) (=g-yu).mtsho.ni.ńur.hphyo.ba ||
mtsho.sman.ni.gñan.gyi.drin ||
men.tog.ni.hwa.lo (29*) mtshon ||
nehu.siń.ni.spań.gyi.rgyan ||
spań.rgyan.ni.m[tsh]o . . .
. . . n.ni.lus.la.htshogs ||

yul.sa.dkar.mohi.mo.la.bab.ste (30*) . . . n.phya.dań.srog.phya.la.btab.na.bzań || -o . . . b.na.dgra.myed || gsol.śags.byas.na.nań[6]) || bor.lag.byuń (31*) . . . rñed || mo.hdi. ci.la.btab.kyań.b . . .

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[1]) *For a similar beginning see Addendum*, p. 147.

[2]) *Cf.* ll. 108—9. [3]) *In XIX 004* f. 13 a *this verse appears as* kye.g-yań.goń.dag.ya.byi.la | goń.sreg. dag.ma.bu.la | zas.gy[i].ni.skal.chad.pa | sru.sru.ni.lo.bzańs.dań | skom.gyi.ni.skal.chad.pa | chab. dmyig.ni.tshul.bzańs.gñis | chab.tha.ni.sñi.hi.his.bskor | zem.te.ni.ma.gśegs.na | nońs.te.ni.hgyod. da.re | ńan.śom.ba.źig.yod.pas | zon.cher.gyis.śig || ||. [4]) = thub.

[5]) *Miswri ting.* [6]) = gnań.

1. (1) mthaḫ.yano ||
mo.ḫd[i].n[i].khy[i]m.phya.dań.srog.phya.la.btab.na.gdon.ch(e).[cho.ga.dań.ńo.len].legs.par.....
(2) don.phya.la.btab.na.don.myi.grub | nad.p[o].la.btab.na.gdon.ch(e)d.po.yod.pas || cho.ga.dań.[ńo].len.gyis.żig || tsoń.by[a]r.[m]yi.(3) ruń | ḫdron.po.la.btab.na.myi.ḫoń | dgra.phya.la.btab.na.dgra.dań.phrad.paḫi.ńo.yod || gsol.śags.byas.na.myi.gnań | mo (4) ḫdi.ci.la.btab.kyań.myi.bzań ||

2. ° ° | ° | ° ° | mtsho.ro[1].ni.g-yu.yul.na ||
g-yu.bzańs.ni.lcań.lo.la |
g-yu.br(?)ya.ni.bka.rtses.dań
(5) bkaḫ.sñan.ni.bzań.dgur.sbyar ||
deń.thos.ni.skyid.paḫi.lugs ||

mo.ḫdi.ni.khyim.phya.dań.srog.phya.la.btab.na | (I) sńar.[phy]ug.ciń. (6) phońs.te.ḫdug.pa.las || dgra.bla.dań.tri[2].mchun.thams.śad.gyis.ḫches[3].nas || sńar.sa.dmaḫ.ba.la.ḫdug.na.yań | da.sa.mthon.(7) por.phyin.bar.ḫoń || bgyegs[4].sol.lha.mchod.cig | bzań.por.ḫoń | don.gñer.na.grub | tshoń.byas.na.khye.phyin || gsol.śags. (8) byas.na.gnań || ḫdron.po.la.btab.na.ḫoń || mo.ḫdi.[ci].la.btab.kyań.bzań.ḫo.rab.ḫo ||

3. ° | ° | ° |[5] kye.rta.cig.ni.myir.re.sñan ||
dań (9) skar.dań.ñid.skar.gñis.
ḫbroń.śa.ni.myi.gsol.du |
rńo[6].rtsir.ni.rńog.le.rg(y)an ||
ḫbroń.gyi.ni.ḫdor.sńa.ru ||
rgyug.ciń.ni.rmyig.myi.ḫd(u)[b].
(10) ces.sga.ni.ru.thuń.las ||
bstad.ciń.ni.sgal.myi.ḫbyuń ||
sval.lcag.ni.dkar.po.las ||
bsigs.ciń.ni.spun.ni.lgro[7] ||

ḫdi.[mo].[n]i. (11) ju.dań.śiń.par.gyi.mo.la.bab.ste || khyim.phya.dań.srog.phya.la.btab.na.bzań || ri.dagdags.la.ḫgro.na | rta.myi.ḫ... (dags) (12) don.gñer.na.grub | dgra.phya.la.btab.na.dgra.myed || gsol.śags.byas.na.gnań || ḫdron.po.la.btab.na.ḫoń | mo.ḫdi.ci.la.b[t]ab. (13) kyań.bzań.ḫo ||

4. ° | ° ° | ° ° | kye.rje.ni.gñan.yul.du |
gśegs.su.ni.dad.pa.ste ||
sa.srin.ni.ḫdun.phran.gyis
[yu]l.gyi.ni.mdo (14) yań.bcad ||
phyaḫ[8].bos.ni.g-yań.re.ñams |
ñams.cuń.ni.dbugs.re.phra ||

mo.ḫdi.ni.ḫdre.ma.haḫi.mo.la.bab.ste | khyim.phya.dań.[sr]og (15) phya.la.btab.na | yas.gdon.dań.sa.bdag.gnod.pas || glud.ched.po.thoń.żig || cho.ga.legs.par.gyis.żig | dgra.phya.la.btab (16) na.dgra.dań.phrad.paḫi.ńo.yod.do || cag.dań.rim.ḫgro.legs.par.gyis || gñen.byas.na.myi.ruń | ḫdron.po.la.btab.na.myi.ḫoń | (17) nad.pa.la.btab.na.gdon.che || cho.ga.legs.par.ma.byas.na.ńan.ḫo || gsol.śags.byas.na.myi.gnań || mo.ḫdi.ci.la.btab.[ky]ań (18) ńan.ḫo ||

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[1]) *For similar text see Addendum p.* 147 *and Mdlle Lalou, Inventaire, no. 1051.* [2]) dri? [3]) = ḫtshes.
[4]) = bgegs, *asin l.* 3*. [5]) *For similar text see Addendum, p. 146.* [6]) *For* rńa-rtsid? *See Linguistic note.*
[7]) ? [8]) *ḫ below line.*

5. ∘∘ | ∘ | ∘ | kye.ra.spaṅs.ni.ṅos.bzaṅs.la |
g-yuḫi.ni.śa.smad.ḫdrim |
ḫphrul.kyi.ni.gyi.liṅ.las |
bzaṅ.bdam. (19) žiṅ.ḫog.du.stsol ||
bde.ris.ni.ḫphrur.žiṅ.ḫphyo ||
gñar.žan.ni.tshe[1].lags.ḫgraṅ ||
sku.bla.ni.gñan.gi.drin |
ḫdi.ni.then.(20) dbaṅ.ñid.gyi.mo.la.bab.ste || myi.khyod.gyi.mo.ḫdi.ñe.[du]ṅ. bzaṅ.po.žig.daṅ.phrad.par.ḫoṅ || khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.ph[y]wa.la.btab.na. (21) bzaṅ || g[r]og.phya.la.btab.na.grog.ched.po.daṅ.phrad || gsol.śags.byas.na.gnaṅ || ḫdron.po.la.btab.na.ñe.bar.ḫoṅ | mo.ḫdi (22) ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.bzaṅ ||

6. ∘∘ | ∘ | ∘ | kye.ba.rabs.ni.gser.bzaṅs.na ||
gser.gyi[2].chab.brug.pa |
chub[3].brug.ni.dgu.ste.dgu || (23)
dgra.dgu.ni.yan.pa.la ||
khri.gśegs.ni.stod.yaṅ.ḫphyo ||
de.yaṅ.ni.skyid[4].paḫi.ltas ||
ḫdi.ni.yul.sa.dg(aḫ).la.yan. (24) gi.mo.la.bab.ste || khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.phya.la. btab.na || lha.dpal.bzaṅ.po.daṅ || sman.daṅ.yul.sa.dgaḫ.la.yan.cig.[sky-che?] (25) žiṅ.ḫdug.pas || legs.par.mchod.cig || gsol.śags.byas.na.gnaṅ.ḫo || tshoṅ.byas.na.khe. phyin.par.ḫoṅ | ḫdron.po.la.btab.na. (26) ḫoṅ || nad.pa.la.btab.na.sos || grog.phya. la.btab.na.grog.che || dgra.phya.la.btab.na.dgra.myed || srid.phya.la.btab.na. srid.yo[do] || mo (27) ḫdi.ni.ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.bzaṅ || ||

7. ∘∘ | ∘ | ∘∘ | kye.byaṅ[5].ri.ni.phaṅ.puṅ.na ||
dṅos.gi.ni.phuṅ.rkorko[6] ||
gser.gi.ni.sbam.daṅ.mj[7]-l (28)
dgaḫ.yis.ni.tvag.kyis.blaṅs ||
snam.phrag.tu.sdar[8].gis.stsal ||
mo.ḫdi.ni.khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.phya.la.btab.na || nor.ched.po. (29) žig.rñed.pa. ḫdra.ba.ḫaṃ || grog.ched.po.žig.daṅ.phrad.par.ḫoṅ || de.ma.yin.na.ñe.ba.druṅ. po.žig.daṅ.phrad.pa.ḫoṅ || gsol.śags. (30) žig.byas.na.gnaṅ || ḫdron.po.la.btab.na. ḫoṅ || gñen.žig.byed.na.ḫphrod || tshoṅ.žig.byed.na.khe.phyin || mo.ḫdi.ci.la.btab. kyaṅ. (31) bzaṅ || ||

8. ∘ | ∘ | ∘ | kye.Dru[9].gu.ni.khri.snaṅ.žig ||
ma.ḫtshal.ni.mchid.mchi.ru ||
glo.ba.ni.g-yar.myi.bz[e]d ||
snaṅ.rtsan.ni.žabo.cig | (32)
chab.la.ni.khaṅ.dbub.tu ||
gduṅ.phyam.ni.khod.myi.sñoms ||
neḫu.siṅ.ni.gñen.goṅ.du.
rta.daṅ.rkyaṅ.ḫdres.na ||
žags.pa.ni.gaṅ[10].la. (33) ḫdebs[11] ||
g-yaṅ.mo.ni.lhas.dkyil.na ||
lug.daṅ.ni.ra.ḫdres.na ||
tsho[12].rid.ni.gaṅ.la.bdam ||

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[1]) che? [2]) ni *here omitted?* [3]) u *crossed out?*
[4]) *corrected to* skid? *Cf.* l. 6, °paḫi-lugs, *and Addendum, p. 147,* °*rtags.*
[5]) n *here crossed out.* [6]) skosko? [7]) mdz? [8]) sur? [9]) Cf. Addendum, p. 149.
[10]) gab? [11]) b *here crossed out.* [12]) cho?

lha.dań.ni.h̲dre.h̲dres.na.
gań. (34) phye.ni.cha.ma.mchis || .
dgra.dań.ni.g-yag.h̲dres.na ||
gań.brgal.ni.gtol.ma.mchis ||
mo.h̲di.ni.khyim[1]).phya.dań.srog.phya.la. (35) btab.na || lha.dań.h̲dre.h̲dres.te. ma.phye || dgra.dań.g-yag.h̲dres.rab.tu.h̲jigs || bon.po.ńan.pas.ni.gdon.myi. phyed || sdar[2]). (36) mas.ni.dgra.myi.slogs || theń.pos.ni.yul.myi.bsgrod || żar.bas[3]). ni.lam.myi.thub || mo.h̲di.ci.la.btab.kyań.ńan || || (37)

9. °|°∘|°| kye.spań.ka.ni.ya.byi.na |
śa.pho.ni.khyus[4]).chags.pa ||
ri.khyi.ni.bdun.gis.bskor ||
myi.śor.ni.dam.dam.ltar ||
sman (38) dag.ni.dńos.cig.ma ||
rńon.pa.ni.bdun.gis.bskor ||
bskor.ciń.ni.ci.ru.mchi ||
mo.h̲di.ni.sman.rgod.śele.h̲i.mo.la.dub[5]).ste || myi. (39) khyod.gyi.mo.h̲di | khyim. phya.dań | srog.phya.la.btab.ni || gdon.ched.po.żig.khyim.phugs[6]).yod.pas | bya. dgur.yań.myi.grub | (40) pa.de.yin.h̲o || [7]) || gdon.lan.h̲di.dag.ma.bskrad.na | don. gñer.yań.myi (41) grub || tshoń.byas.na[8]).khe.myed | dgra.phya.la[9]).btab.dgra.dań. phrad.paḫi.ńo.yod || gñen.byas.na.myi.h̲phrod || h̲dron.po.la.btab.na.m[yi].h̲oń || (42) bor.lag.byuń.ni.myi.rñed || gsol.gśegs[10]).byas.na || myi.gnań || mo.h̲di.ci.la. btab.kyań.ńan.h̲o ||

10. °|°∘|°| kye.[skar ?] (43) żan.ni.smyin.drug.la ||
skar.phran.ni.bzań.bdun.h̲dus ||
rgya[11]).skar.ni.khyu.na.mdzes ||
bzań.bdun.ni.yar.ru.blan ||
smyin.drug (44) ni.ldeb.su.śor[12]) ||
mo.h̲di.ni.khyim.phya.dań.srog.phya.la.btab.na || sńar.ñon.mońs.mosste.h̲dug. pa.las || khyim.gi.lha.bzań (45) po.h̲am.pha.myes.gsas.bzań.po | gtsań.ma.smyin. drug.dań.h̲dra.ba || gtsa[13]).sa.dań.mthon.por.h̲dug.pa.cig.h̲ches.grogs.by[ed ?] (46) ciń.h̲dug.pas || legs.par.gtsad.sbra.phyin.bar.mchod.cig || gdon.lan.las.bsogs. pa.thams.śad.bz[l]og.nas.s[r]o[g][14]) (?) (47) don.gñer.na.grub | dgra.phya.btab.na. dgra.myed || h̲dron.po.la.btab.na.myur.du.h̲oń || tshoń.byas.khe.phyin || srid.phya. la.btab.na.srid.yod (48) mo.h̲di.ci.la.btab.kyań.bzań

11. °|°|°°|°°| kye.grońs.te.ni.bśums.ma.mchis ||
zla.grogs.ni.chab.la.grońs ||
dgyes.te.ni.bż[u]ms (49) ma.mchis ||
bcu.ru.ni.dgyes.na.bżu[15])ṃs ||
bśad.mo.ni.bkyon.ma.mchis ||
so.mańs.ni.bśad.na.bkyon ||
phar.btab.ni.s[l]aru (50) sñuń ||
glań.rgan.ni.bag.la.h̲bra ||
rmyig.pa.ni.khag.gis.gań ||
mo.h̲di.ni.mcho.dar.la.h̲i.mo.la.bab.ste || khyim.phya.la.btab.na | (51) khyim. bdag.po.ched.po.khro.gtum.dań || rgub.logs.che.ba.żig || lha.h̲dre.h̲gul.h̲dod || ci.

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[1]) *corrected from* khyom. [2]) sur? [3]) byas? [4]) khus?
[5]) duh? *For* bab. [6]) du-chugs? [7]) *a blank space left here, but marked for deletion.*
[8]) na *inserted below line.* [9]) phyad (*a correction of* phrad). [10]) *For* śags.
[11]) *Sic.* [12]) *Cf. Addendum, p.* 148. [13]) gtse? gtsi? gtso? [14]) sos? [15]) g *here crossed out.*

bsam.pa.bžin.du.myi.hgrub || (52) grog.phyi.sar.hbyuṅ | dgra.phya.la.btab.na | dgra.daṅ.phrad.pahi.ṅo.yod || srid.phya.la.btab.na | srid.khar.gdon.žugs || rtsob.gis (53) phog || hdron.po.la.btab.na || myi.hoṅ || gsol.śags.byas.na | bla.ma.thugs.gtuṅ.ste.myi.gnaṅ || bor.lag.byuṅ.na | (54) myi.rñed || mo.hdi.ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.ṅan ||

12. ° | ° | ∘ | kye.gaṅs.dkar.ni.sum.zur.na.
hbroṅ.bu.ni.bžes.lass.te ||
nams[1]) (55) kyaṅ.ni.gaṅs.kar.rdze ||
sral.mo.ni.bžeṅs.lags.te ||
nams.kyaṅ.ni.g-yah.sṅo.rgyan ||
goṅ.srag.ni.ma.bu.gñis.
gsu[ṅ ?] (56)[2]) sñan.ni.si.lili ||
sman.dag.ni.dgos.cig.ma |
dgoṅs.pa.ni.lhahi.tshul ||
spu.st[u]g.ni.hod.ltar.htsher ||
dgo.spa[ṅ]s.ni.bda[g]i (57) nor ||
gyuṅ.druṅ.ni.dra.bar.stsol ||
ra.mthah.ni.caṅ.myi.hgri ||
mo.hdi.ni.bsi[3]).daṅ.rgod.sman.gi.mo.la.bab.ste || khyim.phya.daṅ | (58) srog.phya.la.btab.na || ma.myes.gyi.lha.bzaṅ.po.cig.yod.gis || hgo.žiṅ.hche.bar.hoṅ.bas || don.po.daṅ.gnum.lha.pa.yod. (59) na || gsol.cig || ma.daṅ.bu.gñis.phrad.par.hoṅ.ba.daṅ.hdra.ste || skad.sñan.te.phrad.par.hoṅ || gñen.byas.na.srid.yod || (60) grog.phya.la.btab.na.grog.che || gsol.śags.byas.na.gnaṅ || tshoṅ.byas.na.khe.phyin || hdron.po.la.btab.na.hoṅ || mo.hdi. (61) ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.bzaṅ ||

13. ° | ∘ | °° ∘∘ | kye.sman.yul.ni.sman.goṅ.na.
ma.śiṅ[4]).ni.ldems[5]).hkhruṅ |
rma.bya.ni.khyus.kyaṅ.ldiṅ |
le.(62) bzaṅs.ni.dguṅ.le.rgyan ||
rtsa.bgraṅs.ni.dog.mthah.yan ||
dpe.legs[6]).ni.gñan.gi.mchog ||
mo.hdi.ni.khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.(63) phya.la.btab.na || dpar.lha.bzaṅ.pa.mya[7]).thams.śad.la.hgo.ba.daṅ.hdra.ste || myi.khyod.kyaṅ.śiṅ.bzaṅ.po.lo.ma.[can].la.(64) rten.bcas.na | grib.ma.che.ste.bsil.ba.la.phan.pa.daṅ.hdra.ste || ri.mthon.po.la.khar[8]).byuṅ.na. | snaṅ.yal.che || rje.btsa[n ?].ba.la. (65) skyabs.btsal.na. || kha.gzes.myi.tshugs || lha.bzaṅ.po.la.mchod.[n]a.phyug.žiṅ.mthah.myi.hgri || don.gñer.na.[g]rub | bor (66) lag.byuṅ.na.rñed || hdron.po.la.btab.na.ñe.žo.myed.ste.hoṅ || gñen.byas.na.bzaṅ || mo.hdi.(ci).la.btab.kyaṅ.bzaṅ.ho ||

14. ° | ∘ | ° | (67) kye.rtol.bu.ni.lo.bcu.snar ||
mñel[9]).gis.[ni *omitted?*].lo.btsas.pa ||
Skyi.ru.ni.žiṅ.rmo.sñam ||
mdo.ru.ni.śva.rgal.hbyuṅ |
byaṅ.mtshar.ni.dkar.(68) blaṅ.sñam ||
sña[10]).ru.na[11]).lhod.de.po ||
dkor.gi.ni.sgal.myig.hbyuṅ ||
śaṅs.gyi.ni.zu.ṅa.la.

