Three Documents relating to the History of Ladakh: Tibetan Text, Translation and Notes.—By the late Dr. KARL MARX, Moravian Missionary at Leh, Ladakh.*

INTRODUCTION.

The late lamented Emil von Schlagintweit, Ph. D., etc., in 1866 in the 'Abhandlungen der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, I. Cl., X. Bd., III. Abth.,' under the title of 'Die Könige von Tibet,' published for the first time the text and translation, with notes and commentaries, etc. of the so-called 'Ladakh-Gralrabs.' This little book contained, after an introductory chapter, firstly, the genealogy of the Sákyas; secondly, a brief history of the kings of Tibet (Yar-lung), and thirdly, a history of the kings of Ladakh. Now for the present it is not my intention to examine at all the first and second of these three divisions, but my remarks refer solely to the third and last, viz., the history of the kings of Ladakh, commencing at page 23a of the Tibetan text, and at pp. 62, 854 of the translation.

The Tibetan text was obtained for his brother Emil by Hermann von Schlagintweit-Sakunluński, when on a visit to Leh, in 1856. It was a copy specially prepared for him, executed by three Lamas, but not until valuable presents had been given to the Rájá. It apparently

* [The author of this paper died, before he could revise the proofs. It is now printed, as received from him. The press-corrections of the Tibetan portion have been kindly made by Bábú S. Ch. Dás, C. I. E. Ed.]
was written in U-chan characters; consequently in all those cases when certain U-med letters are apt to be confounded, it may be taken for granted that, as compared with U-med MSS., preference must be given to Schlagintweit's edition, as being founded on an U-chan MS. On the other hand, any MS., specially prepared by a native of Ladakh for a foreigner, is apt to be less reliable than others of independent origin for the reason,—which would especially be true regarding historical documents—that the copyist will have a tendency to slightly alter the text, in the interest of his master, religion or country, suppressing such facts as may seem derogatory to their fame, and substituting for phrases liable to be misunderstood others of a less equivocal character. As to Schlagintweit's edition it must be admitted, that the Lamas, who wrote the copy for his brother, did not give way to any such tendency until they reached the 6th line of folio 30a: be it that they wished to suppress certain facts contained in the sequel, or that they were of opinion, that the 'merit' of the present extended no further: certain it is, that beyond this point, the text is merely a meaningless jumble of words, calmed at random from the original and put together in such a way, that only careful examination of the text by one who knew the language could reveal the fraud. These two and a half pages, therefore, which are supposed to embrace the history of about two centuries, are really not fit for translation, and the attempt can only conduce to results totally misleading. All the other parts of the MS. seem to have been done fairly well. There are mistakes in spelling, and here and there an omission or an addition of a word or phrase that did not belong to the original, but on the whole, the MS. seems to have been better than many one sees here. The pages of this Journal, however, are, I fear, not the fit place to enumerate and discuss in detail all the various errors in writing that occur in the MS. The new Tibetan text, herewith published, will, I think, at any one interested, clearly show where and how, in my opinion, Schlagintweit's text ought to be corrected; and to explain the reason why I dissent from his opinion, would, in a MS. of comparatively little classical value as the 'Ladakh Gyalrabs', be sheer waste of time.

Schlagintweit's translation I would much prefer to pass over in silence, but as, for a new translation, there would be no raison d'être whatever, if his translation were at all adequate, I am compelled to state my opinion regarding it. It is as follows:

Considering that, in the first place, his Tibetan text left much to be desired;—that, secondly, in 1866 the Standard-Repository of the language of western Tibet, viz., the Dictionary of Ang. Heinrich Jäschk had not yet been published, and that therefore the meaning of man
words and idiomatic expressions with which we now are familiar were
still undetermined;—that, thirdly, Schlagintweit was not in a posi-
tion, by constant intercourse with natives of Ladakh, to test for
himself the accuracy of the conclusions he arrived at;—that, fourthly,
he, being at a distance, could not possibly have that knowledge of the
country and people, which a sojourn in the country itself only confers;—
and, finally, that to him even no map of western Tibet, and of
Ladakh probably none more full than Montgomerie’s route map of 1864,
was available:—considering all these drawbacks, his translation, no
doubt, was all that at that time could be accomplished. The amount of
acumen and learning he expended upon it was so great, that the result
certainly ought to have been of the first order.

Still, in the light of the present day, and with materials at hand
that, no doubt, would have excited Schlagintweit’s envy, it must be
said that his translation can no longer be left unchallenged. Not only
does he himself admit that there remain a considerable number of
obscure passages, which he was unable to solve and which admit of a
solution now;—but also, where he is confident to have divined the
right meaning, his translation either remains so mysterious, as to
be little more intelligible than the original Tibetan, or it is, from some
misunderstanding or other, erroneous. Throughout the whole ‘History
of the Kings of Ladakh’ there are, indeed, very few sentences, that at
all give a correct idea of the meaning intended; most of it is either in
part or totally wrong. I may say, that had his translation lent itself to
being corrected and translated into English, I probably would have used
it. But this was not the case. I had to discard it entirely and build
entirely afresh on new ground.

In proof of this assertion I probably again ought to discuss in full,
where and in what respects my translation differs from his, and shew
cause why I consider mine an improvement upon his. This, however,
could again only be done, if I had an unlimited space at my disposal.
Hence, as to the ‘where’ and ‘how’ we differ, I must again refer any
one interested to the pages of the two translations themselves. He
will, probably, find it difficult to reconcile the two, and possibly not
understand that the original text, after all, should be almost identical.
And also, as to the ‘why’ and ‘wherefore,’ I find myself under a
necessity to abstain from any discussion, because if once gone into, it
would be necessary to rewrite almost the whole of his and my own trans-
lation, and to analyze nearly every sentence. All I can do, therefore,
is to submit my translation, without any special defence, to the judg-
ment of Tibetan scholars and abide their verdict. I trust, however,
that they will find it not so very difficult to discover, why I had definite-
ly to set aside Schlagintweit’s translation and attempted a new one.
And even those, who do not know Tibetan and hence are not in a position to determine every point of difference for themselves, will readily discover that, after all, the subject has gained a little in lucidity, and that the history of Ladakh, as far as it is contained within these pages, is no longer a chain of insoluble mysteries, but a coherent and intelligent, though simple and brief account of the past. This criterion is available to any one and is, probably, the best in any case.

The fresh material at my disposal consists of three different manuscripts. All of them are written in the U-med character.

A-MS. is a small book in 16mo., bound in leather and well kept. It contains, on 109 leaves, 1st, a cosmogony and cosmology in outline; 2nd, the genealogy of the Sākyas; 3rd, a history of the kings of Tibet (Yar-lung); 4th, a history of the kings of Ladakh down to king Senge-namgyal (XXII). Throughout, it is most neatly written with comparatively few mistakes. As it was not originally written for an outsider, but for the private use of its owner, its text may safely be supposed not to have been altered on purpose. The history of the kings of Ladakh down to Senge-nam-gyal fills 20 leaves. It forms the basis of the Tibetan text, now published.

B-MS. are four loose leaves in folio, very old looking, very much worn at the edges and corners, and torn in some places. It commences with the history of the second (Nam-gyal) dynasty of Ladakh kings (compare translation, p. 123), and gives a comparatively full account of the history of Ladakh down to the Dogra invasion. This MS. is very badly written, so much so, that even Ladakhis find it difficult to read; still in point of excellence it ranks next to A, and the information it contains regarding the decline of the Ladakh empire (since De-ldan-nam-gyal, XXIII) is especially valuable. In order to avoid trespassing too much upon valuable space, I amalgamated the preceding and overlapping portions of B with the corresponding portion of A; that is to say, the portion of B containing the history of the Ladakh kings from Dags-pa-bum to Senge-nam-gyal inclusive, which coincides almost exactly with the corresponding portion of A, I do not purpose publishing separately, but it is embodied in A-MS., though any new matter contained in it is conscientiously preserved and specially marked there. My next publication will, therefore, have to commence with the successor of Senge-nam-gyal, that is, De-ldan-nam-gyal. It will have for its basis the rest of B-MS. with such additions as may be derived from C-MS.

C-MS. consists of two parts. The first part was specially prepared by command of the Wazir of Ladakh. Consequently all the vices, inherent in such MSS. as hinted at above, are manifest in it. It consists of 23 folio leaves. It is very carelessly written, and the text is very
incomplete. It is much inferior to either A or B. It is obvious in several places that alterations were introduced on purpose, and the principle underlying this practice can easily be discovered: it is, to avoid, in the first place, the miraculous, secondly, anything that may be offensive to the Dogra reader, and thirdly, all that may throw an unfavourable light on the Royal family. Still, there are a few passages preserved in it that are new; and they will be found introduced in their proper places and specially marked in A and B. This MS. covers the entire history of the kings of Tibet (Yar-lung) and of Ladakh to close upon the Dogra invasion. It also contains an interlinear translation into Urdu, but written in Tibetan (U-med) characters.

