Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. II: The Sa-cu Region

BY

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(Continued from 1927, p. 844.)

D. Monasteries and a Historic Foundation

17. Ch. 0021 (670, vol. xxxi, foll. 115; verso of fol. 2 of a text in dbu-can script; ll. 8 of clear dbu-med).


Mdo. gams. gyi. chos. grañi. slob. dpoñ. |


1 Corrected from yes.
2 Tsog . . . ge repeated and then erased.
3 Below the line.
4 Below the line.
5 Corrected from Gog.
sho. || rdzogs. so. |  

[1] “Record of the succession of kalyāṇa-mitras who arose  
in Tibet.  

forth:—

Dbah the reverend Ye-šes. dbañ-po (Jñānendrap) ;
   ,, Dpal-dbyaños (Śrīghoṣa) ;
Rgyal-mchog-dbyaños (Ujjayana (?)) ghoṣa) of Īān-lam ;
Rdo-rje-rgyal-po (Vajrarāja) of Hgo-ḥbom ;
Jeñ Gsals-rab-rin-po-che (Prakāśaratna) ;
Myañ Mchog-rab-gţo-nu (Prāgra(?))kumāra) ;
   ,, Gśa-myi-go-cha ( . . . varman) ;
Glehu Gţo. nu. sñiñ-po (Kumāragarbha) ;
Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje (Śrīvajra) of Lha-luń ;
Dpal-gyi-señ-ge (Śrīsimha) of Cog-ro ;
Byams-pahi-señ-ge (Maitrisimha) of Cog-ro ;
Hchos-kyi-bšes-gñen (Dharmamitra)  
—these and others are the kalyāṇa-mitras of [the country]  
as far as the monasteries Bsarn-yas and Hphrul-snañ.  

[3–4] II. Teachers of the seminary of Mdo-gams :—
Wañ Šes-rab-sla-ba (Prajñācandra) ;
Hdan-ma Kun-dgañ-dpal (Ānandaśri) ;
Nem Dgah-ldan-byañ-chub (Tuṣitabodhi) ;
—these and others are of the succession of Mdo-gams.  

[4–5] III. Teachers of the seminary of Kam-bcu :—
Dbas Byañ-chub-rin-chen (Bodhiratna) ;
’An Dge-lam (Supatha, Kṣemamārga ?) ;
Dam-mtsho of Lañ-ḥgro ;
Lbe-zi Rnal-ḥbyor-skyor (Yogastambha ?) ;
Hphrul-ma-legs ;
—these and others are the succession in the region of the north.
IV. Teachers of the Go-cu seminary:—

Myan Rin-cen-byan-chub (Ratnabodhi);  
Ża-sña Ḥjam-paḥi-snīn-po (Maṇjugarbha);  
Sa-mun-tra (Samudra) of Ḥgo-hbom;  
Dgaḥi-blo-gros (Sumati) of Ḥgreṇ-ro;  
Phuṅ Dge-rgyas (Punyavistara);  
—these and others are the succession of Śi-goṅ-bu. Finis.”

Notes.

1. 2. Dbah (l. 6 dbas): see p. 56.

Ñan-lam, a place mentioned in the Lhasa treaties (JRAS., 1910, p. 1277, l. 22, p. 1281, l. 47), where Col. Waddell reads Tshe-ńan(-lam) which he takes as referring to Singanfu; cf. also the Chronicle, l. 84, Ñan-lam-tsal.

Ĥgo-bom (l. 5 Ĥgo-hbom) has been mentioned above (p. 823), and the second element occurs in Khri-boms. The name of Kum-bum, which might here occur to us, is usually explained as Sku-ḥbum.

ll. 2–3. Lha-luṅ and Cog(Tsog)-ro are known, and the Bsam-yas and Ḥphrul-snaṅ monasteries are the famous early foundations, the latter at Lha-sa.

l. 3. gra = grva, see p. 843.

l. 4. Kam . bcu = Kan-chou.

Laṅ-hgro is mentioned in the Chronicle (ll. 176, 206, 237).

l. 5. Go-cu is not known to me.

Ĥgreṇ . ro is, no doubt, the territory of the Ḥgreṇ clan of Mdo-gams (p. 87). It is mentioned in M.I., viii, 13, 48, xiv, 113.

Ża . sña is ordinarily a phrase meaning presence.

Śi-goṅ-bu has not yet been found in the documents.

Concerning the surnames (Myan, Ḥdan-ma, etc.) see the consolidated list, pp. 91–5.

18. Ch. 73, viii, 5 (705 : vol. lxix, foll. 45–6, and vol. liii, fol. 11; 30 × 25 + 30 × 53 + 30 × 25 cm.; discoloured and fragmentary; ll. 15 + 31 + 15 of excellent dbu-can script; paragraphs separated by | ’s and ☞ in red).
This document consists of a series of paragraphs having the form:—


The document again is therefore simply a systematically arranged list of monasteries receiving as income the crops of certain farms, with the names of the owners or occupants of the farms, who are styled yon-bdag (dāna-pati "donors" or "patrons"). Though we have only a fragment, the number of establishments, many of which may have been small, is sufficient to remind us of the fact that Śa-cu was the place of the "Thousand Buddhas"; and the system, though perhaps the produce only, and not also the ownership of the estates, belonged to the monasteries, is agreeably analogous to the holdings of the Tibetan Buddhist church and of the endowments of religion and learning in mediaeval Europe.

