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Formation and Transformation of Old Tibetan*

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1. Introduction

The Old Tibetan language, the oldest materials written in Tibetan, began to be officially used in the middle of the 7th century. It then spread over the whole Tibetan plateau and even to Central Asia along with the expansion of the Tibetan Empire, and continued to be used until the end of the empire (mid-9th c.). Furthermore, as has been recently recognized, Old Tibetan continued to be used by non-Tibetans in post-Tibetan Imperial period up through the 11th century until it was replaced by Classical Tibetan (Uray 1989, Takeuchi 1990, 2004).

Thus, the Old Tibetan textual tradition lasted over four centuries. In that time, Old Tibetan developed and changed its character. In this essay I wish to draw an outline of the process of the development of Old Tibetan by tentatively dividing the time concerned into the three stages:

1 st stage:	Formation of Literary Old Tibetan	7–8 c.
2 nd stage:	Spread over the Tibetan Plateau and to Central Asia	8–9 c.
3 rd stage:	Old Tibetan as a <i>lingua franca</i>	9–11 c.

In the following sections, I will look at each stage more closely.

2. Formation of the Literary Old Tibetan Language

2.1. Alphabet and Orthography

Although there exist no direct contemporary sources, the faithful copies of the official imperial annalistic record known today as the *Old Tibetan Annals* which came down to us¹ clearly indicate that the literary Old Tibetan language began to be officially used in around 650.² But before the official use of the Tibetan writing, there must have been several preceeding stages:

* I wish to thank Professor Christopher Beckwith and Dr. Sam van Schaik for their valuable comments.

¹ Kazushi Iwao in his presentation at the conference ‘Merkmals and Mirages’ held in Munich in June 2012 pointed out that the Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Old Tibetan Annals* date to after 840 and possibly even later.

² The contemporaneous description of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the official annals of the Tibetan state, begins with the entry for 650–651. The first instance of writing the texts of the laws mentioned in the *Annals* is dated to the year 655–656.

1) *Initial exposures to Indic script and trials to write down Tibetan with the script.*

It is unknown whether Indic writing was known to Tibetans when they were still in the Yarlung valley or after Gnam-ri slong-mtshan laid the foundation of the state in Central Tibet (Rtsang-Bod). Sam van Schaik's extensive investigation offers a most plausible picture: "Indic writing would have first come into use in Tibet, haphazardly throughout the sixth century, based on contemporary Gupta letter forms from Nepal and North India. The notation of Tibetan words in Brāhmī would first have developed in an *ad hoc* fashion." (van Schaik 2011: 76)

2) *Official establishment of the alphabet.*

The effort to finalize and establish the official alphabet was most likely done during the reign of Srong-brtsan sgam-po (Khri Srong Rtsan) as part of social and cultural innovations for the rapid foundation and expansion of the Tibetan Empire. Sam van Schaik suggests "the Tibetan alphabet must have been finalized some time in the 630s or 640s" due to the presence of influence from the early Siddhamātrkā script, which is very shortly before the beginning of official writing (c. 650).³

3) *Establishment of the orthography*

Establishment of the orthography, namely the method of transcribing the complex phonetics of the spoken language in written form, must have been done almost simultaneously. The orthography must have been primarily based on the colloquial form spoken by the Tibetan dynastic family, namely the Spu-rgyal ('Spu Kings' or 'Royal Spu')⁴ people, which was shared by their kin, i.e., peoples of Rkong-po, Myang-po and probably Dvag-po—in other words, people originally inhabiting the areas of South-Central (Yarlung) and Western Kham areas (cf. Map).

2.2. Establishment of the formulas and formulaic expressions for various genres of texts

One of the most important characteristics of Literary Old Tibetan is the presence of discernible and distinct formulas and formulaic expressions peculiar to each genre of texts. For example, before the *Annals* started to be written down, the formula and formulaic expressions for each yearly entry, i.e., . . . *lo la bab ste* / . . . *phar lo gchig* / 'Coming down to the year of . . . So one year,' were well established. The formula of the *Annals* is probably one of the oldest formulas because a) the formulaic expressions in the *Annals* such as '... convoked the assembly at ...' was utilized as a reference to date contracts and other legal documents⁵ and b) the description of each year is most likely to have been originally written on woodslips and was thus considered older than contracts, legal texts, divinations and *Chronicle*, which were originally written on paper.