The second part of C-MS., was prepared for me at my special request by the writer of the first part, who is the head of one of the ancient families that presided over important functions under the old régime. As I am not an official personage, I think, I need not apprehend that he withheld the truth from me. In this portion he almost exclusively relates the events of the Dogra wars and the fall of the Ladakh empire. As his own father was mixed up to some extent with these painful affairs, it is to him a kind of family history as well. The very fact that he tells it at all and without any embellishing touches, goes far to prove his veracity in this case; and as the whole narrative does not contain one word derogatory to the conquerors, but a long tale of ignominy and shame to the losing, i.e., his own, side, I think the character of the writer is fully established thereby. I, therefore, purpose giving this part of the MS. separately under the title of C-MS. It consists of about 6 folio leaves. Its language is the modern Ladakh book-language, and this fact alone should render it particularly interesting to students of the Tibetan language.

It will appear from these remarks, that all the three manuscripts were arranged by me so as to form one consecutive whole, containing as full an account of the history of Ladakh, as, for the present, it is possible to give.

As none of these documents, however, from a literary point of view, is really of classical value, I did not hesitate to introduce such corrections in the spelling of words, as were necessary to render them as readable as possible. The spelling uniformly adopted is that of Jäschke's Dictionary. Only in C-MS. I shall preserve the original orthography, wherever it is accounted for by Ladakh usage.

As to my own translation it is superfluous to say, that I attempted to give as true and faithful a rendering of the original in English as I could; and I hope and trust, that mistakes are few and far between. On the other hand, I may say, that it has been my aim throughout to
present it in such a form as will make it acceptable to English readers. If, after all, the wording seems clumsy and of little fluency,—I can only say that I 'tried my best.' As the English language is a foreign idiom to me, I think, that in this respect I am entitled to a certain amount of forbearance. Somehow, it seems to me, that to combine, in a translation, faithfulness to a Tibetan original with fluency in English is particularly difficult.

Apart from my own observations and special studies, I had to rely greatly upon the assistance of natives of Ladakh. Information derived from this source has, however, in every case been carefully sifted and compared with statements by other persons. As to works by European authors, Jäschke's Dictionary was found invaluable. Koeppen's 'Religion des Buddha' and 'Lamaistische Hierarchie' was a great help in many places. Sir Monier Williams' 'Buddhism' (1890) sometimes proved useful. E. von Schlagintweit's 'Buddhism in Tibet (1863) is, I fear, not more reliable than his 'Könige von Tibet' (1866). Cunningham's 'Ladakh,' I regret to say, was not accessible here, nor was Wassiljew's 'Buddhismus.' Drew's 'Northern Barrier of India' and his map are referred to on several occasions. Other maps used were the map of the Government Survey for Ladakh etc., and one sheet (SE) of the 'Map of Turkestan' (in four sheets, 1882). No maps relating to Central Tibet were available here.

In romanizing Tibetan names, I adopted, for the sake of its simplicity, Jäschke's system as set forth in his useful 'Tibetan and English Dictionary' (Kyelang, 1866), with one or two exceptions, viz., h as indicating an aspirate, I replaced by an apostrophe, (e. g., for chh, the, etc., I wrote ch', t's, etc.); instead of shr, I used sh, and g indicates the soft guttural g (in the Comparative Large Dictionary γ), ʃ, ḫ, ḷ, ʂ represent the cerebral class of consonants. The vowels invariably have the Italian sound. This system of transliteration very nearly corresponds with the ordinary Ladakh pronunciation of Tibetan. It widely differs, as is well known, from the Lhasa pronunciation, but has the advantage of representing more accurately the spelling of Tibetan words, and of simplicity.

As I am not acquainted with Sanskrit, I had to rely upon the authorities adduced for any information derived from Sanskrit sources. A small contingent of new Tibetan words and phrases will also be formed embodied and explained in these pages.

The notes appended at the end of the translation will, I trust, be found useful.
Tibetan Text.
Karl Marx—Documents relating to the history of Ladakh. [No. 3,
卡尔·马克思—关于拉达克历史的文件。107

* More correctly: 甘贾·拉达克河。

2 甘贾·拉达克河
2 拉达克河
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From MS. B only.

† (read  prm'g)'
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* Sobl’s Ms. (from which the quotations are taken).
† Sobl’s Ms. here adds "wherever necessary."
* This word is torn off in the MS. I give the word which, according to popular belief, would be the correct rendering.

† This entire passage is omitted in all the MSS. but B, neither is it contained in Schl.'s edition.
Sohl's edition and Ms. B have both 混交 which may also be correct.
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* MS. A has ḍa[m].
† MS. B, i. e., सूर्यवर्ण has चूँकि।
‡ Passage in B only; the first word is illegible.
* This sentence seems incomplete.

† From B only, it is not free from Ladakh provincialisms, and probably somewhat defective.

† Schöll's edition gives the names of the monasteries: འཆེས་བྲུ། ཡཡལ་མཁྱེན་པར་
ཐོག་པར། ནགོ་བོ། རྡོག་པར། སྡེ་བོ། བལ་ཆེན།
This (Lde-pal-k'or-tsan’s)\(^1\) sons were: Skid-ide-nyi-ma-gon and Ta-shis-ise-ya-pa\(^2\), these two. Skid-ide-nyi-ma-gon, when on his way to

\(^1\) The Gyal-rabs-sal-wai-me-long (Gyalr. a. m.) MS. in my possession further explains, that Lde-pal-k’or-tsan (Gyalr. a. m. Ld-ka-pa\(^3\)) was the son of Od-shung, the legitimate son of Lang-dar-ma. Od-shung’s claim to the throne was contested by Yum-stan, the suppositions son of the ‘great’ queen (the first wife), Od-shung being the true son of the ‘lesser’ queen (second wife).

\(^2\) Skid-Mo\(^4\) and Ta-shis\(^5\), the one the son of the ‘great’, the other of the ‘lesser’ wife of Lde-pal\(^6\), were both robbed of all their possessions in Tibet proper by Yum-stan, and fled to ‘Nga-rigs’ (i.e., Nga-rigs-kor-sum). From Skid-Mo\(^4\) the kings of ‘Nga-rigs’ derive their pedigree; from Ta-shis\(^5\), the chieftains of Yar-lang (Gyalr.
Upper Nga-ri—Tibet proper being in a state of revolution—and accompanied by a hundred horsemen under the leadership of Bal-ma-zag-tsang, K'ong-mo-nyag-pa (and) A-ka-wadtra, these three, (happened to be in so straitened circumstances) that he had nothing to eat but eggs and fish. Now (his servants) brought him (this dish) covered with a napkin. From this it has come to be a custom with the kings of Tibet to use the (so-called) 'Giant's Napkin.' Eventually he arrived at Ra-lai-gyud. He built K'ar-mar in the Horse-year, Tse-sho-gya-ri in the Sheep-year. He caused many villages and hamlets to be built throughout the broad valleys of Dam and Lag. Mar-yul he left undisturbed.

s. m.—The word Lde, in this and other names, Koeppen (II, 62) assumes to be identical with lte-wa, 'navel, umbilicus, centre.' I find, however, that wherever lte-wa has the meaning of 'navel' etc., it is never spelt lde, so that I feel inclined to search for another meaning of lde.

Schl.'s ed. has: ཞེ་བོར་ནེ་ཐོ་ A MS. ཞེ་བོར་ནེ་ཐོ་ Gyalr. s. m. ཞེ་བོར་ནེ་ཐོ་ A learned Lama, Ta-shis-stan-p'el († Dec. 1890), informed me that in his opinion ཞེ་བོར་ནེ་ཐོ་ should be substituted. As to the meaning, there can be no doubt, that it is as given in the translation.

'མངུལ་དེའི་འཕྲིན་པའི་ཤེས་པ་' : 'one hundred horsemen, whereof the most prominent were the three etc.' Similar phrases occur frequently throughout these documents, also relating to weapons and turquoise (p. 123), monasteries (Schl.'s ed., p. 30c), etc.

With the Rájas of Ladakh it is still in use under the name of Sang-K'echs (མངུལ་དེའི་འཕྲིན་པ་) 'cover of the hidden thing.'

Said to be a Steppe-district inhabited by nomads, beyond Ru-t'og; near it the ruins of an old castle, called K'ar-mar, still exist.

These definitions of years without the number of the cycle of 60 are quite useless. Relating to human beings, the name of the year, in which they were born, usually suffices to determine their age, as their appearance and features clearly enough indicate through how many cycles of twelve years they may have lived. But relating to cities etc., after the lapse of centuries, no such corroborative evidence usually is available, and hence the name of the year alone is no clue to their age.

Not known.

Not known.

Several of the places, designated by this term and mentioned here, still exist and may be inspected any day. It must be said that they are not 'towns,' but merely hamlets.'

Not known. In the Upper Sutlej valley (map of Turkestán, 4 sheets, 1882) I find, however, the names Dam and Luk,—could they have any connection with the places referred to here?

Mar-yul and Mang-yul, (according to Ta-shis-stan-p'el, derived from a word me-su, meaning 'bare rocks') includes Upper and Lower Ladakh, Nub-ra (comp. page 122), Zangs-kar etc.
At that time, of Mar-yul Upper Ladakh was held by the descendants of Ge-sar, whilst Lower (Ladakh) was split up into various independent principalities.

At that time Ge-shes-tsan (was sent) to Pu-rang, where he asked and obtained the hand of Do-za-k’or-skyong. He married her and she bore him three sons. He now built the palatial residence of Nyi-zungs.