The names of the religious establishments, which are grouped under the several accounts according to their initial syllables, may conveniently be reproduced in the same manner:—

[ll. 1-5] (Title of account missing.)

Dri-myed . . . monastery;

", ya-rnam-dag "
", -dños . grub "
", -tin . ne . ḡdzin "
", -rgyas . pa "
", -don . dam "

1 This part in red ink.
[ll. 6–12] Account (tshan) of Klu-sbehi-bsgyehu-rje-gye-se
Hpyan-legs:—

Khram account (khram-tshan) of Caṅ Lha-legs:—

[Rnam]-dag-dgah-ldan monastery;
Rnam-dgah-bo
Rnam-dag-yon-tan
,, -pad-mo
,, -don-grub
,, -rin-chen
,, -don-mdzad
,, -snaṅ-mdzad
,, byams-pa
,, mthah-yas

[ll. 13–B I. 6] Khram account of Bam Stag-zigs:—
Dgah-ldan-hbyuṅ-gnas monastery;
,, -gnas-kyi-gžal-nas
,, -pad-mo
,, -sprul-pa
,, -myi-g-yoh
,, -mthah-yas
,, -rgyal-ba
,, -dri-myed
,, -byams-pa
,, -rdo-rje

[B ll. 6–12]. Khram account of Caṅ Si-ka:—
Rin-ch’en-hod-hphro monastery;
,, -ḥbar-ba
,, -rnal-hbyor
,, -bla-myed
,, -bsam-yas
,, -dus-gsum
,, -don-dam
,, -dkah-thub
,, -ḥod-khyab
,, -chos-grags
[B ll. 13–20]. Khram account of Li Sehu-laṅ :—
Chos-grags-bsam-yas monastery;
   " " " bkra-śis"
   " " " g-yuṅ-ḥdruṅ"
   " " " dgah-ldan"
   " " " gzi-brjed"
   " " " rgyas-pa"
   " " " don-mdzad"
   " " " myi-g-yo"
   " " " legs-ldan"

[B ll. 20–7]. Khram account of Leṅ-ho Zun-zun :—
G-yuṅ-ḥdruṅ-yāṅ-dag monastery;
   " " " dam-pa"
   " " " don-dam"
   " " " rdzu-ḥphrul"
   " " " mñam-ṇid"
   " " " byams-pa"
   " " " bla-myed"
   " " " dge-rtags"
   " " " yid-bzin"

[B ll. 27–31]. Khram account of Wan Stagu :—
Don-dam-rnal-ḥbyor monastery;
   " " " bla-myed"
   " " " byams-pa"
   " " " rdzu-ḥphrul"
   " " " mñam-ṇid"
   " " " myi-g-yoh"

[C ll. 1–2]. (Title of account missing).
Dbaṅ-mchog-rnal-ḥbyor monastery;

[C ll. 2–9]. Khram account of Caṅ Ka-dzo :—
Bsam-yas-dus-gsum monastery;
   " " " myi-g-yoh"
   " " " rnal-ḥbyor"
   " " " rin-chen"
   " " " btaṅ-sñoms"
Bsam-yas-mchog monastery;  
" " -yon-tan " 

[C 11. 9-15]. Khram account of Cañ Hphan-legs:—
Khams-gsum-grags-pa monastery;
,, -bla-myed “,
,, -rgyal-ba “,
,, -mchog “,
,, -zi-ba “,
,, hph ....... “,
,, don-mdzad “,
,, g-yuñ-druñ “,

The names of these monasteries exhibit, as will be seen, a certain sameness. They consist for the most part of combinations of well-known Buddhist or Indian phrases, such as dri-med (= amala, nirmala), rnam-dag (= viśuddha), dgah-ldan (= tuṣita), rin-chen (= ratna), chos-grags (= dharma-kīrti), g-yuñ-hdruñ (= svasti), don-dam (= paramārtha), bsam-yas (= acintya), khams-gsum (= triloka), bla-med (= anuttara), byams-pa (= Maitreya), dīnos-grub (= siddhi). They are all Tibetan, which, however, may represent Sanskrit or Chinese originals.

It remains to justify the translation of tshan, which has occurred already several times (pp. 808, 810, 842), by "account" and to explain the phrase "khram account".

Tshan cannot have the common senses of "class", "group", "a number of", or of "mark", "name" (mtshan), or of "office". The sense of "account" fits the occurrences. For khram (going back to khra-ma "register", etc. ?) we may cite khram-kha "chart used in witchcraft", "cross marks cut into a piece of wood", and khram-śiñ "board on which the body of a culprit is stretched to flog him on the back". Remembering the numerous wooden sticks with combinations of lines and frequently with names and amounts, we can hardly hesitate to recognize in the khram-tshan these same tallies, such as were frequent in
England down to the seventeenth century. On two of these tallies the words *tshan* and *khram* in fact occur:

(a) M.I., xxvii, 8:


(b) M.I., xiv, 131 a:

[1] ra 3 | dre. dbu | ra. ma

[2] o | kog. chas. ḥlug. khram |


19. Ch. 9, I. 37 (722, vol. xxxii, foll. 88–96 ; 42·5 × 7·5 cm ; fol. 9, numbered 35–41 ; followed by No. 74, another text ; ll. 4 per page of good ordinary *dbu-can* script ; paragraph titles in red ink).


