ANCIENT HISTORICAL EDICTS AT LHASA

AND

THE MU TSUNG/KHRI GTSUG LDE BRTSAN TREATY OF A.D. 821-822 FROM THE INSCRIPTION AT LHASA

BY

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THE MU TSUNG/KHRI GTSUG LDE BRTSAN TREATY OF A.D. 821–822 FROM THE INSCRIPTION AT LHASA (GTSUG LAG KHAÑ)

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Zol Rdo-rin. Lower part of South Face

Zol Rdo-rin. East Face
Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa

In the JRAS. for October, 1910, Dr. L. A. Waddell published, under the above title, the text of three Tibetan inscriptions on a tall stone pillar (rdo rin(s)) in the district known as Žol which lies to the south of the Potala hill.

The late Sir Charles Bell, on his visit to Lhasa in 1921, had further copies of these inscriptions made, from which, with the help of learned Tibetan Lamas, he prepared a revised text. This revealed many inaccuracies in Dr. Waddell's version and it was Sir Charles Bell's intention to publish the revised text with a translation and notes. He died before the work could be completed; and his papers about these and other Tibetan inscriptions were left to me with the request that they should be published. During the past four years of my stay at Lhasa I have studied the texts, taken many photographs of the pillar, and attempted to sort out the historical references in the inscriptions. As a result, I have made a few additions to and corrections of Sir Charles Bell's text; and on a few points I differ from his interpretation.

In attempting, further, to put these inscriptions into their historical context I find myself in disagreement with much of the interpretation of Dr. Waddell, who ascribes the dates A.D. 730, A.D. 764, and A.D. 842 respectively to the inscriptions on the east, south, and north faces of the pillar.

In my opinion the three inscriptions are all of the same date; and an examination of the points of difference from the interpretations of Dr. Waddell and Sir Charles Bell will appear in the development of my argument and in the notes on the text and translation with which this article concludes.

The principal figure in all three inscriptions is Ŵan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ. The name nowhere appears in full, being given in the east inscription as Blon Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ; in the south inscription as Ŵan Lam Klu Khoñ, Klu Khoñ, and Blon Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ, and in the north inscription as Blon Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ. But I have no doubt that only one person is covered by these variants. Ŵan Lam appears to be a family name, for in the north inscription Ŵan Lam Gsas Slebs is given as the name of Stag Sgra.
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Klu Khon's grandfather; while in *Documents de Touen-Houang Relatifs a l'Histoire du Tibet*, by J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint (Paris, Geuthner, 1946), the name of Nan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Goñ appears in a list of Chief Ministers of Tibet.

The inscriptions on the south and north faces are, respectively, in glorification of Klu Khon's achievements and a record of the rewards bestowed on him and his family by Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan. The short inscription on the east face, which is interpreted by Dr. Waddell as referring to a Tibetan Minister, Hsieh La (Rje Blas), who visited China in A.D. 730, and by Sir Charles Bell as meaning that the Chief Minister (Rje Blas) administered a reprimand to Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ, I take as an introductory preamble recording Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ's official appointments in the reign of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan.

From the south inscription it is seen that Nan Lam Klu Khoñ was doing the work described as Rje Blas at the end of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan's reign and that he claims to have revealed to the latter's son, Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan, a conspiracy by the Chief Ministers, Hbal Ldoñ Tsab and Lañ Myes Zigs, who are accused of murdering Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan and of attempting to murder Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan also. For this, Klu Khoñ was in the confidence of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan and, being appointed Minister of the Interior, he gave advice about the conduct of war against China and was also made a general. He took part, apparently as an adviser, in one series of campaigns and was later again made a general, with Zan Mchims Rgyal Rgyal Zigs Su Then as his senior colleague, and shared in the operations in which the Chinese capital was captured and a new Chinese Emperor appointed by the Tibetans.

Confirmation of some of these statements is found in the Annals and Chronicle contained in *Documents de Touen-Houang Relatifs a l'Histoire du Tibet*, mentioned above, and to which I shall refer as the Tun Huang Annals and Chronicle. These documents are undoubtedly the most ancient and, so far as they go, the most reliable continuous record of Tibetan history and appear to date from the ninth century A.D.

The Chronicle includes Hbal Skye Zañ Ldoñ Tshab in the list of Chief Ministers and states that he was accused of a crime (p. 102). The Annals show that Dbañs Snañ Bzer Brtsan, who succeeds Hbal in the list given in the Chronicle, was Chief Minister in A.D. 757 (p. 57). The portion of the Annals from A.D. 748 to 754 is missing
and there is therefore no mention of the death of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan or of the conspiracy of Hbal and Lan although its aftermath is visible in references to "the father's followers being overthrown by the soldiery" and to the banishment of Lan and Hbal's servants, and the assessment of their property (p. 56). It also appears that the interval between the fall of Hbal and the appointment of Snañ Bžer Brtsan as Chief Minister was filled by Minister Skyes Bzañ Rgyal Khön acting as Deputy Chief Minister (p. 57).

The first campaign in China in which Klu Khön, as Minister of the Interior, took part is identifiable in the Annals by the references to Khar Rtsan and Ha Ža as that of A.D. 758 to 761 (pp. 57, 58). The Tun Huang Annals also mention Blon Stag Sgra as a colleague of Žañ Rgyal Zigs in the campaign of A.D. 762 in which Keñ Ši was taken (p. 60).

The successful Tibetan campaigns in China are also described in the T'ang Shu—the Chinese official record of recognized authority—as translated by Dr. S. W. Bushell in an article on "The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources" in the JRAS. for 1880; but it does not seem possible to identify Stag Sgra Klu Khön in that account.

In later Tibetan histories there are references to a Stag Sgra Klu Goñ and to a Ta Ra Klu Goñ; and two main traditions emerge, one of a person who opposed Buddhism and was banished; the other of a person who made the black mchod rten at Bsam Yas. Whether these refer to two persons or one has a bearing on the interpretation of the Žol inscription.

The Pad-ma Bka'h Thañ—possibly dating in part from the ninth century but much rewritten later—has both of these traditions ascribed to Blon Ta Ra Klu Goñ.

The Rgyal-po Bka'h Thañ—probably also ninth century in part—names ņan Lam Rta Ra Klu Goñ as the builder of the black mchod rten at Bsam Yas.

The Blon-po Bka'h Thañ states that ņan Lam Rta Ra Klu Goñ was a champion of the Bons.

The fourteenth century Chos Hbyuñ of Bu Ston Rin-po-che does not mention Klu Goñ.

The Rgyal Rabs Gsal Ba-hi Me Loñ—? late fourteenth century but possibly later—names Stag Ra Klu Goñ as one of the Ministers who abolished Buddhism on the death of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan; and also says that ņam Stag Sgra Klu Goñ was the maker of the
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black *mchod rten* at Bsam Yas and also made an offering—as Li ṇam Stag Sgra Klu Khon.

The 1 *Tshal-pa Deb Dmar* (sixteenth century) also names Stag Ra Klu Goñ as one of the Ministers who abolished Buddhism.

2 *Sba Bṣed* (? fourteenth century, but perhaps earlier) says that Blon Stag Ra was one of the Ministers who abolished Buddhism; that Blon Ta Ra Klu Goñ protected the Bon religion and was banished, and that ṇan Lam Stag Ra Klu Goñ made the black *mchod rten* at Bsam Yas.

The *Chos Ḫbyun* of Dpaḥ-bo Gtsug Lag (c. 1564) contains the most numerous references. This history is of considerable importance because the writer is unique among Tibetan historians I have read in quoting verbatim at least one ancient inscription—that at Bsam Yas (see my article in the *JRASB.*, vol. i, 1949). Dpaḥ-bo Gtsug Lag mentions Ta Ra Klu Goñ as championing the Bon religion against Buddhism, for which he was banished; ṇam Ta Ra Klu Goñ as being sent on a campaign to Hor where apparently he died and underwent apotheosis; ṇan Lam Ta Ra Klu Goñ as the builder of the black *mchod rten*; ṇan Lam Stag Ra Klu Goñ as one of the Ministers who made offerings at the dedication of Bsam Yas, and ṇan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Goñ in a list of Ministers who witnessed an oath to maintain Buddhism, taken by Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan. This last is the most interesting of the references because it occurs in what is stated to be a reproduction of the *Bkāḥ Tsigs* recorded by the King. It is set in quotation marks, and contains archaic language and spelling not appearing in the main body of the history. The year of the oath is given as a Sheep year and it was apparently taken after the completion of Bsam Yas. It is also noteworthy that ṇan Lam Klu Goñ appears in what, according to the list of Ministers in the Tun Huang Chronicle, would be his correct seniority—after Zaṅ Rgyal Zigs Šu Then and before Zaṅ Rgyal Tsan Lha Snaṅ.

A Bon history called *Srīḍ-pa Rgyud Kyis Kha Ḫbyun Chen-mo*,

1 In the introduction to his edition of the *Deb Ther Šiṣon-po* (Calcutta, 1949) Dr. G. N. Roerich describes the *Deb Ther Dmar-po* as the work of Kun-Dga Rdo-Rje of Mtshal, written in the Sa Khyi year A.D. 1346. The only versions of *Deb Dmar* which I have been able to see are called “Gsar ma” and are dated the Sa Khyi year A.D. 1538.

2 *Sba Bṣed* is attributed in its original form to Sba Gsal Snaṅ who lived in the eighth century A.D. Several versions of this work are mentioned in later writers. The copy which I have mentions the coming of Atiśa, but I cannot trace any exact dating in it.
of uncertain date, refers several times to Blon-po Ńam (or Ńam-pa) Stag Ra Klu Goñ as a Bon champion.

I am also told that the name of Ta Ra Klu Goñ is included in the comminatory list of the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa monks.

Some light may be thrown on the question whether all the above references relate to one person or more by examination of the list of Chief Ministers in the Tun Huang Chronicle and an attempt to date their respective tenure of office.

The appointment of Dbah-s Shnañ Bzer in A.D. 757 has already been mentioned. According to the Tun Huang Annals he was succeeded by Khri Bzañ in A.D. 763. This is the Mgš Khri Bzañ Yab Lag of the Chronicle and he appears in the account of Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag and elsewhere as the Chief Minister when Bsam Yas was founded and also at the time of its dedication. The traditional account is that the foundation was in a Hare year when Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan was 22, and that it took twelve years to complete. The Tun Huang Annals show that Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan was born in the Horse Year A.D. 742; and they confirm another persistent tradition—that Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan became King at the age of 13 or 15. It is seen that when his father died he was 13 and was officially proclaimed King two years later. The foundation of Bsam Yas may therefore have been in A.D. 763, and although there is no mention of it in the Tun Huang Annals, there is reference to a "great consultation" in that year. Mgš Khri Bzañ may therefore have been Chief Minister at least until A.D. 775.

He was succeeded by Mchims Rgyal Zigs Šu Theñ who, according to Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag, was Chief Minister in a Sheep year after the completion of Bsam Yas when Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan took an oath to maintain Buddhism. This could be A.D. 779. There is no clear evidence of the length of his tenure of office. But there is mention in the T'ang Shu that, during the negotiation of a treaty between China and Tibet in A.D. 783, the Chief Minister Shang Hsi Chieh was tyrannical while the second Minister Shang Chieh Tsan was more reasonable. The second name may well be Zañ Rgyal Tsan of Sna Nam who, as will be seen was the last Minister of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan. His immediate predecessor was Šan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Khon whom it is not possible to identify with Shang Hsi Chieh. Apart from the wide difference in the names, Klu Khon, even though the rank of Zañ Lon was conferred on his father's
family, is nowhere described as Žañ. Although there is some doubt about the meaning of that term, which Laufer in “Bird Divination in Tibet” (Toung Pao, vol. xv, 1914) takes as the equivalent of the Chinese term for the head of a Ministry, and also as a frequent clan name, it is noteworthy that it does appear with regularity in connection with ministers who can be identified as relations of the royal family—e.g. Mchims, Sna Nam, Tshe Spön. It is not used for all the ministers—even the most senior, who are given in Dpal-po Gtsug Lag’s list of witnesses to Khri Sron Lde Btsan’s oath; and in that list Klu Khoṅ, who comes second, is described simply as Blon while the persons immediately before and after him are described as Žañ. Similarly in the list of Ministers who witnessed the Mu-Tsung treaty of A.D. 822 inscribed on the Lhasa Gtsug Lag Khan rdo rin—which is the subject of the succeeding article—only some of the Ministers, and not all the most senior, are described as Žañ. The probability of Žañ denoting royal kinship is therefore strong, but it was also possible for other persons to be given the rank of Žañ Lon. The reference to Shang Chieh Tsan as second minister may relate only to his having been Shang Hsi Chieh’s colleague in the negotiations, and not imply that this was his actual seniority. Hsi Chieh may be the same as Shang Chieh Hsi Tsan Mo or Shang Tsan Mo mentioned in the T’ang Shu as a prominent general from A.D. 765 onwards and, if so, the resemblance to the name of Žail Rgyal Zigs Su Theṅ is nearer.

Žañ Rgyal Zigs was succeeded by Ňan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Khoṅ who was succeeded by Žañ Sna Nam Rgyal Tsan Lha Snaṅ. The latter appears in Tibetan histories as the last Minister of Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan and was involved in the incident when Mu Tig or Mu Rug Btsan-po, the King’s second son, murdered the Minister Dbu Rins, for which he was later killed by one of the Sna Nam family. He may also be identified with the Shang Chieh Tsan of the T’ang Shu who has been mentioned above and who is also recorded as responsible for Chinese defeats in the years A.D. 787 to 797.

I do not propose to examine here the vexed question of the date of Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan’s death, but accept as the most probable version, that his reign ended in A.D. 797. On that assumption and assuming also that Žañ Rgyal Zigs held office at least until A.D. 783 it appears that Ňan Lam Klu Khoṅ became Chief Minister late in the reign.
I have pursued this point at some length in order to show the improbability that the Klu Gon who opposed Buddhism and was banished—which in all the accounts was before the founding of Bsam Yas—could be the same as the Klu Gon who built the black *mchod rten* and made offerings at the dedication of Bsam Yas and who is reasonably identified with the person of that name who became Chief Minister late in the reign of Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan.

It should, however, be observed that *Sba Bţed* mentions Ḥbal and Maṅ (sic) as pro-Buddhist Ministers who were banished when the religion was temporarily abolished at the death of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan. This tradition of a temporary abolition of Buddhism has been doubted by modern scholars. The absence of any mention of religion in the Tun Huang Annals, and the very slight mention in the Chronicle supports such doubts. And it is seen that Ma Žaṅ Khrom Pa Skyes, whom later histories describe as the leader in the abolition of Buddhism and as a powerful, even if not the Chief, Minister, is not mentioned at all in the Tun Huang Annals or Chronicle. But the tradition of abolition is so persistent that it may be based on some fact. Religion was doubtless of minor importance to the warrior Tibetans of the seventh to ninth centuries A.D.; but it may have been used incidentally as an instrument of party faction. Perhaps it was so used in the confusion following the death of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan and perhaps Buddhism did suffer a short setback although without the dramatic incidents recorded by the later historians.

The account in *Sba Bţed* may be a mistaken deduction from the tradition of a Klu Goṅ who opposed Buddhism; and the writer, having seen the Žol rdo-riṅ may have assumed that if Klu Goṅ spoke against Ḥbal and Laṅ they must have been pro-Buddhist. If the accusations against Ḥbal and Laṅ contained in the inscription were untrue, and if the maker of the accusations was an opponent of Buddhism and was banished, it is unlikely that either the King or the families of the accused men would have allowed the pillar to stand. Even if the east inscription could be interpreted as a reprimand—which I do not accept—such a brief and inexplicit record would hardly seem sufficient amends.

It would be possible to treat all the above references as relating to the same person by assuming that accounts, in later histories, of the persecution of the Bon religion are much exaggerated; that there were, in fact, few or no banishments; and that Klu
Khoṅ, after first opposing Buddhism, was able rapidly to reconcile himself to its acceptance and to retain his position in the State: but it seems preferable not to discard the traditional stories without more specific evidence against them.

I conclude, therefore, that there was a ṇam Ta Ra Klu Goṅ who was a champion of the Bon, and a ṇan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Khoṅ. The latter, as a comparatively junior minister, made the black mchod rten and gave offerings at the dedication of Bsam Yās; as a more senior minister he witnessed the oath taken by Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan; and later he became Chief Minister. And it seems logical to assume that this person is the ṇan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Khoṅ of the inscriptions which survive in ṇol.

My reasons for rejecting Sir Charles Bell's interpretation of the east inscription are based on a different reconstruction of the text. The doubtful passage is as follows: "bkah stsal kyis kyaṅ bkah lun dañ h * bar." The crucial word "h *" which comes at the end of the sixth line, is damaged. Sir Charles Bell did not attempt a specific reconstruction but assumed from the preceding phrase "bkah stsal kyis kyaṅ" that the word must be one implying disobedience. The damaged word is followed by "bar" which should limit the preceding letter to na, la, or ra, but in this inscription the writer seems to extend the archaic laxity in the use of "pa" and "pha", which he treats as almost interchangeable, to "pa" and "ba" also, writing "phan ba" in line 15.

At first, in pursuance of Sir Charles Bell's interpretation, I thought the damaged word might be "hgal" with the "la" written below the "ga". But this was not satisfactory as there is no sign of the left hand stroke of a "ga"; and what might be a subscribed "la" is quite indistinct. After repeated examination of the rdo riṅ I am satisfied that the damaged word is most like "hdra". This would give the meaning that Stag Sgra Klu Khoṅ was appointed to the other posts mentioned and also assumed the work of Rje Blas.

Sir Charles Bell's translation of "(stsal) kyis kyaṅ" as "although" is vital to his interpretation; but in line 28 of the south inscription the same phrase is found, apparently with the meaning of "and " or "also". This supports the same interpretation in the east inscription.