The Persian transliteration of the word 'Qe-aar' is certainly not warranted by the pronunciation of the word in Ladakh itself, where everybody says 'La-daq', but I am informed by the Rev. J. Weber of Pu in Kunawar, that in that district the terminal -4Y is invariably pronounced like ɔ or ɔ in 'loch'; this may account for the transliteration in Persian. The boundary between Upper and Lower Ladakh is the plateau between Bago and Saspol (Survey Map: Bago and Saspol).

Ge-sar, the name of a fabulous king of Tibet, or more correctly of the 'Ling-' people (Ling), and champion of the Lamaistic faith. He is not in any way connected with the kings of Tibet properly so called, and in the annals of these kings, so far as they are contained in the Gyatr.  s. m., he is referred to only once, viz., as one of the suitors of Kong-go, the Chinese princess, who afterwards became the wife of Shong-tsan-gam-po (chap. 13: Ṣrāṇāyān Ṣrāṇāyān Ṣrāṇāyān). His wars against the Iang, Hor and the Chinese form the subject of an elaborate epic, the epic of Tibet. The parts relating to the Iang- and Hor-wars are printed and published, but the story of the war against the Chinese, I am told, is kept secret, lest the Chinaman should be too much offended by its publication. The narrative itself is not in metre, but in prose, but there is only very little of it, as compared with the number of speeches, songs etc. which are in metre. The 'Iang-war' is in the 'K'ams dialect, and for this reason difficult to read to us in Ladakh. The 'Hor-war' is much easier. The epic is popular throughout Tibet, but people in Purig are said to know more of it than anyone else. In Ladakh the Bhe-da (professional musicians) do much towards its preservation, by rehearsing portions of it on festive occasions, to which they are invited to provide the musical part of the entertainment. Consequently most of the people are familiar with the names of the chief heroes and the general drift of the story, and indeed, if interrogated regarding it, will grow quite enthusiastic in their praises of the same. The Mongol version of the story (Translation into German by I. J. Schmidt, 1839) is very different from the Tibetan version, inasmuch as it dwells mainly on the exploits of Ge-sar when a boy and young man. Still, it is possible, that the war against the Khans of Shiraighol and the 'Hor-war' may be identical as to their subject-matter.—In a house at Leh, belonging to one of the old Ka-lou (State-minister) families, illustrations of the story of Ge-sar may still be seen painted on the wall all round one of the rooms.

—My own small collection of Tibetan MSS. includes parts of the 'Iang-' and 'Hor-wars.'

Translation doubtful. It depends upon the exact meaning of Ge-shes-tsan.

Said to be in Pu-rang.
along with the city, and then conquered Nga-ris-skor-sum completely. He ruled in accordance with the Faith.

His three sons were: Lha-ch'en-pal-gyi-gon, the second, Lde-tseg-gon, the youngest. He gave to each of these three sons a separate kingdom, viz., to (1) Pal-gyi-gon: his dominions were Mar-yul, the inhabitants using black bows, in the east, Ru-t'og and the gold mine of Gog; nearer this way Lde-ch'og-kar-po at the frontier Ra-wa-mar-po, and to the top of the pass of the Yim-rock; to the west, the foot of the Kashmir pass from the cavernous stone upwards hither; to the north, to the gold mine of Gog: all the districts included (within these limits). To Ta-shis-gon, (his)

16 त्रियोरतम्यः does not necessarily mean a large city, but rather a village connected with a royal palace (e.g., Ting-gang, now Ting-mo-gang, near Nyur-la, is called a त्रियोरतम्यः but is merely a village.)

17 Nga-ris-skor-sum usually includes the districts of Ru-t'og, Gu-ge and Pu-rang only. Here, however, it seems to include all Ladakh, Zangs-kar etc. as well.

18 Lha-ch'en is an epithet usually applied to the eldest son only, and may mean the heir-apparent; it is not a component part of the name, as it may be omitted (see 3 lines further down). It dropped out of use from the time of Te'e-wang-nam-gyal. (Comp. Lha-gohig = 'princess'.)

19 All the three kings are included under the term (Gyalr. s. m.): त्रियोरतम्यः the three Lords of the Uplands.

20 Gog, not known. East and North seem to be quarters of heaven not definitely fixed in Ladakh geography. Here, Gog may be east or north; at some other place Ngam-ring is said to be east or north of Ladakh. Now Ngam-ring is known to be a place on the road to Lhasa, 21 marches this side of this city, and hence cannot possibly be to the north, but is to the west of Ladakh. An explanation, how this confusion came about, I am at a loss to give.

21 नगरिः said to be by Ta-shis-stan-p'el = नगरिः 'of the district lower down.' Lde-ch'og-kar-po = Dem-ch'og of the maps (Turk.). Near the frontier and on the river Indus.

22 Not known.

23 Wam-le = Han-le, famous for its magnificent Lamasery (picture in Cunningham, Ladakh).

24 = Imis-La (map of Turk.), at the foot of which the Han-le stream has its source.

25 i.e., the Zoji-la or Zoji-bal.

26 Not known.

27 To Ladakh people: 'going in the direction of Lha-sa' is 'going up,' 'coming away from there' is equal to 'going down.' (Comp. the word ילע in Hebrew.) Hence गोळ गिर गोळ also means, 'away from Lha-sa, down to here' = 'downwards hither;' गोळ गिर and गोळ : 'going from Purig or any place west of Ladakh, Lha-sa direction, as far as Ladakh' = 'upwards hither.'

28 See note 20.
second (son), he gave: Gu-ge, Pu-rang, Tse, etc. To Lde-tsug-gon, (his) youngest (son), he gave: Zanga-kar-go-sum, Spi-ti, Spi-Ichogs, etc.

Pal-gyi-gon, the eldest, had two sons: (II) Do-gon and Ch'os-gon.
The son of Do-gon was: (III) Lha-ch'en-pag-pa-lde.
His son was: (IV) Lha-ch'en-jang-ch'ub-sem-pa.
His son was: (V) Lha-ch'en-gyal-po. As to the reign of this king: he built the Lamasery of Lu-k'yi and caused a brotherhood of Lamas to settle down (there). He provided for a long time, with untiring zeal, the recluses that lived in the neighbourhood of the Kailasa and the three lakes with the necessaries of life; when they were numerous (there were) about five hundred, when few, one hundred.

His son was: (VI) Lha-ch'en-ut-pa-la. As to the reign of this king: after having united the forces of Upper and Lower Ladakh he invaded Nyung-ti. The king of Nyung-ti bound himself by oath, so long as the glaciers of the Kailasa will not melt away, or the Manasarovar lake dry up, to pay tribute and dues (to the king of Ladakh), (viz.) Dzo.

59 Not known.
50 Go-snm, '3 doors,' may refer to the 3 valleys that join at the central part of Zanga-kar.
51 Spi-ti, well-known district within British territory. As to Spi-Ichogs I would venture to suggest, that Lahoul may be meant by this term. This district would have well rounded off his dominions and would have been the connecting link between Zanga-kar and Spi-ti. B MS., however, relating to the present century, has ལྷ་ཙྭ་ Gar-sha, the usual Tibetan name for Lahoul.
52 Schl.'s ed. and mlgo: Li-kyir (Survey Map: Likir), a village on the upper road from Leh, or rather from Bagu, to Nyurla (Nurla) and Ka-la-tee (Khalai). This name would suggest (as well as the name of Lama-yurre, Yurre being = Yung-dung = Svastika) that, as in Tibet so also in Ladakh, the Bon religion at one time was prevalent, of which the worship of the Lu (Nagas) and of the Yung-dung, and the idea of a Bon, i.e., sumnum bonum, seems to have formed the most important elements. (This is borne out by the contents of a volume on the Bon religion, which was recently placed at my disposal).
53 སྒྲིའི་བཞི་ — but སྒྲི་ — Lamasery.
54 ཤི་ལྡོན་པའི་འེད་, 'those who exert themselves to obtain ཤི་ལྡོན་པའི་ (Arhatship).'
55 The maps know of two lakes only. But there is a possibility that the Kailasa counts as one and, with the 2 lakes, makes up 3 separate places.
56 Nyung-ti = Kulu, Capital: Sultanpur.
57 Viz., the Ma-p'am lake, the more easterly one of the two.
58 Tib. བྲ་ in Jäschke's Dictionary, but the MSS. and Schl.'s ed. unanimously write བྲ་
59 Well-known cross-breed between yak and cow.
and iron, etc. This treaty remained in force till this day. He also subjected Lo-wo, (and the country) from Pu-rang downwards hither; in the south the country of De-shang to the place, where the water is fiery; to the west, from Ra-gan-đeng-shing (and) Stag-k’u-ts’un upwards hither; to the north, from Ka-shu onwards. (They all) paid an annual tribute and attended the Darbâr.

His son was: (VII) Lha-ch’en-mag-lug. This king built the palace at Wan-la, in the Tiger-year, K’a-la-te at the place, where the water is fiery; to the west, from Ra-gan-đeng-shing (and) Stag-k’u-ts’un upwards hither; to the north, from Ka-shu onwards. (They all) paid annual tribute and attended the Darbâr.

His son was: (VIII) Lha-ch’en-ge-bhe and Ge-bum.

His son was: (IX) Lha-ch’en-jo-ldon.

His son: (X) Ta-shis-gon.
[His son: Lha-gyal.]

This king caused a copy to be written of the Gyud-do-rje-tse-mo, and of the Ngan-song-jong wai-gyud and of the Gyud-bum, all in gold.