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[1]) nums? [2]) g *here crossed out.* [3]) bsaṃ? [4]) rma.śiṅ? [5]) *for* ldem.sa?
[6]) *Corrected from* legg. [7]) *Read* dper...myi? [8]) kharu? [9]) Sic (*for* ma-ñel?)
[10]) sla? [11]) *Read* ni.

gres.dag.ni.gsra[1]).ces.kyaṅ |
s(ña.ru ?].ni.[lhod.pa.de ?] (69)

mo.h̲di.ni.rluṅ.gi.lha.mo.h̲i.mo.la.bab.ste || khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.phya.la.btab.na | gdon.drag.po.khyim.phugs.na.h̲byu[ṅ ||]ci.bya.dg[u]r. (70) myi.btub.ciṅ.h̲dug.h̲o || nad.pa.la.btab.na.myi.lha.daṅ.theh̲u.raṅ.stoṅ.żiṅ.h̲dug || cho.ga.daṅ.ṅo.len.drag.tu.gyis.cig || dgra.phya.la. (71) btab.na | dgra.drag.pho.yod.pah̲i.ṅo || gsol.śags byas.na | slar.gyod.smed.pah̲i.ṅo || h̲dron.po.la.btab.na.myi.h̲oṅ || tshoṅ.byar. (72) myi.ruṅ || mo.h̲di.ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.ṅan.h̲o ||

15. ° | ∘ | ° | kye.Daṅ.ma.ni.dbyar.h̲khor.na |
luṅ.phran.ni.chu.phran.gñis ||
[cha]r.bab.ni.[thag ?][2]) (73) skal.yaṅ ||
Skyi.ri.ni.lcaṅ.tog.la |
bya.rgyal.ni.khy[ʔu]ṅ.sras.bż(u ?)gs ||
phye.ba.ni.gsar.rogs.pul[3]) ||
śo.żiṅ.ni.h̲ol.mo.la |
h̲phras (74) drug.ni.lcaṅ.lo.h̲khril ||
phas.gyi.na.ri.bo.la |
g-yaṅ.bal.ni.sleb.gyis.loṅ ||

h̲di.ni.sman.cuṅ.tun[4]).gi.mo.la.bab.ste | khyim.phya. (75) daṅ.srog.phya.la.btab.na | myi.khyod.stun[5]).ñon.mogs[6]).żig.h̲dug.la || lha.bzaṅ.po.żig.h̲go.żiṅ.h̲dug.h̲o || mye.[ṅa]m[7]).ched. (76) po.la.skal.mas[8]).nas.h̲dug.pa.las | gnam.gi.lhas.char.phab.nas | skom.rñed.pa.daṅ.h̲dra || srid.myed.nas.phoṅs.las | (77) ma.lha.chen.mos.srid.byin.bah̲i.ṅo.yod || rje.blas.żus.na.bkah̲[9]).luṅ.sñan.pa.thos.pah̲i.ṅo || tshoṅ.żig.byas.na.khe.phyin || h̲dron (78) po.cig.la.btab.na.phyin.te.h̲oṅ || nad.pa.la.btab.na.stsi.sman.myi.dgos || don.gñer.na.grub || śis.phya.la.btab.na.bzaṅ || (79) mo.h̲di.ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.bzaṅ.h̲o || ||

16. ° ∘ | ° ° ∘ ∘ | ° ° ∘ ∘ | kye.bkah̲[10]).mchid.sbyaṅs[11]).gdah̲ ||
lho.ga.daṅ.byaṅ.ka.gñis ||
g-yaṅ.mo.ni. (80) byaṅ.na.h̲phan ||
h̲bras.drug.ni.lho.na.mod |
gaṅ.bdam.ni.cha.ma.mchis ||
stag.daṅ.ni.seṅ.h̲ge.gñis ||
ris.bkra.ni.[stag]. (81) kyaṅ.bkra ||
mthu.rtsal.ni.seṅ.h̲ge.che ||
gaṅ.ruṅ.ni.gtol.ma.mchis ||

mo.h̲di.ni.raṅ.dbaṅ.ges.pah̲i.mo.la.bab.ste. | khyim.phya (82) la.btab.na | khra[12]). myi.khyed.cag.sems.myi.mthun.żiṅ.h̲dug || gcig.ni.phar.h̲then | gcig.ni.tshur.h̲then.żiṅ.h̲dug. (83) pas || las.żig.byas.na.myi.grub || tshoṅ.żig.byas.na.khe.myed || gñen.żig.byas.na.myi.h̲phrod | bor.lag.byuṅ.na.myi.rñed | (84) h̲dron.po.la.btab.na.myi.h̲oṅ || [13])dgra.phya.la.btab.na.dgra.gñis.che.cuṅ.gi.la.rtsod.pas.myi.h̲oṅ || śis.phya.la.btab.na. (85) myi.śis || mo.h̲di.ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.myi.bzaṅ ||

17. ° ∘ | ° ° ∘ ∘ | ° ∘ | kye.lha.gsna[14]).mchiṅ.druṅ.na.
sreh̲u.cig.ni.sgrin[15]).bżed.ste ||

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[1]) gus? [2]) thig? [3]) phul?
[4]) = thun, h̲thun, '*gather*'. [5]) Sic. *for* sṅun = sṅon? [6]) *Sic for* moṅs.
[7]) dam? ṅum? [8]) ms *added below line: read* skams?
[9]) h *subscript.* [10]) h̲ *subscript.* [11]) sbyaṅsla? [12]) kha? *Perhaps crossed out.* [13]) g *here crossed-out.*
[14]) *For* lhag .sna? *The very similar verses* 12*—13* *read* Lho-ga: '*of the south*'. [15]) sbrin?

nor.gi (86) ni.lhag.tshol.naḫ ||
nor.gi.ni.lhag.ma.rñed ||
dguṅ.gyi.ni.dug.daṅ.mjal ||
dug.yul.ni.sul.maṅs.na ||
dṅos.gyi.ni (87) rtsi.sman.bżed ||
dṅos.gi.ni.sman.ma.rñed ||
phyir.żiṅ.ni.ñams.myi.bde ||

mo.ḫdi.ni.khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.phya.la.btab.na || khyim.na. (88) myi.sbrin[1]. bżed.pa.żig.yod.par.gyur || myi.khyod.sgrin.ma.ḫdod.pa.na | kha.rog.par.ḫdug. na.bzaṅ.ḫo || gson.gi.s(u ?).zas.btsal (89) tu.ḫgro.sñams.te. || dṅos.po.dug.daṅ. phrad.par.ḫoṅ || dgra.phya.la.btab.na.dgra.myi.srun.pa.daṅ.phrad.paḫi.[ṅo.yod]|| don.gñer.na.my(i).gr(u)b (90) gsol.śags.byas.na.myi.gnaṅ || śis.phya.la.btab.na. myi.śis || bor.lag.byuṅ.na.myi.rñed || ḫdron.po.la.[btab.na.myi.ḫoṅ] (91) mo.ḫdi. ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.ṅan.ḫo || ||

18. ° ∘ | ° ∘ | ∘ | kye.byaṅ.ka.ni.ya.bya[2].na.
dgo.bdun.ni.phas.kyaṅ.ḫtshal ||
rkun.pos.ni.re.myi.ḫtshal | (92)
mu.sman.ni.ñid.gi.dkor ||

mo.ḫdi.sman.rgod.spaṅs.śe.leḫi.mo.la.bab.ste || khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.phya.la. btab.na | myiḫi.phya.myi (93) ñams || phyugs.kyi.g-yaṅ.myi.ñams || dgaḫ.skyid. tshe.riṅ.lha.sruṅ | don.gñer.na.grub | nad.pa.la.btab.na.sos | rje.blas (94) gsol.na. gnaṅ || srid.phya.la.btab.na.srid.yod | gñen.byas.na.ḫphrod || tshoṅ[3].byas.na.khye. phyin || ḫdron.po.la.btab.na. (95) ñe.bar.ḫoṅ || mo.ḫdi.ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.bzaṅ.rab || ||

19. ° ∘ | ° ° ∘ ∘ | [4] [5] kye.bya.bran.ni.ḫbab.żan.bas ||
dguṅ.gyi.ni.mtha.myi.sleb || (96)
myi.chuṅ.ni.kha.żan.bas
byams.na.ni.lan.myi.lon ||
phyag.na.ni.mtshon.żan.bas |
stad[6].gyi.ni.dgra.myi.chod ||
rteḫu.chuṅ.ni.baṅ (97) żan.bas ||
skyus.gis.ni.sla.myi.sñogs ||
śreḫu[7].chuṅ.ni.sgyid.żan.pas ||
ri.ka.ni.rgyug.myi.chod ||

mo.ḫdi.ni.khyim.phya.daṅ. (98) srog.phya.la.btab.na || myi.khyod.rmaṅ.po.żig.ste || ci. byar.yaṅ.myi.sleb.ciṅ.ḫdug || ḫog.rta.ṅan.bas.dgra.daṅ.ri.dags. (99) myi.sod || lag. pa.ḫi.mtshon.rtul.bas.ni.dgra.sdaṅ.gaṅ.myi.thub || gsol.śags.byas.na.myi.gnaṅ | don.gñer.na. (100) myi.grub || ḫdron.po.la.btab.na.myi.ḫoṅ || tshoṅ.byas.na.khe myed || bor.lag.byuṅ.na.myi.rñed || mo.ḫdi.ṅan.bas.gżi.non.la.ḫdug. (101)

20. ∘ | ° ∘ | ° ° ∘ ∘ | kye.Skyi.ri.ni.ḫphan.kos.po ||
ḫphan.żiṅ.ni.stug.stug.ltar ||
sman.dag.ni.dgos.cig.ma |
sman.dag.ni.lhun. (102) nas.ḫphaṅs ||
ḫphan.żiṅ.ni.rmaṅ.rmaṅ.lta ||

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[1]) Sic *for* sgrin? *See what follows.* [2]) *For* byi, *cf. l. 37.*
[3]) s *here crossed out.* [4]) ∘ *here inserted below line:* ° ∘ | ∘ | ° ° ∘ ∘ | *intended?*
[5]) *A similar verse* with ḫdab *for* ḫbab *in l.* 1) *may be seen in Ms. XIX 004, fol. 11a, ll. 5—10.*
[6]) *Corrected to* staṅ *or vice versa? For* sdaṅ *see l. 99.*
[7]) *For* śed? *Cf. Ms. XIX 004, fol. 11a, l. 6,* śeḫu-ni-rgyus-żan-pas.

mu.sman.ni.żal.na.re ||
dkar.yaṅ.ni.sman.gi.dkor ||
sdus.żiṅ.ni.ra.ba.stsol | (103)
h̲di.sman.bkra.gñan.gi.mo.la.bab.ste || khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.phya.la.btab.na || myi.khyod.phan.po.yod.pa.yin.na || ..że... (104) ci.yaṅ.myed.śe[1].dag.zer.ba.żig. lha.myi.dgah̲ || re.ma.la.lha.mchod.cig || bsam.ba.bżin.grub.par.h̲o[ṅ].h̲o || rje. blas.gso(l) (105) na.gnaṅ || kha.ma.ṅu[2].bar.myi.la.sbyin.toṅs.gis || don.gñer.na. grub | tshoṅ.byas.na.khe.phyin || gñen.byas.na.h̲phrod.nad.pa.la. (106) btab.na. sos || gnod.pa.la.btab.na.lha.gnod || mo.h̲di.ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.bzaṅ ||

21. ∘ | ∘̊∘ | ∘̊∘ | kye.Skyi.rgyal.ni.graṅ.ma.mtso (107)
rtsaṅ.po.ni.gżuṅ.la.yan ||
gro.żin.ni.byi.żin.gñis
dguṅ.sṅo.ni.yan.yan.ciṅ.
do.moh̲i.ni.rgyan.du.gśegs |
mtho.sṅa.ni (108) skyid.bżed.ste ||
mtho.ris.ni. [...]
bkah̲[3].sñan.ni.gsuṅ.bres.pas ||
deṅ.thos.ni.ma.lags.te ||
gnah̲.thos.ni.tshaṅs.pa[h̲i.sbyaṅs ?] (109)
dgyes.po.ni.khus.ma.gdab ||
mo.h̲di.ni.khyim.daṅ.srog.phya.la.btab.na || khyim.bdag.sems.bag.graṅ.ba.żig || sems (110) ma.graṅ.bar.ci.bya.na.yaṅ | sems.bstun.żiṅ.bya.bar.bzaṅ || g-yag.gi. żun.mar.daṅ.lug.gi.żun.mar.gñis | h̲dra.ste.(111) gñis.ka.mñam.bar.byas.na.ci. bya.bar.yaṅ.bzaṅ || don.gñer.na.h̲grub.tsoṅ.byas.na.khe.phyin | rje.blas.żus. gnaṅ[4] | dgra.phya.la. (112) btab.na.dgra.myed || gsol.śags.byas.gnaṅ | h̲dron.po.la. btab.na.h̲oṅ | bor.lag.byuṅ.na.rñed || mo.h̲di.ci.la.btab.[kyaṅ] (113) bzaṅ ||

22. ∘ | ∘̊∘ | ∘̊ | kye.ṅaṅ.ṅur.ni.gser.ma.g-yu ||
mthiṅ.braṅ.ni.chab.gi.rkyen ||
men.tog.ni.hva.lo.then ||
neh̲u.siṅ (114) ni.spaṅ.kyi.rgyan ||
spaṅ.rgyan.ni.mthon.ste.bkra ||
bzaṅ.ldan.lus.h̲tshogs[5] ||
blta.sdug.ni.dmyig.lam.bkra || (115)
spos.dri.ni.śaṅs.na.gdah̲ ||
mo.h̲di.ni.khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.phya.la.btab.na||lhad[6].dpal.bzaṅ.po.h̲am.sman.dkar (116) mo.żig.yod.pas || de.la.mchod.h̲phras.legs.par.byas.na || khyed.la.h̲go.żiṅ. h̲dug.pas | rigs[7].bśor.na.sod | (117) rje.blas.żus.na.gnaṅ || don.gñer.na.grub | h̲dron. po.la.btab.na.h̲oṅ || nad.pa.la.btab.na.sos | gsol.śags.byas.na. (118) gnaṅ || bor.lag. byuṅ.na.rñed || tshoṅ.byas.na.khe.phyin || mo.h̲di.[ci].la.btab.kyaṅ.bzaṅ ||

23. ∘ | ∘̊∘ | ∘ | kye.dmu.lcam.daṅ.ni (119) gaṅs.lcam.daṅ ||
mthiṅ.ma.ni.Skyi.ru.gñis ||
thugs.sñiṅ[8].ni.dad.h̲tshogs.kyaṅ |
myi.brnal.ni.phyi.dal.che ||
mo.h̲di (120) ni.khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.phya.la.btab.na || sems.myi.mthun. | ci.byar. myi.btab.pas | phyi.dal.che.don.gñer.na.myi.grub | tshoṅ.byas. (121) na.khe.myed||

[1]) = śed. [2]) du? [3]) h̲ *subscript; with this and the following lines cf. l. 20*.*
[4]) g *added below line.* [5]) *Text here deficient: the expression* lus-h̲tshogs *recurs in the very similar* mo *in ll. 28*—29** [6]) *For* lha. [7]) *For* ri-dags. [8]) d *here crossed out.*

gsol.śags.byas.na | myi.gnaṅ.don.gñer.na.myi.[h]grub || hdron.po.la.btab.na.myi.hoṅ | gñen.byar. (122) myi.ruṅ || tshoṅ.byar.myi.ruṅ || mo.hdi.ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.myi.śis | |

24. ∘ | ° | ° | kye.gser.mtsho.ni.ṅur.hphyo.ba |
ñin.žiṅ.ni. (123) myi.myi.ltar ||
mtshan.žiṅ.ni.khyi.myi.zugs ||
śel.kyi.ni.spa[1]. (124) bkra.la ||
g-yaṅ.sum.ni.ṅos.la.h(tsh)al ||
dgo.spaṅs.ni.zur.la.htshal ||
mo.hdi.ni[2]. (125) khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.phya.la.btab.na || lha.ni[3]. phas.sky(o)n?[4] | myi.ni.tshus.mchod || dgah.skyid.tshe.r(i)ṅ || dgra.phya.la.btab.na.(126) dgra.myed || don.gñer.na.don.grub || nad pa.la.btab.na.lha.sruṅ.bahi.ṅo || gsol.śags.byas.na.gnaṅ | hdro(n).po.la. (127) btab.na.bzaṅ | grog.phya.la.btab.na.grog.ched.daṅ.phrad || gdon.lan.ma.mchis.mo.hdi.ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.bzaṅ.rab ||

25. (128) ∘ | ° | °∘ |[5] kye.dbyar.le.ni.sla.gsuṃ.na
smya.lo.ni.phrum.phrum.sil ||
bal.tog.ni.dkar.gyis.loṅ ||
ston.le.ni.zla.gsuṃ.na
sma (129) spaṅ.rgyan.ni.g-yuhi.lo ||
sna.lo.ni.sleb.gis.loṅ ||
g-yu.hi.ni.sdog.cig.ma ||
dar.sna.ni.bzaṅ.gis.thogs ||
myi.spyad.ni (130) phaṅs.su[6].gyis ||
mo.hdi.ni.khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.phya.la.btab.na || khyed.stun[7].gi.pha.[m]yes.lha.bzaṅ.po.cig.yod.zin || da.lta. (131) yaṅ.lha.de.cuṅ.thag[8].riṅ.žiṅ.hdug.pa.ltar.byed.gyis || lha.de.legs.par.gsol.na | khyed.la.hgo.žiṅ.hches.phar.hoṅ || (132)

26. ∘ | ° | ∘ | kye.lcags.gis.mthah.bskor.ste ||
mthiṅ.kyis.ni.rgyan.bres.pas ||
dguṅ.mthah.ni.hgyur.myi.srid |
dgu.tshig (133)s.ni.gžuṅ.rtan[9].bas ||
skar.ni[10].ltuṅ.myi.srid |
gser.gi.ni.phur.btab.pas ||
zaṅs.gyi.ni.rgyan.bres.pas ||
dog.mthah. (134) ni.ldiṅ.myi.srid ||
mo.hdi.ni.khyim.phya.daṅ.srog.phya.la.btab.na || lhad.pal[11].mthu.bo.ches.bskyabs.nas | khyim.phyi.kun. (135) gser.gyi.phur.pa.btab.pa.ltar.brtan.žiṅ.hdug || gsol.śags.byas.na.gnaṅ | dgra.phya.la.btab.na.dgra.myed || (136) don.gñer[12].na.grub | tshoṅ.byas.na.khe.phyin || hdron.po.la.btab.na.hoṅ || nad.pa.la.btab.na.lhas.ciṅ.hdug | bor.lag.byuṅ. (137) na.rñed || mo.hdi.ci.la.btab.kyaṅ.bzaṅ ||

27. ∘ | ∘ | °° / °° | kye.śa.la.ni.mdah.htshal.ba ||
mchud[13].yid.myi.ches ||
lcuṅ.ka.ni.mchu (138) dmar.mo ||
pho.rog.ni.lo.stoṅ[14].po ||

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[1]) *Here a space is filled by a prior, cursive note (inverted),* yug.riṅs.dgu.mchis, 'there are (here) nine long rolls'. [2]) *Blank space left at end of line: due to shope of script.* [3]) ni *crossed out?* [4]) skyob?
[5]) *A similar verse may be seen in Ms. XIX 004, fol. 5a, ll. 3—6.*
[6]) sdu? [7]) sñun? [8]) *corrected from* thad. [9]) stan? sñan? [10]) *For* skar.gyi.ni?
[11]) = lha.dpal. [12]) r *inserted below line.*
[13]) *Correction from* mchid. *Read* ma.chud.ni? [14]) steṅ?

śa.htshal.ni.dad.ces.dań ||
mchu.la.ni.yid.myi.ches ||
spu.bzańs.na[1].gżan.la.sku || (139)
dri.bzańs.ni.rań.la.sdug ||
de.tsam.ni.g-yar.la.gcags ||
hdi.khyim.phya.dań.srog.phya.la.btab.na | [2]myi.khyod.kyań.hdod[3] . (140) cen. che.b(?)as || nor.ram.phyugs.żig.ños.na || hdre.che.khyod.śa.za.hdod.na.yań.kha. nas.myi.żig.gis.phrog.par.(141) hoń.gdon.drag.po.żig.yod.pas | gnod.par.sems. żiń.hdug.go || don.cig.gñer.sem.na.rogs.po.żig.(142) gis.ńan.par.sems.żiń.hdug. pas | bag.gyis | dgra.żig.gyis.rdzi.bar.sem.ba.hdra.ba.haṃ | yen.hdrog.po (143) żig. hoń.bas || ńo.len.cho.ga.bzań.du.gis.la | nem.nur.ma.byed.cig || don.gñer.na.myi. grub | hdron.po.la.btab.(144) na.myi.hoń || nad.pa.la.btab.na.hdre.che || gsol.śags. byas.na.myi.gnań || mo.hdi.ci.la.btab.kyań.ńan.rab.bo || (145)

28. ∘ | ∘ | ∘̊∘ | kye.sa.kyi[4].ni.dus.byuń.bas ||
ma.bgrod.ni.lha.yul.mthoń ||
ma.brñebs.ni.dguń.sńo.slebs ||
ma.gñer.ni.lha. (146) dkar.rtse ||
dpal.skyes.ni.mthaḥ.myi.hgri[5] ||
mo.hdi.bsam.dań.bkaḥ[6].gñan.gyi.mo.la.bab.ste || khyim.phya.dań.srog.phya.la. (147) btab.na || ma.gñer.bar.ni.phyin.te.hoń || ma.brñebs.par.ni.gnam.slebs || ma. soń.bar.khyod.gyi.sñiń.phyin.zin | mo.hdi (148) don.gñer.na.grub || tshoń.cig. byasna.khe.phyin || gsol.śags.żig.byas.na.gnań || bor.lag.byuń.na.rñed.mo.hdi.ci. (149) la.btab.kyań.bzań ||

29. (Figure wanting) rgya.skar[7].ni.hod.po.che.
tho.ras.ni.śaru[8].tsam.na ||
hod.zer.n.kun.la.gsal ||
hod.gsal.nii.ma. (150) lags.na ||
deń.sań.ni.dmus.loń.hkhyam ||
phyug.gi.ni.bu.cig.pa ||
ñin.dań.mtshan.dbań.yań |
dńos.gi.ni.don.ma. (151) mchis ||
dguń.las.ni.lha.gśegs.kyań ||
spyan.myig.ni.zur.myi.lta ||
de.tsam.ni.g-yar.la.gcags ||
mo.hdi.ni. (152) khyim.phya.dań.srog.phya.la.btab.na | myi.khyod.la.pha.myes. gi.lha.bzań.po.cig.yod.zin.na || khyod.lha.la.myi.bkur.bar. (153) gyur || da.yań. lha.legs.par.mchod.żig || don.gñer.na.grub.par.hoń | gsol.śags.byas.na.gnań | hdron.po (154) la.btab.na.hoń.dgra.phya.la.btab.na.dgra.myed || srid.phya.la. btab.na.lha.myi.dgaḥ || gsol.śags.byas.na.myi.gnań | (155) mo.hdi.hbriń.tsam ||

30. ∘̊∘ | ∘ | ∘ | kye.dguń.sńo.ni.mthon.goń.na ||
ñi.btsun.ni.hod.dro.ma |
ñin.żiń.ni.kun.la.dro |
mtshan. (156) żiń.ni.dgońs.mal.gśegs ||
ñi.btsun.ni.ma.lags.na |
sems[9].śan.ni.mań.cig[10] ||

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[1]) *Sic for* ni? [2]) khyi *here crossed out.* [3]) *mark over* h *(for omission?)*
[4]) t *here crossed out.* [5]) ḥ *crossed out?* [6]) ḥ *subscript.*
[7]) = rgya-dkar. [8]) = śar-ru.
[9]) ni *here crossed out.* [10]) *One syllable wanting.*

mo.hdi.ni.khyim.phya.dań. (157) srog.phya.la.btab.na || lha.cig.hgo.žiń.hdug. pas || lha.de.ma.yin.na.myi.khyod.ltogs.te.yań.dehu.śi.las.lta (158) des.bskyabs. žiń.hdug.ho || ci.bya.na.yań.lha.la.gsol.ba.thob.la.gyis.dań | bya.bar.ruń.bar. hońi) || (159)

31. ° | ∘ | ∘ | kye.zla.brtsan.ni.duń.mdog.la ||
śel.gyi.ni.kha.bab.pa ||
deń.gsal.ni.ma[2].pa |
gnah.gsal.ni.yońs.gyis.gsal || (160)
khyehu.cuń.ni.hdzańs.pa.po |
chuń.nas.ni.dvar.lus.kyań ||
rań.lus.ni.rań.kyis.theg ||
[3]nams.kyań.ni.mthah. (161) myi.hgri ||
mo.hdi.ni.myi.khyod.kyań | rań.lus.rań.gyis.theg.pas || khyim.phya.dań.srog. phya.la.btab.na.bzań | don.phya (162) la.btab.na.don.gru[b] || dgra.phya.la.btab. na.dgra.myed || gsol.śags.byas.na.gnań || hdron.po.la.btab.na.hoń ||

TRANSLATION[4])

1. If this *mo* is cast for home-luck and life-luck . . ., a great demon, Ritual and regard[5]) (should be) well (performed). (2) If cast for purpose-luck, the purpose is not accomplished. If cast for one sick, there being a great demon, observe ritual and regard. For trading not suitable. (3) If cast for a traveller, he does not come. If cast for enemy-luck, meeting with an enemy is likely. If petition is made, not granted.

