

## 33. Ladvags rGyalrabs.

*The Chronicles of Ladakh, according to Schlagintweit's MS.  
Translated by A. H. FRANCKE.*

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

I am presenting to the public an English translation of the first two chapters and the last page of the third chapter of Schlagintweit's 'Die Könige von Tibet.' This translation into English was not made from the German rendering by Schlagintweit. In many cases I had to abandon Schlagintweit's translation altogether and translate afresh from the Tibetan text which Schlagintweit appended to his 'Die Könige von Tibet.'

As is stated by the early Tibetan writers themselves, they made use of several historical books which were then current in Ladakh. The following titles are mentioned :—

- (1) 'aJigsrten gdagspa (in the genealogy of the Sākya);
- (2) rGyalrabs spunpo gsum khug blonpoi rgyal mthsan ;
- (3) gSangba or 'aBru bdus ;
- (4) Dangpo dbang byed rimpai dgu byung.

Of these works, the last mentioned is still known in Ladakh, where it is called *Rim dgu*. This work may possibly come to light again.

It is very probable that some of the early historians of Ladakh or Tibet took Indian *Vaṁśāvalī*s as their model. The *Vaṁśāvalī* of Chamba, for instance, as published by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, in his 'Antiquities of Chamba State,' bears a strong resemblance to the older portions of the *Ladvags rgyalrabs*. Both productions begin with an introductory hymn in which the book is called a necklace. This necklace is represented as being wound round the neck of the deity or saint to whom the book is dedicated. Then, both books contain a long list of names of mythological beings, the supposed supernatural ancestors of the race of kings, and in a third part, the names of the actual human kings are given. The Indian *Vaṁśāvalī*s, even if they contained nothing but names, were written in metre, and so it also was probably with the Tibetan production. A last remnant of this Tibetan metrical *Vaṁśāvalī* we have in Schlagintweit's folios 13*b* and 14*a*, where there are ten lines of metrical verse which contain only names in line 1-6, and a few notes on that group of kings in line 7-10; and again in folio 9*a*, where a Buddhist legend is told in the same metre. As the word *rgyal mthsan* may be translated by 'royal names,' the historical book mentioned under No. (2) may have been such a Tibetan *Vaṁśāvalī*.

In addition to the Indian *Vamśāvalī*, Tibetan historiography was also influenced in very early times by Chinese historiographers. I think that Rockhill is quite right when he compares the seven Tibetan *Khri* (throne) kings with the twelve celestial sovereigns of the Chinese *Sanhwang*; the six Tibetan *Legs* with the eleven terrestrial sovereigns of the Chinese; and the eight Tibetan *Lde* with the nine human sovereigns of the Chinese. Possibly, the Tibetans were not at once furnished with sufficient names to satisfy a Chinese historian. Therefore, they had to manufacture new names, or classes of names, and insert them in their lists. This may account for more than one beginning in the *rGyaltrabs*, as we have it at present. Thus, we find two kings of the name of *Spu rgyal*. Of the palace of *Phyi dbang stag rtse*, which was stated in the chronicles to have been in existence during the reign of the first king, we hear again ten or eleven generations later that it was then built as the first palace of the country. Then, although the country is described as having been in a high state of civilisation under its first king, a first introduction of civilisation is attributed also to several of his successors. From the Chinese, the Tibetans probably learnt writing history in prose.

But a really intelligent and pragmatic form of prose writing was not acquired before the 15th century, when quite a new way of recording facts made its appearance. This last and best form of chronicling was probably learnt from the Mohamedan writers of the period.