1 In the business, for instance, of the East India Company, as may be seen from the specimens exhibited in the India Office Library.

2 Red ink in original.

3 For mkhyend.
ldan. pa. ḡag. la. ci. sñed. bžugs. so. cog [B. l. 2] daṅ |
chos. daṅ | saṅs. rgyas. daṅ | dge. ḡdun. la. skyabsu. mci. ste |
gus. par. phyag. ṭshal. lo || ḡo. lde. spu. ṭgyal. gnam. gyi. lha. las. myiḥi. rjer. gségs. pa. yoṅ. gis. sku. bla. gžan || chab. srid. che |
chos. bzaṅ | gtsug [B l. 3]

89 (36) [A l. 1]  | | gi. ḡgreṅ. myiḥo. chog. |

1 Sic for ḡgreṅ.
2 Below line, inserted. For daṅ ?
CHINESE TURKESTAN

lo. ño. gniś [Bl. 3] la. rgyal. khams. chen. po. gsum. mjald. dum. ba. daṅ. gtsigs. chen. po. mdzad. pahi. sa. gzi. ste | Ḫdir. bcas. pa. daṅ. sbyar. na  

1 Ḫdi. yaṅ. shon. gyi. Ḫphags. pa. rnams. kyis. yaṅ [Bl. 4] dag. par. byin. kyis. brlabs. pahi. sa. gzi. zūg. ste | yoṅ. yaṅ. Ḫdi. lta. buḥi. legs. pa. chen. po. dus. gcig. tu. byuṅ. baḥi. don. tu. btsigs. pas. lhag. par. yaṅ. bsod. nams. che. zii. bkra. sis. par. mnoon. te | 91 (38) [A. l. 1]  


4 Red ink in original.

1 s here erased.

Read Ḫʒaṅ ?

3 For skyems.

4 Red ink in original.


¹ Red ink in original.
² Below line.
dañ . mñañ . thañ . g-yuñ . druñ . du . grub . la . Bod . khamñ . na . phas . kyi . dgra . dañ . ḡkhrug . pañi . myi . gragste |  
 
94 (41) [A l. 1]  
| ḡkhor . dañ . bdag . cag . las . tstsogs . phas . gtsug . lag . khañ . brtsgs . dge . ḡdun . gyi . sde . gtsugs . rkyen . dañ . bcas .  

¹ Red ink.
² Inserted below line.
³ m inserted below line.
⁴ Inserted below line.
⁵ mye here erased.
⁶ Inserted below line.
In founding the monastery erected in Bkra-sis-dbyar-mo-than the authorities of the realm of Mdo-gams pray that through the merit and blessing of this donation made in honour of the Three Jewels all the sins of His Majesty, the Btsan-po, together with his retinue of lords councillors, may have been cleansed, and that, their merits and wisdom being perfected, the state being established in a circle of concord, in the enjoyment of long life and of entire felicity on the part of gods and men, they may realize the attainment of supreme, perfect illumination.

PRAYER OFFERED BY THE NOBLE COUNCILLORS AT THE FACE-WARMING OF THE THERE ERECTED MONASTERY.

To all the Tathāgatas living in the Ten Directions, infinite and limitless, and those, entirely free from restriction, possessing a non-existence and eternity without bounds, with honour and laud seeking refuge in them, in reverence hail!

To the Exalted in the universe and in the beyond, possessed of omniscient wisdom, as many as abide in their state, to the Dharma, the Buddha and the Samgha, seeking refuge with them, in reverence hail!

From the time when Ho-lde Spu-rgyal came from the gods of heaven to be lord of men, and ever in other exalted bodies —with great dominion, good religion, and great science, a royal lineage unbroken as far as the origin of the land where the kingdom arose—with the kind sway of a sovereignty firm on all sides and great filled and encompassed the Eight Regions; to us Hgreñ people, without and within, equally considerate; by their influence and measures taming the high and proud and bringing them under the rule of right; with

1 Erased.
joy and encouragement in both present and future extolling the humble and afflicted; filling us Ḥgreñ people beneath the ends of heaven with perpetual kindness; rulers of the Four Quarters of the great heaven, equal to the manner of the divine, their Majesties the Btsan-pos of Tibet, of divine descent—

[89a, l. 1] Furthermore, established in his place, the pure land, his high kingdom, above great rivers and at the foot of high snow-mountains, His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po, in the counting of the generations of his line equal to the manner of the gods, is beyond other kings manifestly great and permanent.

[89a, l. 3] Of ancestry thus rivalling the gods, furthermore also great sovereign and of high helmet, His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, in body firm knit, in mind divinely endowed, with due foundation of all monasteries, continues the succession of exalted bodies to the joy [of all], beginning with all the gods of heaven and the Nāgas.