   This *mo*, (4) for whatever cast, is not good.

2. (4/3/4) Lake-land in turquoise country[6]);
   Turquoise fine, like willow-leaf.
   Turquoise bird, criss-cross play[7]) and (5)
   Speech pleasant, joined to all good:
   To-day heard, happy tidings.

   This *mo* being cast for home-luck and life-luck, one poor, while formerly rich, (6) and through harm by a superior enemy and all . . . previously in a lowly situation, now (7) attains a high situation. Worship a hindrance-removing god: it comes to good. If a purpose is undertaken, success. If trading is made, gain accrues. If petition is made, (8) granted. If cast for a traveller, he comes.

   This *mo*, for whatever cast, is good in the highest degree.

3. (3/1/2) Ho! a horse, to every man dear,
   Stable-star (9), and self star both:
   On yak-flesh though not fed,
   Tail-hair adorns dappled-mane[8]).
   Yak-bull chasing in front,
   Galloping, hoof not distressed; (10)

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[1]) ń *subscript.* [2]) *a mark over* m *(sign of omission?).* [3]) ms *here crossed out.*

[4]) Ll. 1* 31* (Ms. vol. 55, fol. 6) are not translated, being fragmentary. [5]) *See Linguistic note.*

[6]) 'Lake-land in Turquoise country' is clearly the Koko-nor region: cf. IV, ll. 124—130, also Tafel's (II, p. 60) 'Tsokho in Tsaidam', which is also Rockhill's, Ts'ogo, 'head of the lake' (*Diary.* p. 102), is the Mtsho-bgo of the Tibetan Chonicle, situated on the Buhain-gol, west of the Koko-nor.

[7]) Sc. crossings in flight; cf. l. 114.

[8]) On yak-tail tassels for horses' manes see IA, ll. 116, 119.

From large saddle small- horned
Steadied, the load does not slip;
By white cane(?)-whip
Jerked on, his pace enhanced[1]).

This, (11) fallen as a *mo* of *ju* and wood-block[2]), is, if cast for home-luck and life-luck, good. On going against wild animals, horse and man . . .[3]) (12). If a purpose is undertaken, success. If cast for enemy luck, no enemy. If a petition is made, granted. If cast for a traveller, he comes.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, (13) is good.

4. (3/4/4) Ho! a chieftain in danger-land
To arrive indeed intent:
By earth-fiends, small conclave,
Even the low lands (14) barred.
Luck called, at each chance lose:
Faint heart, at each breath weak.

This *mo* is fallen as a *mo* of fiend *ma-ha*[4]): if it is cast for home-luck and life-luck, (15) as a demon above and an earth-lord are doing harm, present a great scapegoat: perform the ritual well. If cast for enemy-luck, (16) a meeting with an enemy is likely. Observe well care and ceremony. If a family connection is made, not suitable. If cast for a traveller, he does not come (17). If cast for one sick, a great demon[5]): if the ritual is not well performed, it is bad. If a petition is made, not granted.

This *mo*, for whatever cast (18), is bad.

5. (4/2/2) Ho! goat meadow on the good side[6]):
Turquoise stag roaming below:
Of magical *gyi-liṅ* (steeds)[7])
Fine chosen ones (19) send down (home):
(To) heaven flying, soar:
In performance weak, life is, enough:
A high person, potent kindness.

This (20) is fallen as a *mo* for power-influence: O man! this *mo* comes to your meeting with a good kindred. If cast for home-luck and life-luck, (21) good. If cast for comrade-luck, meeting with a great comrade. If a petition is made, granted. If cast for a traveller, he soon comes.

This *mo* (22), for whatever cast, is good.

6. (4/2/1) Ho! ox-ford[8]) in fine gold[9]);
Golden water-stream;
Water-streams nine, all nine (23);
Enemies nine, in the vacancy:
Enthroned, still upward soar.
That too, of happy augury.

This is fallen as a *mo* of country and land in joyful ease. (24) If it is cast for home-luck and life-luck, as there are a glorious kind god and medicaments and country and land in

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[1]) See Linguistic note.
[2]) *Śiṅ-par*, a wood-block for printing; *ju* unknown, unless it is the *ʒu-brab* of IV, l. 48.
[3]) Or 'horse does not...' *(rta-myi)*.
[4]) Unknown: hardly = Sanskrit *mahā*, 'great'. [5]) Sickness being due to possession.
[6]) Perhaps the auspicious space in a diagram: possibly the *gdags-ram* or *sribs-sa* of IV, ll. 46—7.
[7]) *Gyi-liṅ*, 'a good breed of horses from Amdo' (Ś. C. Das' Dictionary).
[8]) Or 'ox fine'? [9]) In a diagram? So also 'the vacancy' (sc. blank space') of l. 24.

joyful ease, (25) worship well. If a petition is made, it is granted. If trading is made, gain will accrue. If cast for a traveller, he comes. (26) If cast for one sick, he lives. If cast for comrade-luck, a great comrade. If cast for enemy-luck, no enemy. If cast for prosperity-luck, there is prosperity.

This (27) *mo*, for whatever cast, is good.

7. (4/1/4) Ho! north mountain in height and mass[1]):
Of goods a mass, dig, dig:
A golden hoard is reached. (28)
With joy seize[2]) and take:
Into breast-fold with trembling consign.

If this *mo* is cast for home-luck and life-luck, acquisition of great wealth (29) is likely, or there will be meeting with a great comrade. Even if that is not so, there will soon be meeting with some official. If a petition (30) is made, granted. If cast for a traveller, he comes. If a family connection is made, congenial. If trading is made, gain accrues.

This *mo*, for whatever cast (31), is good.

8. (2/3/3) Ho! Dru-gu[3]), a shining seat:
While unasked the talk comes out,
The mind face to face not brought:
Seemingly strong, a cripple. (32)
In water a mansion to vault
Beam-support set not even.
Pasture fresh, kindred above[4]).
Horse and wild ass intermixed;
Noose at whatever (33) cast,
A carcase[5]) in centre of pen.
Sheep and goat intermixed;
Fat-rot, whichever the choice.
God and fiend intermixed;
Which (34) has come out, no report:
Foeman and yak intermixed;
Which has prevailed, not disclosed.

If this *mo* is cast for home-luck and life-luck, (35) god and demon, being intermixed, are not apart. Foeman and yak being intermixed, very alarming. By a bad *bon-po* a fiend not made to part. Through timidity (36) a foeman not repulsed. By one lame, a country not travelled. By one decrepit, a journey not accomplished.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is bad. (37)

9. (2/3/2) Ho! in meadow land, far up[6])
Stag-male with herd attached;
By hill dogs seven surrounded;
Not fleeing, as if bound, bound;
Remedies (38) none availing.
By hunters seven surrounded;
Surrounded, which way to go?

---

[1]) *Phaṅ-phuṅ* however, usually means 'little by little'. [2]) ?

[3]) Turk. Reading confirmed by Add, p. 149, where it is quite clear. For 'a shining seat' it has 'an outsider' *(mthaḫ-bskor)*, on which see Text V, l. 12. [4]) 'Kindred *(gñen)* can imply 'rival', 'enemy'.

[5]) *G-yaṅ-mo*, 'sheep', can be a stuffed one.

[6]) On *ya-byi* see Linguistic note.

This *mo* being fallen as a *mo* for wild-grown medicament *śe-le*[1]), O man, (39) if this your *mo* is cast for home-luck and life-luck, a great demon having bored into the house, everything done has no success (40). If this demon-visitation is not ejected, purpose undertaken further has no (41) success. If trading is made, no gain. If cast for enemy-luck, meeting with an enemy is likely. If a family-connection is made, uncongenial. If cast for a traveller, he does not come (42). If property has been lost, it is not regained. If a petition is made, not granted.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is bad.

10. (2/3/2) Ho! (43) star weak in Smyin-six[2]);
Minor star joined with Good-seven[3]);
Orb-star, in group auspicious;
Good-seven, ascendant found;
Smyin-six (44) in flight aside.

This *mo* being cast for home-luck and life-luck, one who previously has been experiencing affliction, (but) with a good home-god (45) or a good father, grandfather, son, pure like the Smyin-six, in occupation of top-position and on high, rendering precious assistance (46), should on (their ?) coming to a well-made (?) tent do worship. All demon-visitations and so forth being repulsed, he lives. (47) If a purpose is undertaken, success. If cast for enemy-luck, no enemy. If cast for a traveller, he quickly comes. If trading is made, gain accrues. If cast for prosperity-luck, there is prosperity (48).

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is good.

11. (2/2/4) Ho! when deceased, not bewept;
Friend-comrade in water dead;
In rejoicing, (49) undismayed;
On hindrance, in joy dismayed.
Discourse, nothing to blame;
Teeth many, in discourse blame.
Cast away, back comes (50) ill-health;
Aged ox, abounding in cares;
Hoofs of callosities full.

This *mo* being fallen as a *mo* of *mcho-dar-la*[4]), if it is cast for home-luck (51) (there is) a great house-holder, violent in wrath and of great *rgub-logs*[5]), desiring to move gods and demons. Nothing succeeds as contemplated. (52) Comrades go to other parts. If cast for enemy-luck, meeting with an enemy is likely. If cast for prosperity-luck, in the prosperity quarter a demon is residing: strike with haste (53). If cast for a traveller, he does not come. If petition is made, a great dignitary[6]), of violent temper, does not grant. If property is lost (54), no recovering.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is bad.

12. (2/2/1) Ho! white ice on the three sides;
Young yak-bull taken penned;
Though seized, (55) white-ice lord (*or* peak);
With *sral-mo*[7]) upraised,
Though seized, front *sño*[8]) -adorned.
Mind-submissive[9]) mother, child, both;

---

[1]) Unknown: recurs in no. 18. [2]) The Pleiades. [3]) The Great Bear.
[4]) Meaning? [5]) Perhaps for *rkub*°, 'back-averted'.
[6]) *bla-ma*. [7]) Unknown. [8]) *Sño* is 'green', 'vegetable'.
[9]) This translates *dgoṅs-rag* in place of *goṅ-srag*. But see Linguistic note.

Speech (56) pleasant, rainfall-(like);
Medicines, no need at all.
Thoughts, in god fashion.
Brothers dear, like lights shining.
Station[1]), own (57) possessions;
All around, set a ring-fence:
Enclosure bounds, nowise reduced.

This *mo* being fallen as a *mo* of thought[2]) and wild medicaments, if it is cast for home-luck and (58) life-luck, as there is a good god of mother and grandfather, coming as a precious leader, if there is a *don*-man and *gnum*-god[3]) man (59), petition. A meeting with mother and child, both, is likely: with news agreeable (they) will be met. If family connection is made, there is prosperity. (60) If cast for comrade-luck, a great comrade. If petition is made, granted. If trading is made, gain accrues. If cast for a traveller, he comes.

This *mo*, (61) for whatever cast, is good.

13. (2/1/4) Ho! in medicine land Upper Medicine,
Rma-tree[4]) (on) shaking land grown;
Peacocks, in flock too soar;
Fine (62) flats[5]), the sky's flat adorned.
Roots counted, estate-end vacant;
Fine samples, of potent[6]) the best.

This *mo* being cast for home-luck and life-luck (63), the *dpar*[7]) being like a good god leading in all troubles[8]), you also, O man, as resorting to a fine leafy tree (64), with the benefit of a shade great and cool, have sought protection with a powerful chieftain, a city arisen on a high mountain, with a wide prospect[9]) (65) . . .[10]). If you worship the good god, to your being rich there is no end. If a purpose is undertaken, success. If property (66) has been lost, recovery. If cast for a traveller, he comes without sickness. If a family connection is made, good.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is good.

14. (2/1/2) Ho! new arrival, ten years long[11]);
By illness years harvested.
(67) In Skyi[12]), think of ploughing a field;
In Mdo[13]), a flood crossing occurring;
In North-mtshar, (68)[14]) think of getting wheat;
In Sña, an easy-goer[15]);
Of treasure, a back-load eye grown;

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[1]) *dgo-spaṅs* = *go-ḫphaṅ?* Cf. no. 24, *infra*. [2]) Reading *bsam*.

[3]) *Gnum* being unknown, perhaps *Gnam*, 'heaven', is meant: at the same time *don* may be a miswriting of *bon*.

[4]) Unknown. [5]) Possibly = 'carpets', *le-brgan* being a diaper or flowered design in warm materials.

[6]) Cf. I. 103. [7]) Perhaps = the *par*, ‚wood-block', of no. 3.

[8]) *Mya*; but probably 'to all men *(myi)*' was intended.

[9]) See the Linguistic Note.

[10]) On *kha-gzes-myi-tshugs*, here left untranslated, see the Linguistic Note: possibly 'fretful speech not interposed'.

[11]) This notion is propounded as an absurdity: similarly the following.

[12]) A country of high mountains and barren plateaux.

[13]) = Amdo, N. E. 'Tibet'. In Amdo dialect *śva* denotes an overflowing of rivers and lakes (Ś. C. Das Dictionary).

[14]) The barren north plain, Byaṅ-thaṅ.

[15]) Meaning? See Linguistic Note. Possibly Sña is for Sñi, on which see IV, I. 89.

Of the nose, a pair of doors;
Old persons, in firm respect[1]);
In Sña, an easy-goer[2]) (69).

This *mo*, being fallen as a *mo* of a wind-goddess, if it is cast for home-luck and life-luck, a potent demon having bored into the home, whatever is done (70) cannot cope with him. If it is cast for one sick, man, god, and *thehu-rań*[3]) are empty (unavailing). Ritual and regard vigorously perform. If cast for enemy-luck (71), a fierce enemy is like to be. If a petition is made, a subsequent request to withdraw is likely. If cast for a traveller, he does not come. For trade-making (72) not suitable.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is bad.

15. (2/1/2) Ho! Dań-ma[4]), when summer comes round,
Small valley, scant water, both;
If rain fall, a drop (73)[5]) for share;
Skyi mountain, like willow-top[6]);
Bird-king, with crane for young;
Crawlers[7]), new companions in plenty;
Doing *śo*[8]), like Hol-mo (heaven)[9]);
Kicks (74) six, willow-leaf curl[10]);
Place abroad, like a mountain[11]);
Sheep wool, by coming[12]) get.

This being fallen as a *mo* for minor-medicament gathering, if it is cast for home-luck (75) and life-luck, you, O man, being afflicted in health, have a good god leading you. Like one who, (76) by fate being in a great desert, through a heaven god letting fall a shower, gets drink, you from being unprosperous poor (77) are likely to have prosperity bestowed by a great mother-goddess. If petition is made for a next vacancy, there is likelihood of hearing an agreeable word of command. If trading is made, gain accrues. (78) If cast for some traveller, he will arrive. If cast for one sick, juice-medicaments are not necessary. If a purpose is undertaken, success. If cast for auspice-luck, good (79).

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is good.

16. (3/4/4) Ho! a saying there is made clear,
Southern and northern, both;
Sheep (80) in the north do well;
Fruits six in the south there are:
Which chosen, matters no whit.
Tiger and lion both;
Criss-cross[13]), the tiger (81) too striped;
Strong vigour, the lion great.
Which should be, not disclosed.

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[1]) On absence of respect for age among the Ch'iang tribes see '*The Nam Language*', p. 30 and n. l.
[2]) Repetition accidental? [3]) 'A set of demons'.
[4]) Probably name of a country and people: see *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.* II, pp. 86—7, 114, and Bstan-hgyur colophons (Hdań' and Ldań') The name recurs in Ms. XIX 004, fol. 3a, l. 1., and most of ll. 1—2 in 14 b, l. 11—15 a, l. i. [5]) This renders *thig*.
[6]) Perhaps this signifies that the Dań-ma mountains dwarf those of Skyi: or *vice versa?*
[7]) *Hphye-ba:* 'Partings'? [8]) Probably = 'copulari'. [9]) *Hol-mo*, a Bon-po paradise.
[10]) The notion seems to be that of 'curling-up', like a leaf.
[11]) Sc. too stiff to climb?
[12]) *Sleb* has occurred in IA, l. 82, and IV, ll. 201—2, etc., with the meaning 'overtake', 'catch up with'. But possibly here and in l. 129 the sense is 'by coming (or 'merely coming') get'. [13]) In a *mo* diagram?

This *mo* being fallen as a *mo* for divided authority, if it is cast for home-luck (82), you criss-cross people are in disaccord. One is pulling that way, one pulling this way (83). If work is done, no success. If a trading is made, no gain. If a family-connection is made, uncongenial. If there is lost property, no recovery. (84) If cast for a traveller, he does not come. If cast for enemy-luck, two enemies, quarrelling over great and small, do not come. If cast for auspice-luck, (85) inauspicious.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is not good.

17. (3/4/3) Ho! .....[1]);
An ape, which desires to trick;
Goods (86) left over he seeks;
Goods left over gets not;
Nightly poison he meets with.
In poison-land's many ravines
Presently (87) sap-drugs he craves;
Presently drugs gets not;
Later not happy in mind.

If this *mo* is cast for home-luck and life-luck, in the home (88) has been a man desirous of trickery. O man, if you, wishing to trick, keep silence, it is good. Whatever victuals (89) you think of going to seek, presently you will meet with poison. If cast for enemy-luck, a meeting with an irresistible enemy is likely. If a purpose is undertaken, no success. (90) If a petition is made, not granted. If cast for auspice-luck, inauspicious. If there is property lost, no recovery. If cast for a traveller, he does not come (91).

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is bad.

18. (3/3/1) Ho! in the north, far up[2]),
Doors seven, outside too required:
By thieves hope not essayed; (92)
Mu drugs[3]), one's own treasure.

This *mo* being fallen as a *mo* for wild drugs, meadow *śe-le*[4]), if it is cast for home-luck and life-luck, man's luck (93) is unfailing; animals' good fortune unfailing: joy and happiness, long life, god's protection. If a purpose is undertaken, success. If cast for one sick, he lives. If a next vacancy (94) is petitioned, granted. If cast for prosperity-luck, there is prosperity. If a family connection is made, congenial. If trading is made, gain accrues. If cast for a traveller (95), he soon comes.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is very good.

19. (3/1/4?) Ho! by bird-servant, weak in flight,
Sky's end is not reached (96):
By small man, in speech weak,
Kindness' meed not received:
In hand with weapon weak,
Angry foe not chastised:
Pony small, (97) in leg weak,
With speed easy[5]) follows not:

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[1]) Reading (in part) and sense here obscure: see Linguistic note. [2]) Cf. *ya-byi* in l. 38.

[3]) *Mu-sman*, which in Ms. XIX 004 recurs as *gmu°*, and probably therefore is = *dmu-sman*, 'medicament of the Dmus' (rain, or hail, divinities), is distinguished from the other species of *smans* by sometimes (cg. in l. 102 *infra*, in Ms. XIX 004, fol. 16a, l. 5, in Ms. 9 II 19, l. 60, and in Mdlle Lalou's *Inventaire*, no. 1051, and in British Museum ms. S. 155) appearing as a divinity dictating a prognostication.