The man who compiled the story of the kings of Yarlung, as we find it in the *rGyaltrabs*, did not only derive his information from chronicles in prose or verse, but also made use of the folklore of his time, and thereby added a new charm to his chapter of the history. Thus, we find an old proverb on folio 11a, and popular ditties on folios 14a and b, and 19b. The first song on folio 9a is probably a verse from Buddhist literature which had become popular, whilst the second song once formed part of the ancient metrical *Vamśāvalī*, with which it has the metre in common, as stated above. It is interesting that also in Dr. K. Marx's BMS., an ancient popular song is found which it was the historian's endeavor to turn into prose. My attention was drawn to this interesting fact in the following way: I told my Tibetan assistant, *Phunthsoqs* of Khalatse, to read through the third chapter of Schlagintweit's Tibetan text of the chronicles. to see if he could find poetical parts in it. He read it and said that he had not found anything, because the old song of Ali Mir, which was contained in K. Marx's *rGyaltrabs*, was omitted in Schlagintweit's copy. He said that he had often heard people sing a song of Ali Mir. When I examined Marx's text, I could see at once that seven lines of the old song could be easily restored, by making only very slight alterations in the text. It then runs as follows:—

Khasang ngayis rnilamdu :  
mThsonas sengge nargyis mchongs  
rGyal Khatunla thimpar mthong  
De dang dus mthsungs bumo 'adi  
Semscan dang ni ldanpar gyur  
'aDila bu zhig ngespar skye  
Mingla sengge rnam rgyal thogs.

Then also, in Schlagintweit's third chapter, in the tale of the battle of Basgo, we find a little song of four lines included, as follows (with two corrections by myself) :—

rGyalpo babsgor bzhugs shing  
Khachul dmag dang beas  
Sogpo rnamsla brgyabpas  
Sog 'abros thabssu song.

The influence of prose productions of folklore (Kesarsaga in particular) on the writing of history, is of course very distinct in the early parts of the chronicle. Let me mention only the description of the seven heroes in fol. 7*b*, which at once calls to mind the seven Agus of the Kesarsaga. But also passages like the description of *Lha dbang rnam rgyal's* three sons, who lived as late as the sixteenth century, look as if they had just been copied from the Kesarsaga.

Let me now review the *Ladvags rgyalrabs*, the chronicles of Ladakh, and register what has been published or translated. It consists of ten parts, some of which have headings in Tibetan, whilst others have not. Schlagintweit's MS. contains some of its parts in full, whilst others receive valuable contributions from it. Only one part is not represented in it.

1. Introductory Hymn. It is found in SMS. (Schlagintweit's MS.).

2. Cosmology and Cosmogony. This chapter is omitted in SMS. K. Marx mentions it as occurring in AMS. The first seven or eight lines of inscription No. 67 (translated in Ind. Ant., vols. xxxv, xxxvi, in my article 'Archæology in W. Tibet), seem to be taken from this cosmology. They run as follows :—

“ The spheres [are these] : In the middle of all that grew into order, is the mountain *Ri dbang lhunpo* (Sumeru), the measure of whose glory is 400,000 geographical miles. The outlying and close-lying principal continents are surrounded by all the mountains. The four continents are in the east, south, west, [and] north; and there are eight islands. According to their order, the continents are : *Zla gam* ('New moon'; name of the continent in the east which is supposed to be of the shape of the new moon, and its inhabitants to have faces of the same shape); *Zur gsum* ('Three points,' 'triangular'; name of the continent in the south (India), the inhabitants of which have triangular faces, as men actually have); *Gru bzhi*

(‘ Four corners ’; name of the continent in the west which is believed to be of square shape, and the inhabitants to have square faces; *Zlum chags* (‘ Circle produced ’, ‘ full moon ’; name of the continent in the north which is supposed to be of circular shape, and the inhabitants of which are said to have round faces). If their (the continents’) size is measured according to their order, it is 719,000 geographical miles . . . . .’

3. The Genealogy of the Sākya. It is found in K. Marx’s AMS, and in Schlagintweit’s text (SMS). It is interesting that several of the mythological names contained in it are found also in inscriptions of Ladakh and in folklore. This shows how deeply rooted is the belief of the people that the kings of Ladakh are descended from the Sākya race.