[89a, l. 4] At the time when, through his great compassionateness towards us Ḥgreñ people, the great authority of his government spread and flourished, protecting us with respect in a manner resembling heaven, there came into power certain exalted councillors of state, the Great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje, and the Great Uncle Lha-bzan-po, these two. Humbling the might of enemies and setting them in the bosom of the state, by the power and influence of their commands they tamed all the border kings, of China, the Drug, the Ḥjañ and others, till then venturing and making effort for dominion, and cut short their hopes. After long time, when righteous and prosperous kindness had engendered trust and encouragement, as though heaven were realized in men’s minds, some several states, respectfully heeding the orders of the high councillors of Tibet, made this great concordat of states; whereby, to say nought of ephemeral good and happiness both in present and future, there is among friend and foe alike reason profound indeed for extolling and
celebrating the bosom of the state. Through myriad
millenniums, unspeakably beneficial and welcome, may this
great, publicly enacted concordat, known and witnessed by
the Three Jewels and by all gods and Nāgas of the universe,
stand for all time unimpaired and firm. The subjects of the
several kingdoms, by virtue of the thus enacted great con-
cordat, consigning to oblivion their sufferings during the
time of arms, and being united at one time in a situation of
felicity, through the great merit thereof may His Divine
Majesty, the honoured Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan and
the great councillors of State, successful in righteous achieve-
ment, the Great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great
Uncle Lha-bzan and the rest, together with their retinue of
High Councillors of Tibet, and all beings, cleansed from
the double darkness, and fulfilling their store of merit and
wisdom, finally in supreme, perfected enlightenment attain to
consummate Buddhahood.

In respect of the choice of this place as site for the founda-
tion of the monastery erected on the there Turquoise-Wood
Concordat Plain and for biennial convention of the three
great kingdoms and for great foundations, the site being
moreover one fully blessed by Āryas of old, may it furthermore,
through a foundation in respect of such great good realized
at one time, be even more manifestly of great merit and
auspiciousness. And through the grandeur of those great
merits may this monastery be perpetual in time, as long as
sun and moon exist; and on the part of His Divine Majesty,
the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, may there be long
life, great dominion, and purposes accomplished according
to his mind.

Whereas formerly, in the time when China and the Drug were
not in accord and harmony with the State, the firm-helmeted
prince and the wise, heroic councillors, in the ardour of their
warlike skill, smote at the foe and by the mighty power of
large armies laid low enemy cities, won battles, conquered
countries, slew the people and so forth, may the sin of severing
the lives of numerous men and cattle and of taking what was not given be altogether dominated by the splendour and power of this great merit and be dissolved and washed away.

[91b, l. 1] In condevotion with the merit of this donation in honour of the Three Jewels and of the confession of sins and so forth supplication for insight, for tolerance, and for remission of the confessed is made equally with what is above set forth.

[91b, l. 2] Prayer offered by the great city of Mkhar-tsang at the monastery erected in the there Turquoise-Wood.

Whereas in the lifetime of the High Councillor of Tibet, the firm-helmeted Sgam-dkyel the Great,—for till then the three great kingdoms of China, the Drug, and the Hjaṅ were resolute in contending for dominion,—the firm-helmeted lord designed to issue command that by the heroic might of his jewel councillors the enemy should be made to come beneath his sway, in founding a monastery erected to celebrate, as long as tradition of human generations endures, that that design is willed to be dominated and is covered up by kind summons to righteousness, and in thereby setting a crown upon the state's supremacy, may the purpose in the mind of the prince Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan have been accomplished; and may the harm done to the enemy by Great Councillor Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzaṅ through great defeats of the hostile Chinese and Drug and other means great and small, and on the part of certain of the city of Mkhar-tsang, who, taking side with the stubborn heroic people of Tibet and being foremost of heroes in winning two great victories in a single year, on behalf of the venture for dominion on the part of the lord and people of Tibet went forward with a will to harm animate creatures, so that wounds were needs inflicted, may those wounds likewise be healed so that not a scar remains!—with this prayer the great city Khar-tsang has made donation.
[92b, l. 1] PRAYER OFFERED FROM THE GREAT CITY OF KVA-CU AT THE MONASTERY ERECTED AT THE THERE TURQUOISE-WOOD.

(This repeats 91b, l. 2 as far "on behalf of the venture for dominion on the part of the lord and people of Tibet" and then continues) were willing to proceed with force in harming the enemy, may that without a remainder be healed!—with this prayer the great city of Kva-cu has made donation.

[93a, l. 3] PRAYER OFFERED BY THE COMMANDANT OF THE PHYUG-TSAMS THOUSAND, HIMSELF AND HIS SUBORDINATES.

Hail to the Three Jewels! Hail to the Buddha, to the Omniscient! Hail to the Dharma, to the Path without superior! Hail to the Samgha, to the Bodhisattvas who do not regress! Honouring the Three Jewels in order to the success of the efforts of ourselves and others, having dismissed all sins and consenting to what is meritorious, we turn and cleave to the Three Jewels. That by inspired design in the mind of the firm-helmeted High Councillor Thugs-skam the Chinese, the Drug, the Ḥjaṇ and others, until then heedless of commands, were set at rest equally with the native people and bidden to seek a shelter both firm-helmeted and great; that a concordat was framed and inscribed upon a stone pillar; that after foundation of the monastery here erected the border cities are at peace and in the interior of the great countries happiness has been made to flourish—forasmuch as there has been no greater kindness than this, in token of reverential and kind commemoration donation has been made to the Three Jewels: through the merit whereof may the lord of Tibet with his retinue of councillors enjoy long life and authority on all sides, and in the Tibetan realm, while foreign enemy and strife are unmentioned and the year's wealth is perpetually assured in accordance with rightful ordinance, may there be mundane and super-mundane happiness and felicity in perfection.
PRAYER OFFERED BY THE DISTRICT HBRON-KHO.N.