Sir Charles Bell's translation of "bkah stsal" as "an order was given" is also important to his interpretation; but from many examples in the Tun Huang Annals it is clear that the phrase
means “was appointed”. A further point is that if the Rje Blas (translated by Sir Charles Bell as “Chief Minister”) was a different person, responsible for the actions described, it is surprising that his name is not given. That Rje Blas is not the equivalent of Blon Che is seen from the fact that ཉན སྣམ་སྟོད་སྐྱེན་པ་ was “performing the Rje Blas” (rje blas byas pha) at the end of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan’s reign when གྲུབ་ལེགས་པ་ལས་ཙུན་པ། were Chief Ministers (Blon Che). In “Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan”, by Dr. F. W. Thomas (JRAS., Jan., 1927), there is a letter in which the word Rje Blas occurs frequently. Dr. Thomas treats it as an interjected address to the recipient of the letter and translates it “Your Excellency”. But such phrases as “Rje Blas རྫོི་... gtsigsu gna་བཞིན་”,” Rje Blas gyi rྫོི་thog myi thog” do not fit with that interpretation; and the last phrase is much the same as “Rje Blas gyi rྫོི་thog pa-hི nnams” in line 18 of the north inscription where the meaning is clearly “those who are fit for the Rje Blas”. The purport of the letter quoted by Dr. Thomas thus seems to be a claim by the writer to the right of his family to a post or to work called “Rje Blas”.

Although, in this word, the derivation of “Blas” from “Bla” “superior” would seem prima facie probable, Tibetan scholars whom I have consulted, after studying the use in the inscriptions, prefer to treat it as the equivalent of “las” “work”. The term therefore may be taken to mean “The Royal Work” and the post may have been something in the nature of confidential secretary to the King. From other examples it appears that the word could be used also as a title, e.g. the reference in the T‘ang Shu to Ming Hsieh Lieh who visited China in A.D. 730. Dr. Waddell has plausibly identified Hsieh Lieh there with “Rje Blas”. It may also appear in the name Shang Tang Cho Hsi La, who is mentioned in the T‘ang Shu as going to China in A.D. 710 to fetch the Chinese bride of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan, and who appears in the Tun Huang Annals as བྲུག་བཙན་ཏེ་རེ་ཞྭ་བསྡུས་བྱོ་ནོ་. I turn now to a brief examination of Dr. Waddell’s interpretation of the three inscriptions.

His ascription of the date A.D. 730 to the east inscription is based on the view that Rje Blas was the personal name of the Tibetan minister who, as mentioned above, is recorded in the T‘ang Shu as having visited China in that year. It has been seen
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that Rje Blas relates to an official post and is not a personal name. Moreover, Dr. Waddell's text lacks the first six lines of the inscription, in which Stag Sgra Klu Khoṅ's name appears. If Dr. Waddell had seen these lines he would have had to alter his interpretation and date, for he could hardly have credited Klu Khoṅ with an active life of over one hundred years which would be the implication of assuming that the dates of these inscriptions extend from A.D. 730 to 842.

It also appears highly improbable that a very large pillar—it is, at a guess; some 24 feet from base to pinnacle—would have been erected at an early date solely for the purpose of writing a short inscription high up on one of its narrower faces, leaving vacant great areas of stone on the chance that someone would want to write more inscriptions later. It is a reasonable assumption and one that is confirmed by the opinion of modern Tibetan scholars, that one pillar would be reserved for the record of one series of events in one reign only.

Dr. Waddell's dating of the south inscription as c. A.D. 764 is acceptable from internal evidence—which I take as giving the date of the whole series of inscriptions. His translation suffers from the omission in his text of the first three lines and from a repetition of his misunderstanding of the term Rje Blas.

Dr. Waddell ascribes the north inscription to the year A.D. 842 and interprets it as recounting a state of utter disorder in which Klu Khoṅ and his family had seized dictatorial power. He finds the possibility of such a period in the break-up of the monarchy which followed the death of Khri Ral Pa Cen, and in confirmation of this dating he interprets his reading of line 5 "Yab Btsan-pho Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan" to mean "the King's father's father, Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan". "Yab" is an error. It is not in the text. Yab Btsan Pho would be an unusual, if not impossible, term for grandfather; the normal word for grandfather in such a context in extant inscriptions being "Myes". It will also be seen that the use of "pa" and "pha" in the inscriptions under examination is haphazard. In line 12 another misreading leads to the translation "the King's grandson having died". The text actually reads "during each generation of the King's sons and grandsons". By two further mistranslations Dr. Waddell finds evidence that the royal family were afflicted by lunacy. In line 6 he translates "Dbu sīuṅ gnaṅ te" as meaning that Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan was "sick in the head"
or mad; and in lines 61 and 62 "Btsan-po ža snar glo-ba riṅs yan dag par rgyud na gaṅ ņes pa-hi sgor" appears as "With the King's mental disposition as of old, in further uprisings and emergencies what happiness can there be?". This passage, in fact, refers to the possibility of some of Klu Khon's descendants being estranged from the King. It will be seen from the revised text and translation that the whole inscription recounts the honours bestowed on Klu Khon and his family by Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan; and Dr. Waddell's interpretation and much of his translation must be discarded. Accepting the date of the south inscription as after A.D. 762, it remains to be seen whether that date can be narrowed down more closely and how the other two inscriptions fall into line with it.

By his own statement in these inscriptions, NaN Lam Klu Khoṅ was Rje Blas at the end of Khri Lde Gtsgug Rtsan's reign; but he does not describe himself as a Minister (Blon) at that time. Although he claims to have been in the confidence of the new king, Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan, he does not say, when describing his position at the time of the Chinese campaigns, that he was "performing the Rje Blas". The first appointment under Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan which Klu Khon mentions was that of NaN Blon Bkālh La Gtogs Pa; and in that capacity he was also given a military command. By my interpretation of the east inscription, he was appointed NaN Blon Chen Po and Yo Gal Ḫchos Pa Chen Po, and was also entrusted with the Rje Blas. It is seen from the Gtsgug Lag Khāṅ rdo-rin (JRAS., April, 1911, p. 427) that there were at least two Ministers of External affairs and it appears to have been former Tibetan practice, as it is to-day, to have boards of ministers rather than one individual in charge of any one subject. I assume, therefore, that the NaN Blon Chen Po was the senior of several Ministers of the Interior and that NaN Blon Bkālh La Gtogs Pa refers to those of lower rank. In that case, it appears that Klu Khoṅ was given promotion and additional responsibilities after the Chinese campaigns. Some support for this view may be found in the fact that in the east inscription he describes himself as "Blon", while in the south inscription when mentioning his position under Khri Lde Gtsgug Rtsan he does not use that title. He was, therefore, already a minister when he was appointed NaN Blon Chen Po and Yo Gal Ḫchos Pa Chen Po; and it has been seen that the only post he claims for himself before the Chinese campaign is that of NaN Blon Bkālh La Gtogs Pa.

In the east inscription, Klu Khoṅ claims that, having been
entrusted with the Rje Blas, he ordered affairs to the satisfaction of all parties. There is nothing to indicate whether this refers to the settlement of any specific troubles, and from its brief nature it looks more like a general claim to have governed well.

It is probable that, as Rje Blas, he had the ear of the king who, at that time, would have been young enough to be influenced and may have had a particular affection for a man who had apparently protected him in his young days. In this way Klu Khon may have acquired power and secured the king's agreement to the erection of a pillar recording his services and rewards. It is difficult to understand why he should have been given this honour unless he had some special influence. In the Tun Huang Annals and in later histories his part in events appears as comparatively small; and there were other ministers and generals of nobler family, higher seniority, and, judging from the Tun Huang Annals, of greater distinction. Later histories do not even mention his appointment as Chief Minister.

The inscriptions must have been written before that last appointment, for Klu Khon would certainly have mentioned it if he had held it earlier. From the emphasis on his military exploits and from the fact that the last event to be mentioned is the appointment by the Tibetans of a Chinese Emperor, which was in A.D. 762, it appears that the pillar was erected not long after that date. The Tun Huang Annals record a great consultation and a distribution of posts and awards in A.D. 763; and the promotion of Klu Khon and his assumption of the Rje Blas may have been in that year. A.D. 764 is, therefore, an acceptable date for all three inscriptions, which form a homogeneous series—the rewards being the consequence of the achievements.

From the wording of the inscriptions I consider that they are the work of Klu Khon himself and not strictly a royal decree. The King is mentioned several times as could be expected, but only in the north and south inscriptions. In the east inscription, which I take to be a preamble, only Klu Khon is named; and the references to the King in the other inscriptions seem such as another person might make about him rather than what he might say about himself. In my article in the *JRASB.* for 1949, mentioned above, I have drawn attention to the use of the phrase Ὠφρυλ Γγι Λχ Δτσα Πο in decrees of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan's successors which are clearly of royal origin. The title came into being at the time of
Khri Ḍus Sroṅ, the grandfather of Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan (see Tun Huang Chronicle, p. 149), and, although there is no evidence of its use by Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan, its absence here may be significant. There is also no definite statement, such as appears in other inscriptions, that Klu Khon's inscriptions were made by royal command; they begin and end with Klu Khon and, although they must have had the King's authorization they appear to be the work of a powerful, though not royal, personage.

As these inscriptions of Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan's reign are the earliest from Tibet to which a date can be assigned, their style is of special interest. The *da-drag*—the added "d" after "n", "r", and "l"—appears in them frequently but, in spite of the tradition which ascribes to Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan (Ral-pa-cen) a reform of Tibetan spelling, part of which was the abolition of the *da-drag*, almost all surviving inscriptions of the ninth century A.D., including those of Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan's reign, contain that usage. It is found in the inscriptions of Khri Lde Sroṅ Brtsan from Žva Lha Khan (which I hope to publish shortly), in those from Saṅs Rgyas Dgon-pa and Lcaṅ Bu (JRASB. 1949), and in those from the Lhasa Gtsug Lag Khan rdo rin. In the JRASB. for 1949 I stated erroneously that the *da-drag* is absent from the Gtsug Lag Khan and Lcaṅ Bu inscriptions, both of Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan's reign. In fact, its use there is only rather less frequent than in the Žol inscriptions. Apart from some roughness in construction, the principal stylistic peculiarity which distinguishes the Žol inscriptions from those of later date is the indeterminate use of the letters "pa" and "pha", and to a less extent, of "pa" and "ba". A number of instances of an added final "ḥa"—e.g. yi-geḥa—will also be noted.

The texts of the three inscriptions which follow are for the greatest part, as collated by Sir Charles Bell. The translations are based on his version. Points where, relying on other evidence, I have differed from his translation and alterations I have made to his text will appear from the notes.

I have not detailed the differences from Dr. Waddell's text and translations as these are so numerous and so wide. If desired, comparison of Dr. Waddell's version with the present one may be made by referring to his article in the JRAS. for October, 1910, pp. 1247-1275.

I have to thank the following for much help and advice in

**East Inscription**

1. Ḥchos is reconstructed from Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag's Chos Ḥbyun.
2. Bell reads “gyis” but it is clearly “kyis”, which is the correct form after a final “d”.
3. I have discussed this reconstruction above.
4. dkah appears in the south inscription.
5. Khab sor seems a suitable reconstruction but, as there is a tsheg after “so”, it cannot be accepted. The missing word might be “la”.

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6. The last letter is completely effaced. "Drañ" appears a reasonable guess.

7. Both Bell and Waddell read "pa" which would be the correct form after n; but the word is clearly "ba". This is one of a few instances in these inscriptions of "ba" being used instead of "pa" cf. South inscription, line 19, and North inscription, line 60.

8. In the text of all the inscriptions brackets represent reconstruction and asterisks show the number of missing letters, estimated as nearly as possible by measurement, where no reconstruction has been attempted.

EAST INSCRIPTION. TRANSLATION

The Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khon was also appointed Chief Minister of the Interior and Chief Yo Gal. In accordance with orders, he devoted his mind to the difficult royal work and treating the outer and inner administration as equal, with impartial strictness towards the advantage of various parties and to great and small alike, he conferred many benefits upon the kingdom of the black-headed Tibetans.

NOTES

1. Sir Charles Bell's translation is as follows: "The Great Inner Minister Ta Dra Lu Khong and the Great Yo Kal, although they received orders, they disobeyed them. The Chief Minister after taking great trouble, when the officers of the exterior and interior administrations were in disagreement, put both great and small on a position of real equality. Great benefits were conferred on the kingdom of the black-headed Tibetans."

My reasons for not accepting this version have been given earlier, and I have commented on the implications of this inscription, and on the word Rje Blas.

2. Nañ Blon. Bell notes that the Blon Chen of his day was often called Nañ Blon.

3. Yo Gal. This is an official post, not a personal name as taken by Bell. The Chos Hbyun of Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag says there were three such officers, describing them as Bkañ Yo Gal Hchos Pa, and stating that they were of the second rank. There is also a reference in the same history to a meeting of these officers at the time when Ta Ra Klu Gon was opposing the foundation of Bsam Yas. The derivation of "Gal" here may be from its meaning as "compulsion" rather than from its meaning as "importance"; and the work of the
officers may have been to see that the King's orders were put into effect.

4. Namsu bla ns te; lit. receiving into his mind.

5. Khab So. This word appears in the Tun Huang Annals and appears to have the meaning of "partisans" "rival factions"; and that last interpretation could be used instead of "various parties".

6. The black-headed Tibetans. Bell collected the following information from monk officials of his time: "The Chinese proper, excluding the Chinese Muslims, were also called black-headed, in distinction from the Manchus and Mongols. The Chinese Muslims were called white-headed on account of their white turbans." Perhaps the description implies, as Waddell suggests, that the Tibetans went bareheaded in those days.

7. Bell also notes that one of his advisers, the Dalai Lama's instructor in Literature and Philosophy, considered that this was the oldest of the inscriptions; but another of his advisers was convinced that all three inscriptions must be of the same date.

**South Inscription**

1. ཤ || མཐེ་ནུ་སྒྲིག་པ་བཀྲན་
2. ོད་ཀུན་ལེགས་||
3. ལོངས་མེད་པ་དྲུག་པ་||
4. སྒྲིག་པ་དྲུག་པ་||
5. འཕྲི་སཱ་ཞིབ་| འཁྲིད་དོན་
6. འོ་ཉེ་དཔལ་| འཁྲིད་དོན་
7. དུས་| མཐེ་ནུ་བཤད་
8. གྲུབ་དང་| འཁྲིད་དོན་
9. སོ་ཐུལ་དང་| འཁྲིད་དོན་
10. བོ་ཐུལ་| འཁྲིད་དོན་
11. བོ་ཐུལ་| འཁྲིད་དོན་
12. སྐྱ་དང་| འཁྲིད་དོན་
13. གྱི་ཤྱ་དང་| འཁྲིད་དོན་
14. ཏྱི་ཤིང་| འཁྲིད་དོན་
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15 甘 | 拆之坚先
16 晋
17 晋 | 晋
18 晋 | 晋
19 晋 | 晋
20 晋 | 晋
21 晋 | 晋
22 晋 | 晋
23 晋 | 晋
24 晋 | 晋
25 晋 | 晋
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27 晋 | 晋
28 晋 | 晋
29 晋 | 晋
30 晋 | 晋
31 晋 | 晋
32 晋 | 晋
33 晋 | 晋
34 晋
35 晋
36 晋
37 晋
38 晋
39 晋
40 晋
41 晋
ANCIENT HISTORICAL EDICTS AT LHASA

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[ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ]

73

[ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ]

74

[ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ] [ဗ]

South Inscription. Notes on the Text

1. “Pa” and “pha” are used almost indiscriminately, e.g. “btsan pho”, “blon po”, “chen pho”, “byas pha”, “byed pa”. In this inscription the spelling “btsan pho” is consistent but in the north inscription “btsan po” appears also.

2. Bell reads “Myi *”; Waddell reads “Myis Gzigs” but there is not room for so many letters. In “Tibetan Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan”, by Dr. F. W. Thomas, there is mention of a Laṅ Myi regiment which might make “Myi Gzigs” appear the best reading. But the second letter looks like “sa”, and the vowel over the “mya”, although damaged, appears to be ḡren bu. As the name Myes occurs in the list of Tibetan signatories to the treaty inscribed on the Gtsug Lag Khān rdo rin, I have adopted that reading.

3. The first letter is effaced and the word might be “maṅ po”. I have adopted the guess “daṅ po”.

4. The words in brackets in lines 31 to 43 are reconstructions, and where they are obvious I make no comment.

5. The word before “daṅ” might be ḡbu Śin Kuṅ which appears in the Tun Huang Annals (p. 65) as the name of a place captured in A.D. 762. Dpya Dar Mo (? Dbyar Mo Than) appears also in the same passage.

6. Mdzad is a possible guess; only the m is clear and it is followed by two letters, one written below the other for lack of space.

7. This reconstruction is based on the appearance of “**nd pa-ḥi *e**” “dkah ba byas so” in lines 73 and 74.

8. Bell reads “Zig” but the word is clearly ḡki with the “i” written over the “k”.

9. Bell reads “dmag” but it is clearly “dmak”—a mistake by the writer.
10. Bell has “blańs” ; Waddell “drańs”. Examination of the
pillar shows the latter to be correct.

11. Bell reads Ssém; Waddell “Žeň” but this is incorrect. The
subscribed letter might be ʰ or h; but as the T"ang Shu gives the
name of this place as Shang Chou, Ssém appears the best reading.

12. “Khra” is no longer visible and the pillar seems to have
suffered damage since Bell took his copy.

13. Bell reads “gña” with a damaged letter after it. The letters
appear to be “gta” and on this and on the two surviving letters
“u”, I have reconstructed “gtam yun tu”.

South Inscription. Translation

In the time of King Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan, Ňan Lam Klu
Khon carried out the confidential royal work. ³

Hbal Ldon Tsab and Lán Myes Zigs, ⁴ although they were Chief
Ministers, became hostile and did injury ⁵ to the person of the
King, the father, Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan so that he went to
Heaven. ⁶

They nearly did injury also to the person of the King, the son,
Khri Sroň Lde Brtsan, and internal dissenion being caused in the
kingdom of the black-headed Tibetans, Klu Khon brought to the
notice of the King, the son, Khri Sroň Lde Brtsan all the facts
about the hostility of Hbal and Lán; and the hostility of Hbal
and Lán ⁷ being proved, they were condemned ⁸; and Klu Khon
became near (to the King).