Letters had three distinct kinds of formulas (types 1, 2 and 3) and formulaic expressions

³ van Schaik 2011.

⁴ Beckwith 2010.

⁵ Takeuchi 1995: 25.

(forms of address and greetings).⁶ Of these, letters of type 2 and type 3 were written on both paper and woodslips, while letters of type 1 were written on paper. The letter formulas were probably made relatively early.

Woodslips unearthed from Mīrān and Mazār Tāgh also exhibit various forms and shapes according to their usages: e.g., letters, tally sticks, name cards, divinations, wooden tools.⁷

Divination texts, especially dice divinations and bird divinations, follow peculiar formulas and formulaic expressions as discussed by Ai Nishida.⁸

Formulas played the most important role in the contracts, where the whole text was written in accordance to the formula. And each contract consists of stereotyped formulaic expressions, which are not always grammatically analyzable. For example, in loan contracts the words *gyur*, pf. of 'gyur 'to become' and *sgyur* 'to change,' are used to refer to the penalty that must be paid by a borrower who fails to repay within the time limit.

brgya la dus der ma phul lam gya gyu zhig 'tshal na / C gcig las gnyis su bsgyur te /
'in case [the borrower] should fail to repay at that time, or if he conspires [not to pay, the amount of] repayment (= C) shall be doubled' (Takeuchi 1995: 51)

The word *gyur* then came to be used as a noun with an idiosyncratic meaning 'penalty, interest.'

gyur dang bcas par; sgyur dang bcas par

'[payment] together with penalty, interest' (Takeuchi 1995: 51)⁹

gyur yang bu lon shos myi gcad pe'i nang 'du 'du

'interest is also within the loan which is not to be decided by dice' (IOL Tib J 740)¹⁰

A question may be raised whether these formulas were used not only in the Dunhuang and Khotan areas where the texts were actually found but also in Tibet proper. A legal text attached to a dice divination, which was first studied by Brandon Dotson, has clearly revealed that the very same textual formulas and formulaic expressions were used all over the Tibetan Empire not only by Tibetans but also by other ethnic groups under the empire. The use of the same types of legal texts, letters, military documents *etc.* enabled the rule and administration of the vast domain of the colonial empire.

Since no texts from the mid-7th to mid-8th centuries, which might have attested to the development of various formulas, have come down to us, we can only speculate on the relative chronology of the development of these formulas. Nevertheless, all the formulas appear to have been already established before the mid-8th century when Old Tibetan spread to the whole

⁶ Takeuchi 1990.

⁷ Cf. Takeuchi 2004b.

⁸ Nishida 2012.

⁹ In my book I wrongly interpreted these *gyur* and *sgyur* as verbs, but they should be considered nouns in these contexts as rightly pointed out by Dotson (2007: 29, fn.35).

¹⁰ Cf. Dotson 2007.

Tibetan plateau and into Central Asia.

In this way, Old Tibetan developed as a highly elaborate literary language with rigid formulas. The existence of formulas made it easy for non-Tibetan peoples to acquire Literary Old Tibetan, as we will see in §3.2.

3. Spread over the Tibetan Plateau and into Central Asia

3.1 Spread of Tibetans and the language over the whole Tibetan Plateau

The core of the early Tibetan state was composed of the dynastic family, Spu-rgyal, and their kin, i.e., Rkong-pos, Myang-pos, and probably Dwag-pos, and four major clans, i.e., Myang, Dba's, Mnong, and Tshes-pong, the peoples who originally inhabited what are now the South-Central and West Kham areas of Tibet (cf. Map). The Old Tibetan literary language must have been composed primarily based on these people's colloquial speech. They were later joined by other clans such as Khyung-po and 'Bro.

Due to the rapid expansion of the Tibetan state, they spread over the whole Tibetan plateau conquering and assimilating other ethnic groups. Toward the North and East to Amdo and Eastern Kham, they conquered the Sumpa and Nampa (or Thong-myi)¹¹ peoples who probably spoke Tibeto-Burman languages, and the Bailan (Turkic),¹² 'Azha (Serbi-Mongolic).¹³ Expanding westward to Mnga'-ris, they conquered Zhangzhungs, another Tibeto-Burman language speaking people.¹⁴ These languages, which were later gradually assimilated to Tibetan, may have given some influence to colloquial Tibetan as substratum, but probably they had little influence on Literary Tibetan.