[4]) Unknown: see note to l. 38.

[5]) But *sla* can be = *zla*, 'friend'.

Ankle[1]) small, in knee weak,
Hill ridge cuts not at a run.

This *mo* being cast for home-luck (98) and life-luck, you, O man, being a large person, in whatever is to be done are not attaining. With a poor trail-horse[2]) enemy and wild animal (99) are not killed. By one with blunt hand-weapon no enemy wrath is withstood. If petition is made, not granted. If a purpose is undertaken, (100) no success. If cast for a traveller, he does not come. If trading is made, gain none. If there is property lost, no recovery.

This *mo*, being bad, is for a future[3]) day (?) (101)

20. (1/3/4) Ho! Skyi mountain[4]), one of helpful worth;
While helpful, a dear, dear sight:
Medicines, no need at all;
Medicines lavished[5]) in mass. (102)
While helpful, a dream, dream sight:
Mu drug[6]) in person states:
White[7]) too, of drugs a treasure
Gathered, a fence provide. (103)

This being fallen as a *mo* for drugs variegated, potent[8]), if it is cast for home-luck and life-luck, you, O man, are one that is helpful. One who, not at all . . . (104) professes vigour the gods do not like. In hope worship the gods. Success according to your thought will come. If a next vacancy is requested (105), granted. Without a weeping voice[9]) part with a gift to a man. If a purpose is undertaken, success. If trading is made, gain accrues. If a family connection is made, congenial. If cast for one sick, (106) he lives. If cast for harming, a god harms.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is good.

21. (1/3/3) Ho! Skyi-king, cold, not lake[10]), (107)
River[11]), for seizing void[12]):
[13])Gro-(b)żin and Byi-(b)żin, both,
Heaven blue, vacant, vacant,
This day come to adorn.
High before (108), (if) happiness wishing
Heaven-height . . .[14]).
Word kind, when speech is mingled:
To-day heard if there is not,
Heard formerly, melody tested[15]): (109)
Cheerfulness, shouting not used[16]).

If this *mo* is cast for home- and life-luck, a householder with mind care-cold, if (110) in whatever is to be done with mind not cold he acts with mind accordant[17]), it is good.

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[1]) *Śreḫu* unknown: *sre-loṅ* is 'ankle'.
[2]) *Ḫog-rta*, 'under (sc. 'side' or 'trace') horse', recurs in V, l. 30.
[3]) *Gżi-non*, obscure: see Linguistic Note. [4]) Perhaps named as a symbol of immensity.
[5]) *ḫphaṅs*. [6]) See note to l. 92.
[7]) Often = 'wheat'; but? read *dkor*, 'treasure'? In l. 115, however, 'white medicine' recurs.
[8]) Cf. l. 62. [9]) Reading *ṅu*.
[10]) I. e. perhaps, ice wherever not lake: cf. l. 113.
[11]) This would be the Rma-chu (Upper Hoang-ho). [12]) Sc. in uninhabited country? But *gżuṅ* can signify [river]-channel.
[13]) Names of two constellations (and months) = Sanskrit Śravaṇa and Abhijit: mentioned also in Ms. XIX 004, fol. 9 b, l. 1.
[14]) A gap here in the text. [15]) See Linguistic note. [16]) See Linguistic Note. [17]) *bstun*.

Yak butter[1]) and sheep butter being both alike, (111) if anything is done with both placed on a level, it is good. If a purpose is undertaken, success. If trading is made, gain accrues. Request for a next vacancy granted. If cast for enemy-luck (112), enemy none. If petition is made, granted. If cast for a traveller, he comes. If there is property lost, recovery.

This *mo*, for whatever cast (113), is good.

22. (1/3/2) Ho! geese, ducks, (where) not gold, turquoise,
Blue breast, the water's tenants,
Flowers, hollyhock, pluck:
Fresh herbage, (114) meadow's adornment;
Meadow adornment, when on high, criss-cross;
With fine . . . bodies in groups
Fair to see, eye-path[2]) criss-cross; (115)
Scent fragrant in nose there is.

This *mo* being cast for home-luck and life-luck, there being a glorious kind god or a white medicine[3]) (116), if to him with a minor worship it is well done, he continues to lead you[4]). If wild animals are chased, a kill (117). Request for a next vacancy granted. If a purpose is undertaken, success. If cast for a traveller, he comes. If cast for one sick, he lives. If petition is made, (118) granted. If there is lost property, recovery. If trading is made, gain accrues.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is good.

23. (1/3/1) Ho! Hail-lady and (119) Ice-lady, and
Low-land, Skyi two-horned[5]):
Mind, heart, though fully intent,
Not asleep, dilatoriness great.

If this *mo* (120) is cast for home-luck and life-luck, a mind uneven, without application to what is to be done, dilatoriness great. If a purpose is undertaken, no success. If trading is made (121), no gain. If petition is made, not granted. If a purpose is undertaken, no success. If cast for a traveller, he does not come. If a family connection is made (122), unsuitable. In trade-making, unsuitable.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is inauspicious.

24. (1/2/2) Ho! gold lake, ducks afloat:
Be it day, (123) no man in sight;
Be it night, no dog torments:
Of the crystal, (124) pattern adornment.
All good luck set to front;
All ranking[6]) set to marge.

If this *mo* (125) is cast for home-luck and life-luck, a god there protects, man here worships. Joy, happiness, long life. If cast for enemy-luck (126), no enemy. If a purpose is undertaken, success. If cast for one sick, a preserving god is likely. If petition is made, granted. If cast for a traveller (127), good. If cast for comrade luck, a meeting with a great comrade. Demon-arising none.

This *mo*, for whatever cast, is very good. (128)

25. (1/2/3) Ho! on summer lea, months three,
Smya-lo[7]) at each step rustles:
Wool-top[8]) goes white.

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[1]) 'Melted butter' *(žun-mar)*. [2]) 'Spectacle'.
[3]) Cf. l. 102. [4]) *Khyed* (plural).
[5]) On this obscure passage see the Linguistic Note.
[6]) *Dgo-spaṅs*: See l. 56, *supra*. [7]) = *Sña-lo*, a species of Polygonum. [8]) A plant?

ADDENDUM

Since the above account of the early Tibetan-*Mo*-practice, as exemplified in the India Office Library Mss. Stein vol. 55, pl. 6,73 IV 3a and 73 VIII. 1, from Tun-huang, was prepared for printing, some further materials have come to light. In the first place, the publication (1950) of Part II of Mdlle. Lalou's admirable *Inventaire* of the Bibliothèque Nationale collection of Tibetan Mss. Pelliot, from the same source, describes at least six *Mo*-mss., as is clearly shown under nos. 1043, 1046, 1047, 1049, 1051, 1052, some of them being, it seems, inconsiderable fragments. Secondly, the India Office Library collection has been found to include, beside one small, hardly legible, fragment, several somewhat extensive texts. The Bibliothèque Nationale items, represented in the *Inventaire* by sufficiently instructive extracts from the texts, may, it is hoped, be further particularized in a publication by Mdlle. Lalou. In the present context the India Office Library Mss., being at hand, should, no doubt, receive any notice that they may seem to deserve.

The relative abundance of the *Mo*-mss. points, no doubt, to a popularity of this form of prognostication. But textual identity in the Mss. is hardly to be expected: they are likely to have been personal hand-books of practicioners, whose experience and interests will have fostered a measure of independence. In the Sanskrit the Bower Ms. text differs completely from the *Pāśaka-kevalī*, having a general order of the throw-numbers which in principle, though with artificial complexities, proceeds from the higher numbers downwards and is the reverse of that of the *Pāśaka-kevalī*: if, as Hoernle suggested, it made use of a diagram, which Lüders disputed, that was one of numbers only, and according to Hoernle the die-numbers had also animal values: of these two features the *Pāśaka-kevalī* gives no sign. In Central Asia the number-order was perhaps always from higher to lower, though always with irregularities; and this may be evidence of importation prior to that of the *Pāśaka-kevalī*. A noticeable feature common to the two Sanskrit texts. viz. the use of numerous and often unexplained technical names of the throws, seems absent from Central Asia, which lacks also the confirmatory dreams usually included in the *Pāśaka-kevalī* oracles. With this amount of agreement Central Asia has its own diversities: the use of a story-book instead of a diagram was, if we have not wrongly inferred, a characteristic of the Turk region, even when the language was Tibetan. In Francke's fragments (see his discussion in the Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte* for 1928, pp. 113—8) the prognostications are in a number of instances announced as coming from the mouth of a divinity or other supernatural being: in the two Sanskrit texts and in the Turkī this feature is, as Francke remarks, not found, and it may be, he suggests, a Bon-po innovation.

Noticeable particulars of the additional I. O. Library Mss. are as follows:—

(1) Ch. 9 II 19, occupying part of the *verso* of a long scroll of yellow Chinese paper (width, c. 26·5 cm.), on which is inscribed a Buddhist text in Chinese: script clear, though clumsy, and with some frequency of *peḫi* written in place of *paḫi*, a feature which has been remarked in some other Mss. of the collection. The text, which is in 63 paragraphs, each headed by a line of 'eyes' representing a particular cast of the dice-triad, amounts along with these to 236 lines. The 'eyes' have the central dot, which appears also in the archeologically discovered dies; but it is often cursively attached to the circumference or otherwise indistinct.

This Ms. is, as is obvious from the number (63) of its paragraphs, nearly complete. The order of the throw-numbers is from 4/4/4 downwards as far as 1/2/1, in fairly regular succession through 4/4/3, etc., etc., but with some slips. In many, if not even most, instances the prognostication is announced as from the mouth of a divinity, which term, however, must here include not only a number of fictitious ones designated by phrases, but also a 'Mu-sman' (1. 60), properly 'Mu-medicine', Ḥo-[1]de-Guṅ-rgyal (1. 71) (a legendary early Tibetan king) and Dbyar-mo-thaṅ (1. 86), a famous site in N. E. Tibet. Two of the divinities, Thaṅ-lha-Ya-

bżur (1. 20), and Yar-lha-Śam-pho (11. 162, 200), a Yar-luń god, are actually known as local deities in pre-Buddhist Tibet. These particulars are quite consonant with supposition of a Bon-po appurtenance of the text. The substance of the prognostications is commonplace and rather slight, more or less on a level with that of the Bower Ms. text: some touches rather tinged with ethical feeling or aversion from injury to animals suggest a stage of Bon-po adherence already somewhat affected by contact with Buddhism. No part is metrical, and there is no indication of use of a diagram.

(2) Ms. Ch. XIX. 004, consisting of 17 folios of c. 15×12,5 cm., is at present bound in 'book', or rather, considering the size, 'pocket-book', form: the binding is along the top narrow edge, which will have been, as the direction of the writing indicates, the original design. In size the folios do not differ greatly from those of the Turkī Ms., c. 13·6×8 cm., and the lines of the writing are similarly parallel to the shorter side (width): but plainly the *verso* of each folio would have an inverted text, if the binding were, as in the Turkī Ms., along the longer edge; and, of course, the direction of writing and pagination, being in Turkī from right to left, would be a further difference.

Another resemblance is to be seen in the fact that in both the little Mss. the 'eyes', which are aligned above each paragraph, have their interior spaces inked in red and the Turkī has a colophon in red, while the Tibetan, which, being incomplete, has no colophon, does nevertheless, in its 5 1/2 pages of Introduction, commence with 2 1/3 lines in red, and ends with 9 lines of the same, not to mention an interior passage of c. 2 lines.

In the case of the Tibetan the supposition that the little book was in fact a 'pocket' manual is substantiated by two circumstances. In the first place, it manifests in its opening pages an intention of neatness, the rather small script being well-formed and regular, 11. 11 per page, and the 'eyes' carefully drawn in red, their central dots (or minute circles) quite distinct, and the punctuation signs separating the groups in the number-triads being pairs of lines, red and black. On the last line of fol. 5a a deterioration begins: the script becomes larger, less neat and less regular, the number of lines *per* page fluctuates, the 'eyes' begin to lack their red ink and their distinct centre points. It is not so that the deterioration is forthwith complete or final or that the script, though larger and more cursive, becomes seriously bad or illegible; and there are several recurrences of the original neat and careful style; but, when we come to foll. 16b (last lines) and 17a, the writing has become scrawly and blotted. This scribal 'rake's progress' would in any language be intelligible in a working hand-book, started with excellent intentions: on fol. 17b appears a reform in the shape of a new regularity of large script, 11. 6 to the page. As for the order of the throw-triads, that commences with 4/4/4, 4/4/3, 4/4/2, and proceeds steadily, but with irregularities, downwards to 1/2/3, 1/3/2. The practical and provisional character of this Ch. XIX. 004 is further emphasized by a comparison with our main Ms. 55f. 6, Ch. 73 IV 3a and 73 VIII. 1, described *supra* (p. 115). The paper, Tibetan, yellowish, thickish, soiled by use, is the same, and the script of both may be considered intermediate in style, as in size, between the first and the last of XIX 004. Though it could well be a professional scribe's fair copy, as is the finely written text, in square Tibetan script, on the *recto*, it does not seem impossible that it was a finishing effort on the part of the author. The common authorship and the revising hand are manifest from the contents. In Ms. XIX. 004 the prognostications are all in verse of six syllables, with no prose addition beyond a brief statement that, sometimes also why, the augury is good, bad, or otherwise: in a fair number of instances the same verses, more or less modified or adapted, reappear in the combined 55f. 6, 73 IV 3a and 73 VIII 1, and isolated expressions also recur miscellaneously, sometimes instructive or confirmatory in regard to readings. Plainly the blocks of prose which in 55f. 6,73 IV 3a and 73 VIII. 1 are appended to each of the verse oracles are the last addition; and their uniform matter, consisting of applications of

the augury to a list of personal and family interests, may betray an acquaintance with the *Pāśaka-kevalī*, which does the same, though less thoroughly.

The notation of the throw-numbers in 55 f. 6, 73 IV 3a and 73 VIII. 1 shows an innovation in respect of the grouping of the 'eyes', which in all other Mss., including Francke's fragments and the Turkī, are in one line, with separation, of course, of the groups. Here the 'eyes' in each group are arranged in geometrical patterns, as shown in the printed text: and this is somewhat noticeable, because it does not represent the arrangement on the actual dice, where the specimens now known and photographed show, e. g., a '4'-face with its four eyes in a straight line. As regards the numerical sequence of the number-triads, which in all the three Mss. is, as already stated, from the 4/4/4 downwards, the irregularities (and omissions) already remarked are not common to the three Mss., but independent in each. Nor is the valuation of the individual throws as 'good', 'bad', etc., constant: thus Francke's one verifiable case, 2/4/2, 'very good', is in 9 II 19 'bad', in XIX. 004 doubtful; Ms. 73 IV 3a and 73 VIII 1 often contradicts, or disagrees with, XIX. 004, which is by the same practitioner, and has even two 3/4/4's, one 'bad' and the other 'not good', and two 2/1/2's, one 'bad' and the other 'good'. A fixed interpretation for a particular triad might suit the private use of a given book of reference; but for a practitioner, with his constantly new cases, this would be too definite and limited, and he would naturally welcome the liberty of variation furnished by a diagram, in which a same number might occur more than once and with varying signification. The throw-number is no longer in itself decisive. Ms. XIX 004 seems, like 73 IV 3a and 73 VIII 1, to require a diagram, while as regards 9 II 19, in which there is no reference to visible objects or scenes, nothing such is requisite.

In the case of the Turkī Ms. the throw-triad numbers which head the several paragraphs are not shown in the publication by Thomsen, who was not aware of their significance: and, inasmuch as the Ms., which now is in the British Museum, is not immediately accessible to inquirers not resident in London, a list of them paragraph by paragraph may be found convenient to any scholars who may have occasion to consider their general order or particular significances. Presuming that the direction of the Turkī writing, which reads from right to left, governs also that of the 'eye'-groups heading the paragraphs, the list will be as follows:—

Para. I	2/2/2	XXI	3/3/1	XLI	3/2/4	LXI	3/4/1
II	4/4/4	XXII	1/1/2	XLII	4/1/4	LXII	2/1/3
III	3/3/3	XXIII	4/4/2	XLIII	3/3/4	LXIII	1/2/1
IV	1/1/1	XXIV	3/1/3	XLIV	1/4/2	LXIV	3/4/1
V	2/4/2	XXV	3/1/3	XLV	1/3/2	LXV	3/3/2
VI	1/2/2	XXVI	4/2/1	XLVI	1/3/3		
VII	2/1/2	XXVII	4/2/2	XLVII	1/1/4		
VIII	1/2/3	XXVIII	2/1/1	XLVIII	3/4/4		
IX	3/2/1	XXIX	4/3/2	XLIX	3/4/1		
X	2/4/3	XXX	4/2/3	L	1/4/3		
XI	4/4/3	XXXI	1/4/4	LI	4/3/3		
XII	3/4/3	XXXII	1/1/4	LII	3/1/2		
XIII	3/4/2	XXXIII	4/2/4	LIII	2/2/2		
XIV	2/3/4	XXXIV	2/4/4	LIV	1/3/1		
XV	1/4/1	XXXV	4/3/4	LV	4/1/2		
XVI	2/1/4	XXXVI	4/1/1	LVI	2/3/1		
XVII	2/3/3	XXXVII	1/3/4	LVII	2/2/1		
XVIII	2/4/1	XXXVIII	3/1/4	LVIII	3/2/2		
XIX	4/1/3	XXXIX	2/2/4	LIX	3/2/3		
XX	2/2/3	XL	4/4/1	LX	4/3/1		

It will be observed that the general order of the triads is very irregular, which must have been inconvenient for consultation of the book: also there are duplicates of 3/4/1, 3/1/3, 2/2/2 and 1/1/4.

Of all the *mo*-texts which so far have come to light that of Ms. 55 f. 6, 73 IV 3a and 73 VIII 1, which we have transcribed and translated, appears to be the most elaborate and informative; but the special relation in which it stands to XIX 004 renders it desirable to append here from the latter (a) the Introduction, which, though not yet translatable, manifestly states some generalities, and (b) those verses which, being in the main reedited or adapted in 55 f. 6, 73 IV 3a and 73 VIII 1, are instructive in regard to language or sense.