The lord stationed on high a god; the councillors of the state inspired; the rift of heaven through divinely inspired High Councillors embroidered with divine blessing; the cloven earth, knitted by the influence of the councillors, a heaven realized; enemies held fast by concord; on the frontier no hostile venture; in the interior the yak not beaten (not enough that thus merely the people of Tibet should be enjoying happiness and felicity: in the realms beneath the sun whatever lesser kings there are, uneasy though they were and apprehensive of loss of state, not being lowered in state are happy. Great kindness such as this having come from the lords councillors, divinely inspired benefactors, a time of universal happiness for the people of Tibet has risen like a sun. Like a flower abloom in the country of the Luck-Summer plain (Bkra-sis-dbyar-mo-thaṅ), in the there Turquoise-Wood (G-yu-tshal), a monastery has been erected by Great Councillor Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzaṅ and their subordinates and ourselves and others, and furnished with means for the instalment of a brotherhood; through which benefaction may the lord prince Khri Gtusg-lde-brtsan be of long life and firm helmet, may great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzaṅ attain their purposed ends, may the monastery of the lords councillors of Tibet be imperishable, like the sun, and of firm foundation, and may we ourselves and all creatures, cleansed from the darkness of generations, be born in the courts of the supreme god of gods, the Buddha, the holy Maitreya.

From this remarkable record, which by its elevated magniloquence and the no less exalted integrity of its sentiment would have done honour to any religious foundation, we may derive an enlarged conception of what

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1 I read naṅ for byaṅ ("north").
2 Erased in the original.
3 The rather frequent occurrence of the word "great" is a noticeable feature of similar oratory elsewhere!
was possible to the Tibetan people, and its language, during their period of greatness. While the background is the rigorous intellect of India, we note an accent reminding us that dogmatic systems, when planted among fresh peoples, may be capable of a certain res Florescence. What, however, more appropriately here attracts our attention is the circumstance that the great religious and historic occasion should have been greeted by "messages" not merely from princes and ministers, but from cities and local bodies. This invites a readjustment of our notions of life in north-eastern Tibet and Chinese Turkestan during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.

The occasion was the famous concordat whereby the Tibetans and Chinese sought to terminate a struggle of nearly (A.D. 783), or more than (A.D. 822), a century and a half. An account of these treaties has been given from Chinese sources by Bushell (JRAS. 1880, pp. 487 sqq.), and the Lha-sa inscriptions relating to them have been published with translations and discussions by Col. Waddell. This is not the place for an examination of the question whether the treaty inscriptions are two parts of a single document, or the question of the Tibetan dynastic lists; and consequently we do not here decide whether the date of our document is about A.D. 783 or about A.D. 822. What is important for us to note is that the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan of the document is certainly identical with the Khri Gtsug-lde-btson of the treaty inscription. The fact that in the document he is once styled "prince" (lha-sras) is connected with certain dynastic circumstances which may become clearer hereafter. The two ministers named in the document, Khri-sum-rje and Lha-bzan, are not obviously identifiable with any of

1 Provisionally it seems to me that the edict edited in 1909 is only the first, or preliminary, part of the treaty of 783 A.D., reciting the previous history. The translations, highly meritorious at the time of their publication, require a thorough revision. We may, however, await the publication of MM. Pelliot and Bacot, who are, it is understood, in possession of new facsimiles of the text.
those whose signatures are appended to the treaty. A probably earlier Councillor Khri-sum-rje is frequently mentioned in the Chronicle (ll. 147–85, years 44–54 = A.D. 715–25).

Another person mentioned as having initiated a war movement against China is a certain “Skam-skyel (or dkyel) the Great”, also designated Thugs-skam. In the Lha-sa inscriptions (1919, l. 44, 1910, B l. 42) he has hitherto escaped notice as an adviser of the Btsan-po Khri-lde-btsan (= Chinese Ch’ilsitsan, c. 780 ?).

The monastery having been erected on the site of the treaty conference, and both the treaties of A.D. 783 and A.D. 821–2 having been concluded at a spot in Tibetan territory near the Chinese frontier and in the region of the Koko-nor lake, it is there that we must locate the “Turquoise-Wood” (G-yu-tshal), in the “Luck-summer open pass” (Bkra-śis-dbyar-mo-thaṅ), in the “Phyug-tsams Thousand-District”, in “Hbrom-khoṅ territory”, forming part of the realm of Mdo-gams. The Dbyar-mo-thaṅ is mentioned in a Lha-sa inscription (JRAS. 1910, pp. 1255–67, l. 33 of text); but of the other names none can be identified with the Chinese name (Ch’ing-shui) of the place of the A.D. 783 treaty. The I’sofi-kha named in adjacency to Dbyar-mo-thaṅ in the inscription may very likely be the birth-place of Tson-kha-pa, who was born near the Kum-bum monastery. In the Chronicle also a place Tson-lta is mentioned (l. 74). The fact that “messages” are received from the towns of Kva-cu and Mkhar-tsan illustrates the natural connexion which we have already (pp. 72, 78, 82) found between the Koko-Nor region and that part of Chinese Turkestan. The name of the monastery does not transpire; but it is, no doubt, the place referred to in the Bkha-hgyur (Beckh, Catalogue, p. 74) and Bstan-hgyur (Cordier, i, p. 96) as Phyug-mtshams. Hbrom-khoṅ is not known; but cf. Hbrom-stod, M.I., xiv, 96.