3.2. Spread of Old Tibetan to Central Asia

The Tibetan state further expanded to Central Asia. Tibetan involvement of East Turkestan (Kashgar and Khotan) and West Turkestan (Wakhān) started as early as the 660s, finally giving the Tibetans control over a large part of the Tarim Basin in 670. But Tibetan control thereafter was not very stable. It was only around 790 when the Tibetan Empire firmly controlled the Southern part of the Tarim Basin and the Hexi (the Gansu Corridor). Tibetan rule lasted until around 850.

During that time, the peoples who were put under Tibetan control, including Chinese, Khotanese and Uighurs, acquired Literary Tibetan¹⁵ and started writing in Tibetan, as attested by numerous Tibetan texts written by them, including contracts, letters, administrative documents, divinations, and Buddhist texts.

¹¹ For the Nam language, see Thomas 1948 and Ikeda 2012. For the identification of Nam-pa and Thong-myi, see Sato 1978: 148.

¹² Sato 1958: 262–264.

¹³ Shimunek 2013.

¹⁴ For the Zhangzhung language, see Takeuchi 2009.

¹⁵ They probably started speaking in Tibetan to a certain extent, but it is less clear.

Scribes' names are most clearly known in contracts and Buddhist texts. The examination of personal names found in the contracts has revealed that the people that appear as contracting parties (sellers, buyers, debtors, creditors *etc.*), namely those who used contracts and signed their names are nearly all the non-Tibetan local inhabitants.¹⁶

In the case of Buddhist sutras copied in Dunhuang, the names of the scribes are written at the end. These scribes were Chinese inhabitants in Dunhuang. In addition to copying the sutras, they also acted as scribes and wrote various letters and documents for Tibetan officials. On the writing boards (*glegs-tshas*) the scribes held, many scribal exercises of letter formulas and formulaic expressions were written.¹⁷

This suggests that the existence of the aforementioned (§2.2) formulas and formulaic expressions made it easier for non-Tibetans to acquire literary Tibetan.

4. Old Tibetan as a *Lingua Franca*

The colonial Tibetan Empire collapsed in 842 and the Tibetan imperial domination over Central Asia also ended soon afterward. It is surprising, however, that the Tibetan language continued to be used by non-Tibetans, including Chinese, Khotanese and Uighurs until the 11th century.

Uray first pointed out that Tibetan was used as an international *lingua franca* among Chinese, Khotanese and Uighurs.¹⁸ Secondly, Takeuchi argued that Tibetan was used not only internationally, but also among local Chinese and Khotanese for official, private, and religious documents, regardless of genre. Tibetan was the most widely used second language in the multilingual Gansu and East Turkestan region.¹⁹ Subsequently, Takeuchi further revealed that not only the Tibetan language but also Tibetan Buddhism was very much alive among Khotanese, Chinese, and other ethnic groups in the 10th century, and many Tibetan Buddhist texts were produced at the time.²⁰

Due to numerous merkmals to date Tibetan texts to the post-imperial period,²¹ an increasing number of texts, including Buddhist texts, legal texts,²² dispatches,²³ and even the *Chronicle* and possibly *Annals*,²⁴ may be dated to the post-imperial period.²⁵

¹⁶ Takeuchi 1995: 133.

¹⁷ Takeuchi 2013.

¹⁸ Uray 1981 and 1989.

¹⁹ Takeuchi 1990 and 2004a.

²⁰ Takeuchi 2012 and also Beckwith 2012.

²¹ Merkmals to date texts to the post-imperial period include: 1. paper quality, 2. colophons, 3. official titles, 4. red square seals, 5. distinctive letter formulae, 6. book-form or codex, 7. block printing, 8. presence of the *dhāraṇī om māṇi padme hūm*, 9. texts on recto. I discussed them at the conference 'Merkmals and Mirages' held in Munich in June 2012.

²² E.g. a lawsuit P.t.1080.

²³ E.g. an order (*lung*) P.t. 1124.

²⁴ As I mentioned in fn. 1 above, although the original text of the *Annals* were written contemporaneously, the

One of the most important aspects of the post-imperial Tibetan texts is that the basic formulas established in the imperial period were retained. For example, the three types of letter formulas were continuously used with minor modifications, which I will mention below. Lawsuits, orders or dispatches, and a dice divination also basically follow the same formulas.