I Introduction to Ms. XIX. 004

(here designated B)

1 a 1 | || || kye.lgo. . . ni . . su || ||
. . . ni [1 a 2] || ||
żal.bzańs. .ni g-yu . . . [1 a 3] || ||
| kye.skad.phran.ni.bre.legs.pas |
phra [4] bkod.ni.gcig.myi.[sp]ar |
dgu.chag.ni.bre.legs.pas |

[1 a 5] dguṅ.sṅon.ni.gżuṅ.brtan.żiṅ |
gñi.zla.ni.ḫdron.gi.śul |

[1 a 6] ż[al].bzańs.ni.mtshon.bres.pas |
phuṅ.gi (ni here *omitted*?) ri.mos.btab |

[1 a 7] lha.sprin.ni.bre.legs.pas |
dbyar.bżin.ni.char.gi.lugs |

[1 a 8] dgun.żin.ni.bser.gi.skyabs |
ri.bran.ni.ḫdab.kyis.bsal |

[1 a 9] kye.de.las.ni.yan.chad.du |
skyi.bser.ni.phyod.gis.khums |
kye [10] sman.btsun.ni.gñan.rold.pas |

[1 b 1] dog.mthā.ni.na[ḫu](nan ?).d[u].mnan |
dog.mo.ni.snar.gi bdag |
kye.mdo.nas.ni.yar.gzigs.na |

[1 b2] dog.mthaḫ.ni.rgyud.gsuṃ.mdaḫ |
kye.chab.mdaḫ.mtsho.tha (na ? thā ?).rol ? |

[1 b 3] mdo.nas.ni.re.bres.gis |
dog.gis.ni.myoṅ.pa.ḫdis (ḫdib ? ḫdil ?) |
snar.[b.4]mthaḫ.ni.ljod.mo.steṅs |
kye.lha.ḫi.ni.g-yā.btsugs.pas |
[5] dby[a]ḫ (dbyeḫ ?).bkod.ni mthaḫ.myi.g-yoḫ |
mthiṅ.braṅ.ni bre.legs | [6] legs (*repetition*).pa |
dog.me.ni.nan.du.mnan |
gyur.sram.ni.mthiṅ.[7]la.phyeḫ |
ye.ḫgreṅ.ki(?) (*crossed out*?).ni.myi.myoṅ.baḫ |
myi.ḫi.ni.myo.ba.ḫdaḫ |

[1 b 8] kye.rgyu.drug.ni.goṅ.daṅ.sreg |
ho.bral.ni.sbal.daṅ.ljoṅ |

kye.[9]gug (grag ?).lcog.ni.Mon.daṅ.Sog |
kye.Rgya.yul.ni.bre.legs.pas |
[1b 10] ḫo.me.ni.phur.ke.daṅ |
phrul.gi.ni.r[i]ṃs (ris ? raṃs ?).phran.daṅ |
kye.lha.bra[s].[11]ni.sa.le.(sbam') |
sa-(s ?).smad.ni.mtsho.-iṅ.daṅ |
śa.paṅ(?).ni.lde.ḫu(?).[2.a.1]gts[i]s |
dog.blaṅs.ni.mnaḫ.yis.skaṅ |
kye.ri.ḫi.ni.bre.[2.a.2]legs.pas |
sman.brgyaḫ.ni.ḫphoṅ.żiṅ.ḫtshom |
gnaṃ.sman.[2.a.3]ni.gñan.gi.bkā |
lho.spaṅs.ni.bdag.gi mchid |
kye.lho.spaṅs.[2.a.4]ni.re.re.mo |
bsaṃ.daṅ.ni.yi.ge.la |
sug.stug.ni.ḫphrin.ḫdogs.[2.a.5]so (po ?) |
mo.bdag.ni.byo.blag.ma |
ru.skoṅ.ni.g-yas.pa.ru |
dbyaṃ.[2.a.6]ni.dkar.btiṅ.żiṅ |
dkar.mo.bre.gaṅ.daṅ |
mtshal.gi ni.snaṅ.[2.a.7]ldam.żiṅ |
spos.gi.ni.dud.kyaṅ.thul |
rul.koṅ.ni.g-yon.[2.a.8].pa.ru |
gser.gi.ni.thig.le.daṅ |
nu.mar.ni.ldoṅ.bzaṅs.daṅ |
[2a 9] dar.kar.ni.g-yab.ḫbor.żiṅ |
za.ḫog.ni.mtshon.dus.la |
[2a 10] bseḫ.byaṅ.ni.dmyig.du.gsal |
kye.mtsho.ro.ni.g-yu.mtsho.daṅ |
[2a 11] rin.cen.ni.sna.tshogs.rnams |
sman.gi.ni.dkor.du.ḫ-yal (ḫthul ?) |
[2b 1] sman.bśos.ni.gru.bżi.daṅ |
ḫbraṅ.rgyas.ni.żal.ka[r].daṅ |
[2b 2] gżib.mar.ni.ḫol.kon.daṅ |
skyems.kyi.ni.bcud.draṅs.nas |
[2b 3] sman.gi.ni.żal.du.gsol ||
| kye.gnam.sman.gi.spyan.[2b 4] draṅs.nas |
| kye.sman.brgyaḫ.ni.yas (yar).gś[e]gs.pā |
| bky[es ?] [2b 5] sñan.ni.si.li.li |
| g-yā(?)bun (bran ?).ni.tha.lu.b.[un ?] ||
[2b 6] kye.phu.nas.ni.khyas (*read* khus).btab.pas |
brag.cha.ni.ti.ri.ri |
mdaḫ [2b 7]nas.ni.yab.bor.bas |
lhog.lhog.ni.ljib.ma.ljib |
kye.bdun.[2b 8]ḫbuṃ.ni.snar.gi.[rje] |
gnam.sman.ni.dkar.mo.żig |
de.ḫi.phya.na.sñan [2b 9]baḫ |
gnam.sman.ni.dguḫ.brgyaḫ.dgu |
gñan.gi.ni.tir (dir ?).ma.daṅ |

[2b 10] brgyaḫ.ma.ni.stoṅ.re.tham |
kye.gaṅ.sman.ni.dgu.brgyaḫ.dgu |
[2b 11] śa.myed.ni.gaṅs.kar.daṅ |
brgyaḫ.ma.ni.stoṅ.re.tham ||
[3a 1] g-yā.sman.ni.dgu.brgyaḫ.dgu |
daṅ.ma.ni.zil (zol ?).drug.daṅ |
brgya.ma[3a 2]ni.stoṅ.re.thaṃ |
maṅ.sman.ni.dguḫ.brgyaḫ.dgu |
ji.phyug.ni.phyiṅ (phyoṅ ?).-e(?).[3a 3]ḫdem.daṅ |
brgyaḫ.ma.ni.stoṅ.re.tham |
brag.sman.ni.dgu.brgyaḫ.dgu |
[3a 4] mtshal.kar.ni.śen.graṅs (geṅs ?).daṅ |
brgyaḫ.ma.ni.stoṅ.re.tham |
mtsho[3a 5]sman.ni.dgu brgyaḫ.dgu |
rlan.gi.ni.ya (phar).ḫdem.daṅ |
brgyah.ma.ni.[3a 6]stoṅ.re.tham |
byaṅ.sman.ni.dgu.brgyaḫ.dgu |
g-yu.sman.ni.drul.ma[3a 7]daṅ |
brgya.ma.ni.stoṅ.re.tham ||
| || khus.btab.ni.sñan.[ma ? mnar ? maṅ ?] [3a 8]su |
| g-yab.bor.ni.spyan.ma.rtul (rdul ? rñul ?) |
| khu (khyu ?).luṅ.ni.d[b]yiṅs.ma.mżan (?) |
[3a 9] | kye.yon.daṅ.ni.[yas . . .na |
| kye.ñin.sṅo.ni . . . sno |
[3a 10] || che.gsum.ni.che.le.sno |
| ña.gsuṃ.ni.ña.le.sno |
| chuṅ.gsuṃ.[3a 11] [chuṅ.le].sno |
| zor.khams.ni.tshes.la.sno |
| chom . . [3b 1]ni.[bzaṅ.gsuṃ.na]
| bzaṅ.gis.ni.[bskyar.myi.ḫtshal]
| bzaṅ [3b 2] .[gñis]. ni.dgu.gcig.daṅ |
| ḫbriṅ.[gsuṅ ?] ni.gżiḫ.la.lo |
[3b 3] | ṅan.gñis.ni.bzaṅ. -ḫ.gcig.la |
| gcig.[tsham?]. ni.bskyas.te.btab |
[3b 4] | tshe.lo.ni.ṅan.gsuṃ.na |
| bskyar.kyaṅ.ni.dr[i]n.ma.mchis |
| mo.gdab.ni.[3b5] ni. . . . |

In this Introduction, which, though embodying many expressions already met in the printed text or otherwise known, cannot yet be reflected in a continuous translation, it is nevertheless apparent that some of the practitioner's procedures, and probably some features of a diagram, are expounded. While awaiting further light, we may at least remark the reference (1b 9) to the Mon, Sog, and Rgya (Chinese ?) peoples, and that (1a 9) perhaps to the Skyi country. A wholly unexpected reference is that in 17a 4—5 of the Ms.—

kye.Khyuṅ.luṅ.ni.rṅul.mkhar.na |
g-yuṅ.druṅ.ni.chab.ḫaṅ.bas |
Ho! In Khyuṅ-luṅ Rṅul-mkhar,
The power of the Svastika having come.

Here, beyond all question, Khyuṅ-luṅ Rṅul-mkhar is the famous capital of the Żaṅ-żuṅ-Gu-ge kingdom, known as early as the VII century A. D. and mentioned in exactly the same terms

in M. Bacot's *Documents*, pp. 116: it still exists. The fact that in connection with Khyuṅ-luṅ the Svastika, i. e. Bon, doctrine is mentioned clearly commemorates the tradition of the Żaṅ-żuṅ source of that doctrine in Tibet; but a reference to the matter in a Tibetan Ms. from Chinese Kan-su would not have been anticipated.

The importance, or dominance, of the *sman*, 'medicament', divination is evident from the manner in which the Introduction dwells upon it: various kinds of *smans* are distinguished, *gnam-sman*, 'heaven-*sman*', *g-yā-sman*, 'luck(?)-*sman*, *brag-sman*, 'rock-*sman*', *mtsho-sman*, 'lake-*sman*', *byaṅ-sman*, 'north[-plateau]-*sman*', *g-yu-sman*, 'turquoise-*sman*', *dmu-sman*, 'rain (or hail)-*sman*'. This is manifestly a native Tibetan innovation in the *Mo*-practice, reflecting the ubiquitous penchant of the Tibetan peoples for searching medicinal simples in their districts.

II: Verse prognostications in Ma. XIX. 004 (here cited as B) partly retained or adapted in 55 f. 6, 73 IV 3a and 73 VIII 1 (here cited as A).

1. B, 4a 6—8 = A, 11. 8—10

|| 0000 || 0000 || 00 ||	(A, 3/1/2)
kye.rta.żig.ni.*h*tsher.*h*tsher.*sñan* |	(A *myi.re*)
ṅaṅ.dkar.ni.*yid.kar.gṅ*is |	(A, *daṅ.skar*, *ñid.skar*)
gñis.ka.ni.dpal.kyi.rta |	(A omits)
*h*broṅ.*bu*.ni.mdor.sṅa.ru |	(A, *gyi*)
rgyug.ciṅ.ni.rmyig.myi.*h*bub |	(A, *h*dub ?)
sṅa.rtsid.ni.*dbu*.le.rgyan |	(A, *rṅo.rtsir*, *rṅog*)
rta.*h*i.mor.btab.na.ci.yaṅ.myi.ñes.te.bzaṅ.ṅo |	(A omits)
Ho, a horse, *neigh*, *neigh*, agreable;	(A, *to every man*)
Hue white, *temper white*, both;	(A, *stable star*, *self star*)
Both together, a horse of prestige:	(A omits)
Young yak-bull chasing in front,	(A omits '*young*')
Galloping, hoof not gives way:	
[Yak]-tail *head's* adornment.	(A, *mane*'s)
If cast for a horse-*mo*, nothing being wrong, good.	(A, good)

2. B, 5a 3—7 = A, 11. 128—130

| 0000 || 0 || 0000 ||	(A, 1/2/3)
kye.dbyar.le.ni.zla.gsuṃ.na |	
smya.lo.ni.phrum.phrum.*se* |	(A, *sil*)
skyes.śes.ni.*h*bras.bu.myed |	(A omits)
ston.*sla*.ni.zla.gsuṃ.na |	(A, *le*)
spaṅ.rgyan.ni.g-yu.*h*i.*gce*.*h*u |	(A, *lo*)
men.tog.ni.sa.le.*h*khruṅs |	
g-yag.bal.ni.sṅo.*h*is.lod |	(A differs)
myi.rmaṅ.po.rabs.ch(?)ad.te.śi.ba*h*i.ṅo ste.ṅan.rab.bo	
Ho! On summer lea, months three,	
Smya-leaf at each step rustles:	
Born-known fruit there is not.	(A omits)
On autumn lea, months three,	
Meadow-adornment, turquoise-*tongue*:	(A, *leaf*)
Flower *sa-le* grown;	
Yak-hair gone greenish (yellow ?).	(A, differs)

There being prospect of death with cutting-off of many human
families, very bad. (A, no augury)

3. B, 7a, 4—9 = A, 11. 4—5.

| 0000 || 0 || 0 || (A, 4/3/4)

kye.phu.gsum.ni.ya.byi.na[1]) | (A different)

g-yu.*nas*.ni.*ljań*.*tog*.la | (A, *bzańs*, *lcań*.*lo*)

g-yu.byań.na (*Sic*, *for* ni).*gsuń*-*hgyur*.*ba* | (A, *brya*?, *bkra*.*rtses*.*dań*)

deń.thos.ni.skyid.pa*h*i.*rtags* | (A, *lugs*)

sdug.ciń.myi.bde.ba.las |
gtam.sňan.pa.thos.pa.*h*am | (A, mostly different)

nad.tshab.po.che.las.thar.ba*h*i.rtags.te | *cań*(?) *bzań* | *rab*.*bo* | (A, *bzań*.*ho*.*rab*.*ho*)

Ho! In Highlands-three, far up, (A different)

Turquoise *barley*, *with top green*; (A, *fine*, *like willow leaf*

Turquoise tested, *becoming a talk*; (A, *criss-cross play*)

To-day heard, happiness *augury*. (A, *news*)

After grieving discontent
Tidings agreable heard, or (A different)
From illness heavy stroke

release signified, altogether very good (A, very good)

4. B, 8a, 9—14 = A, 11. 27—8.

000 | 0000 | 000 | (A, 4/1/4)

kye.byań.*rog*.ni.phań.*phuń*.la | (A, *ri*, *puń*)

dgos.kyis.ni.*na*.rko.rko | (A, *dňos*, *phuń*)

gser.gi.ni.*sbrań*.dań.mjal | (A, *sbam*)

goń.ma.ni.brtsed.brtsed.na |
nu(*h*u ?).men.ni.phrag.bżin.ma | (A different)

*h*od.bzańs.ni.lha.me.lham | (A. different)

gňen.żig.byas.na.mthar.bzań.por.soń.te | *bzań*.*rab*.*bo* ||| (A, *bzań*)

Ho! a proven *comrade* in trouble, (A, *mountain*)

Needfully the place dig, dig: (A, *forthwith*)

Of gold a *honey-comb* (?) comes (to hand). (A, *collection*)

First, toying, toying (with it)

. . . . . (A different)

Sheen fine, glittering, glittering.

Having made a family connection, as an excellent end comes about,
very good. (A, *good*)

5. B, 11b 5—9 (cf. 7a 4—9) = A, 11. 4—5.

|| 00 || 00 || 00 | (A, 3/1/2)

kye.mtsho.ro.ni.*gańs*.yul.na | (A, *g-yu*)

g-yu.bzańs.ni.*ljań*.*thog*.*du* | (A, *lcań*.*lo*.*la*)

g-yu.*bran*.ni.*bkwas*.*btses*.*pas* | (A, *brya*, *bkwa*.*rtses*.*dań*)

dań.*tog*.ni.skyid.pa*h*i.*rtags* | (A, *deń*.*thos*, *lugs*)

bsam.bar.ni.*h*gyod.pa.las |
gtam.sňan.pa.ni.thos.te | (A, omits)
ňo.mtho.ba.*h*i.ltas.te |

bzań.rab.bo | (A, bzań.*h*o.rab.*h*o)

[1]) This line recurs in 17a 10 (*la*).

Ho! Lake-land in *Ice*-realm: (A, *turquoise*)
Turquoise fine, *with top green*; (A, *like willow leaf*)
Turquoise serf... (A,
Bright top, happy *sign*. (A, *to-day heard*, *news*)
After interim thought of regret
Tidings agreable heard (A omits, but cf. 1. 5)
A face-uplifting portend
very good. (A, very good)

6. B, 12a, 4—9 = A, 11. 54—7.
00 | 0000 | 0000 | (A, 2/2/1)
kye.*gar*.kyi.ni.sum.zur.la | (A, *gaṅs.dkar*)
h̲broṅ.bu.ni.*bżeṅs.legs.pas* | (A, *bżes.lass.te*)
nams.kyaṅ.ni.gaṅs.*goṅ.rtse* | (A, *kar*)
goṅ.sreg.ni.ma.bu.*la* | (A, *goṅ.srag*, *gñis*)
gsuṅ.sñan.ni.*g-yu.h̲i.dril* | (A, *si.lili*)
nams.kyaṅ.ni.sman.gi.dkor |
bya.ma.ni.raṅ (ṅaṅ?) ṅar?.mo.la | (A omits)
bya.bran.ni.khyu.h̲i.phel |
nams.kyaṅ.[ni].*mtsho.h̲i*.rgyan | (A, *g-yah̲.sṅo*)
srid.bya.daṅ.rgod.ma.yo.ma.la.btab.na.*bzaṅ.rab*.bo | (A omits)

Ho! In triangle of *white* (A, *white ice*)
Young yak-bull *well erect*; (A, *taken penned*)
Though taken, *ice-top peak*. (A, *white ice peak*)
Bird mother, son, mind-compliant both;
Speech agreable, turquoise bell; (A, *rainfall-like*)
Though taken, of medicines *store*. (A, *medicines*, no *need at all*)

Bird mother, for own *mo*;
Bird serf, increase of herd. (A omits)
Though taken, the *lake's* adornment. (A, *front black-adorned*) *very good*.

If cast for status luck or for a restive mare (?). (A *good*)

7. B, 13b 2—6 = A, 11. 42—4.
|| 00 || 000 || 000 || (A, 2/3/2)
kye.skar.*ma*.ni.Smyin drug.la | (A, *żan*)
gza.brgyad.ni.*yar.du.h̲dus* (A, *skar.phran*, *bzaṅ.h̲dun*)

Smyin.drug.ni.ldeb.su.śor |
skyuṅ.khwa.ni.nag.mo.la | (A omits)
khra.bdun.ni.yar.du.h̲dus | (A, *bzaṅ*, *blan*)
skyuṅ.khwa.ni.ldebs.su.śor | (A, see 1. 3)
raṅ.ñen.ba.żig.la.thar.te | dgra.bya.la (A omits
bzaṅ.rab.bo (A, *bzaṅ*)
Ho! Star in Smyin-six, (A inserts '*weak*')
Planets eight assembled on high, (A, *minor star joined with Good-seven*)

Smyin-six in flight aside.
Raven is for a black mo; (A omits)

Hawks seven *assembled* on high,	(A, *good*, won)
Raven in flight aside.	(A, see 1. 3)
Being issued in respect of an own kinsman, is in respect of	(A omits)
enemy lot *very good*)	(A *good*)

8. B, 14a 1—6 = A, 11. 31—2.

|| 00 || 0 || 000 ||	(A, 2/3/3)
kye.smra.yul.ni.thags.brgyad.na |	(A omits)
Dru.gu.ni.*mthaḫ.bskor.ba* |	(A, *khri.snaṅ.żig*)
gaṅ.śas (*For* śes ?).ni.gar.mchis.kyaṅ |	(A omits)
glo.ba.ni.*yar*.myi.*spro* |	(A, *g-yar*, *bzed*)
snaṅ.*ston*.ni.*ñon.moṅs.pa*	(A, *rtsan*, *żabo.cig*)
mthiṅ.la.ni.gaṅ.nu.mthiṅ |	(A, *chab*, *khaṅ.dbub*)
gduṅ.ḫphyam.ni.mkhod.myi.sñoms |	
gdon.du.ni.pho.gdon.yod |	(A omits)
ḫjim.pa.chur.bcug.pas.ḫdra	
ṅan.rab	(A, *ṅan*)
Ho! In low (?) country, leagues (?) eight	(A omits)
A Dru-gu, a *borderer man*:	(A, *shining seat*)
What he knows (?), where even he is,	(A omits)
Mind in the face not *alert*.	(A, *made out*)
Appearance *showing*, *an afflicted one*;	(A, *strong*, *a cripple*)
At bottom, *what bottom there is*,	(A, *in water a house to roof in*)
Beam support not properly fitted.	
As to fiends, a male fiend there is.	(A omits)
Like putting mud in water	
very bad	(A, *bad*)

9. B, 14b 2—9 = A, 14. 67—8.

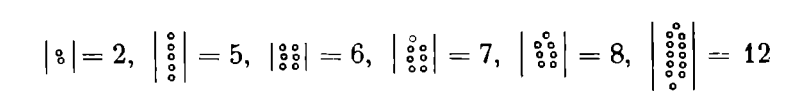
| 00 | 0 | 0000 |	(A, 2/1/2)
kye.tsha.ba.ni.skyol.yul.na /	(A omits)
rtol.bu.ni.lo.chu.snar |	
chuṅ.nas.ni.ran.ḫtshal.ḫtshal	(A omits)
g-yar.du.ni.ḫjug.ma.bcad |	(A omits)
Skyid.nas.ni.żiṅ.rmos.*pa* |	(A, *Skyi.ru*, *sñam*)
Gtsaṅ.du.ni.śiṅ.ra.re |	(A omits)
byaṅ.*du*.ni.*tsha*.blaṅs.*pas* |	(A, *mtshar.dkar.sñam*)
lha.gor.ni.*rgyab*.myig.*rdol* |	(A, *dkor.gyi*, *sgal.ḫbyuṅ*)
sku.ḫkhruṅs.ni.myi.bśigs.pas |	
su.daṅ.ḫgrog.ma.myi.mkhyen |	
raṅ.yaṅ ni.*roṅ*.gu.che | myi.kha.zer.gdon.du.byur.chags.yod.	(A omits)
pas.ṅo.len.gyis.śig	
ḫbriṅ	(A *ṅan*)
Ho! In convoy land, Tsha-ba,	(A omits)
New arrival, ten years before:	
From youth opportunity seek, seek	(A omits)
Up country entrance not barred;	
By luck a field ploughed,	(A, *in Skyi*)
In Gtsaṅ a tree-plot there is;	

In the *north* heat obtained	(A, *north-end*)
In the god's (king's ?) store a *back* eye (leak) *pierced*	(A, *load, grown*)
Body growth . . .	(A omits)
With whom accord, mother not knows.	
A great self-willed one: while professedly a man, attached wretchedly to a fiend,	
take care: *medium*	(A, *bad*)

Of the other *Mo*-mss. which have come to light the following particulars may be noted: —

1. I. O. Library Ms. Stein Fr. 2 (vol. 56, fol. 7): ll. 32; *verso* Chinese. Text possibly akin to that here edited, but illegible through dirt and obscurity.
2. British Museum Ms. S 155, scroll; *verso* Chinese. Long Tibetan text everywhere too much rubbed for continuous reading: perhaps akin to I. O. Library Ms. 9 II 19; *musman* is 3/4/3/, and *lha Dbyar-mo-thaṅ-gi-żal-nas* is 1/4/4.
3. Four I. O. Library Mss. Stein, viz —
   (a) 80 IV (vol. 56, fol. 56), torn and fragmentary: ll. 22; *verso* Chinese. Perhaps first part of 80 IV g (vol. 72, foll. 46/7).
   (b) 80 IV g (vol. 72, foll. 46—7), complete at end: ll. 36+20; *verso* Chinese.
   (c) Fr. 55 (vol. 68, foll. 115—6), complete; ll. 19+30; *verso* Chinese.
   (d) — (vol. 69, fol. 10), narrow page: ll. 29, large script.