Of the parties to the treaty, the Chinese, the Drug, the Hjaṅ, and the Tibetans, who are, no doubt, meant by the
“four exalted kings” (mtho-bšt-rgyal-po) of the treaty inscription (JRAS. 1910, p. 951, l. 47 of text), the Chinese and Tibetans demand no comment, and concerning the Drug something has already been said (pp. 68, 80, 85) and it is proposed to return to them later. Of the Hjañ we have hitherto had no printed mention beyond the occurrence of the name in the Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzañ (ed. S. C. Das, p. 4) and an entry in S. C. Das’ Dictionary, where Hjañ-sa is explained as a “place-name in N.W. (read N.E.) Tibet”. But we may learn from the Rgyal-rabs ... me-loi (India Office Xylograph, fol. 31a) that the person Hjañ-tsha-Lha-dbañ “son of king Khri Lde-gtsug-brtan” (S. C. Das’ Dictionary, s.v.), was so named, “Hjañ grandson,” because the queen, his mother, Khri-btsun, was a Hjañ-mo, a Hjañ woman: and from the same history we may ascertain more of this people. Since their frontier was probably adjacent to the site of the conference, we are tempted to identify them with the Tang-hsiang kingdom, which according to Bushell (JRAS. 1880, pp. 450 and 528, n. 12) was east of the Tibetans and south of the Koko-nor. We know that this kingdom was conquered by the Tibetans, whose aggressions extended not only to the north-east, but also to the east and south-east, as well as in other directions. How far the designation Hjañ may have reached, it would be premature to speculate; but it has been observed by M. Bacot (Les Mo-so, p. 13) that “le nom des mo-so, D Jung (Hdj an g), est relâ té dans l’épopée du roi Géser (Gésar) et designe un pays situé entre le Ling (Gling) et la Chine”. It is possible that the Mo-so in their southern migrations took with them the name Hjañ.

The extent of the document may not have been as great as might be indicated by the fact that the first surviving

1 The Hjañ country Hjañ-yul is mentioned also in the Chronicle (II. 22, 92).
2 The Hjañ-sa-tham of a Tibetan gsun-hbum (“n. of a place in Kham”, acc. to S. C. Das’ Dictionary) is perhaps the Sa-dam of the Mo-so (Les Mo-so, pp. 3, 118, 164).
folio is numbered 35. But we naturally incline to believe that the "message" from Mdo-gams was preceded at least by one from the Tibetan Btsan-po himself and perhaps by others. (See No. 21 infra.) Of the first "message" we have only the conclusion, and its source is for us therefore unknown.

The language of the document, in accord with its literary character, is regular and intelligible in a measure quite different from the fragmentary and business records with which we have hitherto for the most part been dealing. It presents many resemblances to the Lha-sa inscriptions, which in several passages may by its aid be emended or completed. The introductory account of the legendary king Hol-Ide Spu-rgyal in the inscription at 1909, pp. 948–52, ll. 5–16 of the text, might almost be an extract from our document, which, however, is here, as everywhere, far more expansive and elaborate. The following notes include the analogies in the inscriptions published in Col. Waddell's articles:—

88 A, l. 1, etc., etc.: mjal-dum, cf. Lha-sa, 1909, ll. 3, 54, 63, etc., etc.

88 A, l. 3: "here (there) erected monastery." It would be possible to take de-ga "there" as a proper name; but upon the whole the other view seems preferable.

88 B, l. 1: hgag-la "abide in their station", "remain at a standstill".

88 B, l. 2: sku-bla. On this phrase, see above, p. 66.


89 A, l. 1: hphrul "theophany". The word means "magic" or "magical manifestation", and was probably a pre-Buddhistic term for the divine.

89 A, l. 2: sa-gtsaṅ, etc. Cf. Lha-sa, 1909, ll. 20–1.

89 A, l. 1: Hgreṅ-myi. Note that this definitely locates
the Hgren people in the Koko-Nor region, or perhaps makes them include the people of Mdo-gams as a whole.

88 B, l. 4: hphral-du “in the present”. So correct p. 76 above.

89 B, l. 4: gzah-gsan “friends and enemies”.

91 A, l. 6: skyems, literally “thirst”.

91 A, l. 4: srog-chags . . . The reference is to the two Buddhist prohibitions of killing and of appropriating what is not given (all adattādāna being “theft”).

91 B, l. 3: Sgam-dkyel-chen-po is below (92 B 2, 93 B 1), styled Skam-skyel and Thugs-skam (see above, p. 84). Both names recur Lha-sa, 1909, l. 44, and 1910, B l. 42.

92 A, l. 1: khebs-te-brjod. This is a good instance of the use of the form with te as a sort of infinitive after a word of saying.