His son was: (XI) Lha-ch’en-jo-pal. This king performed royal,

Some twenty years ago the tax-collector of the king of Ladakh, still used to visit Lahoul and probably Kullu, although the two districts then already were under British rule.

Not known.

Not known, although people pretend to know well that a lake exists, called by them T’so Padma-chon, to which the passage is said to refer. It is supposed to be in British territory. The Sham-bha-la-pai Lam-yig contains the following passage: 'At the city of the king Da-ya-tse of Pu-rang, in consequence of water striking against coal, at night the coal is seen burning. It is said of this coal and water, that they have the peculiarity that the water, if introduced into the stomach of man or beast, turns into stone.' What to make of this, I cannot divine, but it seems certain that the phenomenon referred to here is the same as that alluded to in the passage.

Not known.

Tib. བོད་ཀྱི་གཙོ་ལེགས་པ།

Sanskrit' usually translated by 'palace;' I feel inclined to prefer 'fort' or 'castle.'

One march off the Kashmir road, near Ka-la-tse and Lam-yuru. (Survey Map: Wanbah.)

At the bridge crossing the Indus (Kashmir road). Map of Turkistan and Survey: Khalchi; Drow: Khalisi.

Mentioned in Schl.'s ed. only. Doubtful.

'Treatise of the Vajra-point.'

'Treatise on the Removal of Going to Perdition.'

'100,000—Treatise.' With the two first-mentioned treatises I am not acquainted. The Gyud-bum consists of 18 vols. (in the ordinary printed edition), but I have also seen very fine written volumes, one, e.g., on indigo-tinted paper with letters in gold. The contents seem to be disquisitions on the Mahâyâna philosophy.
as well as clerical duties (to such perfection) that he arrived at the end (of his transmigrations).

His son was: (XII) Lha-ch'en-ngos-pub. During the reign of this king the usage of novices going to Us-Tsang was first introduced. He also repaired the colleges that had been built by his ancestors; but more important than this: he laid down before the Prince of the Faith, the Lord of the three Worlds, gold, silver, copper, coral-beads, pearls, etc., all (presents numbering) one hundred. He also caused to be copied the Ka-gyur twice and the Sang-ngags-kyi-skyil-k'or many times.

His son was: (XIII) Lha-ch'en-gyel-bu-rin-ch'en.

His son was: (XIV) Lha-ch'en-shes-ba. As to the reign of this king: having built the hamlet Seng-ge-sgang on the top of the so-called Hang-tse-mo (-rock), he made it a dependency of the Chang castle of Sa-bun in Mar-yul.

His son was: (XV) Lha-ch'en-t'i-tsug-lde. This king built (one row of) ch'ortens (numbering) one hundred and eight at Leh, and two (rows of) 108 at Sa-bu.

His two sons were: (XVI) Lha-ch'en-dags-bum-lde and Dags-pa-bum. Dags-bum-lde held Leh etc. He erected, for the sake of his reputation with posterity, the Red College and a Buddha Maitreya, the

58 I. e., 'as a transcendent virtue, Paramita.' शरणाप्रसाद I. e., the ordinary श्राणाप्रसाद

59 = Buddha, i. e., his image, probably the so-called Io-wo.

60 बौद्ध most closely agrees with the German: 'stiften, stift, stiftung'; an exact equivalent in English I have not been able to discover.

61 'Wheel of Dhāraṇī' ('secret spells'), a kind of book of which there exists a great variety.

62 Village six miles SE. of Leh, off the main valley. (Survey Map: Soba.) The Hang-tsee-mo is a rock well known there. The castle is in ruins.

63 108, बौद्ध a sacred number. 108 is also the number of beads of the ordinary rosary of Lamaists, (for other examples see Sir Monier Williams' book on Buddhism, second edition, page 338). I find in G. H. Schubert's Sternkunde (1832) the observation, that in India 4,320 lunar years constituted one sacred period, the first of which terminated about the commencement of our era. It may be divided into 4 periods of 1080, equal to two Phoenix periods of 540 years.' As 108 is a constituent of all these figures, it may be supposed to be in some way connected with them. The rows of ch'ortens referred to here usually consist of ch'ortens not higher than 2 or 3 feet, and resemble low walls built at random anywhere across the desert.

64 बौद्ध sometimes बौद्ध I adopt the usual spelling of the 'Postal Guide.'

65 बौद्ध same बौद्ध = 'for the sake of his reputation with posterity,' German: 'Nachrum.'

66 Probably the one on the Nam-gyal-tsee-mo at Leh.
Lord, in size (such as he will be) in his eightieh year. On his right and left there were a Mañjuśrī and a Vajrapāṇī, each one story high. He caused to be painted all fresco pictures, representations of the departed Buddhas, of the preserver of the universe, and of all his own private deities. He also built a triple temple (one surmounting the other) on the pattern of (the one at) T'o-ling. As a symbol of the Word, he caused a copy to be written of the Zungs-bum-ch'en-mo and of the Kon-ch'og-tseg-pa lang-kar shegs-pa and some others. As a symbol of the Spirit: some fatality having occurred at Leh, he built over the Ten ser-po (‘Yellow Crag’) completely, outside in the shape of a ch'orten, inside containing 108 temple-shrines. The ch'orten is called: Ten Ta-shis-od-t'o. Again, in the lower part of the valley of Leh, there is a crag resembling an elephant. The king caused to settle down on this rock a brotherhood of four Lamas. Having done all this, he said: ‘If I die now, it matters not.’

1. a., in a sitting posture about 20 or 25 feet high.

2. Tib.  homeowner’ probably Maitreya (?).

3. Tib. pronounced T'o-idng, on the Upper Sutlej. (Map of Turkestan: Tollingmat, ‘mat’ = ‘the lower’ i. e. lower part of the city.) The Sham-bha-la-pa lam-yig contains a reference to this temple: ‘it had been built (A. D. 864 Sch.) by the Lo-tsa-wa Rin-sang-po. The Hor (Turks?) burnt it down, but at some later date it was rebuilt, and now, in its lowest compartment, it contains the ‘Cycle of the Collection of Secrets’.” Adolph von Schlagintweit visited it; see ‘Results of a Scientific Mission.’

‘ and mystically expressed by the formula , have each their own special or symbols: ‘the image,’ ‘the Scriptures,’ ‘the Ch'orten.’ They represent a kind of triad, corresponding to the ‘three Holies,’ ‘the Three replicas of the Law’ i. e. the Buddha, the Law and the Order of Monks, (comp. Sir Monier Williams, p. 176.) But there may be, just as , is not without some underlying idea of a Supreme Being, ruling over all, some other more obscure and deeper meaning embodied in these symbols.

‘The great 100,000 of Dharaṇī.’

‘How the three Holies came to Ceylon’—‘tseg-pa’ ( ) i. e. probably ‘threefold, triple, three one above the other.’

Tibetan ‘crag.’

This ch'orten ‘Brilliant good fortune,’ still exists, though in a dilapidated condition, about two miles up the Leh valley from the British Joint-Commissioner’s compound.

Also still extant at the suburb of Leh called Ska-ra, near the Kila.
(At that time it came to pass that) the Omniscient of the period of degeneration, the great Tsong-k'a-pa, Lobzang Dags-pa, having in his possession a Tse-pag-med about as long as a finger joint, which had originated from the blood of his nose, entrusted the same to two ascetics, and said, 'Give it either to the one called Dags-pa or to the one called Lde.' When the two arrived in Mar-yul, the one called Dags-pa was in Nub-ra. They went into his presence, but he did not deign to look at them with so much as one eye. So they went on to Leh. On the morrow the king gave command: 'At to-day's Darbir, whosoever attends, be it ascetics, or Bhe-da, or Mon, or Ti-shi, he should not be refused admittance.' Now when the two ascetics came into his presence, the king rose and went to meet the two ascetics. The two ascetics made over the present, and the king was delighted with it. Taking the precious law of Buddha for his pattern, he built the Lamasery of Spe-t'ub, though in reality he did not build it, but it came into existence by a miracle. Having built it, he caused many brotherhoods of Lamas to settle down (in the country).

His son was (XVII) Lo-pos-ch'og-ladan. As to the reign of this king: from Gruge were brought: 18 coats of mail, the most excellent

71 'Time without measure,' 'Eternity,' an epithet of Gautama Buddha.
72 Bhe-da: professional musicians of low caste, Muhammadans, of Balti extraction. They, as well as the other low caste inhabitants of Ladakh, now may possess fields and houses.
73 Mon: joiners and carpenters by profession, also of low caste, though not quite so low as the Bhe-da. They probably are remnants of the tribes of aborigines, but at one time occupied the hill districts of the Himalayas. Though Buddhists, the samindars keep apart from them, and any samindar who would marry a Mon-maiden would by doing so lose caste.
74 Ti-shi: another low caste, shoemakers by profession. They also are Buddhists.
75 This probably means: 'he adopted the reformed doctrines of Tsong-k'a-pa.'
76 Lamasery and village, on the river Indus, five miles south-west of Leh. The Lamas belong to the Ge-ladan-pa order of Lamas. The Lamasery has an incarnated Lama (Sku-shog: B MS.). It is vulgarly called Spi-t'ung (Survey Map: Pittuk.) Other Lamaseries of the Ge-ladan-pa order in Ladakh are Tik-se (Survey Map: Tiksay), Sang-kar (a Leh suburb), Li-kir, Ri-dzong and many small ones.
77 Names given to weapons etc. are very common in Tibetan literature. They
of their number being the Mu-t'ab-sil-pa,73 the Ma-moi-mun-Diib,74 the Tab-ch'ung ka-ru76 (and) the Lha-t'ab-kar-po;77 18 swords, amongst them being the Nam-k'a-t'ag-ldag,78 the Dong-tse-rings79 (and) the Log-mar-me-sad;80 15 knives, whereof the best were: the Dud-di-nagpo81 (and) the Dam-di-zlung-gyad;82 15 turquoise, the best of these were: the Lha-yu-od-ldan83 and the Lha-yu-kar-po;84 20 saddles, amongst them the Ga-ma-jit'i-steng85 (and) the Ta-shis-od-ldan.86 (Also) ponies (viz.), 50 gray ones, 50 Isabel, 20 black, 30 piebald; also 20 young yak-cows and twenty light-brown yak-bulls, besides sheep, etc.; in short (they brought) tribute, revenue and presents in vast quantities. Having conquered Nga-tis-skor-sum as well, (his dominions) grew much in extent.