These four, with which must be associated nos. 1055—6 of Mdlle Lalou's *Inventaire*, are all similar in plan and distinguished from the dice-divination texts by the fact that they operate with coins (*doṅ-tse*, °*tshe*), 12 in number, and are in paragraphs 1—12, headed by the successive numbers arranged as in —



The paragraphs open with a statement in the form —
doṅ-tshe-gsum-gan-na | sa-daṅ-lcags-kyi-ṅo-la-bab-ste
'where there are three coins, fallen for prognostic of earth and iron'.

The prognostications are not in the several texts all uniform either in their descriptions or in their connections with the coin-numbers; in Ms. (c) Fr. 55 we have —

1. *ñi-ma-khud-par-śar-paḫi-ṅo-ste*, 'there being prognostic of the sun arising apart (*khud-du*)'
2. *myiḫi-ṅo-la-bab-ste*, 'fallen for prognostic of man'
3. *sa-daṅ-lcags-kyi-ṅo-la* . . ., 'fallen for prognostic of earth and iron'
4. *gnam-gru-bżi-pa-sde-brgyad-gi-ṅo-la* . . ., '. . . for prognostic of square sky with eight groups'
5. *bśum-baḫi-ṅo-la* . . ., '. . . for prognostic of the bewept'
6. *chu-daṅ-gser-gi-ṅo-la* . . ., '. . . for prognostic of water and gold'
7. *mye-daṅ-saḫi-ṅo-la* . . ., '. . . for prognortic of fire and earth'
8. *chu-daṅ-śiṅ-skyes-paḫi-ṅo-la* . . ., '. . . for prognostic of the water-and-wood-born'
9. *rgyal-poḫi-ṅo-la* . . ., '. . . for prognostic of a king'
10. *ñis-zla-ḫphrug-cig-dus-cig-dus-śar-baḫi-ṅo-la* . . . 'for prognostic of two moons rising at one tine in one three-hour period (*phrug*)'
11. *myiḫi-ṅo-la* . . ., '. . . for prognostic of man'

12. *ñi-ma-sten-dus-cig-tu-śar-baḫi-ṅo-la* . . . 'for prognostic of the sun rising at one time (and ?) aloft'

This text (c) commences with an announcement as follows: —

Gnam-daṅ-po-Koṅ-tshe-ḫphrul-kyi-bu | *gcug-lag-maṅ-po-żig-mdor-bsdus-te* | *gtan-la-phab-pa.*

'[By ?] supernatural (*ḫphrul*) son Koṅ-tshe, originally (*daṅ-po*) [of] heaven (*Gnam*), much wisdom summarized, edited (*gtan-la-phab*)'

and the conclusion is —

doṅ-tshe-kun-bub-na | *ñi-ma-nub-paḫi-ṅo-la-bab-ste* | *sa-ḫgam-paḫi-ṅo* | *rgyal-ni-gduṅ-chad-paḫi-ṅo* | *bseḫ-ni-dmyig-bol-paḫi-ṅo* | *cho-ga-byas-kyaṅ-myi-zlogs* | *mo-ḫdi-ci-la-btad-kyaṅ-ṅan-no* | ⁝ | *Dkoṅ-tse-ḫphrul-gyis-mdzad-paḫi-doṅ-tse-bcu-gñis-kyi-mo* || *brdzogs-so* ||

'If all the coins are *bub*, fallen for prognostic of sun-setting, prognostic of deep land, prognostic of king's lineage cut off, prognostic of soft-hoofed serow (-deer) are, even if ritual is performed, not averted. This *mo*, for whatever cast, is bad. Composed by Dkoṅ-tse, the supernatural, the 'Coins-twelve *mo*' is finished.'

The meanings of the terms *ṅo* and *bub* are somewhat elucidated by the language of text (b) (80 IVg), in which the successive *ṅos* are as follows: —

4. *chu-ṅo-ḫbyuṅ-ste*, 'water-*ṅo* resulting'
5. *gser-gyi-ṅo* . . ., 'gold-*ṅo* . . .'
6. *don-ñer-ḫgrub-miḫi-ṅo* . . ., 'purpose-undertaking-success-man-*ṅo* . . .'
7. *ri-ṅo* . . ., 'mountain-*ṅo* . . .'
8. *sa-daṅ-chuḫi-ṅo*, 'earth and water-*ṅo*'
9. *koṅ-tse-ṅo* . . ., 'Koṅ-tse-*ṅo*'
10. *mye-daṅ-saḫi-ṅo* . . ., 'fire and earth-*ṅo* . . .'
11. *bchu-goṅ-gyi-ṅo* . . ., 'ten(*or* 'water')-upper-*ṅo* . . .'
12. *theḫu-ṅo-koṅ-gi-ṅo* . . ., 'top *theḫu* prognostic-*ṅo*'

Here the phrases in the form *ṅo-ḫbyuṅ* (*byuṅ*)-*ste*, which marks also (d) and Mdlle Lalou's no. 1055, must signify a result: hence *ṅo* cannot mean 'side' or 'place', but must denote an 'aspect' or 'indication' resulting from the throw of the coins, a sense of *ṅo*, 'face', which in our main text appears frequently (ll. 3, 16, 41, 52, 71, 77, 89) in the phrase *ṅo-yod*, which we have usually translated by 'is likely'. The *ṅos-bzaṅs*, 'good side', of l. 18, is perhaps correctly explained in n. 6 of p. 130 as containing the quite different word *ṅos*, 'side'.

Accordingly in Ms. (c) the phrase *ṅo-la-bab-ste* must be rendered 'fallen so as to yield the aspect, or an indication (not 'fallen on the side') of'; how does this come about? Possibly it might be due to the geometrical configuration of the group of fallen coins; and, if this comprized also cases of heap-formation, it might be thought consistent with an entry in Ms. (a), where (l. 16), after the introductory formula 'where there are two coins and the others are *bub*', the text continues *ci-ḫgoṅ-byuṅ-ste*, which might mean 'that which has become top': and this might seem to concur with the *bchu-goṅ-gyi-ṅo* of Ms. (b) *supra*, if this *means* 'prognostic of ten top'. But, even if these renderings are correct, the supposition of a heap seems clearly inadequate to the character and variety of the auguries, and use of a diagram seems indispensable: the 'top' coin, if meant, could just as well be 'top' in a diagram as in a heap.

The term *phub* or *bub* is elucidated by its recurrence in Ms. (b) and (c) and in Mdlle Lalou's no. 1055 in phrases such as: —

doṅ-tse-bźi-gan-de-gźan-phub-gźan-na | *chu-ṅo-h̲byuṅ-ste*

'where there are four coins, while the others are elsewhere(?) *phub*, a water-*ṅo*-results'

doṅ-tse-lṅa-de-gźan-bub-na | *gser-gyi-ṅo-byuṅ-ste*

'Where there are five coins, while the others are *bub*, a gold-*ṅo* results'

Here the verb *h̲bubs*, 'be turned upside down', 'put on a roof, or something for a roof', *dbub*, *spub*, 'invert', 'turn upside down', *h̲phub*, 'pitch a tent', or 'set up a house', *phub*, 'shield', 'breast-plate', 'cover', 'canopy', cannot fail to be present, more especially as our Mss. have (IV 243, VI 32) *khaṅ-dbub-tu*, 'to vault a mansion'. The central notion seems to be that of covering, or roofing, with something resembling an inverted bowl. In these *mo*-texts we might think of the 'other' coins as being piled up in a heap, covering one another; but far more apposite is the notion of 'invert', which the Dictionary gives as the main signification of *spub*, *dbub*, *h̲bub*: the 'other' coins lie face downwards, showing only a blank side. This is patent in the above-quoted terminal passage of Ms. (c), mentioning the case of 'all the coins being inverted' (*doṅ-tshe-kun-bub-na*), which reappears in Ms. (d) (l. 14) as *doṅ-tse-ril-bub-na*. It may be mentioned that also the fragmentary Ms. (a) includes in its phrases the reference to the 'other' coins.

The topics to which in the four Mss. the prognostications are applied seem to be almost entirely the same as those in our main Ms., house, home, life, prosperity, enemies, disease, travellers, projects, petitions, lost property, appointments. As regards the last-named, the appeal for a 'next vacancy' (*rje-blas*, ll. 77, 93, 104, 111, 117 of our Ms.) is interestingly supplemented in the *rje-blas-daṅ-ṅo-phral* of Mss. (d) (l. 26) and (b) (fol. 47, l. 19) by addition of 'the present occasion' (*ṅo-h̲phral* (*phral*).

Not to linger further over particulars, it may be hoped that the above slight initiative may be found helpful to any scholar with leisure and inclination for further study of the subject.

Linguistic Notes

L. 2*, Ma-ha: on 'fiend Ma-ha' see p. 130, n. 4.

L. 3*, *h̲phaṅs*, 'thrown away', 'lost' (√*h̲phen*)?

L. 4*, *h̲khor*, 'return' (in place of *h̲oṅ*, 'come', ll. 3, 8, ect.).

L. 6*, *mnah̲-bsal*: Unknown; the following *yoṅs-myi-che* can mean 'yield not great', cf. *Tib. Lit.Texts & Docc.*, II, p. 298. 6. *Btsah̲*, 'harvest', and *bsdu-myi-h̲tshal*, 'not worth gathering'?

L. 7*, *dkar* (if the right reading)-*mo* will mean 'wheat'; cf. *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.*, III, Vocabulary. *Dbyar-ni-laṅs-dgun-ni-ñal*, 'in summer sprung up, in winter asleep (a failure?)'.

L. 8*, *h̲greṅ-myi* . . .: 'Likely (*daṅ-h̲dra*) to be harmful to all mankind'.
bkur-phod, 'capable of worshipping'.

L. 9*, *dbab-myi-h̲dril*: 'To pay (*dbab*, 'fall'?) not pack up (*h̲dril*?)'.
dgras-myi-tshugs, 'by enemy not interpose'?

L. 11*, *h̲bo-skyas*: 'By sprout crop'?

Ll. 12*—3*: On these see the notes to ll. 85—7; it seems clear that *lho-ga*, replacing *lhagsna* ('arrives'?), means 'southerner', and *mchiṅ-druṅ-na*, 'among Mchiṅ officials'.

L. 13*, *śa-ru*: This is perhaps = *śar-ru*, 'in the east' or 'at dawn': cf. l. 149, *tho-ras-ni-śaru-tsam*. The lines commencing with *nams-kyaṅ*, 'gains also', are, no doubt, clichés of like sense; cf. ll. 54—5, 160.

L. 14*, *mkhon-kyis-sna-draṅs*: 'Led by malice'.
pho-sa-nas . . .; 'There being from an elder's side (*sa*, or 'land') devilry and rivalry (*rgyal-byin*?) and great superiority (*h̲goṅ-pa*?)'.

L. 15*, *so-nam-daṅ-chu-srid*: 'Agricultural and water situation'.
źugs-źiṅ-h̲dug: 'Are at present situated'.
bsdur, 'having compared'.

L. 16*, *h̲og-du*: Here probably local, 'lower down', cf. l. 32 *gñen-goṅ-du*; but *bye-zal* is obscure.

Ll. 18*—9* *phu-sum . . . mdaḫ-sum*, 'uplands three . . . lowlands three'. On *ya/ma-byi-na* see note to l. 27.
gyur-sram-ni-sñan-ma-sra: Ms. B. has *gyur-gsum-ni-thugs-sñuṅ-bā* | *ḫo-brgyal-ni-ḫgres-kyi-non* |, which proves, no doubt, that *sñan* is, as elsewhere, = *sñiṅ*, 'heart', = *thugs*, 'mind'. Translate 'change-enduring (*gyur-sran*?), the heart not firm (*sra*)'?

L. 20*, *bkaḫ-sñan . . . dgyes-po*: On these two clichés see ll. 108—9. On *mu-sman* see pp. 138 n. 1, 143.

L. 21*, *yid-ḫtad*: 'Mind-agreeing (*ḫthad*)'?

L. 22*, *dgra-rgyu-myed*: 'Enemy-occasion non-existent'.

L. 23*, *goṅ-srag* (so read, as in l. 55, *goṅ-srag-ni-ma-bu-gñis*?), see note on l. 55.
skal-p(h)og-pa: 'Share fixed (*ḫphog*)', or 'share wages (*phog-pa*)'.
sru-sru: = *srus*, 'unripe grain'? This may suit the probable context, *lo-bzaṅs*, 'a good year'.

L. 24*, *ya-chab*: 'Superior (or *g-yar*, 'mouth'?) water'; *skams* = 'drink'; *gsol* = 'quaff'.

L. 25*, *chab-ḫtshal*: 'Ask water', sometimes perhaps = 'die of thirst'.
khyeḫu-btsaḫ-phya (reading doubtful) = 'augury of a child's birth'?

L. 26*, *rdzi-ba*: ‚Hurricane' or ‚herdsman'?
thugs-tub (*thub*): 'Confidence'?

Ll. 28*—29*: For a similar verse see ll. 114—5, where many expressions (*ṅur-phyo*, *neḫu-siṅ*, *spaṅ-rgyan*, *lus-ḫtshogs*) recur.
mtsho-sman: 'Lake-medicaments' (mentioned also p. 146). On 'medicaments' see p. 121.
gñaṅ-gyi-drin: 'favour of potent . . .': cf. l. 19 and on *gñan*, 'potent', the Linguistic note there.

L. 2, *ṅo-len* ('face-take'): The phrase, which recurs in l. 70 *infra*, but is not given in the Dictionaries, is analogous to some of the other Compounds with *ṅo*, 'face'. Clearly it has nothing to do with *rṅo-len*, 'roast', 'fry'.
gyis-żig: In less popular Tibetan this should be °*śig*.

L. 4, *lcaṅ-lo-la*: This use of *la* in comparisons (= 'for', 'as good as', 'equivalent to', 'in place of') has been frequently seen in V (ll. 2, 4, 6, 9, etc.): cf. l. 73, *infra*.
rtses: Aorist form of *rtse/rtsed*, 'play'.

L. 5, *bzaṅ-dgu*: 'Good-nine' = 'all good things'.
Lugs can perhaps signify 'tidings', 'announcement'.

L. 6, *tri-mchun*: Perhaps = *dri-śun*, 'insulting question'. Cf. *mchig* from *ḫjig*, *śig*.
Ḫches/ḫtshes from *ḫtshe/gtse*, 'injure'.
thams-śad = *tham-śad*, regularly formed from *thams-cad*, recurs in ll. 46, 63: cf. IV, l. 175.

L. 7, *bgyegs (bgegs)-sol*: Imperative *sol* (√*sel*, 'get rid of') because subordinate to Imperative *mchod*.
khye = *khe*, 'profit', as spelled in ll. 25, 30, 40, etc. *infra*.

L. 8, *daṅ-skar*: Cf. *daṅ-ra*, 'stable'. Add. p. 146, has *ṅaṅ-dkar* and *yid-kar*

L. 9, *rṅo-rtsir*: Apparently for *rṅa-rtsid*, 'tail-hair' (commonly of yak). See Add. p. 146 (*sṅa*°)
le-rgyan = *le-brgan*, 'diapered design' (probably from *leb*, 'flat' or *sle*, 'twist', braid', ‚knit.).

L. 10, *ces-sga*: 'Saddle', for the usual *cibs-sga*, or the *(rgyab)-cha-sga* of *Tib. Literary Texts and Documents*, II, p. 369 : 49, A 2.
sval-lcag: possibly = *spa-lcag*, 'cane or bamboo whip' (Ś. C. D., s. *lcag*): *bsigs*, 'stimulated', from √*sig*, 'jerk', 'hitch up'.
spun-ni-lgro: 'Pace (*lgro*) increased'?? *spun* = *spuṅ* or *sbun*.

L. 13, *gñan*, 'powerful and fearful' or 'a class of mischievous demigods', recurs in ll. 19, 62, cf. L'no 1051.

L. 14, *bos*: 'Called' ‚invited' (√*ḫbod*)

L. 15, *thoṅ-żig*: *thoṅ(s)*, Imperative of *gtaṅ/gtoṅ*: on *żig* = *śig* see l. 2. In l. 105 *toṅs-g(y)is* is used.

L. 16, *cag*: = *cag-ga*, 'care'.

L. 18, *ḫdrim*: = *ḫgrim*, 'wander'?
bdam: Aorist of *ḫdam*, 'choose': recurs *infra*, ll. 33, 80.

L. 19, *ḫphrur*: = *ḫphyur*.: *sku-bla*, 'magnate', grandee", recurs in Ms. XIX 004, fol. 16 b, l. 4.
gñar: From *gñer*, 'undertake (a task)'.
tshe-lags-ḫgraṅ: '(That) life is, be satisfied or reckon (*ḫgraṅ*)'.

L. 22, *ba-rabs*: *Rabs*, 'ford', might be for *rab*, 'excellent'.

L. 26, *sos*: Preterite of *ḫtsho*, 'live'; but it could be = *gsos/bsos* from *gso*, 'nourish', 'tend', 'cure'.

L. 27, *sbam*: The original *sbraṅ* of Add. p. 147, was perhaps = *sbram*, 'bulk'.

L. 28, *tvag-kyis*: If *tvag* (unknown) is for *tog* (with not infrequent *va/wa* for *o*), the sense will be 'at, or by, the top'; but we can also think of *thog*, 'top', 'roof', and *thog-ma(r)*, 'at first'.
snam-phrag: The fold in the breast of the robe.
sdar: 'Timid', 'tremble', recurs in l. 35 *infra*. If *sdur* is read, the sense is 'for comparison'. *Bdar*, *rdar*, would mean 'scrutinize'.

L. 31, *g-yar-myi-bz[e]d: G-yar* is here, no doubt, 'face' or 'in front', sc. exposed, evident. Add. p. 149, has *yar-myi-spro.*

L. 32, *khań-dbub:* On *dbub/phub*, etc., 'to roof (sc. build) a house', see note to IV, l. 46. *Hgod/hkhod*, 'construct', 'arrange', 'establish', has occured in IA, l. 125, B, ll. 6, 16. For "in water' (*chab-la*) Add. p. 149, has *mthiń-la*, 'on the level (*or* bottom)', a sense (= *rtiń*) which recurs in ll. 119, 132 Ms. XIX 004, fol. 10 b. l. 5, and is antithetic to *yar.*

L. 33, *g-yań-mo:* 'Sheep', but perhaps often a stuffed 'luck-sheep': see note to IA, l. 11, and IV, ll. 92, 94 and Introduction, pp. 61—2.
lhas: 'Pen', 'enclosure', from *lhe/sle*, 'twist'.
tsho: 'Fat', or perhaps = *htsho*, 'feed'.
bdam: 'Choose', as in l. 18 *supra* and l. 80 *infra.*

L. 34, *phye:* From *hbyed*, 'open', 'separate', 'issue forth': cf. *phyed* (of a demon's being driven out in l. 35.
brgal: Rgal/rgol = 'cross', 'dispute': here perhaps 'survive', cf. IV, ll. 131, 134.

L. 36, *slogs: Zlogs* in ordinary Tibetan; cf. *sla/zla*, 'month'.

L. 37, *spań-ka:* On Suffix *ka* with place-words see note to IA, l. 53: cf. l. 79, *infra. Ya-byi* occurs in M. Bacot's *Documents*, pp. 116, 119, and the meaning is stated, p. 200, as 'en-bas', 'la-bas': as *ma-bi* likewise occurs (pp. 119) in clear antithesis (with 'earth', while *ya-byi* is joined with 'sky'), it seems that *ya-byi* is, 'up above' and *ma-byi* 'down below'. The syllable *byi/bi* is possibly = *phyi* 'outside, beyond'.

L. 39, *khyim-phugs:* A normal term (*hbigs*, 'pierce') for burglary: recurs in l. 69.

L. 40, *gdon-lan: Lan* is probably not *lan*, 'time(s)', but *lan*, (< *lańs*) the usual term for the 'rising' of a demon, with original dental *n*, as in *lon*, 'reach', 'arrive'.

L. 42, *bor-lag:* Literally 'cast away (*hbor*) remainder (*lhag*)', which recurs regularly *infra* with the signification 'lost property', may have contemplated primarily things abandoned perforce on the long mountain journeys. Cf. *nvr-gi-lhag*, ll. 85—6.

L. 43, *rgya-skar:* 'Orb-star' recurs in l. 149; but *rgyu-skar*, 'moving star', often = Sanskrit *nakṣatra*, suggests itself. *Rgyu* is read in Ms. XIX 004, foll. 1b, l. 8 and (with *skar*) in 6 b. l. 10.

L. 44, *mos:* Usually = 'respect': perhaps *myoń*, from *myoń/smyoń*, commonly used of 'experiencing' (grief, etc.), was meant.

L. 45, *gsas:* Clearly here = 'offspring', from *btsa*, 'give birth', 'be born'; see *supra*, IV, Introduction, p. 58.
hches: Gces, no doubt, connected with *che*, *chen*, *gcen*, 'great', *gce*, 'love', means 'dear', 'important', 'precious', 'diligent', of which the last is perhaps predominant here and in the phrase *hgo-żiń-hche* ll. 58, 131, *infra*. But *hches* can mean simply 'greatly'.