In the time of King Khri Sroň Lde Brtsan, Ňan Lam Klu Khon
being in (the King’s) confidence, gave great counsel. Being of
steadfast mind, ¹⁰ he was appointed Minister of the Interior Under
the Royal Order. He considered the troubles of ¹¹ the kingdom
of China and was appointed general ¹² for the first attack ¹³ in
the direction of Khar Tsan. ¹⁴ And, as he understood the arts
of war, ¹⁵ he continued to give advice. ¹⁶ First Ha Ža ¹⁷ belonging
to China was subdued and a great extent of her dominion
was cut off from China. China shivered in fear. Dbyar Mo
Thaň ¹⁹ . . . . . . and (in) the neighbourhood of Tsoň Ka ²⁰
. . . . . . from . . . . Dan etcetera ²¹ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . many were
scattered. Klu Khon . . . . . . . . enemies who caused distur-
bance . . . . . . made the kingdom great . . . . . . . . gave great
counsel . . . . . . ²² being in the (King’s) confidence he took great
trouble in his mind for the benefit of the kingdom.
King Khri Sron Lde Brtsan being of profound mind, the breadth of his counsel increased and whatever he did for the kingdom turned out well in every way. He conquered and held under his sway many districts and fortresses of China. The Chinese King He-hu Hki Wañ Te and his ministers were terrified. They offered a perpetual yearly tribute of fifty thousand rolls of silk. China was compelled to pay tribute. After this, the Chinese King, the father, He-u Hki Wañ Te died and the Chinese King, the son, Wañ Peñ Wañ, having succeeded to the throne, was not able to pay tribute to Tibet. When the King (of Tibet) was grieved by this, Nan Lam Klu Khon took the principal lead in counsels for the launching of war by Tibet against the centre of China, the Chinese King’s palace at Keñ Si. Zañ Mchims Rgyal Rgyal Zigs Su Theñ and the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khon were appointed the two chief Commanders for the attack on Keñ Si. They attacked Keñ Si; and a great battle was fought with the Chinese on the banks of the ford at Ci-hu Cir. Tibet put them to flight. Many Chinese were killed.

The Chinese King Kvañ Peñ Wañ left the fort of Keñ Si and fled to Ssem Ci-hu. Keñ Si was taken. The Chinese King’s Minister of the Interior, Hgehu .in Keñ and others Doñ Kvan and Bo Kan Ya . . . . . . . . subjects of the (Tibetan) King . . . . . . . . paid taxes to Tibet ? the brother of Kim Šeñ Koñ Co, Ga-u Wañ . . . being attached to . . . . . was made King of China . . . . . . . . . Minister . . . . . . . . Kings great and small . . . . . . . . so doing in order to spread the fame and praise for ever into the heart of the kingdom, Klu Khon being in the (King’s) confidence took great trouble in his mind for the benefit of the kingdom.

**South Inscription. Notes on Translation**

1. This inscription is taken second as it is the general opinion that the usual order of writing would be to start on the east side, facing the Gtsug Lag Khan, and to proceed right-handed to the south face following the Tibetan custom in going round any object of respect. It is also the logical order, first an account of the prowess of Klu Khon, and then a record of his rewards.

2. Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan was King of Tibet from A.D. 705 to 755.

3. The meaning of Rje Blas has been fully discussed above.

4. The name might be Lañ Myi Gzigs. See note on text.
5. "Dard" is explained as an obsolete word corresponding to "bdo" = "gnod pa byed pa."

6. The construction is loose; but "dgun du gseg so" must relate to Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan. This high honorific would hardly have been used of two hostile ministers, and the succeeding passage refers to them as alive and to their fall in the reign of Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan. The meaning of the passage is agreed, by Tibetan scholars whom Bell consulted and by those I have consulted, to be that the King was murdered. I can trace no reference to this in Tibetan histories and, unfortunately, the passage in the Tun Huang Annals which could have thrown light on this, is missing.

7. Ḥbal and Laṅ. These names appear in the Tun Huang Annals as Laṅ Ḥbal as though there were only one person. Laṅ is not mentioned in the list of Chief Ministers in the Tun Huang Chronicle; but it seems from the Tun Huang Annals that more than one person at a time could be described as Blon Che for it is said (p. 66) that Blon Che Snaṅ Bžer was appointed Blon Che and that Blon Khri Bzaṅ was appointed Blon Che apparently at the same time. The list in the Chronicle may be of presiding Chief Ministers.


9. "Bkyon = Bkah bkyon." Bell. Bell translates this "rebuke" but there is evidence in the Tun Huang Annals that the property of Laṅ and Ḥbal was confiscated; and the term seems too mild for the punishment of murderous ministers. The word is used often in the Tun Huang Annals and Chronicle in connection with the disgrace of ministers.

10. Bell translates this "The King, being of unchanging mind" but the phrase seems to refer to Klu Khon.

11. Ėam Drod. Bell has "having ascertained and considered the affairs of China". I am told that the phrase means "the depth and measure" and that drod is the equivalent of modern "tshod". Dr. Thomas suggests "troubles"; and this meaning suits better the appearance of the phrase in the Žva inscription.

12. Bell translates "He gave instructions to the Commander who first led the troops to Khar Tsan"; but, as noted above, "Bkhaṅ stsal ḃa" means "to appoint", and the meaning must be that Klu Khon was made general.

13. Dr. F. W. Thomas translates "draṅ ba" as "to draw a net round". This seems an unnecessary introduction of metaphor into the Tibetan which is generally straightforward and unadorned.
I take the word as being derived from "ḥdren pa" and meaning simply "to make war" or "lead troops".

14. Khar Tsan is mentioned in the Tun Huang Annals as Khar Tsan Leñ Cu under the year A.D. 758 to which these events apparently relate. It is noticeable that neither in the Annals nor in this inscription is it written "Mkhar." Waddell identifies the place with the "Kachan" or "Cachan" of Marco Polo which Col. Yule considers to be P'uchau-fu close to the great elbow of the Yellow River (JRAS., 1910, p. 1263). Can it be Lan Chow, or Liang Chow?

15. This might be "the designs of the enemy".

16. Bell has "he went by degrees" and states that "gros" is the equivalent of "rim". This is possible but my Tibetan helpers think it means that he acted as a military adviser. There is some support for this in the fact that Klu Khoñ is not named in the Annals as an active commander in the campaigns of A.D. 758 to 761 while the names of three other persons are given as the conquerors of Tson Ka which Klu Khoñ names below as one of the places taken.

17. Ḥa Ŋa. Thomas discusses the position of this district in "Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan" (JRAS., Jan., 1927). It may have extended from the Lop country to the Koko Nor.

18. Bell translates "Those useful to China (were mostly killed). His text does not contain "bcad", which is visible on photographs I have taken of the pillar, and he assumed the reading "gsad".

19. Dbyar Mo Thaṅ. Thomas locates this near the Chinese frontier and in the neighbourhood of the Koko Nor (JRAS., Jan., 1928, p. 84).

20. Tsoṅ Ka is presumably the district now known as Amdo, the birthplace of Tsoṅ Ka Pa the Tibetan religious reformer of the fourteenth century.

21. The Tun Huang Annals give the names of other Chinese towns taken in these campaigns and some of these might be fitted into the damaged portions of the inscription.

22. With regard to the damage in lines 31 to 43 of the inscription Bell notes as follows: "The inscription, in the blanks above, is greatly broken as though with hammers or other such instruments. It seems clear that the injury was done by the Chinese when in power at Lhasa to obliterate the names of places in China which Tibet conquered. This portion of the inscription is high up and could not have been injured by the casual mischief of street urchins and others. Moreover, Lonchen Shokhang informed me that when
he was a young man, he remembers the Chinese saying they were going to take a copy of the Gtsug Lag Khan Doring but it was found that they were scratching out many of the letters with stones, etc.” It may be added that, if the damage was done by sensitive Chinese, they failed to erase the most humiliating passages.

23. Dr. Thomas sees in the words “Thugs Sgam” a reference to a “Minister of Khri Lde Brstan (? 780) who has hitherto escaped notice”. Another form of the name is Skam Skyel or Sgam Dkyel. These words appear in prayers offered at the dedication of a Lha Khan at Bksra Śis Dbyar Mo Thaṅ to celebrate the treaty in A.D. 821 between the Chinese Emperor Mu Tsung and the Tibetan King Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan. (“Tibetan Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan,” JRAS., Jan., 1928, pp. 70–86.) The contexts are “Bod rje blon dbu rmog brtsan sgam dkyel chen poḥi sku ril bar tu”; “Bod Rje Blon dbu rmog brtsan skam dkyel chen poḥi sku riṅ la”, and “Thugs skam dbu rmog brtsan bahi rje blon thugs la ḡphrul dgos phas”. The prayers appear to relate only to the treaty of A.D. 821 and to persons connected with it. The Khri Sum Rje, about whom Dr. Thomas is doubtful, is identifiable in the list of Chief Ministers in the Tun Huang Chronicle and in one of the damaged names in the list of Tibetan signatories to the treaty of A.D. 821 on the Gtsug Lag Khan rdo riṅ.

It seems unlikely that in connection with that treaty, reference would be made to an adviser of Khri Sron Lde Brtsan; and equally unlikely that if there were such a person active before A.D. 763 he would still be active in A.D. 821.

Thugs Sgam is applied, clearly as an epithet, to Khri Lde Sroṅ Brtsan (Sad Na Legs) in the Rgyal Po Bkhaḥ Thaṅ and is reminiscent of Sroṅ (’b)Rtsan’s title “Sgam Po”.

In the passage in this inscription a title such as Blon Po might have been expected if the words referred to a person. The same applies in the passage in the Gtsug Lag Khan rdo riṅ where the words “Sgam dkyel” appear. The context is “Btsan Po Yab Lha ḡphrul Khri Lde Sroṅ Brtsan gyi ža sña nas. Sgam dkyel chen-pos ni. Chos srid ci la yaṅ mkhas šiṅ gsal byams pa-hi bkaza drin gyis ni”. Here it forms part of a series of phrases each with an instrumental termination and all, in my opinion, relating to the King—who, it may be noted, is Khri Lde Sroṅ Brtsan, not Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan who is indicated by Dr. Thomas’ tentative dating. The words appear twice in the inscription on a pillar at the tomb
of Khri Lde Sron Brtsan in Yar Lūn. First, in an introduction which, I think, can relate only to the King, the context is “Thugs sgam po-li rlabs daṅ bkah luṅ bzaṅ po-li lugs kyis . . .”. No such word as “Blon-po” is prefixed to “Thugs sgam”; and “rlabs” and “bkah luṅ” are most improbable words to be used of the relation between a king and his minister. This phrase is also echoed in the Tun Huang Chronicle (p. 115) where it appears as “Btsan po-li ža śna nas, thugs sgam ba-li rlabs daṅ dbu rmog brtsan po-li byin kyis”, and where it is applied to Khri Sron Lde Brtsan. The second occurrence in the Yar Lūn inscription is in a damaged passage reading “Lha ḡphrul gyi ža śna nas, Thugs sgam, ........................................ rje mdzad pa yaṅ”.

It is strange that if there was any such person as “Thugs Sgam” with so long and distinguished a period of active life, his name does not appear in other Tibetan histories and that, in inscriptions where a reference to such a person is suspected, there is an absence of any word to identify him as a minister.

I prefer, therefore, to treat the phrase as an epithet until further evidence to the contrary is found. Perhaps in the passages quoted from “Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan” the phrases might be translated “Up to a time when there were ministers (or king and ministers) who were powerful and of profound mind”; and “by inspired thought in the mind of the ministers of profound wisdom and great might”.

Assuming “Thugs sgam” to be an epithet, I take it to refer to the King in the passage to which this note relates; and I interpret “la-ḥa” as a “mtshams sbyor” as in line 29 (mkhas pa la), not as an objective sign.

24. Bell has He-hu Žik but the letter i, in both instances where the word occurs, is clearly written over the k. In the Gtsug Lag Khan rdo-riṅ inscriptions the titles Bḥun Bu Žeṅ Hvaṅ Te and Bḥun Bḥu He-hu Tīg Hvaṅ Te occur, describing the Emperors T’ai Tsung and Mu Tsung respectively. Waddell states that “Hwang Ti” appears in the title of every Chinese Emperor and that “Bḥun Bḥu He-hu Tīg” is a Tibetan transcription of “Wén-wu-hsiao tè” meaning “the learned, warlike, filial, and virtuous”.

25. The Emperor Su Tsung who died in A.D. 763 was succeeded by Tai Tsung. The name Waṅ Peṅ Waṅ is changed to Kvaṅ Peṅ Waṅ in line 61.

26. Bell has “assumed leadership of the Council”.

ANCIENT HISTORICAL EDICTS AT LHASA 25
27. It is not clear how the name of the Chinese capital Ch‘angan has become Keñ Śi in Tibetan. A Chinese friend suggests that the name may stand for Kung Shih—“palace precinct”.

28. Ci-hu Cir. Chou-chih.


30. “khra” which appears in Bell’s text, may be the beginning of the word “khral”; and the passage may have described how Chinese were taken prisoner and former Chinese subjects had to pay taxes to Tibet.

31. Bell has “being devoted to the name of Kim Šeñ Koñ Co”; but the reference here is clearly to the appointment by the Tibetans of the brother of the Princess Chin Ch‘eng as Emperor.

Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag calls him Thañ Ga-hu Dbañ and describes him as Kim Sheñ Koñ Co’s “min po”, i.e. blood brother. His name in the Deb Ther Non-po is given as Ko-hu Hi and he is called a Chinese Minister. Waddell, quoting from Bushell’s translation of the T‘ang Shu, gives the name as Chenghung, Prince of Kuangwu. The Princess, his sister, who came to Tibet in A.D. 710 as the bride of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan, had died in A.D. 739. She was not the mother of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan, as many Tibetan histories allege, for the Tun Huang Annals record his birth in A.D. 742. The new Emperor was soon displaced and killed.

32. The reconstruction I have suggested fits with the number of missing letters in the text. It is probable that Klu Khoñ describes his actions as redounding to the fame of his King.

**North Inscription**

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ANCIENT HISTORICAL EDICTS AT LHASA

10  ཁ་བྲོས་པ་རེས་ལྗོང་སུ་
11  དབུག་པ་རེ་བུ་ཐུབ་
12  མཆོག་བོད་ཀྱི་བུ་རེ་བུས།
13  ལྡེ་འེལ་བེང་། བློ་ཐོང་གིས་བུ་རེ་བུས་
14  འཕེལ་བཀག་གཞི། རུས་མོར་དེ།
15  དབུག་པ་རེ་བུ་ཐུབ་
16  ཕོ་ཁོང་བ་བཀག་བུ་མཆོག་པར་
17  ལྡེ་འེལ་བེང་། བློ་ཐོང་
18  འཕེལ་བཀག་གཞི། རུས་མོར་དེ།
19  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
20  འཕེལ་བཀག་གཞི། རུས་མོར་དེ།
21  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
22  འཕེལ་བཀག་གཞི། རུས་མོར་དེ།
23  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
24  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
25  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
26  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
27  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
28  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
29  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
30  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
31  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
32  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
33  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
34  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
35  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
36  ཟུར་ཐོང་བས་ཏིང་ཞིང་བར་བུ།
ANCIENT HISTORICAL EDICTS AT LHASA

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NOTES ON THE TEXT

1. It will be seen that "pa" and "pha" are used almost indiscriminately, e.g. hpald or pald, par or phar, hphan or hpan. The "h" preceding "phald" or "pald" is sometimes omitted. The final "da" in gyurd "hpald" and "stsald" is the "da-drag".

2. gtsigs, which is omitted from Bell's text, is clearly visible through binoculars.

3. ba-hi mdo is also omitted by Bell but is quite clear.

4. yig gru. The final g of yig is effaced. Bell omits "gru" and the word is damaged but I have no doubt that it is correctly reproduced.

5. Bris pa ha. Bell has bris pa-ho; but there is no sign of a na-ro; and bris pa ha appears also in the inscription from Mtshur phu.

6. nam nam ža žar. Žar is an obvious reconstruction as this phrase is quite common. Cf. also nam žar in line 48.

7. Bell has no thog pa-hi but no "i" is visible.

8. Not more than two letters are effaced here. I can think of no suitable word.

9. Five or six words are missing.

NORTH INSCRIPTION. TRANSLATION

A summary of the deed concerning the exaltation of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoṇ is inscribed upon this pillar in large letters.

King Khri Sroṇ Lde Brtsan himself took an oath and decreed that it should be granted forever to the male descendants of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoṇ, by a great Silver Letter in perpetuity, that they should never be degraded.

And he decreed that during each generation of the male descendants of the King, one of the male descendants shall serve in the
King's retinue, ranking above the private attendants, and that he shall always be provided with food.

And he decreed that the male descendants of Zla Goñ shall be honoured by promoting, according to their ability, those who are able to perform the Royal Work.

And he decreed that Zla Goñ's male descendants, so long as they do not become hostile to the King, whatever other faults they may commit, shall not forfeit their lives or property; and if they should be involved in any grave offence, for one such offence they shall be reprimanded and the blame shall be cast away.

And he decreed that if some of the male descendants of Zla Goñ die out, the servants, land, movable property, and cattle of those who die out shall not be resumed by the State but shall be given to the nearest relation.

And he decreed that whichever of the male descendants of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ holds the letter of exaltation, even if his line be broken or if he should be found guilty of an offence, the great Silver Letter shall not be taken away but shall be given to that one of the male descendants of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ, or of Zla Goñ, who is nearest (to the last holder).