4. The Tibetan Kings of Leh and Lhasa down to Langdarma, the Apostate. This chapter is entitled in Tibetan ‘ History of the First Spread of Buddhism.’ It is found in K. Marx’s AMS and CMS, as well as in SMS. The same times we find described in Central Tibetan and Mongolian historical books, and in Chinese works. The latter were translated by S. W. Bushell, (JRAS, 1880). A most successful attempt to reconcile the Chinese with the Tibetan accounts was made by Herbert Müller in ‘ Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtskunde,’ Bd. xx. My chronology is based on the Chinese chronicles.

5. Langdarma’s Persecution of Buddhism. This chapter is entitled in Tibetan ‘ The Submerging of Buddha’s Religion.’ It is found in K. Marx’s AMS and CMS, as well as in SMS. The same times are described in Central Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese historical works. Even Alberūni speaks of *Longdherman*, Langdarma.

6. The Kings of the First West Tibetan Dynasty. This chapter is called in Tibetan ‘ The Story of the Later Spread of Buddha’s Religion.’ It is found in K. Marx’s AMS and CMS, and in SMS. The first part of this chapter was translated by myself for the first time into English, after the text of SMS. As the rest of the chapter was translated in an excellent manner by K. Marx, I shall simply review the chapter by giving names of kings, dates, and notes of interest. In the same way will be treated the following chapters:—

7. The Kings of the Second Dynasty down to *Sengge rnam rgyal*. This is probably the biography of *Sengge rnam rgyal*, compiled by his son *bDe ldan rnam rgyal*, as stated in SMS. No oriental would begin a biography with the birth of his hero. The hero’s history is given at the end of a long narrative of his ancestors. K. Marx’s AMS and SMS are probably such biographies of *Sengge rnam rgyal* furnished with the most elaborate ground work. SMS contains a few interesting additions to the history of *Sengge rnam rgyal* which are not found in K. Marx’s ‘ Three Documents.’

8. The Last Independent Kings of Ladakh. This chapter

which is not furnished with a Tibetan title, is found in K. Marx's BMS and CMS. SMS contains a few interesting additions to the text, as published in K. Marx's 'Three Documents.' K. Marx's Tibetan text being lost, I am now making efforts to recover it. And I hope that the text of CMS at least will again come to light.

9. The History of the Dogra War. Its Tibetan title is 'History of the Indian War.' It is found in K. Marx's CMS, and SMS contains only an interesting note on it. The Tibetan text as well as the greater part of the English translation by my wife were published in K. Marx's 'Three Documents.' It was written by Munshi *dPal rgyas*, the present chronicler of Ladakh.

10. Ladakh after the Dogra War. This chapter which was written by Munshi *dPal rgyas* has not yet been published. I am now making efforts to have it copied. SMS contains a single line referring to these times.

My thanks are due to Dr. J. Hutchison, of the Scotch Mission, for assisting me to find the correct English rendering of Tibetan phrases, and to my Ladakhi assistant, *Phunthsogs* of Khalatse, for helping me to ascertain the correct interpretation of many obscure passages.

## TRANSLATION.

### PART I.—INTRODUCTORY HYMN.

<sup>1</sup>With the iron hook of the wonderfully sweet and [all] Fol. 1a.  
knowing youth *Gesar*,  
And by the power of suckling at the heart of mother *Ridvags*  
*migcan* (Mṛigākshī), [who is] religion itself,  
This clear mirror of religion reflecting scenes [of people]  
as if moving to and fro in a dance, [has become] a  
reality,  
It has become a neck ornament of the naked priest *Zurphud*  
*Ingapa* (Pañcaśikha).

### PART II.—COSMOLOGY.

Omitted in SMS.