92 A, l. 1: zin-to-ḥṭshal “will to grasp”, literally “wish grasped”. The use of the past form with to after ḥṭshal is frequent in the documents.

92 A, l. 1: la-thod “turban” (S. C. Das)? I correct kye to kyi in accordance with the passage below.

92 A, l. 4: g-yul-zlog-gñis. The two great victories are perhaps not identifiable. Concerning the part played by the city of Mkhar-tsān, see above, p. 82.

94 B, l. 3: nam-żar recurs in Lha-sa, 1910, C l. 48.

ADDENDUM

20. Ch. 75, xii, 5 (vol. liii, fol. 20; 31.5 x 17 cm.; recto ll. 6, verso ll. 11 + 1 inserted, of ordinary dbu-can writing).

88 TIBETAN DOCUMENTS CONCERNING


¹ brgyad. cu here erased.
² Compendious for bżer.
³ ḫ here erased.
⁴ dbya here erased.
⁵ yu. mar. phul. lnä. phul. te || žugs. mar. kha. brgyaḥ. bltams || tshes. ŋi. śu. cig. (8) gi. nu here erased.
⁶ phul. te here erased.
⁷ Added below line.
On the fourth day of the middle spring month of the Ox year, the prince (lha-sras) having become an exalted donor in perpetuity, lamp-oil was provided in the monastery(ies) of Ša-cu. In the monastery Pho-kvañ-si on the evening of the fourth day the god’s servant ’Im Dam-then-hdo presented five phul of yu oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the fifth day ’Im Dam-then-hdo presented five phul of yu oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. (So on the sixth and tenth days 9 and 4½ phul, resulting in 180 and 90 lamp-lights respectively.)

On the sixth day of the last winter month, Civilian Cvan-cvan presented seven phul of yu oil, resulting in one hundred and forty portions of lamp-oil. (The remainder of the document, B 11. 4–11, reports similar donations by ’Kan-tse (for Councillor Lho-bzait), the God’s servant Hag Khi-sehu, and Cavn Kvañ-thoñ.)

The facts ascertainable from this record of donations to provide illuminations in honour of the prince becoming patron of the Ša-cu monastery seem to be the following:—

(a) Pho-kvañ-si is a monastery, and the word si (Chinese, as suggested above) may represent, as Professor Pelliot has kindly suggested to me, the Chinese ssü “temple”.

(b) lha-hbañs is, no doubt, “god’s servant”, not “king’s servant”.

1 žu here erased.
2 Erased.
3 A measure defined as a “handful”.

(c) As the number of lamps is consistently proportional to the number of phul presented, namely in the proportion of 20 to 1, and as 1½ and 2 khyor provide for 7 and 10 lamps respectively, it follows that 1 khyor = ½ phul, which latter measure is defined as "a handful".

(d) The phrase "with a half two" (phyed-dan-do) means not "two and a half", but "one and a half", corresponding to Sanskrit ardha-dvitiya, German halb-zwei, etc. (and analogously in the case of other units?). Correct accordingly the renderings on pp. 809, 811-2, 814 (but not 843) above?

The expression "yu oil" has not elsewhere been found. Possibly yu is for rgyu "material", so that "yu oil" would be raw or unpurified oil.

21. (Vol. liii, fol. 1 + 26 cm.; ll. 15 of good, cursive dbu-can writing; very fragmentary.)

1 Added below the line.
2 g below line.
This passage is clearly a portion of another copy, or version, of the long document No. 19 above. Though it is for the most part too fragmentary for a connected rendering, the general sense is evident. It prays that in virtue of the action of the prince (lha-sras) Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan the Samghas of both sexes and all creatures may enjoy happiness and unlimited life; that the prince himself, free from sickness, exalted in dominion, rid of all opposition and so forth, may attain to Buddhahood in his present life; that all those under his sway may have long life and freedom from disease; and that “innumerable living beings and all throughout the realm of Tibet, in complete felicity and happiness, free from disease in man and beast, may be perpetually prosperous in the produce of the year”.

INDEX

A

List of clan-names contained in the documents 1–21, together with the accompanying personal names. N.B.—Names which seem to be Tibetan are italicized.


These names, if we omit those in italics, which are Tibetan (perhaps translations), seem to be in the main Chinese, and in many cases their meanings are certain or probable. A careful scrutiny from a Sinologist standpoint may explain

1 So read in text (in place of Sam-ñañ).
2 This phrase usually means "presence".
the majority and indicate those, if any (e.g. some under Beg and Şan?), which may be extraneous. It seems probable that the 'Im clan gave its name to the town 'Im-ka-cin, mentioned above (pp. 67–8). The natural suggestion that the Li clan consisted of people from Khotan is not confirmed by the personal names of its members.

B

List of names of women (mainly from document No. 13):

Bełu-žan 5.
Byan-cełu 13.

Ceñ-señ 13.
,, -sin 13.
Cin-ĥgo 13.

Deñ-ci 13.
,, -man 13.
,, -tsełu 13.

Hbu-nem 13.
Hbyēhu-ĥdzi 13.
,, -kag 13.
,, -nañ 13.
,, -sin 13.
,, -tšen 13.
,, -wen 13.
,, -yuñ 13.

Hbyihu-ĥgi 13
,, -ji 13.
,, -meñ 13.