And he decreed that the male descendants of Zla Goñ, the father of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ, shall receive the rank of Žaño Lon Yi Ge Pa and the command of three hundred soldiers.

And he decreed that the post of Commander of the bodyguard of one thousand which is recruited from the Hphan district shall not be given to anyone else; but that one of the male descendants of Gsas Slebs, the grandfather of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ, who is capable and can be a leader of the common people, shall always be appointed Commander of the bodyguard of one thousand from the Hphan district.

And he decreed that the male descendants of Ŵan Lam Gsas Slebs, on whom the command of the district bodyguard is bestowed forever, shall not suffer removal from or change in their position in the district.

And he decreed that the servants, fields, high pastures, grasslands, and the like of Zla Goñ's male descendants, whatever they hold, shall not be resumed by the State, shall not be diminished, and shall not be taken by others; and that even though they themselves should be displeased (with the King) their nearness shall not be changed to distance nor good treatment for bad.
And he decreed that, if by secret spite any person should do harm to the life or position of any of the male descendants of Zla Goñ, a corrective order shall be given from above.

And he decreed that, so long as the male descendants of Zla Goñ do not become hostile to the King, he will not listen to slander against them nor seek to blame them nor bring accusations against them.

And he decreed that if any of the male descendants become hostile to the King, and the fact be proved, those who are guilty shall be punished for the offence; other relations shall not be involved in proceedings and their life and position shall not be injured.

In short, the descendants of Zla Goñ the father of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khon considering their life and position.

Notes on the Translation

1. Dku rgyal = sku rgyal. Bell.
2. Bell has "the circumstances concerning the exaltation". His text did not contain the words "gtsigs . . . ba-ḥi mdo". This phrase appears in other inscriptions and "gtsigs" appears to mean "a solemn decree", "mdo", "a summary".
3. The words "yig gru" are not in Bell's text. The phrase appears to be the equivalent of "yig ḡbru", "capital letters"—see Das' Tibetan Dictionary, p. 931.
4. Bell notes that Ža sna is an honorific for "gyis" "by"; but it is often found in other forms—see line 62 of this inscription—and seems to have an intrinsic meaning. "The King's Grace" might be a suitable translation.
5. Bu tsa rgyud ḡphald; lit. "to the increasing chain of sons". Bell.
6. A silver letter was not the highest possible award. Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag mentions letters of turquoise, gold, silver, onyx, and copper as marks of distinction, in that order. The Tun Huang Annals record that Klu Khon's superior colleague, Žaṅ Rgyal Zigs, was given a turquoise letter after the campaign of A.D. 762. This makes it the more extraordinary that Klu Khon should have been allowed to set up these inscriptions in his own praise.
8. Bell has "Bestowed forever on . . . a great Silver Letter guaranteeing them permanent high position". This gives the sense
without explaining the construction. The "na" following a double "sad" in line 9 looks strange at first but there are other instances of such use in these inscriptions, and it seems that the meaning must be "in a great Silver Letter".

9. Here again "na" is separated by a "sad" from the word with which it must be connected in sense—viz. "žam hbrin".

10. Tshal in modern use means "breakfast". It may be intended here that the descendant of Zla Goñ should be provided only with a morning meal.

11. Bell has "Those . . . who are able to serve the King shall render service to the best of their ability, obeying his orders and rendering praise to him". This does not accord with the construction "rgyud ḷphald la . . . bstod par gnañ no". The translation I have given agrees with the opinion of two Tibetan Lamas of Lhasa.

Bkur žiñ might mean "praising"; but it can also mean "lifting up", and that seems more suitable here.

12. Glo ba riñ(s) ba. "Glo Ba = modern Blo Ba." Bell.

Bell translates this phrase which occurs several times in these inscriptions, variously as "estranged from, hostile to, unfriendly to". It could also be translated "disloyal". I have retained "hostile" throughout.

13. Bell has "whatever other faults they may commit shall not be punished with forfeiture of life or property; but for them they shall be reprimanded and when they have been reprimanded the blame shall be thrown away". I find it difficult to be precise about this passage. "gyod" according to Das' dictionary means "repentance" or "a lawsuit". The addition of bkañ seems to imply some sort of order. Bell seems to take the word, which he translates as "reprimand", as the equivalent of "bkyon" which appears in lines 34 and 60, and he translates that, too, as "reprimand". If this identification is correct, such a translation seems too mild for a word which is used in connection with the conviction of Ḫbal and Lañ—see south inscription, line 20—and also appears frequently in the Tun Huang documents to describe the disgrace and dismissal of Ministers. bkañ gyod appears again in line 63 of this inscription and there it relates to the penalty for disloyalty—glo ba riñs pa. As it is stated in the passage under examination that no forfeiture of life or position will be incurred so long as the family do not become hostile, it seems that more than a simple
reprimand must be intended there. It seems to me that a distinction is intended between “nönś myig” a mere fault and “bkah gyod” a more serious offence. Whether a reprimand or an offence is meant, the general meaning seems clear—that for one such occurrence the person concerned would get off lightly. There is a similar passage in the rdo riñ at Žva Lha Khαn.

14. Bell translates “As regards the male descendants . . . they hold the letter in their hands”. But “Lag na ḷchaṅ ḷchaṅ ba žig” must mean “that one which holds the letter”.

15. Bkyon bap pa. It is seen that this would be sufficiently serious for the silver letter to be given to another of the family. Cf. note 13.

16. There is no “la” to indicate that the “gaṅ āe ba gcig” would be the recipient of the letter; but this seems to be the only possible meaning.

17. Bell has “. . . shall receive the property of the Scribe Žaṅ Lon”. But Žaṅ Lon Yi Ge Pa is clearly an official rank. “Thaṅ” may mean either the position or the allowances of the rank.

18. Ḫphān po is the broad valley north of Lhasa. I am told that it was famous as a recruiting ground in the time of the Kings of Tibet and that to this day there is on the Kansu border a pocket of Tibetan inhabitants who still speak the Ḫphān dialect. They are said to be descendants of soldiers who were stationed on the border during the Tibetan wars against China in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.

19. Bell has “who is most able to satisfy the majority”. I prefer to derive “ḥdraṅ ba” from “ḥdren pa” to lead. If “satisfy” had been intended it might be expected to find “Dmaṅs la Ḫdraṅ ba”.

20. ņαn Lam Gsas Slebs. The name Gsas Slebs appears in letters from Khotan neighbourhood in “Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan”, by Dr. F. W. Thomas, mentioned above. As the Rgyal Rabs Gsal ba-hi Me Loṅ describes ņαn Lam Stag Sgra Klu Goṅ as “Li”—the common name for Khotanese—perhaps the family had its origin in Khotan.

21. Bell has “The male descendants . . . shall perpetually be employed in the bodyguard; the appointment shall not be given to another and shall not be changed”. This is rather compendious and does not follow the construction closely. “Sde” is the word for an administrative district as compared with “yul” in lines 41
and 46 above, which is used of a geographical area. I take Sde Cha to mean "district appointment". "Gudu spo-la" means "setting apart" and implies dismissal from office.

22. "sog" means "hay or straw". Here there is a distinction between "ḥbrog" "upland grazing grounds" and "sog" "land on which grass is grown for cutting as fodder".

23. Bell translates "dbaṅ no cog" as "the measure of power". It means simply "whatever they hold".

24. Bell has "if they do not agree with others". He was informed that "ta bdag" "others" was a rare obsolete word used only by a few learned Lamas. I can find no trace of such a meaning elsewhere and in line 19 of the south inscription "khoṅ ta ni" clearly means "they". If Bell's translation were correct one would expect "khoṅ ta bdag la" in the text. Although it may seem strange to mention the possibility of a subject being dissatisfied with the King's actions, I can see no other meaning.

25. Rma-ho. Bell says that this is the equivalent of modern "smra" and translates "they shall be reprimanded". But as I have noted in 13 above, this refers to the punishment for a disloyal person. I wonder whether "rma-ho" is not connected with "rma" "injury".

26. Khrin. This word appears also in the inscriptions from Žva Lha Khan and appears to be the equivalent of "khrims".

27. Bell has "The King considering the lives and positions of the descendants..."; but there is no "gyi" after "rgyud ḣphald", and the descendants therefore seem to be the subject of the sentence—which is incomplete. Five or six words of the last line of the inscription have been effaced, apparently by the backs of people who have sat at the foot of the pillar and leaned against it for many centuries.
Gtsug Lag Khan Rdo-riṅ at Lhasa from N.E.

The "Dphaḥ bo Blon Chen" at Sñe Thaṅ
The Mu Tsung/Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan Treaty of A.D. 821–822 from the Inscription at Lhasa

The texts at the end of this article are taken from the stone pillar (rdo riṅ) which stands a little to the north-west of the main, western, gate of the Lhasa Gtsug Lag Khan. The broader faces of the pillar are the east and west; the narrower, the north and south. The pillar measures roughly 11 feet by 2$\frac{1}{3}$ feet by 1$\frac{1}{4}$ feet. It tapers slightly toward the top and is surmounted by a small stone canopy with a round stone finial representing a jewel. No pedestal is now visible above ground. The pillar is closely surrounded for more than two-thirds of its height by stone walls which leave just enough space for a man to stand in. The east inscription is in Tibetan only; the west inscription is bilingual with the Chinese text to the right of the Tibetan; and those on the north and south are also bilingual with the Tibetan and Chinese written in alternate paragraphs.

In an article in the JRAS. for 1880, entitled "The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources", Dr. S. W. Bushell published the reproduction of an estampage from this pillar which he obtained in Peking. Landon in his book "Lhasa", published in 1905, states that the estampage cannot be from the Lhasa pillar; but comparison of the reproduction with the pillar itself shows not only an identical text, line for line, but also identical marks of damage. Landon appears to have mistaken a smaller and broader pillar, containing a late Ch‘ing inscription, for the treaty pillar which stands further to the north.

Dr. Bushell’s estampages are of the west and north faces only; and he identifies the west inscription as the treaty of A.D. 821 between the Chinese Emperor Mu Tsung and the Tibetan King Ral-pa-cen. He gives a translation based on the Chinese text and supplemented by extracts from Chinese histories. In the JRAS. for October, 1909, Dr. L. A. Waddell published an article on the inscription from the east face of this pillar, which he identified as the treaty of A.D. 783 between the T‘ang Emperor Tê Tsung and the Tibetan King Khri Sron Lde Brtsan. In that article Dr. Waddell accepted Dr. Bushell’s view that the west inscription embodied the Mu Tsung treaty of A.D. 821; but in a further article in the
for April, 1911, he examined the inscriptions on the west and north faces of the pillar and concluded that they also referred to the Tê Tsung treaty.

When the late Sir Charles Bell was at Lhasa in 1921 he obtained copies of all four inscriptions and made translations of them with the help of learned Tibetan officials. He had the full assistance of the Tibetan Government and so worked in conditions far more favourable than those Dr. Waddell faced in 1904. Sir Charles Bell left me his material with the request that it should be published; and during the past four years I have made a careful study of the texts.

Owing to the high wall, photography of the pillar is not possible and it is difficult even to get a good view of the lower part without almost acrobatic exertions; but I have examined the pillar thoroughly, through the kindness of the Tibetan Government, and have secured some old estampages of the west and north faces and have had fresh estampages made. I have also studied the reproduction in Dr. Bushell's article but have not been able to obtain a copy of an article published in China by Dr. Lo Chen-yu in which, I believe, there are other estampages of some of the inscriptions. Other material of value is contained in "*Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan, II*", by Dr. F. W. Thomas (*JRAS*. Oct., 1927). In this article there is a series of prayers relating to the founding at the frontier between Tibet and China of a chapel for the purpose of preserving a copy of this treaty. I have also referred to "*Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs a l'Histoire du Tibet*", by Drs. Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint (Paris, 1946), which I mention in the course of this article as "the Tun Huang Documents: the Tun Huang Annals and Chronicles". In this way I have been able to make some corrections and additions to Sir Charles Bell's texts and translations which, nonetheless remain "fons et origo" of this work.

One of the first points which Sir Charles Bell noticed was that the Tibetan king named at the beginning of the east inscription is Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan—not Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan as stated in Dr. Waddell's article. Later, he arranged to have the earth cleared from the lower part of this inscription and found there three clear dates. In these passages, which must have been buried for a long time, it is written that the treaty was ratified in China in the first year of Cañ Keñ; it was ratified in Tibet in the second year of
Caṅ Keṇ; and the stone pillar was set up at Lhasa in the third year of Caṅ Keṇ. Tibetan years are also given but it is the Chinese dates that can be placed with certainty. Ch'ang K'ing was the regnal title of the first four years of Mu Tsung's reign (Mayers' Chinese Readers Manual, p. 382), and the above dates are therefore A.D. 821, 822, and 823.

The east inscription being thus clearly dated, the natural presumption is that the remaining inscriptions also relate to the same events. It would be most unlikely to find on one pillar inscriptions differing in date by a hundred years; and present-day Tibetan opinion is definite that no king would have made an inscription on a pillar set up by another. It is also the general opinion that the normal order of writing inscriptions on this pillar would be to put the first on the side facing the Gtug Lag Khan. But more important is the consideration that the inscription on the east face is in Tibetan only and is not a treaty but a historical explanation of the circumstances in which a treaty was made, while the west inscription contains definite treaty provisions and is in both Tibetan and Chinese. Although the name of the Tibetan king in the west inscription is mutilated and only the end—"brtsan"—is legible, there seems little doubt that this inscription is the treaty referred to on the east face; but as Dr. Waddell has given a series of arguments that the inscription records the Tē Tsung treaty of A.D. 783, it seems desirable to dispel any uncertainty that might linger, as the result of the Tibetan king's name being illegible, by examining each of the nine points propounded by Dr. Waddell, which I give below in italics.

1. "The official Chinese Chronicle of 1792 positively records that the Mu Tsung treaty edict tablet no longer existed. 'Before the Jo K'ain there were two tablets of the T'ang period. One the tablet of the Tê-tsong treaty, the other that of the Mu-tsung treaty or the "Tablet of long happiness". At present there remains only the Tê-tsong tablet.'"

Only one treaty pillar survives and that bears on its east face the date A.D. 821–823, which I shall show to apply to the whole series of inscriptions on it. It must be concluded that the Chinese official record of 1792 was mistaken. Perhaps, even at that time, the lower part of the pillar was buried.

Although there is no mention, in the portions of the T'ang Annals translated by Dr. Bushell of pillars having been set up at Lhasa and at the Chinese capital in connection with the Tē Tsung treaty, the statement in the later Chinese records that there were such pillars
may be correct. If so, it seems possible that the pillar at Lhasa was deliberately destroyed at a very early date in reply to the destruction by the Chinese of the frontier monument at Ch‘ingshui on which the treaty of A.D. 783 was recorded. That is seen from the T‘ang Annals to have taken place shortly after the treaty was concluded. At that time the Tibetans were powerful and aggressive and feeling ran high as can be seen from the account in the T‘ang Annals of the abortive treaty negotiations at P‘ingliang in A.D. 787, where the Tibetans were guilty of treachery in retaliation for alleged breaches of trust by the Chinese. It is also significant that the historical account in the east inscription, which describes the course of relations between Tibet and China before the Mu Tsung treaty, mentions treaties and friendly relations between the two countries in the reigns of Khri Sroñ Brtsan (Sgam Po) and Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan, and negotiations for a treaty between Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan and the Chinese Emperor but passes over the reign of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan without mentioning the king or the Tê Tsung treaty. Thus it seems that forty years after its conclusion, the Tê Tsung treaty, which had been violated within a few years of its making, was treated as if it had never existed.

2. "The complete official list of extant Chinese inscriptions at Lhasa published in 1851 contains no reference to the Mu-tsung treaty while enumerating the Tê-tsung."

The list presumably continues the error of the record of 1792.

3. "The name of the Tibetan king in the text . . . is evidently . . . K‘ri Sroñ lde btsan, the final syllable of whose name is spelt in the Tê Tsung as well as in the Potala edict indiscriminately both as ‘brtsan’ and ‘btsan’. On the other hand, the Mu-tsung treaty was concluded with King Ral-pa-chen . . . whose name as we know it contains neither of the two syllables in question."

Dr. Waddell was not aware that Ral-pa-cen’s official name was Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan. Ral-pa-cen, the Long-haired, was apparently a familiar name similar to the names Mes Ag Tshoms for Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan and Sad Na Legs Hjiṅ Yon for Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan.

Dr. Waddell’s statement that the spelling “brtsan” or “btsan” is used indiscriminately for the name of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan is incorrect. There is no mention of this king in the east inscription which Dr. Waddell intends by the “Tê Tsung treaty edict”; and in the Potala (Ţol) inscriptions “brtsan” is uniformly used
as it is also in the Skar Cun inscription which I have published in the *JRA SB.* for 1949. "btsan" is the uniform spelling in "btsan po" "king" and does not appear as part of the royal names.

Dr. Waddell states later in his article that the name of the Tibetan king, missing from the Tibetan text, has been supplied by Dr. Bushell from the *Yih t'ung chi* as "His Majesty Te-chi-li-tsan" and he identifies this with Ch'i li tsan—the Chinese form of the name of the Tibetan king with whom the Tê Tsung treaty was signed. This, he thinks, is near enough to "Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan" for a Chinese translation of the name of a barbarian. But in the T'ang Annals there is another and nearer version of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan's name—So-hsi-lung-lieh-tsan. "Ch'i li" appears to be the usual Chinese transcription of "Khri", and is so used in the north inscription. Ch'i-li-tsan therefore appears to be only the equivalent of "Khri Brtsan".

4. "The title of the Chinese Emperor which is used is identical with that employed in the Tê Tsung edict."

By "Tê Tsung edict" Dr. Waddell means the east inscription which is now known to bear the date A.D. 821-823. His argument is therefore in favour of the west inscription being of the same date.

5. "The signatures of witnesses appear to comprise the names and titles of several known officials who are recorded as having signed the Tê Tsung treaty."