Lha-ch'en-dags-pa-bum had ruled over Rab-stan-lha-tse,91 Ta-ya,92 etc. He built the royal city of Ting-gang.93 His son was: Lha-ch'en-bha-ra.

His son was: (XVIII) LHA-CH'EN-BHA-GAN. This king was very fond of fighting. He and the Shel94 people having formed an alliance, they deposed and subjected the sons of the king of Leh, Dage-bum-Lde, (viz.), Lo-does-ch'og-ldan, Dung-pa-a-li and Lab-stan-dar-gyas.

present a serious obstacle in reading, e. g., the Ge-sar epic. Schol. also, in this passage, failed to recognize the fact that it chiefly consists of proper names. Coats of mail in Ladakh usually were either chain-armour or made of scales of metal. At Pi-yang (Survey Map: Phayang) Lamassery a collection of such armour is still shown to visitors.

73 The resplendent Devil-Coat-of-mail.'
74 'Devil-Darkness.'
75 'The little Coat-of-mail Heavy-weight' (?).
76 'White Deva Coat-of-mail.'
77 'Licking blood off the sky.'
78 'Wild yak, long point.'
79 'Killer of the red Lightning-flame.'
80 'Black Devil-knife.'
81 'Knife of 6 marks (seals)' (?).
82 'Luminous Deva-Turquoise.'
83 'White Deva-Turquoise.'
84 'Raised Glory-throne Saddle' (?).
85 'Good Fortune, light emitting.'
86 Proper name of the palace of Basgo (S. m. Basgo), now in ruins.
87 Near Nyur-la (S. m. Smurla), but off the main valley to the North. Survey Map: Jeeh.
88 Close to Je-ya; Survey Map: Jemeesgam. It is, according to our ideas, a
village. It is one of the prettiest villages in Ladakh.
89 Vulg. She, Survey map: Shay; village ten miles SSE of Leh, on the right
bank of the Indus. It has a palace of the Ladakh Raja (comp. B MS.)
His sons were: Lha-ch'en-lha-wang-nam-gyal and (XIX) Ta-shis-nam-gyal, (these) two.

Lha-wang-nam-gyal had great bodily strength and was clever at (any kind of) sport. But Ta-shis-nam-gyal, the younger (of the two), being very crafty, caused the prince's eyes to be plucked out. Still, lest the dynasty should die out, he gave him a wife and allowed him to stay at Ling-snyed. His sons were: Lha-ch'en-te'wang-nam-gyal, Nam-gyal-gon-po, and Jam-yang-nam-gyal, (these) three were born. These three sons grew very tall in stature, they grew taller within a month, than what others grow in a year, and they grew taller within a day, than what others grow within a month.

At that time the king Ta-shis-nam-gyal reigned. This king conquered (all the country) from Pu-rig upwards and from Do-shod downwards hither. He brought (home) herds of ponies in inconceivable numbers. He built the fort on the Nam-gyal-tse-mo of Leh and founded the hamlet of Ch'u-bhi. He fought against an invading force of Turks, and killed many Turks. He erected a temple (dedicated) to the (four) Lords on the Nam-gyal-he-mo and laid the corpses of the Turks 96 Nam-gyal, ཐིང་རིག་ and འབྲེལ་པོ་, 'the quite victorious' here occurs for the first time as part of a name of a member of the royal family. It seems to designate the new dynasty and remains in use to this day.

96 Tibetan ཪྲིག་

97 Ling-shed (Survey Map: Linshot) in Zange-kar, four marches south of Ka-la-tse.

98 The sons of Lha-wang-nam-gyal, that is, of Ta-shis-nam-gyal, had no children. They were brought to Leh, where they received their education (Ta-shis-shan-p'el).

99 District crossed by the Kashmir road from the Zoji-la to the Po-to-la. Capitals: Kargil (Thanadur) and Karsee. The inhabitants are partly Buddhists, partly Shah Muhammadans. They are a race distinct from either Baltis and Ladakhis. They wear an upper garment of a dark-brown colour—by which they may be distinguished from Ladakhis—and a small round skull-cap. The long locks of hair on the temples, in fashion with Baltis, are not seen with Pu-rig men. They all but monopolize the carrying-trade between Ladakh and Kashmir, ponies—though not a very good breed—being their chief wealth.

100 Name of a district about the 25th stage from here to Lhasa between Maryum La and Chaschu Sangpo (Map of Turkistan).

101 The 'Palace' occupies the very summit of the precipitous rock (Nam-gyal-tse-mo) at the foot of which the city of Leh is built. The 'Leh palace' is at a lower level. Now some religious buildings only remain, the fort itself being in ruins.

102 Chn-bi: about a dozen of houses at the foot of the western declivity of the Nam-gyal-tse-mo. The road to the top passes through it. (Survey Map: Chubbee.)

103 I. e., 'the four Great Kings (Mahrastjas),' the Guardians of Buddhism (comp. Sir Monier Williams, p. 206.) The temple and images still remain (information by Ta-shis-stan-p'el).—As to 'Turks': བོད་ in Central Tibet means 'Mongols,' in
1891.1 Karl Marx—Documents relating to the history of Ladakh. 125

under the feet of (the images of) the (four) Lords. Again, by building the temple to the (four) Lords he obtained power over the demon that turns back hostile armies. He invited the veritable Buddha whose name was Ch’oes-je Ldan-ma from Di-k’ung (Lamasery), and then built the Lamasery called Gang-ngon-ts-shis-ch’oes-dzong. He made the rule regarding the number of children that were to be sent by every village to become Lamas, and introduced the doctrine of the Dzong.

At the spot, where the Lamasery is seen (for the first time),

Ladakh, Turks of Central Asia. I am informed, however, that here exists a people in Tibet itself, somewhere between Ladakh and Lhasa, and occupying a considerable tract of country, called by the same name.

This sentence occurs in B M.S. only, where there is प्रत्येक i. e., प्रत्येक (see Jäschke, Dict.). I am not quite confident as to the correctness of my translation here, but if अभिवृत्त means ‘the hostile army,’ and not the army of the country ‘operating at the frontier’ I think it could not be rendered differently.

It gives its name to a special Order of Lamas of the ‘red’ persuasion. (Koeppen II, 78.—Schl.’s information—Buddhism in Tibet, p. 74,—as to this sect is incorrect.) The head of the lamasery of Di-k’ung is a Ch’oes-je.

Proper name of the lamasery at Pi-yang (‘पियांग’) eight miles west of Leh, vulgarly called Sgangon Gon-pa.

Tib. मृदु श्वपुर ‘tax of children to be made Lamas.’—Under the old régime every family of more than one or two male children, had to give up one, not the eldest however, to be made Lama. Now, of course, this tax is no longer compulsory, and hence the great falling off in the number of Lamas. The Lama-child दूर्भाग्य Tsun-ch’ung stays at home until his 8th year, wearing the red garment and red or yellow cap from the first. Then he goes to a lamasery, or is apprenticed to a Lama, in order to receive his primary education, until he reaches his 14th or 16th year, being all this time called दूर्भाग्य Tsun-ch’ung. Then he goes to Lhasa, where his studies get their finishing touch. After a sojourn there of one or two years or longer,—now under the name of दूर्भाग्य Ge-te’ul—on passing an examination conducted by the Head Lama of the respective lamasery, he is baptised and thereby made a Ge-long (दूर्भाग्य). Then he usually returns to his own country in order to perform there the functions of a village priest or to enter one of the Lamaseries, where special duties await him.

N. B.—There is an error prevalent regarding the dress of Lamas, which is propagated even by Sir Monier Williams in his recent book on Buddhism, viz., that the dress of Lamas of the ‘red’ persuasion is red, that of the ‘yellow’ persuasion, yellow. This is not so. The dress of both the ‘red’ and ‘yellow’ Lamas is red (with the exception of one special order of Lamas belonging to the Ge-Ldan-pa, who, to my knowledge, only exist in Zanga-kar, whose dress also is yellow;) but Lamas of the ‘red’ persuasion also wear caps and scars round their waist red, whilst in one of the ‘yellow’ Lamas these and these only are yellow.