Hgim-šiñ 13.
Hva-cañ (Lne) 13.
,, -ĥgem 13.
,, -sim (Len) 13.

Hbyen-cher 13.
,, -tig 13.

Ji-hvaĥi-man 13.
,, -iûn 13.
,, -lim (Kvag-za) 13.
,, -tsañ 13 (Ĥbâh).

Jin-hyeňi 13.

Kag-ĥbyiĥu 13.
Khye-wen 13.

Kim-hyên 13.
Kvag-hyeňi 13.
Kvaň-ĥgâm 13.
Kyen-ĥgi 13.
Kyeň-ĥgo 13.

Lañ-caľu 13.
Leľu-čin 13.

Meň-ge 13.
,, -hin 13.
,, -hyveňi 13.
,, -kag 13.
,, -lur 13.
,, -tig 13.
Sam-ńan (Soń) 5.  ,, -nem 13.

List of places, peoples, and countries mentioned in documents Nos. 1–21 and in connexion therewith:—

Bde-gams 11, 14 (B 18).  Gro-pur, p. 816.
Bkra-sis-dbyar-mo-thań 19  G-yu-tshal 19 (90 B 2, etc.).
(94, B 1).
Bog-yas 7.  Ḥa-źa 8, 11.
Bsam-yas 17.  Ḥbrom-khon 19 (94 A 2).
Byar-liń-s-tshal, p. 816.  Ḥgo-bom 17.
Cog-ro 17.  Ḥgrena-ro 17, 19 (89 A 1, etc.).
Dań-to-kun 7, 8.  Hi-ma-te 11.
Dbyar-mo-thań 19 (94 B 1).  Ḥjań 19 (89 B. 2, etc.).
Drug 19 (89 B 2, etc.).  Ḥphrul-snań 17.
Gliń-riń-s-tshal, p. 816.  Khar-tsän 9, 19 (91 B 2, etc.).
Go-cu 17.  Kva-ću 1, 7, 9, 11, 14, 19
(92 B 1).
Laṅ-hgro 17.
Leṅ-cu 7.
Leṅ-ho 5.
Lha-luṅ 17.
Lhas-gaṅ-tshal, p. 816.

Ma-ḥdri-ba 10.
Mdo-gams 11, 17, 19 (88 A 1)
Mgar-yul 10.
Mkhar-tsan 9, 19 (91 B 2, etc.)

Ñan-lam 17.
Ñan-rma 9.
Nob-chuṅu 9.

Pho-kvaṅ 12.
Phyug-tsams 19 (93 A 2).

Rgod-gyuṅ, p. 816.
Rgod-sar 1, 2, 12.

Rgya 1, 19 (89 B 2, etc.).
Rgyod 5.
Sa-cu 1, 6, 7, 14 (B 15–18).
Sag-cur 7.
Śi-goṅ-bu 17.
Skyi, p. 816.
Śuṅs 9.
Śnīṅ-tsoma(s), p. 808.
Śo-ma-ra, p. 816.
Spyi-tshogs 4.
Stoṅ-sar 1, 15 (B 1, etc.).

Additional Notes

p. 813. Sam-ṅuṅ. Since ṅu is hardly distinguishable in the writing from ṅa, this name should doubtless be read Sam-ṇaṅ, thus falling into line with the other names in ṅaṅ preceded by a numeral (pp. 831–2), in this case 3 (Sam).

p. 817.’m tshi-śi = Chinese ts’e-che. Professor Pelliot has kindly favoured me with the observation that the latter is an ancient ts’ik-śi = Uigur čiģši. Tshi-śi also may be for tshig-śi, since we have had evidence of weakness of g at the end of a syllable (a-nog-a-la = anuttara, 1926, p. 508, and Thelhù-kyig-si = Chinese Tu-k’i-she, i.e. Turgäsh, supra (p. 283).

p. 816 and p. 840. To-dog. Professor Pelliot points out that this will be tu-tu “governor”, originally tu-tuk, and borrowed by the Turks of the Orkhon in the form tutoq.

p. 829. Pho-kvaṅ-si and Leṅ-ho-si. Professor Pelliot
proposes to understand the former as $P'u$-kuang-ssü, i.e. “$P'u$-kuang temple”. Some difficulty arises, however, as he points out, since this sense of $si$ does not perhaps quite suit with Len-ho, which he finds to be “the ‘double surname’ Ling-hu, fairly common in Northern China in the Middle Ages”.

pp. 831–2. ēn. Professor Pelliot suggests that in the feminine names this represents Chinese niang “daughter”, “(unmarried) woman.”

p. 65: Mdo-gams is the name transcribed To-kan (i.e. Do-gam) under the Mongols and the Ming; see Bretschneider, Mediaeval Researches, ii, pp. 203, 224 (Professor Pelliot).

p. 84. zaṅ Khri-sum-rje. This is the name transcribed Shang Ch’i-hsin-érh in Chinese texts of the T’ang (Professor Pelliot).

p. 87. Hgreṅ. This may be the native name represented by the Ch’iang (K’iang), which the Chinese apply to the Tibetans of Kan-su, SSü-chuan and Koko-Nor (Professor Pelliot).

p. 92. ’Im. This is the Chinese Yin (Yim), a family name common at Tun-huang, though rare elsewhere (Professor Pelliot).