Dr. Waddell quotes the name of the last Tibetan signatory recorded on the north face as a witness to the treaty. He gives this from the Tibetan as "The great deputy of the King, Zang Lon Gyal Nam Btsan" and from the Chinese as "Shang Lun Chieh . . ." and he claims that this is the same Shang Chieh Tsan whom the T'ang Annals state to have been the Tibetan minister in charge of the treaty negotiations in A.D. 783. In order to support this view, Dr. Waddell makes the improbable assertion that the last signature was the place of honour. There is no reason to believe this, especially as the list of witnesses starts with "Great Ministers" and is followed by a list of "Ordinary Ministers" in which the name in question is included. The name is, in fact, clearly legible as "Žal ce pa chen po Žal ce-ho chog gi Myañ Blon Rgyal Űn Legs Rtsan", who is probably the same as the Myañ Blon Legs Btsan included in the list of officers witnessing an oath to maintain Buddhism taken by Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan's father Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan as recorded
by the Tibetan historian Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag (Gtsug Lag Ḥpreñ Ba). This oath and the list of witnesses have every appearance of being copied from ninth century sources and it is improbable that so long a list of names would have survived if it had not come from contemporary records. Dr. Waddell’s identification of the last Tibetan signatory on the north face as the great Shang Chieh Tsan is, therefore, unacceptable. The Shang Chieh Tsan of A.D. 783 was probably Žañ Rgyal Tshan Lha Snañ of Sna Nam, mentioned in the Tun Huang Chronicle.

Another identification which Dr. Waddell relies on as certain is that of the representative Lun Tsan Je in the negotiations of A.D. 783 with the fourteenth name in the north inscription—Cog Ro Blon Btsan Bžer Lho Goñ. “Btsan Bžer” is certainly an acceptable rendering of “Tsan Je” but these syllables are common to many Tibetan names of that period as may be seen from the text of the north inscription. On the other hand the name of Cog Ro Blon Lho Goñ appears in the list of witnesses to the oath of Khri Lde Sron Brtsan, and this identification appears more probable. Other identifications attempted by Dr. Waddell are so remote as not to be worth examining.

Other names common to the inscription and to Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag’s list are:—

1. The Great Minister Dpal Chen-po Yon (Tan) who appears to be identical with Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan’s Chief Minister, called Bran Ka Dpal Gyi Yon in some later histories.

2. The Commander-in-Chief Blon Rlad Khri Sum Rje (Sbeg Lha) who figures in the documents edited by Dr. Thomas as the chief architect of the Mu Tsung treaty. This name does not appear in either Dr. Waddell’s or Sir Charles Bell’s text but, apart from the last two syllables, can be readily reconstructed from the estampage published by Dr. Bushell.

3. Mchims Žañ Rgyal Btsan Bžer. This name is not legible in the Tibetan text but can be reconstructed from the Chinese, which reads according to Dr. Waddell, “Shang chieh tsan . . . je” and from comparison with Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag’s record where Žañ Mchims Rgyal Btsan Bžer Legs Gsigs appears as a senior minister.

4. Blon Rgyal Bzañ Ḥdus Koñ, whose name Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag prefixes with the family name of Bran Ka.

5. Lha Bo Tsan, who appears in the inscription as of the Ḥbro family but in Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag as Dbah.
It is possible that the fourth signatory was the Žan Lha Bzañ who figures in Dr. Thomas’ documents in connection with the treaty of A.D. 821–823. The text is damaged and the person appears to be a “Guñ Blon”—a rank mentioned in the Tun Huang documents and in later histories but the exact functions of which are not clear—and the word “Dmag” is at least partly visible. The Chinese text also contains the description of the officer as “Assistant Commander-in-Chief” according to a Chinese friend to whom I have shown it. The last syllable of the name is “Bzañ”. Dpañ-bo Gtsug Lag’s list contains the name of Žan Tshes Spøñ Lha Bzañ Klu Dbal as one of Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan’s officials. This name is associated in most Tibetan histories with a great general of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan’s day, and Dpañ-bo Gtsug Lag, when quoting from the Padma Bkah Thañ, mentions him in connection with the founding of Bsam Yas; but in a later passage when giving a list of the witnesses to an oath taken by Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan, which like the oath of Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan appears to be derived from ancient sources, he does not include the name of Lha Bzañ Klu Dbal. Perhaps there were two persons of the same or similar name, or later histories may have confused Lha Bzañ Klu Dbal with Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ, whose exploits are recorded on the Lhasa Žol rdo rin, and misplaced him in the reign of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan. The former appears the more likely, as both Lha Bzañ Klu Dbal and Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ appear in the Bkah Thañ Yig as present at the founding of Bsam Yas. It is, however, just possible that Lha Bzañ could have survived into the reign of Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan.

The persons recorded in the T’ang Annals as the principal Chinese envoys for the signing of the Mu Tsung treaty—Liu Yuan-ting, Chih, and Po—are not identifiable in either the Chinese or Tibetan texts; but the Assistant, Liu Shih Lao may be identified with “Le-ðu Ši La-ðu” in the Tibetan text.

Nor can the names either of the Tibetan envoy to China or the principal envoy at the Lhasa ceremony, as recorded in the T’ang Annals, be clearly traced. The former was Shang Ch’i li tossu, which might be a rendering of Žan Khri Mdo Gzigs. A Žan Mchims Rgyal Mdo Gzigs appears in Dpañ-bo Gtsug Lag’s list; and this may also be the fifth name in the inscription. It is badly damaged but there are indications which could read Žan Rgyal (? Khri—Waddell has · Li) Mdo Gzigs. The name of the Tibetan envoy at
Lhasa is given as Lunnalo, which bears no resemblance to the Chief Minister Dpal Chen-po Yon Tan. Perhaps there was a special envoy for the negotiations. The third name in the inscription is almost completely lost and all that can be seen is "Blon Lo" (perhaps Lho). Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag's list contains the names of two Lho Blons, of whom the senior was Khri Bzañ Gyu Btsan; and "Blon Lho" is possibly the explanation of the name Lunnalo.

Dr. Waddell draws attention to the statement in the T'ang Annals that seventeen persons were directed to sign the Mu Tsung treaty and to the coincidence that what he claims to be the Tê Tsung treaty was also signed by seventeen persons. He discounts this by saying that it merely shows Chinese love of precedent. In fact, while there are seventeen Tibetan signatories, there are apparently eighteen Chinese names.

6. "The place where the Tê Tsung sworn ceremony was performed on the frontier, namely Ch'ingshui, is conspicuously mentioned by name in our edict, and this name is not found anywhere in relation to the Mu Tsung treaty."

There is no mention in the inscription of a sworn ceremony at Ch'ingshui such as is stated in the T'ang Annals to have taken place in connection with the Tê Tsung treaty.

Although the T'ang Annals do not mention a pillar recording the Mu Tsung treaty having been set up at the frontier, Tibetan histories state this was done and also that each side set up a Lha khan there. The documents edited by Dr. Thomas show that the Tibetans set up their inscription at Bkra Śis Dpyar Mo Thañ. The location and other points connected with this foundation are discussed by Dr. Thomas at p. 84 sq. of his article mentioned above.

If it is proved that the inscription is the Mu Tsung treaty—as I think will probably be agreed—it will be seen that the frontier does not appear to have changed since the days of the Tê Tsung treaty. The actual frontier point appears to have been Tsañ Kun Yog, which Dr. Bushell's translation of the Chinese text gives as "the Chiangchun pass". The syllable "yog" in the Tibetan is apparently a form of "hog" "below" and may imply that the change of horses was to take place "below Tsañ Kun"; but as "Hog" is an integral part of many Tibetan place-names, I have retained Tsañ Kun Yog—"Lower Tsañ Kun" or "Tsañ Kun Below the Pass".

Tseñ Su Hvañ can be identified with Ch'ingshui and is seen to be
A.D. 821–822 FROM THE INSCRIPTION AT LHASA

included in Tibetan territory. Dr. Waddell has discussed this point in connection with the Tê Tsung treaty at pp. 407–412 of his article of 1911. The Chinese frontier post is rendered as "Stse Žuñ Cheg" in Tibetan and as the "Suiyung barrier" in Dr. Bushell's translation of the Chinese. Dr. Waddell notes that "Cheg" in the Tibetan is the equivalent of the Chinese word for a barrier.

7. "The style and composition in the Tibetan version of this edict is similar to that of the Tê Tsung joint edict on the eastern side of the monolith. Several phrases are identical."

As the east inscription clearly relates to the Mu Tsung treaty, this is another argument against the west inscription being of a different date. It is misleading to describe the east inscription, of which there is no Chinese version, as a joint edict.

On the point of style, Dr. Waddell states that the da-drag is absent but he does not conclude that, in view of the reform of spelling attributed to Ral-pa-cen, this might be a sign of lateness of date.

I, too, accepting Dr. Waddell's statement, was formerly under the impression that the da-drag did not appear in these inscriptions and in my article in the JRASB. for 1949 I have repeated this mistaken statement. On a word-by-word examination of these inscriptions I find that there are several appearances of the da-drag both on the east and the west side. It is not so extensively used as in the Žol inscription which dates from about A.D. 764, and its use here is more comparable to that in the Sañs Rgyas Dgon-pa inscription of the reign of Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan.

8. "The matter of the text nowhere conflicts with that of the Tê Tsung, already published by me, which latter, indeed, requires these supplementary articles to complete it as a working document and to complete its text in accordance with the manuscript record of the Tê Tsung treaty as preserved in the Chinese Annals."

This argument now militates against Dr. Waddell's theory, for what he published as the Tê Tsung treaty, in fact, relates to the Mu Tsung ; and Dr. Waddell acknowledges that that inscription by itself does not constitute a complete treaty.

9. "Finally, the text of this edict is essentially different in several particulars from what is recorded in the T'ang Annals and elsewhere as forming the actual text of the Mu-Tsung treaty."

By the "book version of the Mu-Tsung treaty" Dr. Waddell refers to the translation from the T'ang Annals by Dr. Bushell, which he quotes in full on pp. 402–403 of his article of 1911. The
first two paragraphs of this version certainly have no resemblance to the contents of the west inscription; but Dr. Waddell himself has noted that the book versions in Chinese records probably did not purport to reproduce treaties exactly. The opening paragraphs may perhaps be considered as an introduction like the Tibetan preamble in the east inscription.

The third paragraph contains a few similarities to the west inscription, e.g. "What the Chinese now rule shall have T'ang as the sovereign, and the country of the western race shall have Fan as ruler". The references to putting weapons aside, ancient bonds of mutual aid, the absence of need for frontier watch fires, may also be considered as resemblances although they are such as might appear in any treaty.

The last two paragraphs are pious and poetical padding.

The striking similarity comes in a later passage where other articles are mentioned (Waddell, 1911 article, p. 404). This reproduces the provision about the treatment of suspicious persons. Dr. Waddell dismisses this as yet another example of the Chinese love of precedent.

Dr. Bushell's translation of the inscription itself is treated by Dr. Waddell simply as a translation of the Tê Tsung treaty although Dr. Bushell considered it to be the Mu Tsung treaty and supplemented his translation by reference to other Chinese records of that treaty. More cavalier is Dr. Waddell's treatment of the translation by M. Amiot of what he (M. Amiot) states to be the Mu Tsung treaty and which he derived from a Chinese history of the time of K'ang Hsi. Dr. Waddell gives this translation in full at pages 398-401 of his 1911 article, claiming it to be a translation of the Tê Tsung treaty. The translation begins "In the first year of Tchang tsing the Emperor of the T'ang and he (the Emperor of the Tou fan) have sworn to observe exactly everything which is engraved on this stone. The great Emperor Ouen ou Hioung Ty and the great Emperor of the Fan Chen Chen Tsan pou. . . ." Dr. Waddell states that the first paragraph is an interpolation by the copyist who wrote the Chinese work and says that it is not existent on the stone. The latter statement is true; but Dr. Waddell's rejection of the paragraph proceeds from the mistaken certainty that the stone records the Tê Tsung treaty. It seems more probable that the writer at the time of K'ang Hsi knew what he was copying and that it was the Mu Tsung treaty, concluded in
China in the first year of Chang King (Tchang Tsing). Comparison of Dr. Bushell’s translation (loc. cit., pp. 536-7) with that of M. Amiot shows a close similarity from which it appears that there were other records of the Mu Tsung treaty than that contained in the body of the T’ang Annals; the two translations also agree closely with the Tibetan version in the west inscription.

On the other hand, the version of the Tè Tsung treaty in the T’ang Annals as translated by Dr. Bushell, contains no close similarities with the text of the west inscription.

The Mu Tsung treaty was known to the Chinese as “the Tablet of Long Happiness” (Waddell, p. 406). In both the west and east inscription there is mention of “ten thousand years of happiness”. Dr. Waddell, again arguing from his conviction that these inscriptions are the Tè Tsung treaty, says that this title could equally well be applied to the latter. He does not mention that the phrase “ten thousand years of happiness” does not appear in the book version of the Tè Tsung treaty.

The Rgyal Rabs Gsal Bā-hi Me Loṅ provides further evidence that the inscriptions relate to the Mu Tsung treaty for, when referring to the treaty betweenRal-pa-cen and the Chinese Emperor, the Lhasa rdo riṅ is mentioned and the words “sa sa, mal mal” and “Bod Bod yul na skyid; Rgya Rgya yul na skyid” are quoted. Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag’s Chos Ḥbyun also mentions the treaty between Ral-pa-cen and the Chinese and states that the agreement was written on the broad faces and the names of the witnesses on the narrow faces of the Lhasa rdo riṅ. The words “Bod Bod yul na bde; Rgya Rgya yul na bde” are contained in the account. Only the desperate argument of “love of precedent” could dismiss this evidence. Dr. Waddell quotes from the Bodhimor a passage about the Mu Tsung treaty in which it is said that the Three Precious Ones, the Sun, Moon, and Planets were taken as witnesses. Such a phrase appears in the west inscription but is not by itself strong evidence, for such an oath might have appeared in any treaty.

Having now examined Dr. Waddell’s principal arguments that the west inscription contains the Tè Tsung treaty, I may now summarize the evidence in favour of it being the text of the Mu Tsung treaty.

1. The east inscription, which is dated A.D. 821–823, is a preamble and not a treaty. It is in Tibetan only, and refers to former relations between Tibet and China leading up to the present treaty.
The west inscription contains the bilingual record of an actual treaty.

2. It is improbable that inscriptions of different periods would be placed on one pillar.

3. The signatures in the north and south inscriptions, being bilingual, clearly relate to the bilingual document on the west side. These signatures include a number of names which can be placed either in the reign of Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan or in that of his predecessor who died only six or seven years before the inscription was written.

4. M. Amiot's translation of what he claimed to be the Mu Tsung treaty, and Dr. Bushell's reconstruction of the Chinese text of the inscription with the help of other Chinese sources agree very closely with the Tibetan text of the west inscription.

5. The title of the Chinese Emperor with whom the treaty was made is the same as that used in the east inscription. Different titles are applied to other Chinese Emperors mentioned in the east inscription.

6. The Mu Tsung treaty was known as "the Tablet of Long Happiness". Both the west and the east inscription refer to "Ten Thousand Years of Happiness".

7. Tibetan historians clearly took the inscription, from which they quote, to relate to the Mu Tsung treaty.

8. There is no difference in style, or in the character of the carving, of the two inscriptions. The carving on the Žol rdo riṅ of Khri Sron Lde Brtsan's reign is different, and in those inscriptions there is haphazard use of "pa" and "pha" which does not appear in the Gtsug Lag Khan inscriptions.

I think that the above points leave it beyond doubt that the inscriptions on the west, north, and south faces of the Gtsug Lag Khan rdo riṅ as well as that on the east relate to the Mu Tsung treaty.

Little comment is needed on Dr. Waddell's article in the JRAŠ. for 1909, in which he edits the east inscription and describes it as being dated "with irrefutable certainty" as A.D. 783. Arguments based on that misconception need not be met any further. Dr. Waddell's text of the east inscription is incomplete and very inaccurate. Whole passages are reproduced out of their proper order and the division into lines does not follow the arrangement on the rdo riṅ. The translation suffers accordingly. His text and translation of the west inscription are rather better. A detailed examination of
the points of difference between Dr. Waddell’s versions and those given below would be lengthy and of little advantage and I do not intend to undertake it here. Anyone who is interested can compare the texts and translations in Dr. Waddell’s two articles with those that follow.

In spite of their basic error, Dr. Waddell’s articles contain much useful incidental information; and I may clarify two points in his 1909 article. At page 927 and again at page 935 he states that the east inscription mentions a recent war between Tibet and India. The reference is, in fact, to the achievements of the early kings of Tibet. On page 927 it is said that Khri Sroṅ Lde Brttsan was the son of a Chinese Princess (Kim Śeṅ Koṅ Jo). This is the version of later histories but the Tun Huang Annals show that Khri Sroṅ Lde Brttsan was born in A.D. 742, three years after the death of the Princess; and the Tun Huang Chronicle gives his mother’s name as Sna Nam Maṅ Mo Rje Bži Steṅ.

The Gtsug Lag Khan inscriptions are unique among the records of their period in containing not only the actual text of a treaty in Tibetan and Chinese, but also a historical preamble in Tibetan with a clearly identifiable series of dates. The years used for dating distant events are those of the Chinese era; but the dates connected with the treaty itself are given in Tibetan form as well as Chinese. There we find a system of dating which appears nowhere else in Tibetan records. Whereas the Tun Huang Annals, which cover the period A.D. 650–763, use the regular series of animal names, without differentiation of male and female or the addition of the five elements, the years in the east inscription are numbered continuously from the beginning of Khri Gtsug Lde Brttsan’s reign, all with the designation “Skyid Rtag”. This confirms the statement in Chinese records that the reign was called Yi Tai—Continuous Prosperity. (Bushell, loc. cit., p. 536.)