‘Treatise on Esoteric Doctrine.’
he suspended a long prayer-flag. Whosoever, whether thief or liar, in short, any one guilty of offence against the king's palace or life, if he escaped to this spot, should be rid of his crime. Again, he presented to the Di-k'ung, Sa-skya, Ge-ldan, Lha-sa (and) Sam-yas (lamaeries) cushions, gold-water, long prayer-flags, (tea for) tea generals, (all) an hundred-wise, etc. He also caused a Ka-gyur and Sten-gyur to be copied besides many other (religious) books and erected many chortens.

(He was succeeded by) the incarnate king (XX), T'se-wang-nam-gyal (who) was invited to assume the royal functions. He, when quite a young man yet, already went to war. He conquered (all the country) from Ngam-ring in the east downwards hither, (viz.,) Lo-wo, Pu-rang, Gu-ge, etc.; to the south (his conquests were) Dzum-lang and Nyung-ti; in the west (they included) Shi-kar and K'a-(s)kar. He also said, he would make war against the Turks north (of Ladakh), but the people of Nub-ra petitioned him and he desisted. He brought the

109 I. e., crimen lascæ majestatis, though in a wider sense than usually accepted.
110 Sa-skya, lamaery of 'red' Lamas. (Sir Monier Williams, p. 448.) It gives its name to the Sa-skya-pa Order. This Order is represented in Ladakh by the Mātha Lamasery (South of the Indus, near He-mi).
111 Ge-ldan, Lha-sa and Sam-yas are lamaseries at or near Lhasa, belonging to the 'yellow' persuasion. As to Ge-ldan or Ga-ldan see Sir Monier Williams, l. c., p. 441.—Lha-sa = La-dang (ལ་འདང་) + Te-wa-shung (ཉེ་བུ་ཐོབ་) or ཨེ་མེ་ཐོབ་) + Jo-k'ang (ཇོ་ཁང་ = house of the Jo-wo). See Sir Monier Williams, l. c., p. 440.—Sam-yas : id., p. 448.
112 Gold-water,—I. e., gold finely divided by prolonged trituration, suspended in water, extensively used for gold-washing the images. 'Tea generals,' see id., p. 380.
113 He is supposed to have been an incarnation of Ch'ag-na-do-ye (Vajra-pārśu).
114 Ngam-ring : on the road from Lhasa to Ladakh, 21 marches this side of Lhasa. It is likely, that the three districts Lo-wo, Pu-rang and Gu-ge here are enumerated in succession, as they follow each other from east to west. Hence it would appear, that Lo-wo is the most easterly part of Nga-ris-skor-sum.
115 Dzum-lang, not known. May be identical with Jumla (Map of Turkistan) in Nepal.
116 Comp. note 86.
117 = Shi-gar, large village in Baltistan. (See Drew, Northern Barrier, p. 210).
118 K'a-(s)kar (Tib. མ་'s' ཆ་ ལ་ — s' preceding ཁ’ in Ladakh is frequently pronounced like s) may be Skardo. There certainly is a Kashkar (Chitrāl) further west, but it is very improbable, that the Ladakh empire ever should have extended so far.
119 Trade with Chinese Turkistan is almost essential to the welfare of Nub-ra. It is in Nub-ra, that all the caravans going to, or coming from, Yarkand obtain their supplies for man and beast. Consequently most grown-up people in Nub-ra know the Turká language fairly well.
rulers of all these (districts with him) as hostages\(^{120}\) and placed his own representatives into (their) castles. All Mar-yul grew much in extent. Gu-ge had to pay as tribute and dues annually 300 sho\(^{121}\) of gold, Ru	og 260 sho of gold in addition to 100 three years' sheep, one riding-horse, 10 tanned skin-bags, and (the proceeds from the royal domains) of K'ar-o-ldong and Zhing-dar-ch'en-dar-ch'ung,\(^{122}\) (indeed) from all sides they brought in tribute and dues in inconceivable quantities.

The king then came to consider: 'My ancestors have, on the pattern of the T'o-ling of Lhasa and Gu-ge, placed the bones of the Buddha-Elephant\(^{123}\) on the Tse-mo,\(^{124}\) but as the people do not go there on pilgrimage, or in order to worship, or to offer up sacrifices, or perform circumambulations, I will, instead, build a college and (in fact) establish the doctrine of Buddha on a basis similar to what it was under my ancestor Bal-pa-chan.'\(^{125}\) But as his work on earth\(^{126}\) was finished, he died.

Upon this all the vassal-princes lifted up their heads. (XXI) JAM-YANG-NAM-GYAL reigned. As to the reign of this king: two chiefs in Pa-rig did not agree. He came with the Ladakh army to the assistance of one of them, called Ts'e-ring-ma-lig. But the time had now come, when the period of darkness should supervene, the period when royal supremacy should well nigh be destroyed. The army of 'Alí Mír, captain of the forces of Nang-gong\(^{127}\), broke forth. They met, and by dint of

\(^{120}\) 덧\(\text{H}^{U}\) (Jäschke, Dict.) ; the MSS., however, are unanimous in writing \\(\text{H}^{U}\) ; pronunciation also : Ste-pa.

\(^{121}\) 1 sho of gold is stated to weigh ½ tolah, equivalent to almost 3 grammes. Its value in silver is said to correspond to about 15 to 18 Rupees. This would agree with the British guinea.—1 sho of gold is a price charged, e. g., for large printed volumes like the Do-mang, which may be had at Leh Lamasery, printed to order for this price.

\(^{122}\) K'ar-o-ldong and Zhing-dar-ch'en-dar-ch'ung are said to be the names of two estates near Ru-t'og (?).

\(^{123}\) Gautama Buddha in one of his births figures as an elephant. His bones are supposed to be the relics referred to in this passage. They were destroyed by the Baltis at the time of Jam-yang-n-gy. (Communication by Ta-shis-stan-p'el.)

\(^{124}\) Nam-gyal-tse-mo, compare notes 100 and 101.

\(^{125}\) Name of one of the ancient kings of Tibet. His proper name was : T'i-l-Ide-sjong-tsan. His obsequiousness to the clergy rendered him odious to the people and noblemen, and prepared the way for Lang-dar-ma, the apostate and suppressor of Buddhism. He was murdered about 840 A. D., (compare Koeppen II. 78. The Gyalr. s. m., in the last chapter of the book, contains a very full account of the story. Compare also Sohl's ed., page 206 and his translation, page 57.)

\(^{126}\) It would seem far-fetched to explain this by : ' the work (karma) of a prior existence in their effects being exhausted' as suggested by Sohl.

\(^{127}\) Nang-gong = 'central and upper i. e. districts' vis., of Baltistan. O MS. replaces this term by ' Skardo.'
strategem, (ever) putting off (fighting) from one day to the next,\(^{128}\) (he succeeded in holding them on), until all the passes and valleys were blocked with snow, and the king with his army, wherever they went, were compelled to surrender.\(^{129}\) All Ladakh was (soon) overrun by Baltis, who burnt all the religious books with fire, threw others into the water, destroyed all the colleges, whereupon they again returned to their own country.

After this (it pleased) 'Ali Mir Sher Khán to give his daughter, Gyal-k'a-t'un\(^{130}\) by name, who was an incarnation of the white Dol-ma,\(^{131}\) to Jam-yang-nam-gyal to be his wife. After he had sojourned there for a little while, (it happened, that) 'Ali Mír (had a dream. He) dreamt he saw emerging from the river below his castle a lion, which jumped\(^{132}\) and disappeared into (the body of) Gyal-k'a-t'un. It was at the identical time, that Gyal-k'a-t'un conceived. Now after 'Ali Mír had prepared a feast for all the soldiers, and Gyal-k'a-t'un had put on all her jewels, he invited Jam-yang-nam-gyal to mount the throne and then said: 'Yesterday I dreamt I saw a lion (emerging) from the river in front (of the palace) and jumping at Gyal-k'a-t'un, he disappeared into her body. At the very same time also Gyal-k'a-t'un conceived. Now it is certain, she will give birth to a male child, whose name ye shall call Senge-nam-gyal.' Having said this, he gave (the king) leave with the army of Ladakh to return home and to resume his royal functions.

She bore him two sons: Senge-nam-gyal and Nor-bu-nam-gyal, (these) two.

At that time Jam-yang-nam-gyal bethought himself: 'In the first instance, I went with my army to the assistance of T'se-ring-ma-lig of Pu-rig; the consequence was, that all Ladakh was laid waste. Now I will employ any means that may serve towards the propagation of the religion of Buddha, and make it spread. But as the religion of Buddha for its propagation is entirely dependent upon the people, I will, on my part, relieve them from all taxation, and treat them like my own children.' (Having thus resolved,) he equalized rich and poor three times.

\(^{128}\) Tib. [assembly] 'what day do you think, (we shall fight)?' Q "it is likely' (Jäschke, Dict.).

\(^{129}\) Tib. [assembly] 'succeeded, lost, waned.'

\(^{130}\) 'Lady of noble birth.' (See his translation, p. 75, note 1)

\(^{131}\) For Dol-ma kar-mo, [assembly] mong-Tsaghan Dára-Eke, see Koeppen II, 65.

\(^{132}\) Tib. [assembly] 'a leap, bound.'
This king united under his sway (all the country) from Pu-rig upwards, and from Dang-tse downwards hither.