The formulaic expressions and terms were also retained. For example, in an pledge of allegiance to the ruler of Guiyijun, the ruler of Suzhou and his people made an oath convoking deities as witnesses and saying, *rje khud par myi bgyi re* ‘we would never offend the lord,’ which is exactly the same as the oath taken to Gnam-ri slong-mtshan and his brother by Dbā’ and other clans described in the *Chronicle* (chapter 4).

This is the Zhejiang Dunhuang Text (浙江省敦煌文献) 114,²⁶ which reads:

11. \$ // *slad kyis // rje leng kong yang / byang cub gyi sems rgya* [
‘Hereafter, the lord *leng-kong* (*ling-gong* 令公) will be with Bodhisattva mind . . .’]
12. *'bangs kyi chis su / tha tshigs gsar du gso bar gnang // th[a tshigs gsar]*
‘for the administration of people, made a new oath.’]
13. *du gsos tshun cad // sug cu dbang po dang / 'bangs byin dang / lung 'bangs kyang // he[*
‘Since he made the new oath, the ruler of Suzhou (肅州) and people and Lung (龍?) people as well . . .’]
14. *las stsogs pas / kyang // rje leng kong la / snying log par bsa[m]*[
‘and so on, would never think to be disloyal to the lord *leng-kong*,’]
15. *btsal re // 'bangs chang kyu / rje khud par myi bgyi re // yar [-e]*[
‘we would never offend the lord . . .’]
16. *te / lha klu gnyen po // mched sum brgya' drug cu // byang phyogs]* [
‘. . . gods, Nāgas, Gnyan, three hundred and sixty brothers, [master of] the north direction’]
17. *po byi sha ra ma ne // sha cu'i kyim an shan shin las stsogs [pa]*[
‘Vaiśravaṇa, Kim-an-shan-shin (金鞍山神) of Shazhou, and so on’]
18. *gzur gsol cig / * * / gos na smos pa las mna[']*[
‘we invoke [those deities] as witnesses. If [the pledge] should be broken, from what was said, the oath’]

The term *khrom*, which meant ‘a military district government’ in the imperial period, is used to refer to Guiyijun.

zhang shes // khrom chen po 'i 'dun sa / sha cu ku 'gi kun nas / byi ba l[o] 'i ston sla
'bring po 'i ngo la bka' rtags gyi phyag rgya phog ste / ‘From the assembly of the

surviving manuscripts of it date to after 840 and probably in the post-imperial period. If so, why the *Chronicle* and *Annals* were copied in the post-Tibetan period apparently by local Chinese is an interesting point for discussion.

²⁵ The fact that the Tibetan texts were definitely produced by non-Tibetans in the post-imperial period suggests that far more *post-imperial* Tibetan texts should be expected among the Tibetan Dunhuang texts than *imperial-period* texts, since the former were closer to the closing of the cave and were more likely to have been stored there. This is part of a sort of paradigm shift currently underway for the dating of Old Tibetan texts.

²⁶ A text in the Zhejiang Collection in Hangzhou. See Takeuchi 2004: 343.

great *khrom* (military district) of Sha-zhou Guiyijun [convoked] by Shangshu (尚書) in the middle autumn month of the rat year, the seal of the edict having been sealed,” (P.t. 1081: 1-2).²⁷

Although the basic formulas and formulaic expressions were retained, several changes and innovations appeared in the post-imperial documents. For example, in the case of letters, a wide blank space is left after the forms of address and before the letter content (cf. Plate). In the case of dispatches from the ruler, the word *bka* ‘edict’, which corresponds to Chinese *chi* 勅 and Khotanese *parau* was used (cf. Plate).²⁸ In the case of letter type 3, personal correspondences, new greeting expressions were coined and replaced the previous ones.²⁹ Irregular forms of letters, which do not fit into the three types, also appeared.³⁰

A square red seal inscribed in Chinese is another feature common to letters and legal documents in the post-imperial period.³¹

Dice divinations were the most popular and important divinations during the Tibetan imperial period. They continued to be used in the post-imperial period as well but probably became less common.³² Instead, coin divinations were invented by the Chinese inhabitants of Dunhuang. The coin divinations were apparently modelled after the dice divinations, using copper coins instead of dice. Interestingly, the Tibetan deities in the dice divinations were replaced by a Chinese deity, Confucius (*kongtse*), and the Tibetan word *gnam* ‘Heaven, sky’ was used as a calque of the Chinese word *tian* 天 ‘Heaven’ in the meaning ‘god’ or ‘deity.’³³ In this way, the dice divinations were reformulated by local Chinese following the Tibetan formulaic traditions.