The inscriptions throw light on the capabilities and development of the Tibetan language at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The phrasing is incisive and at times colourful; and there are passages of poetry, possibly from an earlier date, about the mythical history of Tibet.

In these poetical passages the name of Ho Lde Spu Rgyal attracts immediate attention. This divine royal ancestor is mentioned also in the inscription on the pillar at the tomb of Khri Lde Sroṅ Brttsan at Ḫphyoṅ Rgyas; and neither there nor here is there mention of
Gñah Khri Btsan Po whom later Tibetan histories, which mostly ignore Ḥo Lde Spu Rgyal, treat as the founder of the royal race.

The legends about the origin of the Tibetan kings have been examined with far-reaching scholarship by Professor G. Tucci in his great work "Tibetan Painted Scrolls" (Rome, 1949, vol. ii, pp. 727-734). The multiplicity and diversity of the stories from various sources are there clearly set out. It is, therefore, unnecessary, and would be out of place here, for me to detail the results of my own restricted study of the legends and I shall only select a few points for emphasis.

It is interesting to compare the mention of Ḥo Lde Spu Rgyal in the Gtsug Lag Khan inscription with the version of the early legends in the Tun Huang Chronicles. There the name appears only in a short comment, at the end of a description of the "Twelve Principalities", that "the Princes . . . could not acquire the might of Ḥo Lde Spu Rgyal". On the other hand, Nag [sic] Khri Btsan Po figures as the principal royal ancestor and is described (Bacot, op. cit., p. 81) in words almost exactly similar to those used about Ḥo Lde Spu Rgyal in the inscription and in the connected prayers at the foundation of the frontier Lha Khan (Thomas op. cit., p. 71). This similarity of language bears out the identification of Gñah Khri Btsan Po and Ḥo Lde Spu Rgyal which is made in the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama (f. 11) and which is indicated in the Rgyal-po Bkah Thaṅ (f. 18) (see Tucci, op. cit., p. 723). The Tun Huang documents appear to date from about the middle of the ninth century A.D. and they have not been subject to later revision. Special weight therefore attaches to the evidence there of the identification of Ḥo Lde Spu Rgyal and Nag Khri Btsan Po. In those documents there is hardly a trace of Buddhist influence and so the predominance of the name Nag Khri over the name Ḥo Lde Spu Rgyal, in describing the royal ancestor, shows that Lama historians after the restoration of Buddhism in the eleventh century A.D. cannot clearly be charged with having suppressed Ḥo Lde Spu Rgyal as an undesirable relic of the Bon religion. The later Buddhist historians were presumably responsible for trying to "rationalize" the legends and for inventing a connection between the early kings of Tibet and the family of the Buddha. They also provided a story explaining the name Gñah Khri—viz. "Enthroned on Necks"—which collapses when we see that the earliest form of the name is Nag Khri.
It may be noted that the form "Nags Khri" is found in a Bon work called "Srid-pa Rgyud Kyis Kha Bya'ên Chen Mo" in which also there are hints of the identification between Nags Khri and Ho Lde Spu Rgyal.

Assuming that the two names stand for one figure, there is no obvious explanation why the kings, in their inscriptions, should prefer "Ho Lde Spu Rgyal" while the Chroniclers at the end of the royal era should use the form "Nag Khri Btsan Po".

Professor Tucci has illustrated the importance of sacred mountains in Tibetan mythology (op. cit., p. 727) and also quotes the appearance in some sources of the name Ho De Guñ Rgyal which he takes to be identical with Ho De (Lde) Spu Rgyal. Ho De Guñ Rgyal is a snow mountain some seventy miles south-east of Lhasa in the district of Hol Kha (Ho Yul) and there are traces of a mystic connection between the early kings and the Ho Yul country in the passages of the Tun Huang Chronicles recounting the death of Dri Gum Btsan. The Chronicles also show that the grandfather and father of Sron Brtsan Sgam Po were described as "Btsan Po Spu Rgyal". Following the suggestion of Professor Tucci that "Spu" may stand for "Phu" "the upper part", the name might mean "Spirit-King of the Upper Heaven". Although other derivations are possible we can perhaps isolate "Spu Rgyal" as a descriptive title and see in the phrase "Spu Rgyal's Tibet", which occurs often in Tibetan histories, a name for the country under the ancient kings—as we might say "Plantagenet England". So in "Ho Lde Spu Rgyal" we may find the meaning "the King of the Upper Heaven who was the God of Ho Yul" and there may have been a convention by which the kings referred to their ancestor in his form as the god of the mountain Ho De Guñ Rgyal while the Chroniclers were expected to refer to the form in which the god first came to earth to rule men, under the name of Nag Khri.

I do not mean to examine here the theory of Dr. Francke and Dr. Petech that Spu De Guñ Rgyal, son of Dri Gum Btsan, is to be identified with Ho Lde Spu Rgyal. For the present purpose it is sufficient to point to the evidence identifying Ho Lde Spu Rgyal with Nag (Gñah) Khri Btsan Po who, according to almost all Tibetan genealogies including that in the Tun Huang Chronicle, was eighth or ninth in line before Spu De Guñ Rgyal.

In all these stories we are dealing with figures of mythology and probably continue to do so as far down as Khri Thig Brtsan, the
father of Lha Tho Do Sña Brtsan, twenty-sixth in line from Ñag Khri and sixth before Sroṅ Brtsan Sgam Po. The Tun Huang Chronicle may mark the arrival of a breath of history here by naming the wife of the king. It seems possible also that the Twelve Principalities may reflect some history and have been transposed by later historians out of their proper time; for the account of them in the Tun Huang Chronicles contain names which echo those of figures appearing in the time of Sroṅ Brtsan Sgam Po and his father.

At almost any point where one enters a discussion of these stories on and beyond the fringes of history, it is possible to be led on from one hint to another into a maze of parallels and discrepancies; but that pursuit must wait another occasion.

The list, in the north inscription, of the Tibetan officials who witnessed the treaty contains several clan names which appear frequently in Tibetan history. The Mchims clan, related to the royal family and entitled Žaṅ, are strongly represented with three or four members. Another such family, Êbro, from which came Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan’s mother, is also represented.

The use in this inscription of the title Žaṅ, with its appearance of denoting royal kinship, raises further questions about its application. In addition to members of those clans related to the royal family, two other officials, namely Žaṅ Khri Bzer Lha Mthon and Myañ Blon Žaṅ Rgyal Ñen Legs Rtsan, are described as Žaṅ.

From the first of these no deduction can be drawn as his clan name may simply have been omitted in the same way that the clan name of the Chief Minister, Dpal Chen-po Yon, has been; but I can trace no royal relationship which would entitle the Myañ minister to be designated Žaṅ. In Dpaḥ-bo Gtsug Lag’s list of Khri Lde Sroṅ Brtsan’s officials only members of the Mchims, Êbro, Tshes Spoon and Sna Nam clans are described as Žaṅ. Members of the Myañ clan are included in the list but without the title Žaṅ. The four great clans named above are known to have been related to the royal house and two queens each of Mchims, Êbro and Tshes Spoon were mothers of kings. Such a relationship may have been the reason for the use, proprio vigore, of the title Žaṅ; and it may be observed that although Cog Ro ladies were married to Khri Lde Sroṅ Brtsan and Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan—the former as a lesser, the latter as the principal queen—neither is recorded as having borne children; and the Cog Ro minister who figures in the inscription is not described as Žaṅ. Other families provided queen-mothers,
namely Ru Yoṅ, Gnoṅ, Hol God and Moṅ, but these do not appear in Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag’s list and are not prominent in Tibetan history.

The clan name must have covered a wider circle than the family actually related to the throne through a queen-mother. Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag’s list includes one Ḥbro who is not entitled Žaṅ; but it is probable that those who figure as ministers did so, as Tibetan officials do still, on a hereditary feudal basis and the omission of Žaṅ in that one instance may be an oversight. There is, in any case, no record of a Myaṅ lady having married a Tibetan king.1 It is possible that one of the unnamed wives of Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan—of whom there were four—might have come from that family; but if relationship through a queen-mother was the primary basis for the title Žaṅ, this would provide no claim for the Myaṅ clan as Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan had no children.

From the inscription on the Žol rdo riṅ and from that at Žva Lha Khāṅ it appears that promotion of ordinary officials to the rank of Žaṅ Lon, was possible; and the Žva Lha Khāṅ inscription mentions “Žaṅ Lon (sic) Che Phra”. There may therefore be a distinction intended in the different titles appearing in the north inscription, e.g. Mchims Žaṅ Brtan Bʒer Stag Tsab, and Myaṅ Blon Žaṅ Rgyal Ŵen Legs Rtsan.

Most of the officials named in the inscription are designated by a clan name, from which it appears that many clans had the hereditary right or duty to provide ministers. The inscription also shows that there were several ministers described as Blon-po Chen-po. The Tun Huang documents mainly confine this title to a single Chief Minister (Blon Che), and designate other senior ministers simply as “Blon”; but there are traces of “Great Ministers” other than the Blon Che. It appears also from the Žol inscription that more than one Minister at a time could be called Blon Che. In the Gtsug Lag Khāṅ inscription some of the Great Ministers have their duties specified, namely the Commander in-Chief, a Guṅ Blon Chen-po, and perhaps a Naṅ Blon Chen-po; others are apparently Great Ministers without special duties. Above them all is the Chief Minister, Dpal Chen-po Yon (Tan) who is marked out as the principal minister by the description “Privy to the Great Command, having power over interior and

1 But see Tunhuang Chronicle, p. 130. The Prince of the Myaṅ clan was called “Myaṅ maṅ po rje Žaṅ Snaṅ”.

exterior, and conducting the administration”. This person is called Bran Ka Dpal Gyi Yon in later histories and is said to have been a victim of the conspirators against Ral-pa-cen and his régime. He was accused of an intrigue with the queen and was put to death. There is at Sñe Thañ, near Lhasa, a Lha Khan containing images of the Gnas BtTan Bcu Drug, at the west side of which is a small chapel with a figure called the Dpaḥ-bo Blon Chen. It wears the dress of a Chos Skyon; a large grinning mask is surmounted by a rectangular red hat with eyes embroidered on it; the right hand brandishes an arrow; the left hand holds a noose. Under the robes it can be seen that above the waist the figure, which is short and stout, is covered with dried human skin. It is said that the mask covers a broken skull. The lower part of the figure is a simple wooden support. At each side is the image of a boy in the attitude of prayer. The figure is said to be part of the remains of Bran Ka Dpal Gyi Yon which were thrown into the river after having been cut in two. Half was discovered at Sñe Thañ, so local tradition says, by the two boys who appear as supporters of the main image. The other half is said to have been washed up at Rtse Thañ, but I do not know whether it is preserved there.

Dpaḥ-bo Gtsug Lag’s list of Khri Lde Sroṅ Brtsan’s ministers includes, in a place of honour, two “Ban De Bkaḥ Chen-po la gtogs pa”, namely Bran Ka Yon Tan and Myaṅ Tiṅ Ḥdzin. From the title it appears that these were two monk Chief Ministers. In the north inscription the name of the Chief Minister, who is described as “Bkaḥ Chen po la gtogs te”, is incomplete as there is a “tsheg” after the syllable “Yon”, not a “ṣad” which would have marked the end of the name. A Bon history, the Srid Pa Rgyud Kyis Kha Byaṅ Chen Mo, contains the names Bran Ka Dpal Chen Po and Bran Ka Dpal Yon Tan referring to the same person, in connection with events of Ral-pa-cen’s reign. The name of the Chief Minister in the inscription can, therefore, safely be taken as Dpal Chen Po Yon Tan; and that he was a member of the Bran Ka clan, of which two other members are included in the list of Tibetan ministers who signed the treaty, is clear from Tibetan Buddhist histories. If the Ban De Bran Ka Yon Tan of Dpaḥ-bo Gtsug Lag’s list is the same person, as appears probable, this would be the first clear instance of a Buddhist monk (Ban De) being Chief Minister of Tibet.

Myaṅ Tiṅ Ḥdzin was also a distinguished figure about whom
I shall have something to say when I edit the inscriptions from Ṣva Lha Khana, of which he was the founder. Those inscriptions indicate that he was Chief Minister under Khri Lde Sron Brtsan but his name is not included in the list of Chief Ministers in the Tun Huang Chronicle. He may also have been a leader of Khri Lde Sron Brtsan’s mission to China in A.D. 804, for a Buddhist monk Nanpot’echip’o is named in the T’ang Annals as a member of the party of fifty-four persons who “came to court” in that year. The name Myan is pronounced Nañ in modern and may have been so pronounced in T’ang times. A Poch’ep’u or Poch’anp’u is mentioned twice in the T’ang Annals as translated by Dr. Bushell, who notes that he appears to have been a Buddhist enjoying an important position in the state.

In the east inscription there is at lines 41 to 47 an account of the negotiations between Khri Lde Sron Brtsan and the Chinese, which established friendly relations but did not lead to the conclusion of a treaty. The Emperor with whom negotiations were begun is given in Tibetan as Žeñ Šen Bhun Bhu Hvañ Te. This might be thought to represent Shun Tsung, in whose reign the T’ang Annals record that a Tibetan mission was sent to China; but there is no mention in the Annals of any treaty negotiations until A.D. 810, by which time Shun Tsung was dead, after a reign of one year, and Hien Tsung was Emperor. Žeñ Šen is not a fair Tibetan rendering of the name of either Shun Tsung or Hien Tsung. Tibetan transliterations of Chinese names in the Gtsug Lag Khana inscriptions show that something much closer could have been expected. Moreover it is clear from the east inscription that negotiations began in the time of Tê Tsung, for it is said that after the talks were opened there were good relations for the lifetime of one Tibetan King and during the reign of three Chinese Emperors. The Tibetan king can only have been Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan and the three Emperors who reigned between 804, the accepted date of Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan’s accession, and 815, the year of his death, were Tê Tsung, 780–804, Shun Tsung, 805, and Hien Tsung, 806 to 820. Although the Chinese records do not mention discussions about a treaty until much later, the Tibetans appear to have considered the mission of 804 as the beginning of negotiations or at least as the re-establishment of friendly relations. Žeñ Šen Bhun Bhu Hvañ Te, therefore, appears to have been the title which the Tibetans applied to Tê Tsung, in the same way as the
Emperor Chung Tsung is described in line 26 of the east inscription as Ḥgyan Šeṅ Būn Šin Bū Hvān Te.

A Tibetan mission to China in A.D. 803 is also mentioned in the T'ang Annals and this seems to have been the first to have been received at the Chinese court since A.D. 787. One was despatched by the Tibetans in A.D. 797, but the Chinese Emperor refused to receive it. The mission of 803 was, however, too early to be attributed to Khri Lde Sron Brtsan unless there is a mistake in the T'ang Annals about the year of his accession. The absence of diplomatic relations between Tibet and China from 787 to 803 is a possible cause of the confusion in the Chinese and Tibetan accounts of the succession to Khri Sron Lde Brtsan, which problem I hope to examine when I edit the Žva Lha Khan inscriptions.

It will be seen that there are difficulties in lines 29 to 31 of the east inscription which lead to some uncertainty in interpretation. The crux is the translation of "rnul" in the phrase "so-hī Blon pos gnod pa dag rnul gyis kyaṅ". Bell read "rdul" and translated the phrase to mean that the ministers caused trouble; but the reading "rnul" is clear on the pillar. My advisers know of no other meaning for this word than "sweat"; although a tentative suggestion has been made that it may be the equivalent of "nur", "frustrate." At all events the consensus is that the phrase implies that the ministers' actions were good and that they suppressed trouble. It may be thought that the description of events in these and the following lines is too mild to cover the hatred and tension of Khri Sron Lde Brtsan's frontier campaigns; and some may prefer to interpret the passage to mean that the ministers themselves caused trouble. In that case the translation of lines 30 and 31 could be revised accordingly but there would be difficulty in reconciling the grammar of the next few lines. The passage occurs just after mention of Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan and in the chronological sequence some reference to Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan's reign would be expected. The activities described in lines 29 to 33 appear to be those of the ministers; and from the grammatical construction it is improbable, but not entirely impossible, that the passage after "rnul gyis kyaṅ" refers to Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan who is not mentioned until five lines later. There is, moreover, in line 31 mention of military assistance being given; and the only such occasion of which I can find record in the T'ang Annals is the help given to the Chinese by the Tibetans in A.D. 784 to suppress the
rebel general Chu Tzü. I have therefore taken the passage as referring to Khri Sron Lde Brtsan's reign. It is a discreet rather than a truthful reflection of the events of that period, or indeed of any period of frontier warfare; and, however the passage may be interpreted, it is remarkable, as I have indicated above, that there is no specific mention either of Khri Sroh Lde Brtsan or of the Tê Tsung treaty.

Before passing to the text and translation of the inscriptions I must express my gratitude to those friends in Lhasa who have advised me on the interpretation of difficult passages, and especially to the learned Tsha Sprul Rin-po-che, and to Rai Saheb Pemba Tsering of the Indian Mission.

**TEXT OF EAST INSCRIPTION 1**

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41  FROM THE INSCRIPTION AT LHASA

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1. In the texts of all the inscriptions brackets represent reconstructions. Asterisks represent missing letters.

2. There is room for five letters in the damaged portion, of which the last must be “ga”. The phrase “hphral yun, present and future” which appears in a similar context in the Turkestan documents, therefore is too long. “Chab srid” is possible but not likely so soon after its occurrence in the same sentence. “Bod Rgya” is a possibility.

3. There are traces of a “ta” before the “na” which make “gtan tshigs” the probable reading.

4. The reading “yul” is clear from its appearance in the same phrase in the Turkestan documents which relate to this treaty.

5. No traces of letters remain. The reconstruction is not entirely satisfactory but fits the damaged space.


7. “Yul mtho sa gtsan ba-hi gnas” appears in the Turkestan documents.

8. “Gtsug lag ches bas” appears in the Turkestan documents.