### PART III.—THE GENEALOGY OF THE SAKYAS.

Drawing near through the blessing-pronouncing musical Fol. 2b.  
sound of the stringed tamburin, the nectar of immeasurable  
wisdom, the immeasurable fountain *Zamatog*, the treasure house  
of spiritual secrets, the king of astonishing things, the [symbol]  
*dPalbeu* with which this Kalpa is adorned, the Candrakānta  
stone in the middle of a floating rosary of a thousand [stones],  
the circle of power, became evident and rose like the moon.

<sup>1</sup> A book on history or geography is generally called a mirror. *Gesar* is a well-known deity of the Prebuddhist religion of Tibet.

Fol. 3a. As there was powerful prayer girded with might like a wave, and an eminent power of spotless truth, there arose like a white lotus *Buramshingpa* (Ikshvāku), the conqueror who continually beats throughout the three worlds the great drum of the queen of songs of praise. He is the root of the fulfilled blessings of immeasurable value which accumulated through the good works of the gods and [other] creatures [who had received] his precious teaching.

This arose and increased, and as the upwards striving accomplisher was dependent on a great king who ruled the area of the wide earth, our teacher (Buddha) looked out for a clan, a country, a time, a family, and a woman, these five, and allowed himself to be born as *Zas gtsang's* (Suddhodana's) son. Let me first relate a little of his family.

Fol. 3b. The people of India lived in an undying state, with a life of immeasurable length, with abundant [gratification] of their nine desires, and they had power, alas! over infinite accomplishments. At that time, there was a nectar which took away the consciousness of exertion, there was nutriment in the earth, fertility in the ground, and abundance of rice which grew without ploughing.

Then the accomplishments which belonged to [the state] of the gods were exchanged for other activities; the rice which grew without ploughing, disappeared entirely, [the harvest] depended on the worker, and pains had to be taken over agriculture. There arose mutual quarrelling and fault-finding, and king *Mangpos bkurba* <sup>1</sup>(Mahāsammata) who decided judgment in a just way, and before whom all bowed in reverence, became the famous one of old.

Fol. 4a. Then [there reigned] successively: '*Od mdzes* (Rocha); *dGeba* (Kalyāna); *dGe mchog* (Varakalyāna); and *gSo sbyong 'aphags* (Utposhaddha). And now, to speak of the five classes of kings: The [five] sons of *gSo sbyong 'aphags*, the wheel-turning kings, were according to a presage born in this way: On the crown of [*gSo sbyong 'aphags*'] head there formed a swelling, and when it broke, [out came] *Ngalalasnu* (Māndhātār); then there arose a swelling on his right thigh, and out of it came *mDzespa* (Chāru); there arose a swelling on his left thigh, and out of it came *Nye mdzes* (Upachāru); there formed a swelling on his right foot, and out of it came *mDzes ldan* (Chārumant); <sup>1</sup>and there arose a swelling on his left foot, and out of it came *Nye mdzes ldan* (Upachārumant). These five are called the five kings who turned the wheel [of religion].

The last four reigned in one of the four continents. They are the kings who turned the gold, silver, copper, and iron

<sup>1</sup> The name *mDzes ldan* is used as an epithet of the Ladakhi king '*aJam dbyangs rnam rgyal*. See my article 'Ten ancient historical songs from W. Tibet,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1909.

[N.S.]

wheels [of religion]. From these kings till *Zas gtsang* (Suddhoda-  
dana), it is said, there descended 1,215,174 kings in succession.  
or 834,534 according to the [book] '*aJigs rten gdagspa* (Wisdom  
of the World). These two [different] ways of stating [the num-  
ber] are the most extraordinary [statement] made by those who  
tell the history of the times of degeneration. As the glorious  
youth (Gesar) was so busy with drawing souls upwards, he did  
not tell them clearly ; and when later on the learned who wished  
to write down the tale, examined him, he scoffed at them. Fol. 4b.