Another important innovation was palaeography. Many post-imperial texts are written in a semi-cursive style peculiar to the post-Tibetan Empire period, which we may call the Post-Imperial style.³⁴

In this way, literary Old Tibetan continued to be written and used by non-Tibetan local peoples, including Chinese, Khotanese and Uighurs, retaining the original formulas but incorporating several new features. These new features were shared widely in East Turkestan.

The use of Tibetan in the post-imperial period may be summarized as below:

1. Not just a vestige of Tibetan occupation
2. Used positively in addition to their own languages
3. As a *lingua franca* with high social ‘prestige’ unconnected to Tibetan ethnicity

²⁷ A similar expression is also found in a Stein text IOL Tib J 134 (Ch. 73. IV. 14). Cf. Takeuchi 1990: 180.

²⁸ Takeuchi 2004a: 347, fn. 23.

²⁹ Takeuchi 1990: 188-89.

³⁰ E.g., P.t. 984 pièce 2, 1082, 1106 verso, 1120 verso, 2111 pièce A. Cf. Takeuchi 1986: 588-591.

³¹ As for the seals, see Moriyasu 2000.

³² Only one dice divination text remains which dates to the 10th century (IOL Tib J 739). Cf. Nishida 2012.

³³ Nishida 2011: 324.

³⁴ Takeuchi 2012: 205.

5. Linguistic Shifts

Let us look at some linguistic shifts Old Tibetan underwent during over four hundred years of its existence, as far as we can infer from the contemporary texts.

5.1. Sound changes

Since sound changes, which occur in colloquial forms, are not necessarily reflected in literary forms, it is difficult to detect changes. Still we may be able to point out some changes. The direction of shifts seems to be in the simplification of syllable structure and emergence of tones.³⁵

a) loss of prefixed consonants (*b-*, *d-*, *g-*, *r-*): late-8th to early 9th c.

The Tibetan renderings of a Khotanese name, and Chinese rendering of Tibetan names given below suggest that the prefixed consonants (*b-*, *d-*, *g-*, *r-*), except for *s-*, seem to have been no longer pronounced in the 9th century.

Examples:

Khotanese in Tibetan script

Tib. *sar-zhong/bsar-gzhong/ksar-gzhong* for Khot. *sudārrjām* (*Contract*: 272)

Here, the silent *b-* or *k-* are added to make the name look more Tibetan.

Tibetan in Chinese script

stag 悉諾, snam 悉南

s C > s C

rma 摩, rgan 幹

r C > C (ST Treaty)

b) devoicing of initial consonants (stops)

7th – 8th c. > 8th – 10th c. > 10th – (Central dialect)

*T [tense, voiceless] > *T [Tense, high, aspirated] / # > TH [High, Aspirated]

*T [Tense, high, unaspirated] / C_ > T [High, Unaspirated]

*D [lax, voiced] > *T [Lax, low, aspirated] / # > TH [Low, Aspirated]

*D [Lax, low, unaspirated] / C > T [Low, Unaspirated]

devoicing in syllable initial position loss of prefixed consonants

aspiration & pitch as redundant features phonemic tones

tense / lax → high / low

c) emergence of tones

The emergence of tones was probably triggered by the preceding two changes.

1) simplification of consonant clusters #C₁C₂C₃- > #C₃-

³⁵ Cf. Beckwith 2006b.

2) devoicing of initial voiced consonants C_3 [voiced] > C_3 [voiceless]

The date of change may be inferred to the 10th century, as witnessed by the Tibetan transcriptions of Chinese texts.³⁶

Chinese	Tibetan transcription
心母 *s- ping, ru 平、入	s- high
shang, qu 上、去	z- low

(Pt. 448, 1253, 1258)³⁷

5.2. Syntactic changes

Syntactic changes may be reflected more obviously in written forms. Here, the basic direction of shift is from synthetic to analytic. We will focus on the changes of predicate structures.