9. The last letter appears to be “la” but is not clear.


12. Bell reads “Zan brtsan” and translates “Uncle and Nephew”; but a reference to this relationship between the Tibetan and Chinese kings, which is uniformly described as “Dbon Zan” is premature in connection with Ho Lde Spu Rgyal. There is damage
to the stone above the "ža", and "žen" appears the probable reading.

13. "Ra" is visible towards the beginning of the line, and also what appears to be a "sa" in the fourth damaged letter.

14. What appear to be the remains of a "ma" and "na" are visible.

15. No traces of letters can be seen but "Ta Zig" is the obvious reconstruction.

16. Phrases with "o chog" are common, and the proposed reconstruction seems reasonable.

17. "Mtsho chen po-hi druñ du," or "gram du" (for "hgram du") are possibilities.

18. As the next word begins with "gyi" this word must end in "na, ma, ra," or "la". "dañ rlom" is a possibility. "glen, retaliation" is another.

19. Bell omits; but "rsta gsum" is clear and "ní šu" is the only possibility.

20. Waddell reads "Khri Sron" but Bell omits this. There are enough clear indications on the stone, as well as in the context to make the reading certain.

21. "rtsan" is clear and there is space for another letter before it, which can only be "ba". "Brtsan" is the spelling in the Sañs Rgyas Dgon-pa inscription but the Žol inscription has "Rtsan".

22. "Kim Šen" is the spelling of this name in the Žol inscription.

23. "Thugs noñs" appears also in line 47.

24. Bell and Waddell read "Lha žig".

25. This reads "bak" with a "tsheg" after it. This form of "bkañ" appears in the Žva Lha Khan inscription, but there is damage below the "ka" which makes it appear that a "ha" may have been written below for lack of space.

26. Bell omits "krhir bde skyid pa-hi" but this is visible on an estampage which I took.

27. Bell reads "Skyid Stag" but "Rtag" is clear in all three instances where this phrase appears.

28. Bell reads "sla rab" and translates it "the first month", but there is clearly a "tsheg" after the "ra". The reading must be "sla ra ba".

29. Bell reads "Spya". The word is damaged but I am satisfied that it is "Sprá".
30. Bell omits "bu". The phrase "Yos bu lo" appears in Tibetan histories.

31. Bell omits or reproduces inaccurately the last three lines. I took several estampages of the lines, which are damaged and faint, and eventually secured a clear reading of all but a few words.

32. "dan dra" is a guess. I cannot think of any other words to fit the gap or the sense.

TRANSLATION OF EAST INSCRIPTION

The Divine King of Miracles, Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan, and the Chinese King, Bhun Bhu He-hu Tig Hvahn Te, having consulted to unite their kingdoms, inscribed on this stone pillar the nature of the relationship between Tibet and China under the treaty, and the details of the terms of the treaty. The Divine King of Miracles, Ho Lde Spu Rgyal, from the time when this country came into being and the earth emerged, thereafter came to be a ruler of men and became the great king of Tibet. From being a god in Heaven he came to be a king of men in a high country and a pure land, the centre of snowy mountains and the source of great rivers. By great sciences he established an enduring kingdom. By excellent religious rule he instituted good order. With kindly affection he devoted himself to the affairs of the interior. Through knowledge of the arts of war he subdued outer enemies, increased the breadth of his kingdom and established its extent and might firmly and unchangeably.

After the time of the Great King of the Blessed Swastika, Indian Mon in the south, the Ta Zig in the west, Ne Smal and other places of the Dru Gu in the north . . . the king . . . districts . . . and all his actions . . . There was no quarter that did not bow to the armed might and . . . power of the Divine King of Miracles. On all sides they happily obeyed whatever he commanded.

In the east is China and the king of the regions where the sun rises by the shores of the Ocean; unlike the Nepalese and others in its practice of the Excellent Religion and the greatness of its sciences, a rival to Tibet in war and her equal in pride. At first when the Chinese King was dwelling in the Li capital, when the twenty-third year of the Great Tan dynasty came, in one generation the Divine King of Miracles, Khri Sron Brtsan and the Chinese King, The-he Tson Bhum Bu Zeñ Hvahn Te
consulted to unite their kingdoms; and in the year of Ceñ Kvan,²⁴ Mun Šeñ Koñ Co²⁵ became the wife of the Tibetan King. Later, the Divine King of Miracles, Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan²⁶ and the Chinese King Sam Lañ Kha-lie²⁷ Hgvan Šeñ Bḥun Šin Bḥu Hvān Te²⁸ consulted to unite their kingdoms and established friendship; and in the year of Keñ Luñ, Kim Šeñ Koñ Co²⁹ became the wife of the Tibetan King. They rejoiced at having become Nephew and Uncle.³⁰ And afterwards for some time, frontier ministers on both sides took pains to suppress trouble-makers, and being anxious that everything should be done for the sake of good relations, they gave military assistance for beneficial purposes. And whatever disagreements there might be, they took care that friendly relations should not be broken. In this way, friendship being close, my father, the Divine King of Miracles, Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan himself, having made a resolution exactly in accordance with the relationship of Nephew and Uncle, being profound in wisdom and learned in everything pertaining to religious administration, acting with pure affectionate kindness, protected the eight directions so that there was no difference between the interior and the exterior. And he met with the kings of the four frontiers and arranged treaties. As concerning China,³⁵ there being established friendship and the countries being neighbours, he was pleased moreover to unite the kingdoms. And as Nephew and Uncle agreed in their thoughts, one with the other, he consulted concerning a treaty with the Chinese King, Žeñ Šeñ Bḥun Bḥu Hvān Te.³⁷ Old animosities were purged and cleared away; and with their courts continuing the new happy relations, from then onwards, during the lifetime of one Nephew King and for three generations of the Uncle, the Chinese King, there was not even the beginning of animosity. They continued to render respect to one another with pleasure; and, treating envoys with affection, the communication of kind greetings, and rich and valuable presents regularly passed between them. But the details of a treaty were not brought to completion in the form of a ratified agreement. The Nephew and Uncle were prevented by some disagreements from concluding the course of their discussions.⁴⁰ On account of some trifling old dissensions of the past, their design for great good later became somewhat slightly changed. But as it was not proper that ways of hostility and cruel wars should not be suppressed,⁴² and as matters had come to a condition that was
neither one of enmity nor of friendship, the Divine King of Miracles, Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan himself, for the sake of close friendship in the future, with full understanding, established the sublime relationship of affection and, in accordance with the law of God, by great kindness, making the exterior equal with the interior, being powerful in arms and strict in his commands, he together with the Chinese King, Бָהַנ בְּחַוּ הַּהַוּ תִּגּ הָוָה נְ טֵ, agreed in their sublime thoughts and united the kingdoms of Tibet and China. And when they had made the great treaty by which Tibet and China shall enjoy happiness for ten thousand years, in China near ਸ੏ ਸਾ ਾ to the west of ਈਸਾ ਰੀ, in the seventh year of Continuous Prosperity as it is called in Great Tibet—the first year of ਚਨ ਕੇਨ, the female Iron Ox year as it is called in Great China—on the tenth day of an early winter month, China ascended the altar and ratified the agreement. And in Tibet at the ਸ੍ਰਗ ਸਟੋਕ park to the east of the Palace of Lhasa, in the eighth year of Continuous Prosperity as it is called in Great Tibet—the second year of ਚਨ ਕੇਨ, the male Water Tiger year, as it is called in Great China—on the sixth day of the middle summer month, Tibet ascended the altar and ratified the agreement. And this account of the agreement inscribed on the stone pillar was written on the stone pillar in the ninth year of Continuous Prosperity as it is called in Great Tibet—the third year of ਚਨ ਕੇਨ, the female Water Hare year as it is called in Great China—on the fourteenth day of the middle month of spring. And this inscribed pillar was examined by the Chinese envoy Do ਝੇ ਧੇ with the rank of ਹਾ ਝੇ ਝੇ ਝੇ, and by . . . ਕਾ ਝੇ, with the rank of ਤਾ ਝਾ ਝਾ ਝਾ, and others. A copy of the account of the solemn agreement inscribed on the stone pillar has been set up also in China at ਈਸਾ ਰੀ.

Notes on Translation of East Inscription

1. The lines have been numbered here and in the west inscription to facilitate reference. Italics show reconstruction of damaged passages.
2. Ḥphrul Gyi Lha Btsan-po. See note 5 on Saṅs Rgyas Dgon-pa inscription. JRASB. for 1949.
4. It would be possible to differentiate between “Btsan-po”
and "Rgya Rje" by translating the latter as "the Chinese Sovereign, or Ruler", but it seems unnecessary to do so.

5. The title, according to Waddell, represents "Wen Wu Hsiao Te Hwang Ti, Learned, warlike, filial and virtuous Supreme Ruler".

6. Bell translates "concluded an agreement"; but "mol" which is used several times in this inscription, means "to consult or confer". See note 36.

7. The missing words might be "for the present and future", a phrase which appears in a similar context in Thomas' Turkestan Documents.

8. Bell attempts only a disjointed translation of lines 5 to 17 as there are many gaps in his text. Similar phrases to those in lines 5 to 9 appear in the prayers for the frontier Lha Khan (Thomas' Turkestan Documents, loc. cit.).

9. Thomas translates this "as far as the origin of the land where the kingdom arose". Tsha Sprul Rinpoche separates the words thus: "Yul byun, sa ṭdod"; cf. "Yul mtho, sa gtsan" in line 7.

10. Bell has religious institutions" but the meaning is "arts and sciences".

11. Bell translates "nañ mchis" as "interior and exterior", but the king's handling of external affairs is described in line 11. "Chis" cannot stand for "phyi". The phrase "nañ gi so chis mdzad" appears in the Padma Bkha Thān., f. 119, rev.

12. Bell translates "Eternal King"; but the construction is against that, and as the king referred to is a Bon deity, Gyuñ Drnu appears to mean the Swastika, the Bon emblem of continuity.

13. "Mon" covers the southern Himalayan valleys. The inhabitants of a region in the west part of the Assam Tribal Areas are still called Mon Pa.

14. The Ta Zig or Stag Gzigs = the Persians who are often mentioned in Tibetan histories as the western neighbours of Tibet.

15. I cannot trace other mentions of this place. "Ne Tso Lun" is mentioned in the Tun Huang Annals and appears to have been in nomad country.

16. Dru Gu or Gru Gu. The Uighur Turks, according to Thomas, who has discussed their identity in JRAS. for 1931, p. 816 sq.

17. "Gya" is unintelligible owing to the damaged passage that follows. It might stand for "ya" or there may have been reference to the Gyag drug or Gya drug, an old name for some divisions of Tibet.
18. Tsha Sprul Rinpoche thinks that “Lho Bal” here stands for “Lho Pa” — i.e. “savages” — and that the passage means that, unlike the Lho Pa, the Chinese were followers of Buddhism. But “Lho Bal” is regularly used for Nepal in the Tun Huang Annals and I take the passage to mean that the Chinese differed from the Nepalese in their practice of Buddhism and in their sciences.

19. I have provisionally chosen “rlom” “pride” as the reconstruction of the last word of line 20 of which only a “La btags” is visible.

20. I am told by a Chinese friend that Li Rgyal Sa might mean a temporary palace; but perhaps the reference here is to Li Ch’üan Hsien, the burial place of the Emperor T’ai Tsung (Li Shih Min). I can find no suggestion that the early T’ang Emperors had any connection with Khotan (Tib. Li yul).


24. The regnal period of T’ai Tsung.

25. The Princess Wen Ch’eng, famous in Tibetan legend as the “Rgya Bzab”. She reached Tibet in A.D. 641 and is credited with the introduction of Buddhism, the building of the Ramoche, and the choice of the site for the Lhasa Gtsug Lag Khan to house an image of the Buddha which she brought from China. Although T’ai Tsung was anti-Buddhist he may have been pleased to introduce a softening element into the life of the warlike Tibetans. The Princess must have been young when she reached Tibet, for the Tun Huang Annals state that she lived with (bśos) Sroṅ Brtsan for only three years before his death in A.D. 650 and survived him until A.D. 680.

26. A.D. 705 to 755 The last syllable of his name is given as “Rtsan” in the Zol inscription.

27. Apparently a title of the Emperor Chung Tsung, who reigned until 710.


29. In spite of Tibetan tradition, this Princess, Chinch’eng, an adopted daughter of the Emperor, was not the mother of Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan, for the Tun Huang Annals show that she died three years before his birth. The tradition that she was betrothed to Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan’s son, the Prince of Ljan, but had to marry the king in his old age because the Prince died, is also shown to be
wrong, for Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan was only six when the Princess reached Tibet in A.D. 710. From the T'ang Annals it appears that negotiations for the marriage began in about 706 and this is supported by the reference above to the Shên Lung period. It appears that a decision was reached in the Kei Lung (King Lung) period—707–710.

30. Bell treats all from line 29 to line 50 as referring to Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan and the present treaty, which leads him into many difficulties, including the interpretation of lines 35 to 38 as an interpolated prophecy by Khri Lde Sroṅ Brtsan, for which there is no basis in the Tibetan. The problems of lines 29 to 34 has been examined in the introduction.

31. “So” according to Tsha Sprul Rinpoche is the equivalent of “so mtshams” “frontier”, not “each” as translated by Bell. Cf. Padma Bkah Thaṅ, f. 119 rev. “Phyi yi so bsruṅs”.

32. “Tshab” is not clear. My advisers vary between “for the sake of” and “importance”, i.e. = “tshabs”.

33. Bell translates “stoṅs” as “a thousand”, mistaking it for “stoṅ”.

34. Thomas in his Turkestan Documents (loc. cit., p. 84) sees in Sgam Dkyel the name of a forgotten minister. I have examined this suggestion elsewhere (supra, p. 24–25) and do not find it acceptable. Here the term is clearly an epithet.

35. Bell has “Lha Žig”, a term frequently used in Tibetan histories for the Tibetan king; but the reading “lta” is clear.

36. It is clear from the succeeding sentences that “mol” means merely “negotiated”.

37. I have commented on this title in the introduction.

38. I take “bslas” to be the same as “slas” meaning “attendants” but this is not entirely certain.

39. Bell translates “anxiety” and my Tibetan advisers agree that it has a similar but stronger meaning here. There is, however, some doubt about its meaning in an important passage in one of the Žva Lha Khan inscriptions.

40. My advisers agree that this sentence means that the kings were not able to conclude their negotiations. “brtsal” seems to mean “were prevented” rather than “were assiduous”. The sentence might, however, be translated as “being careful on account of some disagreements not to break off the course of the negotiations”, but the grammar in that case would be loose. It seems
66 THE MU TSUNG / KHRI GTSUG LDE BRTSAN TREATY OF

better to treat “rjes” as a substantive than to take it to mean “after”.

41. Bell translates “brtsan po dag” as “pertaining to war”. I can find no other examples of such a use and have treated “brtsan po” as the equivalent of “btsan po” “stern, fierce”, or it might here mean “continuous”.

41 (a). The translation follows the opinion of my Tibetan helpers. Thomas in his Turkestan Documents translates “dgrazun” as “guard house” and that meaning could be applied to this passage, implying that relations between the two countries had made it necessary to keep watch and maintain guard houses on the frontier.

42. The meaning of “riul” is doubtful here as in line 29.

43. “Hphrul, miraculous” seems to be used here as an honorific for royal actions. Cf. line 55. I translate it as “sublime”.

44. Bell reads “SEG Na-ḥi Sa”.

45. Keṇ Śi. The Tibetan name for the Chinese capital, Chang-an. It is also used in the Žol inscription.

46. Bell reads “Skyid Stag Happy Tiger”; but “rtag” is clear.

47. Ch’ang K’ing was the regnal era of Mu Tsung, A.D. 821–825.

48. The Spra Stod park is not identifiable.

49. Bell translates “spyan” as “copy”, and that is a possible interpretation but the more obvious meaning of “spyan byas so” seems to imply that the Chinese envoys examined the inscription.

50. Do Tse-he appears to be the name of the Chinese envoy. As the principal envoys for the signing of the treaty were Liu Yuan Ting, Chih, and Po, it seems that the work of checking, or copying the inscription was done by some lesser persons. There may, however, be some other meaning of Do Tse-he. Neither that name nor . . . Ka*hu can be traced in the list of Chinese signatories. They may have been special envoys to examine the inscription which was set up nine months after the signing of the treaty.

Text of West Inscription

1 ཁ ༠ || ཞཱ་ཟྱི་ོམ་པྱི་ཆོས་པ།
2 ཞཱ་ཟྱི་ོམ་པྱི་ཆོས་པྱི་པོ་ན།
3 ཞཱ་ཟྱི་ོམ་པྱི་ཆོས་པྱི་པོ་བཅུ་ཏི།
4 ས་ཐེ་ ས་ཐེ་ མི་་ | རི་ཐོ་་
A.D. 821–822 FROM THE INSCRIPTION AT LHASA

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THE MU TSUNG / KHRI GTSUG LDE BRITSAN TREATY OF
1. There is one damaged letter which must be “ra”.

2. The remains of what appears to be a “gi gu” are visible and there is space for two letters.

3. In Bushell’s estampage this looks like “Ita”; but the letter is damaged. There is no “tsheg” after “bya” and as the word which follows is “te” the reading “byas” is inevitable.

4. Lines 9 to 17 are badly damaged and the reconstructions which follow are mainly based on the translations from Chinese sources by Amiot and Bushell.

Notes on Text of West Inscription

1. There is one damaged letter which must be “ra”.

2. The remains of what appears to be a “gi gu” are visible and there is space for two letters.

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4. Lines 9 to 17 are badly damaged and the reconstructions which follow are mainly based on the translations from Chinese sources by Amiot and Bushell.
5. The Chinese versions have "in order that all posterity may be instructed in accordance with what has been made between them" (Amiot); and "in order that all ages and generations may resound in praise" (Bushell). "myi rabs kyi gtam brjod" appears in the prayers at the founding of the frontier Lha Khan (Thomas, loc. cit., p. 74). Waddell reads "brjod"; and "rjo" is still clearly visible on the stone. My reconstruction is perhaps one letter too long and the "hi" in "tshe-hi" might possibly be omitted.