L. 46, *thams-śad:* See note on l. 6.

L. 49, *bcu-ru:* = *bcur-ru*, 'at an obstruction': see V, l. 36.

L. 51, *rgub-logs-che-ba:* 'Of great back (*rkub*)-turning'.

L. 54, *bżes-lass:* 'Taken (and) penned (with *lass* = *lhas* of l. 33 ?).

L. 55, *gańs-(d)kar-rdze:* 'White-ice (snow)-king (*rdze* = *rje*, as elsewhere also instanced)' or 'peak' (*rtse*). *Hod-htsher:* 'shine': see Ś. C. D. as s. v. *htsher.*

L. 55, Cf. *lha-dkar-rtse*, 'the gods' 'white peek' in ll. 145—6, *Goń-srag:* Unknown: in Ms. XIX 004, fol. 1 b, l. 8, occurs a perhaps herewith connected *goń-dań-sreg; sreg/srag* can mean 'partridge'.

L. 56, *si-lili*, Phrase not infrequent, signifying a faint, steady, sound, as of falling rain; cf M. Bacot's *Doeuments*, pp. 116, 204.

L. 56, *dgo-spańs:* This recurs in l. 124, where it is no less obscure. The suggertion that it is = *go-hphań*, 'station', 'rank', is unsatisfactory, but 'door (*sgo*) abandoned' and 'door meadow' are not promising. See also l. 124.

Ll. 56—7, *bdagi-nor* ... *dra-bar* ... *ra-mthah:* 'Own estate' ... 'net-work' ... 'boundary-limit'; *bdagi-nor* recurs, with *ra-bar-gsol*, in Ms. XIX 004, fol. 16 a, l. 8; on *dra-ba* see *Tib. Lit. Texts and Docc.* III, Vocabulary; *ra-mthah* seems practically equivalent, see note to l. 62.

L. 57, *cań-myi-hgri:* 'Entirely not diminishing (*hgri* = *hbri*'): cf. ll. 160—1 *mthah-myi-hgri.*

L. 58, *hgo-żiń:* This recurs in ll. 75, 116, 131, 157, and also in a document (*Tib. Literary Texts and Documents*, II, p. 93, A 4), the contexts being in all the cases similar. It seems quite likely that *hgo* is the known variant of *mgo*, 'head', which has the signification 'leader', commander', so that the notion would be of the god's 'leading'. But equivalence to *sgo/bsgo*, 'command', 'direct', is not excluded.

L. 61, *ldems* = 'unsteady' 'shaking', 'flexible', occurs in Ms. XIX 004 fol. 14 a, ll. 7—8, *sman-śoń-ni-ldem-me-ldem:* Cf. I B, l. 91, *ltem-se-ltems. Le* = 'lea'; see note to l. 128.

L. 62, *dog-mthah:* Recurs in l. 133, *infra. Dog* is a narrow, or dangerous, place, e. g. for passage of troops (*Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, II, pp. 157—8): but in view of *dog* = 'land' (see Bacot's *Documents*, pp. 118—9, 196) or of *bdog*, 'possess', 'wealth' *dog-mthah* could mean 'estate limit' or be equivalent to *ra-mthah*, l. 57.

L. 63, *thams-śad:* See notes on ll. 6, 46.

L. 64, *snaṅ-yal-che:* 'View-pendent great': this seems to mean a view from a height, as suggested by the frequency of *Snaṅ-rtse* in names of hill-points (see *Tib. A. Texts*, etc., II, pp. 156, 228—9). The Tibetans seem to have been sensitive to such, partly from military precaution (cf. *brag-hwod*, 'crag-watch', and *mye-ra*, 'eye-horizon', in IV, ll. 266), and in Chinese *Ssū-ch'uan* there is the famous view from Mount Omi.

L. 65, *kha-gzes, myi-tshugs: Kha-gze* is known as 'a porter's load' (cf. *gzed*, 'carry'): possibly the expression is here proverbial, 'no load', sc. obligation, is put on you'. Or cf. *bze-re*, used of short-tempered speech. *mthaḫ...myi-ḫgri*, '(at the) end not diminishing' (*ḫgri* = *ḫbri*), cf. ll. 57, 160—1.

L. 68, *lhod-de-po:* This should mean a '*lhod-de*-man', wherein *lhod-de* should mean 'being loosed' (cf. IV, ll. 277—9), or 'without hurry', 'care-free', 'unconcerned'. But possibly *lhod-de* is the *lo-de* of IV, l. 108, which conceivably means 'earnings' or 'wages'.
zu-ṅa: = *zuṅ-ṅa*, 'a pair of (folding?) doors': see Ś. C. Das' Dictionary.

L. 68, *sgal-myig:* Here Ms. XIX 004, fol. 12 b, l. 6, has *lha-gor-ni-rgyab-myig-rdol*, 'god's store [with] a back-eye (leak behind?) pierced' (*rdol*, 'leak' or 'hole').

L. 68, *gres-gsra:* In these texts *gsra*, 'hale' 'firm', seems to be favoured in reference to vitality; thus *srog-sra* occurs in Ms. XIX 004, foll. 4 b 11, 10 b 1, 13 b 10, 15 a 11, and in Ms. 9 II 19, ll. 64, 105, 202, generally in company with *tshe-riṅ*, 'long life.

L. 72. *thig-skal*: Cf. Ms. XIX 004, fol. 13 a 4—5 *zas-skal* 'share of food', '*skom-skal*', 'share of drink' and ll. 23*—24* *supra*.

L. 69, *khyim-phugs*: See note on l. 39.

L. 70, *ṅo-len:* See note on l. 2.

L. 71, *gyod-smed:* = *ḫgyod-rmed*, 'repentance-ask'.

L. 73, *lcaṅ-tog-la:* On *la* see note to l. 4.

L. 75, *ḫgo-žiṅ:* See note on l. 58.
mogs: = *moṅs:* on *g/ṅ* see on IB, ll. 40, 50.
mye-(ṅa)m: = *mya-ṅam*, 'sand-desert'.

L. 77, *rje-blas:* = 'succession to an office', 'next vacancy'; cf. *Tib. Lit. Texts*, etc. III, Vocabulary, and *infra*, ll. 93, 104, 111, 117.

L. 78, *stsi:* = *rtsi*, on which see note to IA, l. 35 (trans.).

L. 79, *sbyaṅs:* = 'cleared up', 'practised', 'made familiar' (√*sbyoṅ*). See *Tib. Lit. Texts*, etc., III, Vocabulary and M. Bacot's *Documents*, pp. 18, 200.
lho-ga...byaṅ-ka: On Suffix *ka/ga* see note to l. 37.
bdam: 'chosen', as in ll. 18, 33, *supra*.

Ll. 80—1, *scṅ-ḫge:* On superfluous *ḫ* after a nasal see note to IB, l. 2, III, ll. 15, 16, etc.

L. 81, *raṅ-dbaṅ-ges:* 'Divided authority' will suit either √*ḫges* or √*ḫgye*: but 'taking pleasure (*dgyes*) in own auhtority' would be quite apposite.

L. 85, *lha-ga-sna-mchiṅ-druṅ-na: Lhag-sna* would mean 'remainders various', which in the context is not inapposite: *lhags-na* would be 'on arrival'. *Mchiṅ*, from *ḫchiṅ, bciṅ, bciṅs*, naturally means 'bound', 'fastenings', etc., and is also applied to metaphorical ties; but it also occurs (see IV, Introduction, pp. 54 sqq.) as title of the Skyi king. *Druṅ* = 'official' (cf. *ibid.*, p. 57), is from *druṅ*, 'presence', and *druṅ-na* and °*du* are used simply in the sense of 'near', etc. Here *mchiṅ-druṅ* is the preferable combination, the *-na* being common to all these *mo's:* possibly it might signify 'family' or 'household'; but nothing certain emerges.

Ll. 85—6, *nor-gi-lhag:* See note on l. 42, cf. Ms. 9 II 19, l 131.

L. 87, *phyir-žiṅ:* On *žiṅ* in such Adverbial expressions see III, l. 13, IV, l. 17, etc., and cf. *ñin/mtshan-žiṅ*, ll. 122—3 *infra*.

L. 88, *sbrin/sgrin:* Exemplifies a frequent alternation of initial *gr/br* (also *dr*), as in *ḫgri/ḫbri*, l 57, *supra*, etc.

L. 91, *byaṅ-ka*: On *ka* see note to l. 37. *Ya-byi-na:* See note on 1. 37.
dgo-bdun: Here *dgo* (see note to l. 56) seems really to mean 'door' (*sgo*).

L. 93, *rje-blas:* see n. to l. 77.

L. 95, *bya-bran*, 'bird-servant', recurs in Ms. XIX 004, foll. 11a, l. 5, and 12 a. l. 7 (see Addendum, p. 148): it is, no doubt, antithetic to *bya-rgyal*, 'bird-king', (l. 73), cf. *g-yu-bran* antithetic to *g-yu-bzaṅs*, ,fine *g-yu*', in Addendum, p. 147, perhaps also in l. 4 *supra*, where *g-yu-brya* may have been due to a confusion of *bran* with *bya*.

L. 96, *lan-myi-lon:* Cf. IA, ll. 74, 114, *lan-ma-lon*.

L. 97, *ri-ka:* Usually °*kha*.

L. 97, *śreḫu-chuṅ:* Perhaps for *śe[d]-chuṅ*, 'of little strength' (Ś. C. Das' Dictionary), since the parallel in Ms. B, fol. 11 a, l. 6 reads *śe-ḫu-ni-rgyus-żan-pas.*

L. 98, *rmaṅ-po:* = *maṅ*, as in IV, ll. 315, 348; cf. *dmaṅs*, *dmaḫ*, etc.

L. 100, *gżi-non-la:* Perhaps = *gżes-rñiṅ-(gże-niṅ)-la*, 'for the year before last or the day after to-morrow': cf. the variant *gża-riṅ-duṅ* in IA ll. 36, 131. Or = 'a pressing *(non)* occasion *(gżi)?*

L. 101, *ḫphan-kos: Kos* = *ḫkhos*, 'value', 'importance', 'ability'.
stug: Usually *sdug*, *sdu-gu.*

L. 102, *rmaṅ:* Often used of things imagined or conceived. *Ra-ba-stsol:* Cf. Ms. B, fol. 16 a, A. 8—9, *sdus-śiṅ-ni-ra-bar-gsol;* on *ra* see note to ll, 56—7.

L. 104, *rje-blas:* See ll. 77, 93, 111, 117.

L. 105, *toṅs-g(y)is:* = *thoṅ-żig*, l. 15.

L. 107. *dguṅ-sṅo:* 'Blue-sky' recurs in ll. 145 and 155, Ms. B. foll. 4a, l. 9, 5b, l. 1, 6b l. 7, 7 a 9, of M. Bacot's *Documents*, p. 118.

L. 108, *tshaṅs-paḫi-sbyaṅs:* In Buddhist Tibetan this translates *brahma-ghoṣa:* on *sbyaṅs* see note to l. 79.

L. 109, *khus-ma-gdab:* 'with malice *(ḫkhu)* no putting' (*gdab* from *ḫdebs*, a Verb of loose, general use, as in *sṅags-kyis-ḫdebs*, 'pronounce a charm'). But in M. Bacot's *Documents*, where *khus-ḫdebs*, °*ltab* occurs pp. 116, 118—9, the correct meaning is 'cry' 'appeal' 'echo'

L. 111, *rje-blas:* See l. 104.

L. 113, *chab-gi-rkyen:* For *rkyen* ('accessory', etc.) as = 'tenant', see *Tib. Lit. Texts*, etc., II, p. 345; 24.
men-tog: Usual pronunciation of *me-tog.*

L. 113. *mthiṅ-braṅ:* 'Blue-breast', a particular species of bird (duck or goose), cf Ms. B, fol. 1 b, l. 4, cf. M. Bacot's *Documents*, p. 119. On another *mthiṅ*, 'level', 'low', see note to l. 32.

L. 116, *ḫgo-żiṅ:* See l. 58.

L. 117, *rje-blas:* See l. 77.

L. 118—9, *dmu-lcam*...*gaṅs-lcam*...*mthiṅ-ma-Skyi-ru-gñis:* As Skyi in this text seems always to denote the Skyi country, which in IA, ll. 87—8, 99, is actually termed Skyi-mthiṅ, probably it is here also so. *Mthiṅ-ma* should be something spread or level, as in the cognate *ḫdiṅ*, *thiṅs*, *sdiṅs* ('plateau', *ri-sdiṅs*, 'a depression on a mountain ridge'). Accordingly, if *dmu-lcam*, 'Rain (or hail)-lady', and *gaṅs-lcam*, 'Ice (or snow)-lady', can be two mountain-ranges, which the *jo-mo*, 'lady', in the names of Tibetan mountains, *Jo-mo Lha-ri*, etc., renders plausible, the meaning may be 'plateau Skyi, two-horned with the mountains Dmu-lcam and Gaṅs-lcam', or, since *sdiṅs* is stated to be used also in the sense of 'middle part', 'heart', 'core', simply 'Skyi two-horned stretched between' the two mountains.

L. 119, *phyi-dal-che:* ‚Dilatoriness' is severat times denouneed in these texts, e. g. in Ms. 9 II 19, ll. 46, 97, 175.

Ll. 122—3, *ñin-żiṅ*, *mtshan-żiṅ:* See note on l. 87.

L. 124, *dgo-spaṅs:* See on l 56.

L. 127, *gdon-lan:* See on l. 40.

L. 128, *le: Le* (for *leb*, 'flat', cf. *gleb.* 'make flat') with the signification 'plain' occurs in the Nam language also *(ḫthaṅ-le*, 'level plain').
smya-lo: = *Sña*°; cf. *myul/ñul*, etc.
bal-tog: 'Hair (or wool)-top', apparently a plant-name (cotton?); cf. *me-tog*, 'flower'.
dkar-gyis-loṅ: 'Gone white': on such expressions with Instrumental Case see Linguistic Indroduction.

L. 129, *g-yuḫi-lo:* 'mass (*lo*, 'group') of turquoise'.
sleb-gis-loṅ: The phrase has occurred in l. 74. Here the meaning may be 'is got by merely going for it'; cf *sleb-kyis-ḫdzin* in M. Bacot's *Documents*, p. 120.
sdog: = *rdog*, 'piece', 'item'.
dar-sna: = °*sñi*, 'silk-snare (or string)', occurs in *Tib. Lit. Texts*, etc., II, pp. 398, n. 2, 441 : 26.

L. 130, *sṅun:* 'Formerly'.

L. 131, *cuṅ-thag-riṅ:* 'Small distance (*thag-riṅ*, 'rope-length')'.
ḫgo-żiṅ-ḫches: See on ll. 45, 58, *supra.*

L. 132. *mthaḫ-bskor*, 'End, or frontier, entourage', has occurred in Text V, l. 13, with the signification 'outsider': cf. *mthaḫ-khob*, 'frontier dwarf'. In Add. p. 149, it is applied to a Dru-gu, Turk.
mthiṅ-kyis: see note to l. 32

L. 133, *rtan:* = *brtan.*
dog-mthaḫ: See on l. 62.

L. 136, *lhas:* Apparently for *lhos*, 'loosed'.

L. 137, *mchud: Ma-chud-ni* will mean 'on not having entered (sc. pierced)'.

L. 138, *dad-ces (ches):* Cf. *yid-ches.*

L. 139, *g-yar-la-gcags:* Recurs in l. 151, cf. XIX 004, 5b, l. 6 (*bcags*). *Gcags* is probably from *gcog*, *bcag*, 'break', which is used also metaphorically, in regard to an agreement, e. g. in *Tib. Lit. Texts*, etc., II, p. 354 : 37.1 : *g-yar*, 'loan', accords therewith.
142, *yen-ḫdrog:* = *ye-ḫbrog*, 'accident', 'danger' (from *ḫdrog*, 'wince', 'shy'), occurs with the spelling *ye-drog* in III, l. 36.
L. 145, *brňebs*, 'take pains' (Ś. C. Das, Dictionary)
dguṅ-sṅo See note to l. 107.
Ll. 145—6. *lha-dkar-rtse:* See note to l. 55.
L. 146, *mthaḫ-myi-ḫgri:* See note on l. 65 and cf. ll. 160—1.
L. 149, *rgya-skar:* See note on l. 43.
L. 150, *deṅ-saṅ:* 'To-day (and) to-morrow' = 'perpetually'.
L. 151. *g-yar-la-chags:* See note to l. 139.
L. 155. *dguṅ-sṅo:* See note to l. 107.
Ll. 155—6, *ñin-žiṅ...mtshan-žiṅ:* Cf. ll. 87, 122—3.
L. 156, *sems-śan:* °*can*; cf. *thams-śad*, ll. 6, 46, 63.
L. 157, *ḫgo-žiṅ:* See note on l. 58.
L. 159. *kha-bab* commonly = 'waterfall'.
L. 160, *dwar-lus: Dwar* = *dwa*, which with the meaning 'wretched' occurs in V, l. 25.
Ll. 160—1, *nams* = *snams*, 'gains' (*√nom*); *mthaḫ-myi-ḫgri:* See on l. 146.

TIBETAN VOCABULARY (WORDS AND PHRASES)

(Alphabetic order Tibetan; words familiar in dictionaries of Classical Tibetan are, even if occurring in the Texts, cited only as contained in phrases or as alternatives convenient for identification of divergent forms, or for particular reasons. Meanings are usually not given, except for discrimination of homonymous spellings: the meanings, frequently requiring comment, which is the usual matter of the page-references, can always be scrutinized in the translations corresponding to the cited line-numbers of the texts. Regular discrimination of Verbal forms from Nominal is, in a Tibetan Vocabulary, not a simple matter: in a moderate number of instances a Suffix mentioned may clarify. A few 'B' and 'L' items from related Texts studied by M. Jacques Bacot and Mdlle. M. Lalou are cited in [ ]'s.

Page-references in *Italic* are to the general Introduction: abbreviations are *s.* = 'see', and *s. a.* = 'see also').

K -ka/-ga, Suffix in place-names IA 53, VI 37, 79, 91; p. 154.37, *p. 29*; *s.*
-kar/-gar, Locative of -ka/-ga; *s.* skyogs, goṅ-, ltaṁ-, stan-, thod-, pan- ,pon-, h̲pan-, phon-, bon-, mtshal-, żal-, srid-khar, hin-, hyin-
kar/dkar; p. 144.2a9, 145.2b11; *s. a.* dar-, yid-
kun; *s.* gun
ko IB 12—15; p. 37; *s. a.* go
koṅ (rul-); p. 144.217; *s. a.* srol-
kon; *s.* h̲ol-
kol IA 56—7; *s. a.* bkol, khol, gol, pha-
kos/khos(?) VI 101 (-po)
kyaṅ/khyaṅ/gyaṅ/yaṅ/h̲aṅ; *p. 25*; *s.* khyaṅ, gyaṅ
kyi/ki/gyi/gi/h̲i; *p. 27.*
kru/khru(s) III 24 (-śig); *s. a.* khrus
klad; *s.* glad
klu-luṅ VI 19*; *s. a.* luṅ
klud/glud IV 150—1; *s. a.* khlud, glud, lud, slud
klum-ro; *s.* Index of P. N.
dkah̲ IV 188—9
dkar IV 242, VI 102, 152; p. 136 n. 7, 144.2a6, 2b8; *s. a.* kar, gaṅs-, dgar, dar-, rtse, yid-, lha-
—(ṅaṅ-); p. 146.1
— -po VI 10
— -mo VI 7*, 29*; p. 142.2ab, 2b8, 152.7
— -gyis-loṅ VI 128; p. 156; *s. a.* loṅ
— -daṅ IB 90—1; p. 39
(1) dku, 'scent', IV 145
(2) dku/dgu, 'hot', IV 325, 341 etc.; *p. 21*; *s. a.* dgu
dkor IA 44, 46, VI 68, 92; p. 144.2 a 11, 148.6; *s. a.* dgor
dkyi IV 251 (bya-), a certain bird, [L. *** dgyi]
dkyil VI 33
dkyus IA 29 [in L. 1134, 11.70, 82, 1136, 1.39, dkyus-tsol and dkyus-te-mchi have dkyu(s), 'race', 'speed']; p. 34
bka/bkah̲; p. 144.2a3; *s. a.* rtses
— -khrims V 7
— -mchid VI 79
— -gnaṅ VI 146
— -sñan VI 20*, 5, 108; p. 153.20*
— -luṅ V 10, VI 77; *s. a.* luṅ
— -śis IV 244
bka/bkra(?) VI 4; *s.* bkra
bkab IA 108; *s. a.* bkhab, gab, khob, gob
bkar/kar; *s.* ltam-
(1) bkal, 'spun', IB 23—4; p. 37
(2) bkal, 'carried', IV 95