Verb (CCVCC) - 'o > Verb (CVC) -*pa yin*

loss of prefixed C- → simplification of verb morphology → analytical forms with particle + Auxiliary

Stage 1: Noun/Adjective/Verb + 'o (*rdzogs-tshig*: a sentence final marker)

mo 'di cī la btab kyang bzang rab 'o / (IOL Tib J 738: 1v39)

'This divination, for whatever it is cast, [the result is] very good.'

slan cad gyang nye zho dang myed par smon to (M.Tagh.b.i.0096)³⁸

'Hereafter as well, [we] wish you to be free from illness.'

Stage 2: use of *yin*

with negation: *ma yin* (to support the negative marker *ma*)

bde ba'i gnas skabs / sdug bsgal ba'i gnas skabs / sdug bsgal yang ma yin

bde ba yang ma yin ba'i gnas skabs / (Pt. 1261: 70)

'the state of happiness, the state of misery, the state of neither misery and nor happiness'

speaker's will

sman snga ma skur ba / yin no / (BTT: 1.2)

'[I] will send [you] medicine immediately.'

gdod 'jug par gsol ba yin no / (Pt. 1287: 212)

'[I] am requesting to be put [into the bag] for the first time" thus [Myi-chen] said.'

³⁶ Cf. Takata 1981.

³⁷ Cf. Takata 1988: 29–32.

³⁸ Takeuchi 1997-98: Text 248.

Stage 3: *yin no* > *yin*; Verb + *pa yin*

nga rang gyis bris pa yin / '[I] myself wrote [this].'³⁹ (IOL Tib J 773: 1.2)

The drift or shift from synthetic (verb inflexion: Early Old Tibetan) to analytic (Verb+Aux: Late Old Tibetan) may have been accelerated by the *lingua franca* nature of Late Old Tibetan.

6. Conclusion: Periodization of Old Tibetan

As we have seen, the Old Tibetan literary language was formed in the early to mid 7th century, then spread to Central Asia and continued to be used until the early 12th century.³⁹ In the meantime, Old Tibetan developed and transformed. I wish to propose the chronological and sociolinguistic developments of Old Tibetan into the following three periods.

Early Old Tibetan:

mid-7 c. to mid-8 c.

- a) the infancy of the writing
- b) basically reflecting spoken forms, but mostly “formal-register” speech
- c) mostly written by Tibetans
- d) few texts have survived except for copies (e.g. the *Old Tibetan Annals*)

Middle Old Tibetan:

late-8 c. to mid-9 c.

- a) the official language of the colonial empire
- b) produced not only by Tibetans but also by non-Tibetans, including Zhangzhungs, Sumpas, ‘Azhas, Khotanese, Chinese and Uighurs
- c) main body of the imperial period Old Tibetan texts
- d) separation (estrangement) from colloquial forms

Late Old Tibetan:

late-9 c. to early 12 c.

- a) a *lingua franca* in post-Tibetan Empire period Central Asia
- b) innovative modifications in formulas and formulaic expressions
- c) the sacred language of Tibetan Buddhism
- d) numerous Tibetan Buddhist texts were written by non-Tibetan peoples

Literary Old Tibetan was made based on the colloquial form of the Yarlung area peoples. It then spread out to the whole plateau and Central Asia, where it was also used by various non-Tibetan peoples. In the process, it was highly refined, it was equipped with rigid formulas, and it acquired a universal nature. Through a religious reformation that started in Western Tibet, Old Tibetan was replaced by Classical Tibetan in the 12th c.

After Tibetan speakers spread over the Tibetan Plateau (e.g., Amdo, Eastern Kham and

³⁹ Especially as the holy language of Tibetan Buddhism, which was practised by many non-Tibetan-speaking peoples. It continued to be used down to modern times,

Mnga'-ris) and its far northwestern reaches (e.g., Ladakh and Baltistan),⁴⁰ local dialects developed independently of the literary form. The process of development of local dialects is a topic for another paper.⁴¹

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Annals</i>	P.t. 1288, IOL Tib J 750, Or 8212 (187). Cf. Brandon 2009.
BTT	Texts in Taube 1980
<i>Contracts</i>	Takeuchi 1995
<i>Chronicle</i>	<i>The Old Tibetan Chronicle</i> : P.t. 1287
P.t.	Pelliot tibétain: texts in the Pelliot Collection
IOL Tib J	Tibetan Dunhuang texts in the Stein Collection
Staël-Holstein	See Thomas and Konow 1929; Takeuchi 2004a:344.
ST Treaty	The Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription

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⁴⁰ The Balti dialect and its relation to Old Tibetan was the topic of a paper presented by Roland Bielmeier at the workshop. Unfortunately, however, we have not been able to include it in the present volume.