Ts'e-ring-gyal-mo, the daughter of Jig-sten-wang-ch'ug, whom he had married before he took Gyal-k'a-t'un, also bore him two sons: Ngag-wang-nam-gyal and Stan-dzin-nam-gyal. These two sons were sent to Us-tsang in order to (lay down) before the precious Jo-wo; gold-water and cushions; at Dases-pungs (and) Ra-lung gold, silver, pearls, coral-beads, amber, trident-banners, (tea for) tea generals, all numbering one hundred; at De-nam long prayer-flags,—and (to act) as messengers to the Dug-pa Incarnation, whom they were to invite (to Ladakh).

For the sake of his reputation with posterity, he caused a copy of

183 Dang-tse (Survey Map: Jankse), well-known village, east of Leh, on the road to the Pang-kong lake and Jang-ch'en-mo. The limits given here include less territory than there had been under the kings of Ladakh at any other time.

184 Although polygamy is not common with Ladakhis,—polyandry being more in vogue—yet no one objects, if a man, in case his first wife has no children, takes a second wife. The first wife is then called 'chan-ch'en,' the second wife 'chan-ch'ang;' chan ma is said to mean: 'a woman who prepares the food;' the spelling of the word is uncertain.

185 Jo-wo: I am informed, there are really three images called by this name, two of them, the best known of all, are the Jo-wo Rin-po-ch'e and Jo-wo mi-skoyod-do-rje, both in the Jo-k'ang at Lhasa, one on a lower, the other on an upper platform; the third, Jo-wo Shakyamuni is the one at Ra-mo-ch'e. The Jo-wo skoyod-do-rje was brought by the queen Ti'-tseun (Tib. བློ་གཞི་) from Nepal (s. Gyalr. s. m., chapter 12), the Jo-wo Shakyamuni, on the other hand, by the queen Kong jo (Tib. ལྷོ་) which has nothing to do with Kon-ch'og) from China (s. Gyalr. s. m., chapter 13). Where the Jo-wo rin-po-ch'e has come from, I do not know.

186 A Ge-lidan-pa-lamasery (see Sir Monier Williams, l. c., p. 442).

187 Also written རྡུ་ and once རྡུ་ an important Lamasery of the Dug-pa Order, near Lhasa.

188 A long tuft of silk threads, suspended from a trident (K'a-tam-k'a or t'se-sum) and supported on a pole. It may be carried about or placed on the roof of Lamaseries and palaces. Its Tibetan name is འེ་ཆེན་, not འེ་ཆེན་ (Chab-dar, not Chob-dar).

189 Lamasery (Ge-lidan-pa), two or three days' journey west of Lhasa.

190 Probably an incarnation of Pal-je-shes-gon-po (པལ་ལྷེ་ཤེས་གཞི་པོ་) the tutelary deity (Tib. སྣེ་) of the Dug-pas.
the Gya-tog-ser-sum and of the Kar-gyud-ser-t'eng, in addition to other books, to be written in gold, silver, and copper. (Likewise) for the sake of posthumous fame, he would have very much liked to rebuild and present anew whatsoever had been destroyed by the Baltis, but his life being short, he died (before he had been able to accomplish his purpose).

His son was the king of the Faith (XXII) Sengo-nam-gyal.

From his childhood he was very strong and clever at wrestling, running, jumping, shooting with (bow and) arrow as well as matchlock, and riding. In any kind of sport he was to be compared with Siddhartha the son of Suddhodana of olden time.

The king, when yet a youth, made war against the back-steppes of Gu-ge. He carried away ponies, yaks, goats and sheep even so far as from the northern slopes of the Kailása, and (indeed) from everywhere on earth. Some time later he made war against the central provinces of Gu-ge also. Sha-wang and Zha-ye he allowed to be killed, and he made all Ladakh to be full of yaks and sheep. He married the Ru-shod princess Skal-zang-gyal-mo. He invited the king of Saints, 

148 ས་པ་ནམ་གྱལ is a religious 'Trilogy' consisting of the སེར-ཐོད་ the སེར-ཐོད་ and the སེར-ཐོད་ Frequently the last-named title is applied to the whole, viz., Ser-od. (See Jäschke's Dict., 'S. O.'). The Tog-zangs is in my possession but as yet remains unexamined.—Although 'Trilogy' is a term applied to dramatic productions only, yet considering that tripartite religious books are frequently met with in Tibetan literature, I think the term may be found useful.

149 གཙུག་སྟིང་པོའི་, -late Head-Lama of Stong-na Lamasery in Ladakh, and probably the most learned Lama in the country—informed me, that this is a kind of clerical genealogy, or a list containing the names of the chief Lamas of his own order, the Kar-gyud-pa, from its very commencement. The Kar-gyud-pa, who are supposed to derive their name from this genealogy (Kar-gyud, སྲོང་པོ་), are a subdivision of the Dug-pa order.

144 Tib. རུ་ཐོ་མི་འབྲི་བ་ for 'rebuild and present anew.'

145 Tib. རུ་ཐོ་ (i.e., རུ་ཐོ་ reading) = firearms.

146 As to Sha-wang and Zha-ye no information was available. Ṭa-shis-stan-p'el, however, was confident, that རུ་ཐོ་ means 'to kill.'

147 Ṭa-shis-stan-p'el, རུ་ཐོ་ an upland district (about 15,000 elevation) between Ladakh and Lahoul and Spiti, usually called Rupshu (Drew) or Rukshu (Survey Map). The present 'queen' of Ladakh is also a Rupshu-'princess.'

148 སིད་གྲེི་ 'Sidha,' according to Sir Monier Williams (p. 536) seems to denote the degree next to, and below Arhatship. This passage, however, properly refers to Jainism. The word occurs again in the text 4 lines further down, where the eighty
called Stag-ts'ang-ras-ch'en (to Ladakh). This Buddha, who had obtained the rainbow-body, had visited Hindústán, Orgyan, Kashmir, etc., and had seen all the eighty saints face to face. In memory of his father, he erected at Bab-go an (image of) Maitreya, made of copper.

Stag-ta'ang-raa-ch'en (to Ladakh). This Buddha, who had obtained the rainbow-body, visited Hindústán, Orgyan, Kashmir, etc., and had seen all the eighty face to face. In memory of his father, he erected at Bab-go an (image of) Maitreya, made of copper.

The only 'eighty' referred to anywhere in Buddhistic literature, are, I believe, the eighty 'Great Disciples, Mahádrávakas' (M. W.) They, indeed, were not supposed to have attained to Arhatship during life, but became Arhats at the moment of their death. Hence the or Siddha would seem to be a 'candidate for Arhatship,' one who 'will obtain 'perfection' when he dies. Two characteristics of the Dub-t'ob, incidentally mentioned here, also prove that between him and an Arhat-designate is very little difference. The first is, that he is able to have intercourse with the eighty 'Great Disciples,' i. e., that 'time' to him is of no account. The second is: that he had obtained the 'Rainbow-Body,' i. e., 'a body, which (at death) vanishes out of sight, not leaving any trace behind, just like the rainbow.' Compare the Ladakh-Gyalrabs (M. S. in my possession, p. 67, and Schl's. ' Könige von Tibet,' Tib. text, p. 11a) where there occurs a passage referring to the death of the seven (Ti = 'throne') kings of Tibet: 'they died—Schl. is an error in writing—and their Dova-body disappeared like the rainbow, leaving no trace behind.' This, of course, amounts to obtaining Parinirvána. Now as according to Sir Monier Williams the third and highest degree of Arhatship is identical with Supreme Buddhahood, it is no longer difficult to understand, how the two characteristics referred to apply to the nor why Stag-ts'ang should be styled in the same passage a i. e., a Buddha.—Stag-ts'ang is said to be the author of the small book of travel, the 'Shambha-la-pai Lam-yig,' referred to once or twice in these notes.

Tib. Comp. in German the words: 'der Verklärte, Verklärung.

See note 148.

Sometimes Urgyan = Udyána.

See 148.

Tib. really has a much more profound meaning than simply 'in memory.' I think, its primary meaning is: 'to complete, what may be supposed to have been the intention of the deceased person to do, but was left undone'; a secondary meaning would be: 'to perform meritorious works on behalf of the deceased person, so as to benefit him or her in the Bar-do purgatory,' and thirdly (once in M. S., distinctively so): 'funeral rites and prayers read for the benefit of the soul'—(The litany used on such occasions is called, in the case of the Go-ldan-pa, 'the way of removing obstacles, viz., in the road to a happy rebirth,' and is usually read for 49 days, (as Sir Monier Williams gives it).

Village on the river Indus, about fifteen miles west of Leh. (Survey Maps Bargo.) The temple and image still remain, whilst the palace is in ruins. The place is well worth a visit.
and gilt, in size (such as he will be) in his eightieth year, and adorned with all kinds of precious stones. He introduced the great deities of all Hindostán, east and west, and caused a copy of the Jams-ch'os, five divisions and five volumes, to be written. He appointed for the duration of the (present) Skal-pa five Lamas to be in perpetual attendance and to offer up sacrifices and keep the sacred lamps burning both day and night. He put up sashes made of the most wonderful Chinese silks, (and also) umbrellas, long prayer-flags, etc.