6. There is perhaps room for one more letter; but "phyir" seems the best guess.

7. Or "bris so"; but "bris pa ho" appears in line 4 of the east inscription in a similar context.

8. The Chinese versions have "whose foresight extends to the remotest future and whose profound wisdom takes every means to guard against inconveniences to their people" (Amiot); and "their all-wise Majesties with intuitive wisdom, knowing both present and future, good and evil" (Bushell). The reconstruction of lines 14 to 17 combines these versions and fits the damaged gaps.

9. "Hphral yun du" might be better but is just too long.

10. Bushell has "they have reconnected the bonds of affectionate kinship, strengthened anew the right policy of neighbourly friendship". There is room for only four letters after "ni" (of which remains are visible); the last appears to be "hi" and "sna hi" seems the best guess although "sna ma-hi" would be preferable if there were room for it. "Yul khyim tshes" is also possible.

11. Bell reads "bzin dum byas sam" but it is clearly "bzin du ma byas".

12. Bell reads "dku sgya", Waddell has "dku skyu" as a doubtful possibility. "dku sgyu" is the obvious phrase but the letters are rather faint and the "zhabs kyu" is not clearly visible.

13. Bell reads "phyag rgya"; Waddell "phyag mdzod". From a series of rubbings it is clear that "phyag sbal" is correct.

**Translation of West Inscription**

The great King of Tibet, the Divine King of Miracles, and the great King of China, the Chinese Ruler, Hvan Te, the Nephew and Uncle, consulted together to unite their kingdoms; and they made a great treaty and ratified the agreement.

So that it may never be changed, Gods and men, who know all, stand witness. And in order to inform all posterity of what has been
A.D. 821–822 FROM THE INSCRIPTION AT LHASA 71

done, an account of the agreement has been engraved on a stone pillar.

The Divine King of Miracles, Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan and the Chinese King, Bhun Bhu He-hu Tиг Hvan Te, Nephew and Uncle, with far reaching wisdom, guarding against anything that may harm the good of their countries at present or in the future, with great compassion, covering all with their benevolence and making no difference between inner and outer, with the one desire that all their acts may be for the peace and good of the many, and agreeing in their counsels for the high purpose of securing lasting good, have consulted to establish again the former ancient friendship and mutual respect and the happy condition of rejoicing in the old neighbourly relationship, and they have made this great treaty.

Tibet and China shall keep the frontiers of which they now hold possession. All to the east is the country of Great China. All to the west is assuredly the country of Great Tibet. Henceforth, on either side, there shall be no enmity, no making of war and no seizure of territory. Should there be any suspicious person, he shall be arrested; his business shall be inquired into and he shall be escorted back.

Now that they have united their kingdoms and made this great treaty, as it is necessary to communicate friendly messages concerning the happy relations between Nephew and Uncle, envoys shall again be sent by the old route; and, according to the former custom, horses shall be changed at Tsaṅ Kun Yog, the boundary between Tibet and China. At Stse Žuṅ Cheg the Chinese are met; from there onwards China shall provide facilities. At Tseṅ Šu Hvaṅ the Tibetans are met; from there onwards Tibet shall provide facilities. They shall be treated in a manner of honour and respect according to the custom of affectionate regard between Uncle and Nephew. Between the two countries no smoke or dust shall be seen. There shall be no sudden alarms and the very name of enemy shall not be spoken. From the frontier guards upwards, all shall stretch out at ease, their land being their land and their bed their bed, so that there shall be no anxiety nor fear. They shall live in peace and win the blessing of happiness for ten thousand years. The sound of praise shall cover all places reached by the sun and moon.

Having established this great period in which Tibet shall be happy in the land of Tibet and China shall be happy in the land of China
and in order that the solemn agreement now made shall never be changed, the Three Precious Ones, the assembly of Saints, the Sun and Moon, Planets and Stars have been invoked as witnesses. The solemn words have been uttered; animals have been sacrificed; the oath has been taken; and the agreement has been ratified. If the parties do not act in accordance with this agreement or if they violate it, whichever, be it Tibet or China, first commits an offence to damage it, any stratagem or guile undertaken in retaliation shall not be considered a breach of the agreement.

Thus the Kings and Ministers of Tibet and China took the prescribed oath and wrote the inscription of the agreement in detail. The two great Kings affixed their seals. The Ministers privy to the execution of the agreement wrote their signatures, and copies of the agreement have been deposited in the royal records of each party.

**Notes on the Translation of the West Inscription**

1. The versions from Chinese sources by Amiot and Bushell may be compared—see Waddell, loc. cit., pp. 398–401, and Bushell, loc. cit., pp. 536–7.

2. The term used for the relationship between the Tibetan and Chinese kings since the establishment of matrimonial alliances.

3. Bell has “a great treaty, never to be changed”; but the division of the sense which I have adopted seems grammatically more correct.

4. Amiot has “Spirit’s and Saints”; Bushell “Gods and men”. “Lha Mi Kun Śes” is a common Tibetan expression and I am told it can mean “clergy and laymen” as well as “Gods and men”.


6. Reasons for this reconstruction will be clear from the introduction.

7. i.e. treating foreigners and their own subjects with the same consideration.

8. Or “which they hitherto hold”.

9. Tsha Sprul Rinpoche thinks “Yul myi mrnam” is the equivalent of “yul myi rnams, men of the country”, but it appears a clear parallel to “dgrar myi ḥthab, dmag myi drań” which precede it. Both Amiot and Bushell have “there shall be no encroachment of each other’s territory”; and I take “mrnam” to be connected with “snom, bsnam” to seize or take.
10. "Myi" must here be "the man", not a negative. The Chinese versions have "he shall be arrested".

11. The Chinese has "shall be provided with food and clothes and sent back". Perhaps some such sense is implicit in "brdzan".

12. "Hdrlu" is for "Hgrul, to go, pass between".

13. According to Tsha Sprul Rinpoche this might mean "by the old practice" ("lam").

14. i.e. transport, supplies, etc. The literal meaning is "shall show respect".

15. i.e. the envoys.

16. Bell was told that this is an old Tibetan saying to describe uninterrupted peace.

17. "Hphags pa" by itself is a designation of the Buddha. "Hphags pa rnams" covers the deities and Boddhisattvas such as Spyan ras gzigs.

18. Bell, on a faulty text and taking "sam" to imply a question, translates "Is this treaty to be binding?" but it has clearly the usual meaning of "ham", viz. "or".

19. Here is the only material difference between the Tibetan and Chinese version, from which it seems that the Chinese may be a mistranslation of the Tibetan. Both Amiot and Bushell have something to the effect that whoever violates the treaty shall suffer misfortune. Tibetan histories also appear to be misrepresenting this passage when, in the Rgyal Rabs Gsal Ba-hi Me Loṅ and Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag's Chos Hbyuṅ, it is said that if the treaty was broken the aggrieved party should read the inscription three times (len gsum) and the offenders would thereupon suffer disaster.

**Text of North Inscription**

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1  ག ལ་ནམས་ཀྱི་ི་དྨན་ཨབ་མཛེས།
    རུས་ཀྱི་ི་དྨན་མཛེས། གཟིགས་ལྡན་ུས་ི།

2  ག ལ་ནམས་ཀྱི་ི་དྨན་ནག་ཨབ་མཛེས།
    དམ་ལྡན་ི་དྨན་ནག་ཨབ་མཛེས། ངོ། ངོ།

3  ག ལ་ནམས་ཀྱི་ི་དྨན་ནག་ཨབ་མཛེས།
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NOTES ON TEXT OF NORTH INSCRIPTION

1. I have numbered the paragraphs here and in the south inscription for ease of reference. There are no numbers in the Tibetan text. Letters and words in italics are reconstructions.

2. There is space for two letters which makes the reading "gũi" more probable than "gi".

3. "Hdzin pa la" is not very attractive but there is not space for more than two damaged letters.

4. There is a "tsheg" after Yon which indicates that the name is not complete. I have supplied "Tan" for reasons which appear in the article above.

5. The missing word might be Guñ as in paragraph 6. "Dmag" is not now clearly visible, but the Chinese text refers to a military official.

6. The name is reconstructed from Dpaḥ-bo Gtsug Lag's list.

7. As in note 6.

8. The name is reconstructed from the Chinese text.

9. "Tsan" is a doubtful reading in the Chinese text and I have accepted it provisionally.

10. The vowel sign is damaged. In Laufer's transliteration of the Chinese, the syllable is given as "ṅgo(k)" but the traces in the Tibetan text are more like Rṇegs and as there was a well-known Tibetan clan of that name I have accepted that reading.

11. Before the double "Sad" in the last line there is space for and faint traces of at least one, perhaps two, letters. It might be "bla" "senior" as in para. 16, or perhaps "tsab" "deputy" but there is not enough for a definite reconstruction. Possibly, but less likely, the missing letter is the initial sign of respect, known in
Tibetan as *daṅ kyog*, repeated here to mark the end of the inscription.

12. Bell's texts of this and of the south inscription omit or mistake many syllables—forty-six in the former and over seventy in the latter. It would be tedious and of no practical value to give details of the syllables I have added as the result of careful examination of the pillar and estampages.

**Translation of the Tibetan Text of the North Inscription**

1. The ranks, names and lineage of the Ministers of Great Tibet, greater and lesser, privy to the execution of the solemn agreement of the treaty.

2. The ranks, names and lineage of the Great Ministers of the Kingdom of Great Tibet, privy to the King's commands.

3. The Great Minister, privy to the King's great commands, with power over both outer and inner, who carries out the administration, Dpal Chen-po Yon *Tan*.

4. The *... Minister on behalf of the Army,*4 the *Minister Rlad Khri Sum Rje Steg Lha*.

5. The Great Minister of the Interior, Minister *Lho. ...*

6. The Great Guṅ Blon, *General ... Lha Bzaṅ*.

7. The Great Minister of the Kingdom, *Žaṅ Rgyal Khri Mdo Gzigs*.

8. The *Great Minister of the Kingdom, Minister Mchims Žaṅ Rgyal Btsan Bžer*.

9. The Great Minister of the Kingdom, *Žaṅ Khri Btsan Khod Ne Staṅ*.

10. The Great Minister of the Kingdom, *Žaṅ Khri Bžer Lha Mthoṅ*.

11. The Great Minister of the Kingdom, Minister Rgyal Bzaṅ Ḫðus Koṅ.

12. The ranks, names and lineage of the ordinary Ministers of Great Tibet.


14. Minister of the Exterior, privy to the King's commands, Cog Ro Blon ṭ Btsan Bžer Lho Goṅ.

15. The *Snam Phyi-pa,*6 Mchims Žaṅ Bṛtan Bžer Stag Tsab.

16. On behalf of the Palace Officials,7 the senior Mnān Pon Ḫbal Blon Klu Bzaṅ Myes Rma.
17. The Minister for announcing orders, Bran Ka Blon Stag Bzer Hab Ken.


19. The Minister of the Exterior, Hbro Zan Glu Bzañ Lha Bo Brstan.

20. On behalf of the Judges, the Great Judge Myan Blon Rgyal Nen Legs Tsan.

**NOTES ON TRANSLATION OF NORTH INSCRIPTION**

1. Words in italics are reconstructions which have been explained in the foregoing article and in the notes on the Tibetan text.

2. Bkah la gtogs pa. I translate this as "privy to". Certain Ministers are described as "Bkah la Gtogs pa" and from the Zol inscription it appears that a Nañ Blon Bkah la Gtogs pa was a higher rank than that of a simple Nañ Blon. Perhaps the term implies something like membership of a Privy Council.

3. Both Waddell and Bell took the words "Sa la dban žin" to be the equivalent of the modern title of Tibetan Žab Pad (Ministers)—Sa Dbañ Chen-po; but there is space for two letters before the "sa" and no "tsheg" is visible before it. I think it more probable that the missing letters are "gni".

4. This use of the phrase "O chog gi" appears three times and it cannot be part of the officials' names. It appears to mean, as elsewhere in old inscriptions, "whatever there may be," and I translate it "on behalf of".

5. In a number of instances "Blon" follows a family title. This also occurs in Dpañ-bo Gtsug Lag's list and it appears that the great families may have had a hereditary right to hold office as Ministers. In such cases one might translate e.g. "The Cog Ro Minister" but I have preferred to retain the name in its Tibetan form.

6. The office of Snam Phyi-pa is mentioned in Dpañ-bo Gtsug Lag's list of officials. His duties are not identifiable. Sarat Das' dictionary gives "latrine" as a meaning of snam phyi but this seems hardly applicable here.

7. Khab So is translated by M. Bacot as "client, courtesan". The word appears in the east inscription on the Zol rdo rin apparently with the meaning of "party faction". The Khab So may have been special attendants on the King.

8. Mñan pon. From the modern meaning, "curse," Waddell
and Bell take this word to refer to some religious official; and where the word appears in the inscription from Mtshur Phu, published by me in the *JRA SB.* for 1949, I noted that, as it was used in connection with the Abbot of a monastery, it might refer to a monastic official. On further study I am not satisfied with that suggestion. The word appears in “Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkestan” where Dr. Thomas takes it to mean either “entire” or “government”, and in the Tun Huang Annals where the editors translate it “territorial division, government”. I wonder if it may be connected with “rían” “payment” and so with treasuries or pay offices.

9. Bkaḥ Phrin is used in the west inscription of communications between the rulers of Tibet and China and this official might have been responsible for sending envoys; but a more general interpretation of the term seems probable here. 

10. Waddell and Bell consider that the Rtsis-pa was an officer of the Finance Department (Rtsis Khan). There are still in Tibet officials so named but they are only junior Accountants. The senior officials are the four Rtsis Dpon. Rtsis-pa also means “astrologer” and that interpretation seems more in keeping with the spirit of the ninth century A.D.

11. The Žal Ce pa are mentioned in Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag’s list. There is the possibility of a missing word in this title (see notes on the text), which might imply that the signatory was the senior of the Judges. Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag’s list of officials of Khri Lde Sron Brtsan contains a Myaṅ Blon Legs Btsan who may be identical with the signatory.

**Text of South Inscription**

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\[ [\text{ scripture }] \]  

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\[ [\text{ name }] \]
A.D. 821–822 FROM THE INSCRIPTION AT LHASA

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TRANSLATION OF SOUTH INSCRIPTION

1. The ranks, names and lineage of the Ministers of Great China, greater and lesser, privy to the execution of the solemn agreement of the treaty.

2. The ranks, names and lineage of the Great Ministers of Great China, privy to the King’s commands.

3. Da-he Pu Zi-hu Cuñ Hva . . . . . . . privy to the King’s great commands.

4. Da-he Pu Zi-hu Cuñ . . . . . . . privy to the King’s great commands.

5. With the rank of Si Chun Da-he Pu Zi-hu Chun . . . . . . . privy to the King’s great commands: . . . . . . Pha.

6. With the rank of Chun Dha-hi Phu Zi-hu Zan Su Ho Bho Zha . . . . . . privy to the King’s great commands: . . . . . Lha.
7. With the rank of . Hgi Da-he Pu . . Bho . . . privy to the King's great commands. ............... 
8. The ranks, names and lineage of the ordinary ministers of Great China.
9. With the rank of Kim Tša Kvaŋ Log Da-he Pu Žaň Šu Dza Bho Ga Li-ňa : Han Ka-hu.
11. With the rank of . i Cuň Da-he Pu Ghem Le-ňu Žaň Šu Tsa Bog Ya . . Žaň Šu : Li Kha-ha-
12. With the rank of Hgin Tšen Kvaŋ Log Da-he Phu Ho Po Žaň Šu . . : Yaň Au Liň.
13. With the rank of Thoň Gi Da-he Phu Ši-ňu Lhe-ňi Bho Žaň Šu . . : Hbu-ňi Ži-ňu.
14. With the rank of Hgin Tšen Kvaŋ Log Da-he Pu Ken Ke-ňu Šhu Tsa Bog Ya Kyam Tha-hi Žaň Keň : Ca źu Tsoň Žu.
15. With the rank of Tha-hi Coň Da-he Phu Le-ňi Bho Žaň Šu Kyam . . . . : Bha-hi Bu.
16. With the rank of . eň Gi Da-he Phu Ži-ňu Keň Ce-ňu Yun Kyam Hgu Ši Da-he Phu : Le-ňu Goň Cag.
20. With the rank of Ciň Ži . . ň . e Cuň Keň Žaň Šu Kvaŋ Log . Ži . . . . can . . Da-he Phu . . . . : Li . . . .

Notes on South Inscription

Bell's text of this inscription is very defective. I have compared three estampages and have had the help of the Torgut Prince Min Wang, who has read what is visible of the Chinese text.

For lack of reference books I have not attempted to render the Chinese titles into English but I am told that "Žaň Šu" and "Da He Pu", which appear frequently, stand for Chief Minister and Assistant Minister respectively. I give the few instances where
the Chinese text, as rendered by Min Wang, is nearly complete in order to show Tibetan transliterations of Chinese as spoken in T’ang times. The numbers refer to the paragraphs of the text.

10. Guan Yi Lang Yu Shu Chung Chen Gao Sing Shu.
12. Yin * * Lu Tai Fu Hu Bu Shang Shu Yang * * .
14. * * * Tai Fu Shang Shu Yao Pu Shieh Tai Shih Ching Chao Tsang *.
15. Tai Chong Dai Fu Li Bu Shang Shu * Su * Ching Pei Wu.
16. ** Dai Fu Tsing * Yin Jen * Shi Tai Fu * * * Liu Gung Bo.

(Lhasa, 1949–1950.)
ADDENDUM

P. 26. note 27. Ken Ši. See note at p. 192 of “Cathay and the Way Thither”, Vol. II, Hakluyt Socy. Second Series, where “Kansay” is explained as meaning King sze “Seat of the Court or Capital”.

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