⁴¹ In the scenario of Tibetan rapid expansion I have depicted in the present paper, a ‘Big bang’ hypothesis, the Tibetans who moved to Amdo, Eastern Kham, Mnga'-ris, and Baltistan—areas which had not been inhabited by Tibetan-speaking people previously—retained Old Tibetan forms relatively well, while Western Kham had been inhabited by Tibetan- or Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples, which may have resulted in the attested varieties of subdialects there.

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Map of Tibet in early 7th C.

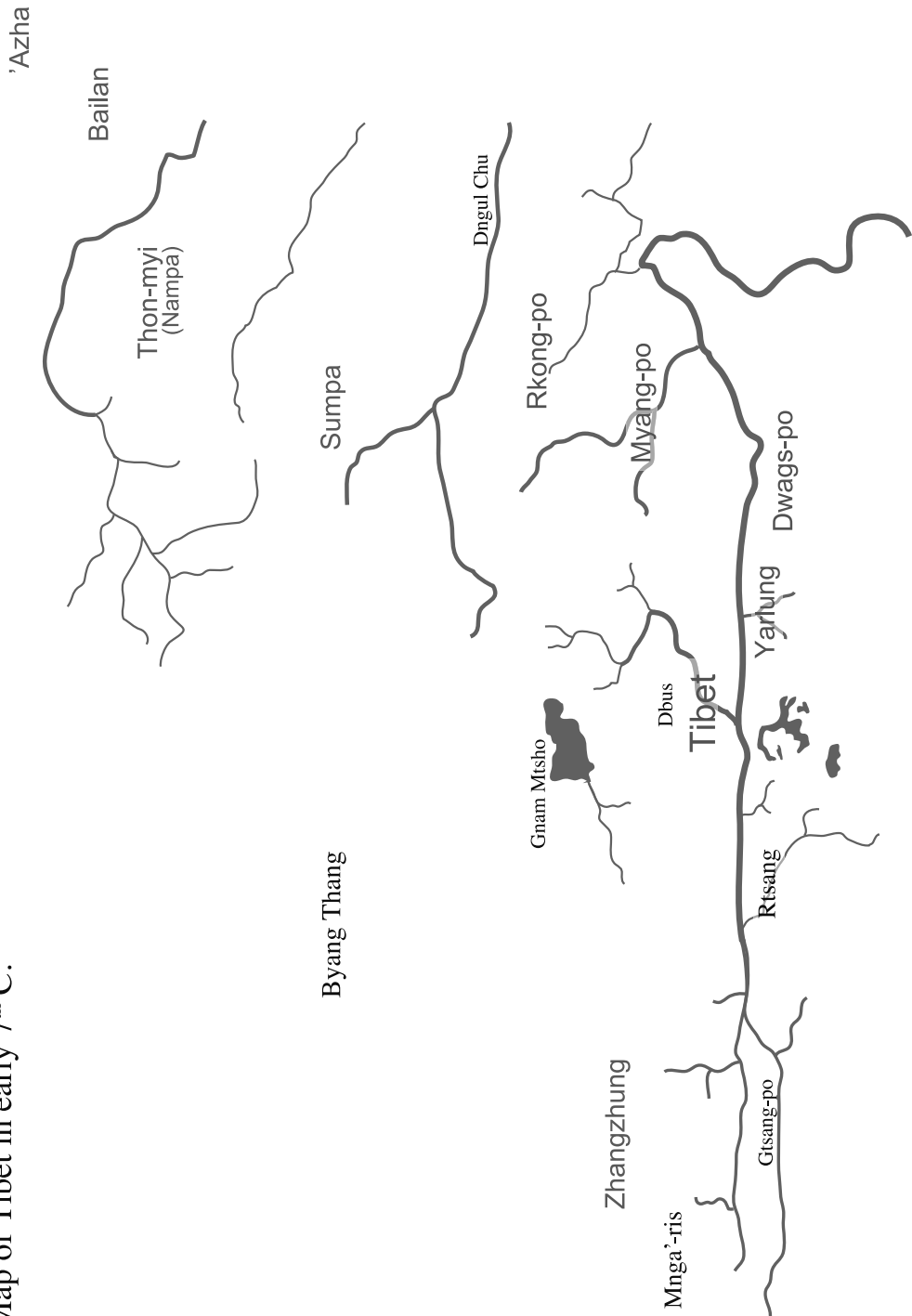
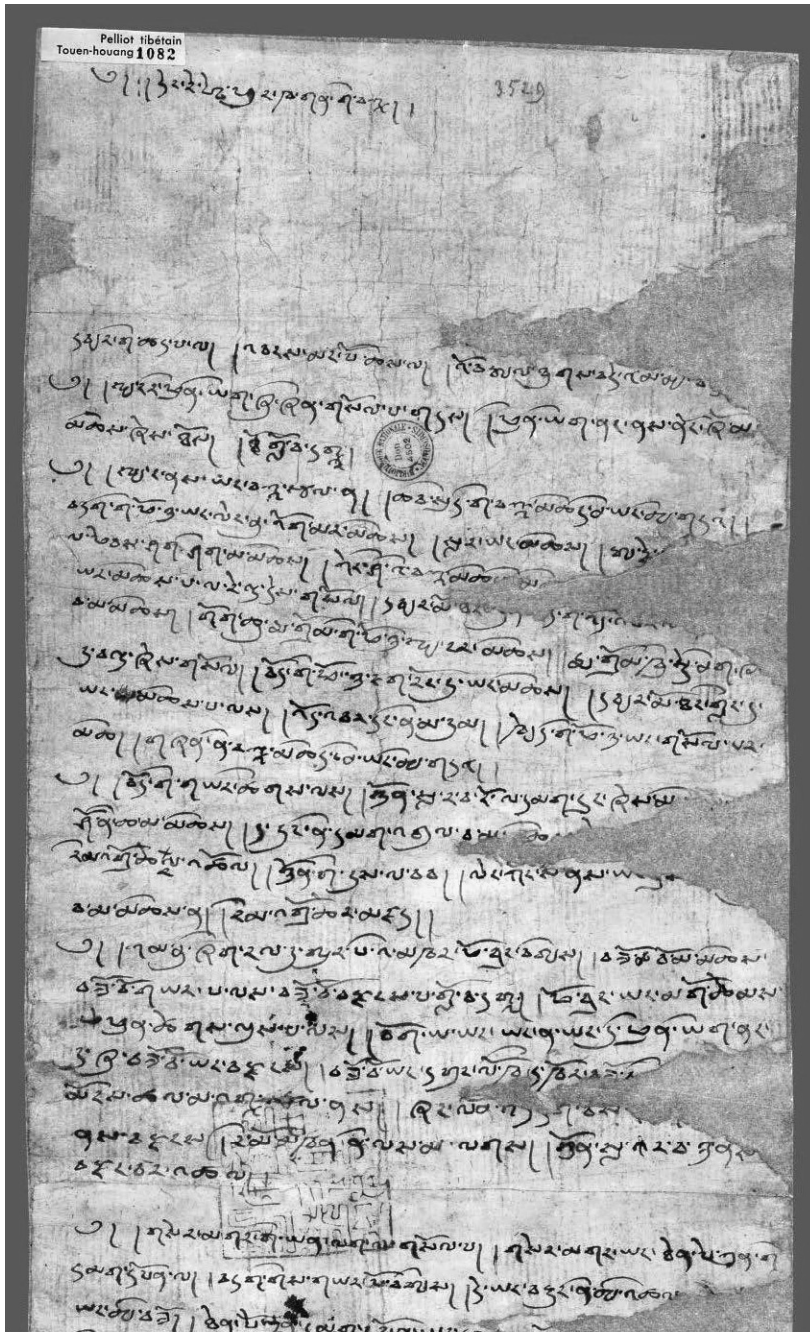


Plate: Pt. 1082

Letter from the Uighur Khagan: *deng-re hve-'ur kha-gan gl bka'*



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