Again, in memory of his mother, he sent to be laid down at the feet of the incarnation of P'ags-pa Rab-jor, the P'añ-ch'en, the Banner (lit. umbrella) of the Faith: golden earrings, silver earrings, amber (pieces of) the size of apples, smaller ones 108, coral-beads of the size of fowl's eggs, pearls of the size of Chinese peas and smaller ones a great many. At ... Lha-sa, Ta-t'ug and Sam-yas he offered up sacrifices, everywhere one thousand. To the Ge-(Idan), Dz(-spungs), Se-ra, Dug-Ra-lung, Sa-skya and all the other Lamaseries, both great and small, he made presents of (tea for) tea generals and other things, all numbering one hundred, in plenty.

To the Saint stag-ts'ang-ras-ch'en, the same (as mentioned above),

I follow, in my translation, Ta-shis-stan-p'el's explanation, but still some misgivings as to its accuracy remain.

A crinoline-shaped kind of thing, but cylindrical, not conical, in form, about 3 feet in height by 1 foot in width; it consists of 2 or 3 hoops with a covering of black woollen threads or of trimmings of calico. It is planted on the roofs of lamaseries and palaces. Jäschke (Dict. 'trophy,' ) apparently did not recognize the umbrella.

See note 153.

The P'añ-ch'en rin-po-ch'e at Ta-shis-lhun-po. He is not usually supposed to be an incarnation of Subhúti, but as he may be an incarnation of Amitábha, of Maśjaśrí, of Vajra-páñi and of Taong-k'a-pa, there is no reason why he should not be an incarnation of Subhúti as well. (Comp. Koeppen II, 127.—For Subhúti: Koeppen I, 104, 600 and the recent publication of the Asiatic Society of Bengal: the 'Sher-Phyin.'—)

large earrings of silver or gold, consisting of a ring about two inches in diameter, on to which are strung, like beads, a large number of very diminutive rings of silver or gold.

Comp. note 57.

Possibly one name wanting.

Comp note 111.

Lamasery at Lha-sa (Ge-ldan-pa).
he gave, in the several districts that belonged to himself, estates as well as sites for religious buildings, and Stag-ts'eang-ras-ch'en, during the reigns of both the father Senge-nam-gyal and the son De-lidan nam-gyal, the father then being in his decline and the son in his prime of life, satisfactorily completed the Lamaseries at Wamle, Ta-shis-gang, He-mi, T'eg-ch'og, etc. Thus the Law of Buddha made good progress. He governed over all his dominions according to the rule of the ten virtues, and thus (it came to pass) concerning the kingdom of this world, that the king was like the lion and the Lama like the tiger, and their (united) fame encompassed the face of the earth as 'the lord and the Lama, sun and moon, a pair.'

After this, Senge-nam-gyal bethought himself: '(My) uncle Ts'e-wang-nam-gyal (certainly) did rule (over all the country) as far as Ngam-rings in the east (north), but he did not live long, and during the reign of (my) father Jam-yang-nam-gyal all the vassal-princes again rose (and made themselves independent).' So he again went to

166 Tib. "a first offering, earnest of land.'

167 Tib. 'offering site.'

168 Tib. 'decline of life, 'prime of life.' This remark shows, supposing General A. Cunningham's dates to be correct,—that Schlagintweit's first calculation (in 'Buddhism in Tibet,' 1863) has probably more to commend it, than the second one in 'Könige von Tibet,' 1866.—In the former work he finds the dates 1644 as the date of the foundation of the He-mi lamasery, 1672 as the date of the completion. In the latter, on the other hand, he gives 1604 as the date of the foundation (under Jam-yang-nam-gyal), completion at 1644.—Prima facie, it seems very improbable that Jam-yang-nam-gyal should have ventured upon building enterprises on such a large scale, after the country had just recently been devastated by a ruthless foe.

169 In Tibet about two marches from the frontier, on the river Indus. Map of Turkistan : Tashigong.

170 Famous lamasery in Ladakh (Survey Map : Himis), about 18 miles SSE of Leh. The 'Himis-fair' in summer is the chief attraction to sight-seers in Ladakh. This lamasery is at present still the greatest land-owner in Ladakh, and its steward one of the most influential persons in the country. The Lamas are of the Dug-po order of the 'red' persuasion.

171 Sister-rlamasery to He-mi, north of the Indus, in a valley which opens out opposite Hemis. Che-de, vulg. Chem-re (Survey Map : Chim-ray) is the name of the village, to which the lamasery belongs.

172 See Sir Monier Williams, i. e., p. 128.

173 Allusion to their proper names: Senge = lion, Stag = tiger.

174 Tib. "dispenser of alms' (Jäschke, Dict.) i.e., = Anglo-Saxon: hliford = Lord.

175 The Tibetan text of this passage is not very clear.
war (and came) as far as Ngam-rings. At Shi-ri-kar-mo (his army) was routed. Upon this, there arrived an ambassador from Tibet, and (it was agreed that) the frontier should remain as before, and that his dominions should include all the country up to Us-tsang. On his return journey he died at Wam-le.

Additions from C MS.

At Wam-le, God-yul, K’a-nag, Tsang-mar, Skyu-mar-nang, Me-ru, Dar-tse the people, and elsewhere in Upper and Lower Ladakh throughout his dominions he (himself) gave to him for the duration of the present skalpa, sites for religious purposes and estates. The great saint Stag-ts’ang-ras-ch’en built not only the He-mi (Jang-ch’ub-sam-ling), Che-de (T’eg-ch’og), Wam-le (De-ch’en), Ta-shis-gang and other Lamaseries, but also raised images and ch’ortens of gold, silver and copper. He made the clergy very great.

In memory of his late father Jam-yang-nam-gyal, the king Senge-nam-gyal erected at Bab-go an image of the Buddha Maitreya, made of copper and gilt, three stories high, and adorned it with precious stones, turquoise, coral beads, etc. To the Pañ-ch’en-rin-po-ch’e in Us (-Tsang) he sent a present of gold and silver a large quantity, and pearls of the size of Chinese peas, coral-beads of the size of fowl’s eggs, amber, pieces of the size of apples, and other things.

To the great saint, Stag-ts’ang-ras-ch’en, the Supreme, he presented 100 ponies, 100 yaks, 100 cattle, 1,000 sheep, 1,000 goats, 1,000 (Ladakh) Rupees, 100 zho gold, 3,000 loads of grain, one string of pearls, one string of coral beads, one string of turquoise, 25 matchlocks,

176 Comp. note 114. It is probably the has come to be a component part of the name, hence: Iang-ngam.

177 Name of a small lamasery on a rock on the right bank of the river Charta Sangpo (map of Turkistán) 29° 30' N., 84° 50' E. of Greenwich. The difficulty of crossing the river may to some extent account for the defeat of the Ladakh army. (Comp. Koeppen II, 146 and note 1.)

178 Of these names God-yul is the name of the Han-le district. K’a-nag (Drew’s map: Kharnak, Survey map: Khanuk; vulg., K’ar-nak), a valley in Zangs-kar. Tsang: abridged from Tsang-k’a, a hamlet near He-mi. Mar: abridged from Martse-lang (Drew: Marchalong, Survey map: Marshaling), near He-mi. Of the combination Skyu-mar-nang: Skyu = Skew or Skio (Survey map) in the valley of Mark’a in Zangkar, Mar stands for Mar-k’r (Drew and Survey: Markha); Nang probably a hamlet in the same valley.—Me-ru (= Miru, Survey map) on the Gya river, one march south of He-mi. Dartse.?  

179 In brackets are given the proper names of the Lamaseries; the other names properly belong to the villages.

180 Schl.’s edition.

181 1 Ladakh Rupee equal to 1 Rupee British coinage.
25 spears, 25 swords, 15 coats of mail, 25 pieces of silk, 10 pieces of brocade, 25 pieces of gauze with and without a pattern, 25 pieces of broad gauze for 'scarfs of blessing,' and other presents in all past comprehension.

Then he reared the Leh-ch'en-pal-K'ar'e (palace) of nine stories and completed it within about three years. His own private utensils for religious worship were all made of gold and silver and very numerous. He also caused a kagyur to be copied (the writing) in gold, silver and copper, and besides many other (religious) treatises and books.

I.—An instalment of the Bower Manuscript.—By Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle.

The portion of the Bower Manuscript which I publish in the following pages is that which I have marked in my paper "On the Date of the Bower MS.," as the fifth. I placed it there as the last portion of the entire manuscript. That, however, was a mere matter of accident, this portion happening to be the last that I examined. What position the portion actually occupies in the entire MS., will have to be determined hereafter, when I have concluded the more thorough examination of the relic in which I am now engaged.

This portion of the manuscript is written on five leaves. They are regularly numbered from 1 to 5, on the left-hand margin, on the reverse sides of the leaves, in the old style of numeral figures. On the reverse of the third leaf, however, a little distance below the current number 3, there are two other symbols which look like the number 51,

132 Tib. उर्दु = Urdu: किश्वार
133 Tib. गज्जू = Silk-gauze with dots; गज्जू the same without dots. The two words combined = गज्जूगज्जू.
134 Tib. खेंचुळ is the broad variety of this kind of loose gauze. For 'scarfs of blessing' see Huc and Gabet's Memoires, Sir Monier Williams' book, etc.
135 This is the palace of Leh, a conspicuous building immediately above the city.
136 Tib. देखि देखियम comp. Jäschke's Dict. sub voce देखि—देखियम, महः meaning: 'the first half of the tenth month,' hence here we probably ought to translate: 'the first half of the third year.'
137 Tib. देखि देखियम covers the meaning of this entire expression.

* See ante, p. 79.
† As shown in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 44, column 4.