bkwas/bkras(?); p. 147.5
bkug IV 322; *s. a.* gug, bgug
bkur IA 104, VI 7*, 8*, 152; p. 152.8; *s. a.* bkhur
bkod [L. 1134, 1.54, 1136, 1.37, bkhod]; p. 143.1a4, b 5; *s. a.* khod, bkhod, mkhod
bkol III 47, 50, V 22; p. 111; *s. a.* kol, khol, gol
bkyas (?); p. 144.2b4
bkyon IA 48, VI 49
bkra IV 59, VI 4(?), 80—1, 103, 114 etc.; p. 97, 134 n. 13; *s. a.* bka, khra, bkhra, bgra, bo-bla
bkrald IA 118; p. 36; *s. a.* bkhrol (1)
bkri IV 292, 303, 325 etc.; *s. a.* bgri
bkroṅs IA 67, 69
mkar IV 114; p. 20; *s. a.* khar, mkhar
rkaṅ-bu IV 244; *s. a.* rgaṅ
rkaṅ-h̲gro V 46; *s. a.* h̲gro, lgro
rkad-spags IV 280, 352; p. 92 n. 6, 95 n. 15, 102.280, *p. 21; s. a.* gad, rgad, bgad, dgod, rgod
rkun IV 266—8 (-ma), VI 91 (-po); *p. 31. s. a.* rgun, rmu
rko-rko, 'dig-dig' VI 27
rkyaṅ IA 51, VI 32; p. 35
rkyal IB 5, 22, 102
rkyeṅ VI 113; p. 156
skaṅ; p. 144.2a1
skad IV 353, VI 59; *s. a.* srin-
— -phran; p. 143.1a3; *s. a.* phran
skam-la-bchas IA 103; p. 36
skam V 26
skams IV 275, VI 24*; *s. a.* skom
skar VI 9, 42—3, 133; p. 153. 8; *s. a.* rgya-, daṅ-, gza-
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(Persons (real or otherwise), objects, literature)
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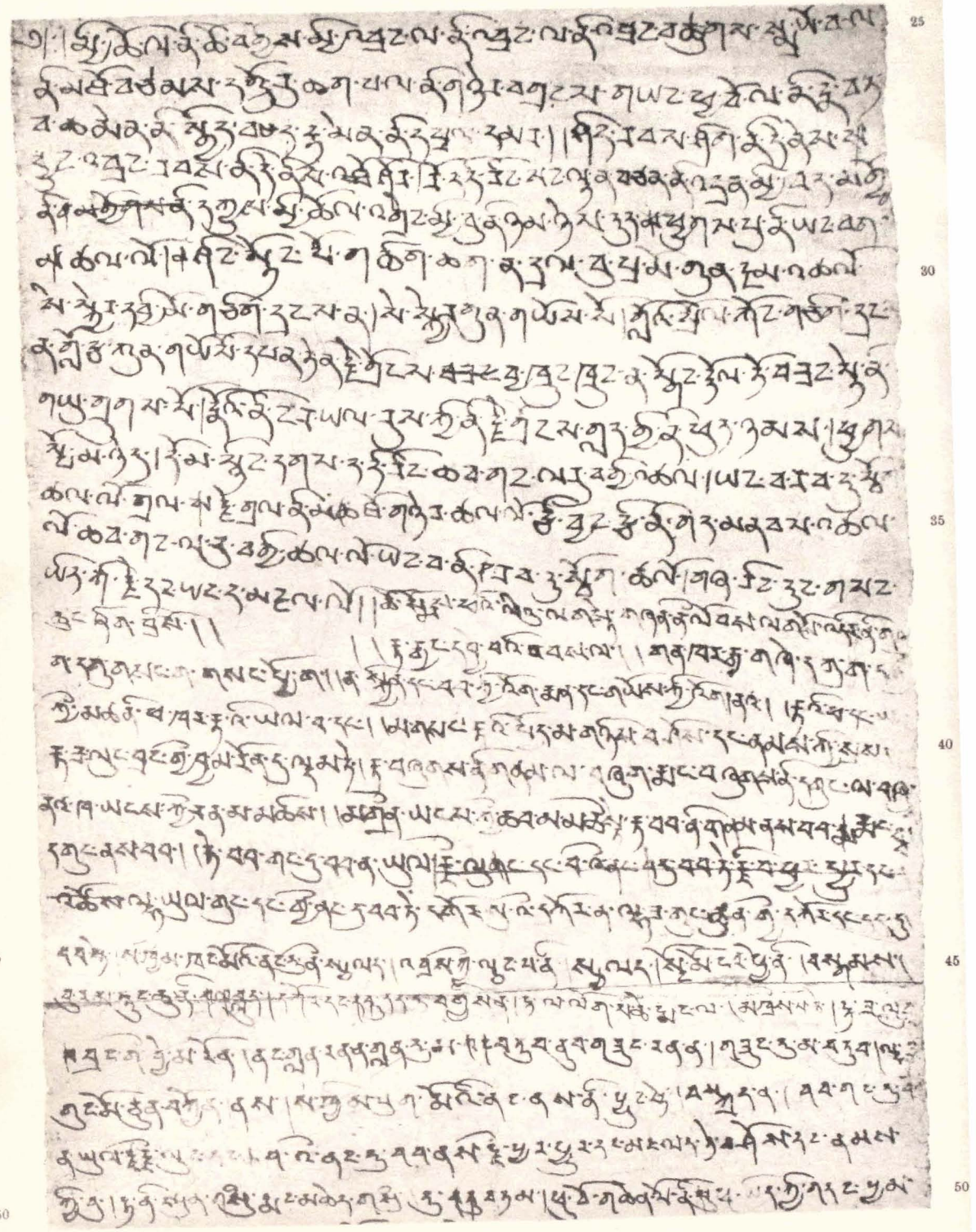

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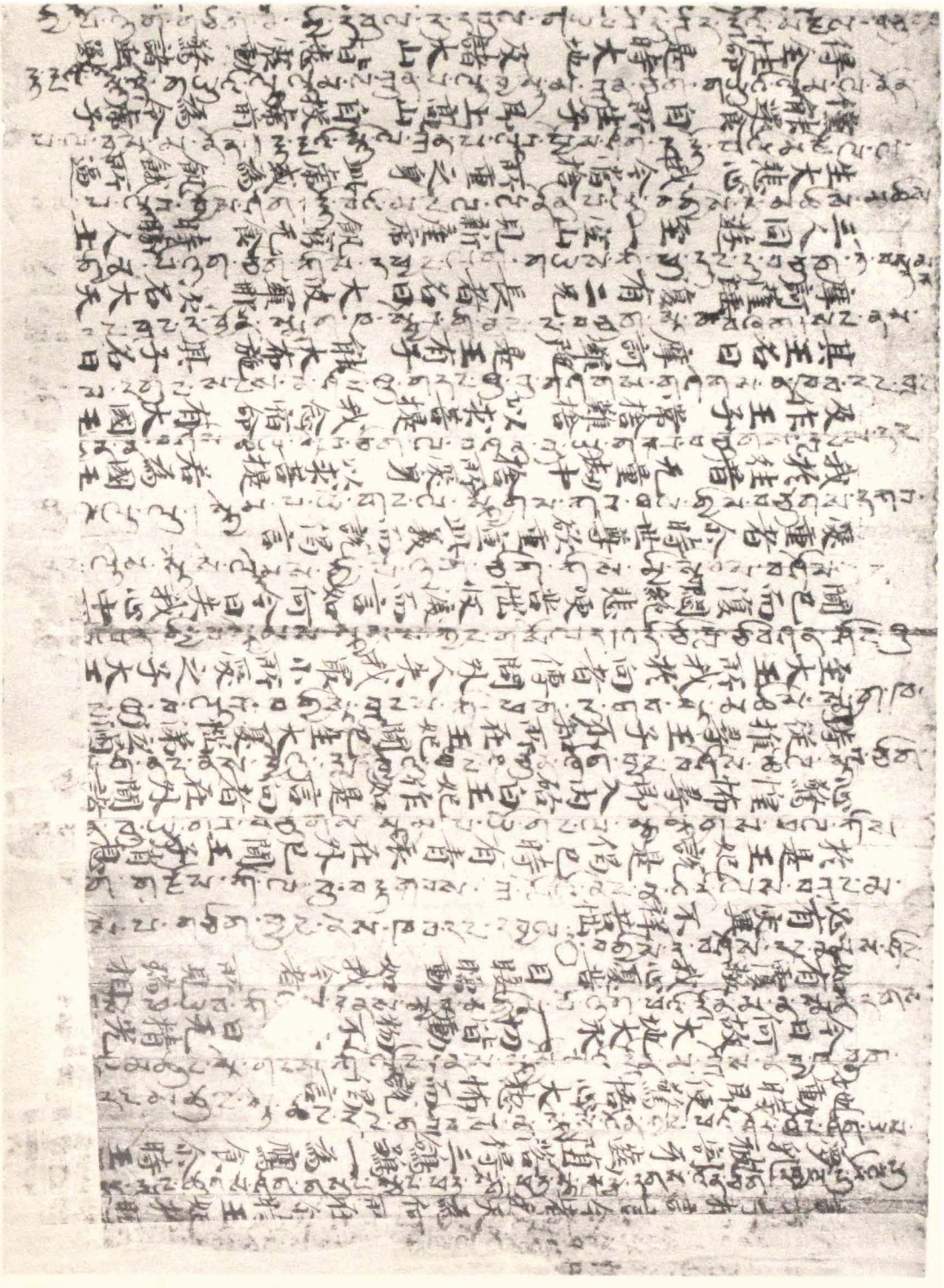

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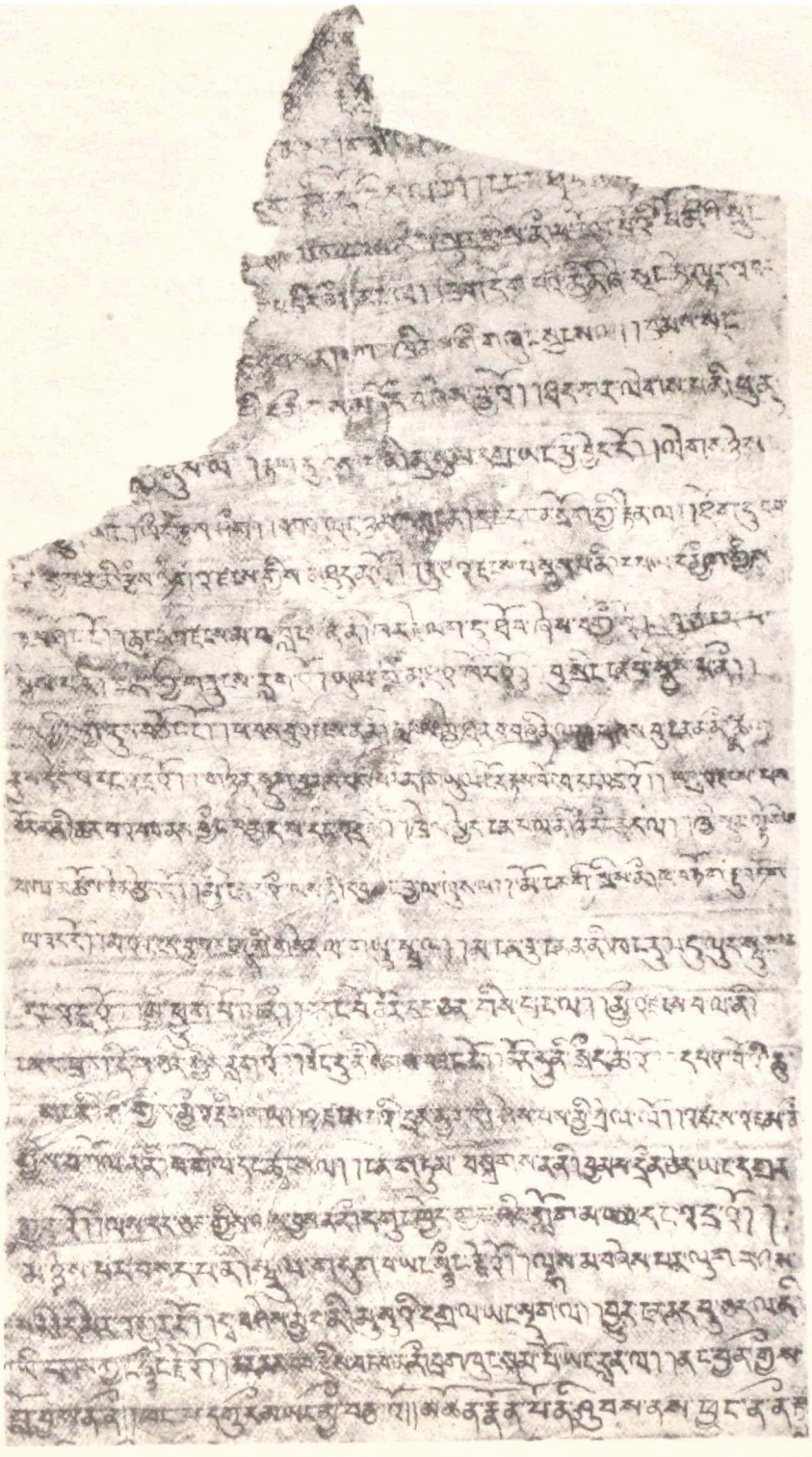

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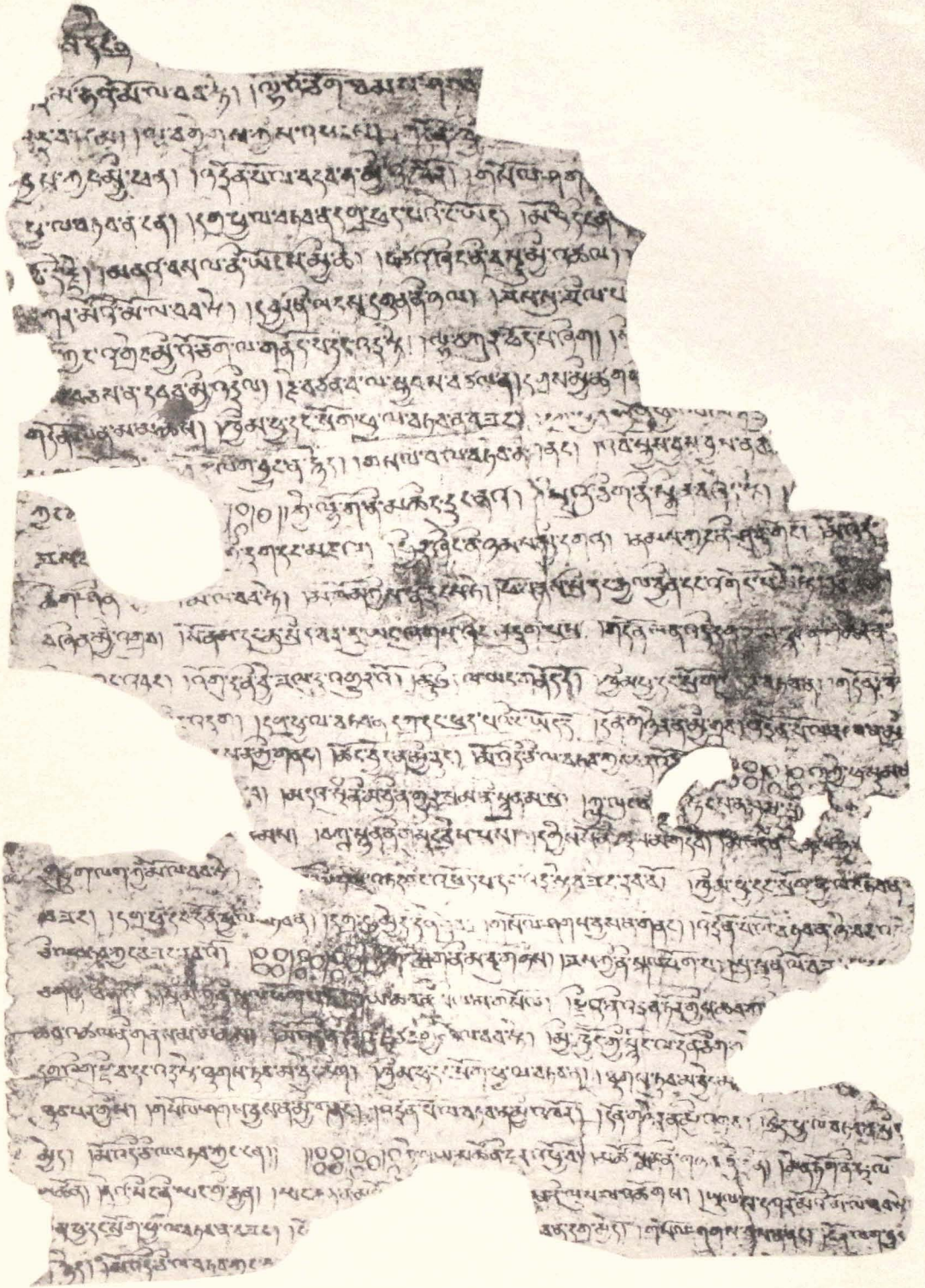

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Sketch Map

GREAT TIBET

(WITH ADJACENT REGIONS)

KEY

Mountain Ranges as **KOKOSHILI M.**

Districts as KUMAON } *Boundaries indefinite*

Tribal or Linguistic areas as *MISHMI* }

Towns (often with minor state areas) as **Kathmandu**

Rivers as *Brahmaputra r.*

Lakes as *Skya-rens l.*

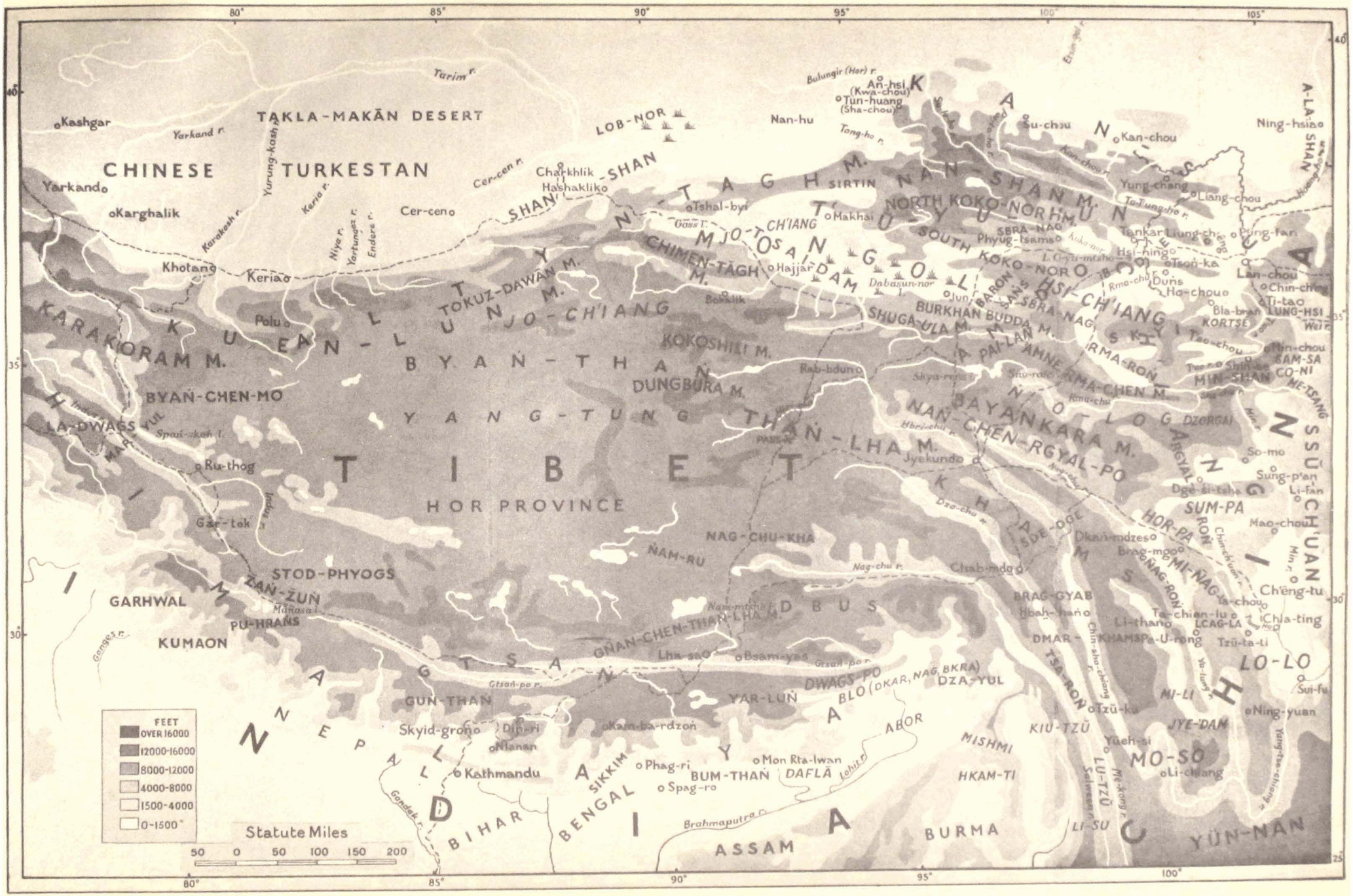
Main caravan routes as ----------

Chinese frontier wall as

SPELLINGS

Tibetan and Chinese names in orthographic transcription, where ascertained, e.g. Bum-than (Bhutan), Dkan-mdzes (Kanzé), Hbah-than (Batang), Hbri-chu (Dre-chu), **Hsining** (Sining), No-log (Golok), Phag-ri (Phari), Sbra-nag (Panakha-sum), Sde-dge (Derge), Skyid-gron (Kyi-rong), Thaṅ-lha (Tang-la).

Other names as reported or usual.



MdI. Nr. 1817 (K. 11)

NAM: an ancient language of the Sino-Tibetan borderland by F. W. Thomas
(Publications of the Philological Society XIV London, 1948)