To the family of that same teacher (*Zas gtsang*) belong  
*Nyimai gnyen* (Sūryavamśa) and *Buramshingpa* (Ikshvāku)  
who is called *Shākya*. One hundred generations after [*Buram-  
shingpa*], there arose king *rNabacan* (Karnika) in the country  
of *Gru 'adzin* (Potala). He had two sons, *Goutama* and *Bhara-  
dhvadza*. When *Goutama*, the elder one, saw that government  
was carried on in a religious as well as an irreligious (mixed)  
way, he thought : " It will be like that also, when I undertake  
the government." Then he was sorry and became a mendicant  
under priest *mDog nag* (Kriṣṇavarṇa). The younger one,  
*Bharadvadza*, [therefore] reigned. At that time, there lived  
in that country a harlot called '*a Groba bzangmo* (Sattvabhadrā).  
She and a cunning youth called *Padmai rtsa log* (Mṛiṇāla) in-  
dulged in sensual pleasure. As she had also immoral inter-  
course at the same time with another [man, a] merchant, *Padmai  
rtsa log* became angry and cut off *bZangmo's* head. Then he  
placed the blood-stained sword [and *bZangmo's* head] at the  
door of *Goutama's* cavern. The executioners who pursued [the  
murderer, saw that] there was a blood-stained sword and  
the head of *bZangmo* there. Thus, the punishment for that [crime]  
was inflicted on *Goutama*, and he was impaled. The hermit  
*mDognag* knew all this, and went to *Goutama*. He said :  
" Boy, what have you done that you [must] suffer this ?"  
*Goutama* answered : " Master, there is no fault in me ! By the  
truth of my word that there is no fault in me, may the teacher's  
[black face] be turned into a golden face !" At once the black  
coloured hermit became golden and was henceforth called hermit  
*gSer mdogcan*. Fol. 5a.

Then the hermit saw that *Goutama's* line of religious kings  
(Dharmarājas) would become extinct and said to *Goutama* :  
" For the sake of your family you must leave a seed." *Goutama*  
answered : " As I am tormented with misery, I cannot rear a  
family !" Then the teacher produced a pleasant coolness by  
overshadowing clouds, and when *Goutama* was in a pleasant  
state, he produced two drops of semen virile mixed with blood.  
They were placed on two leaves of sugarcane (*Buram shing*,  
Ikshvāku) and ripened through the heat of the sun and the  
moisture of the moon, and two boys were produced. They  
received the names *Buramshingpa* (Ikshvāku) and *Nyimai*  
*gnyen* (Sūryavamśa). Fol. 6a.

*Nyimai gnyen* became a mendicant, and *Buramshingpa* reigned. The descendants of *Buramshingpa*<sup>1</sup> became famous and increased.

One hundred generations after him, there arose king 'a*Phags skyespo* (Virūdhaka). His elder spouse bore him four sons, and the younger one four daughters. At a later (another) time, both wives having died, he married the daughter of a foreign king who said: "The sons whom you already have, must not reign. If my daughter should have a son, he must reign!" As he had said this, the ministers held a consultation, [as follows]: "We do not know if his daughter will have a son or not. If a son should be born, we do not know if he will live or not. If he should live, we must place him on the throne." As the result of this consultation, he married the princess.

Fol. 6b.

She bore him a son called *rGyal srid dgā* (Rāshṭrananda). At that time, the ministers thought as follows: "If we place the elder brother on the throne, we go beyond our former promise; if we place *rGyal srid dgā* [on the throne], we have to take heed to the elder brothers. We must turn out the elder brothers by some device!"—thus thinking, a crafty one from among the ministers pronounced some calumny [against them] and turned them out.

They went to the banks of the river *bSkal ldan shing rta* (Bhāgirathā), built a hut in a forest, not very distant from the place of the hermit *gSer skya* (Kapila), and lived there. When they had attained to adolescence, they became pale and thin, and when the hermit saw this, he asked them [about it]. They said: "We have become like this, because we are tortured by passion (or: by the highest virtue)." He said: "If you are so ill, you must avoid the sister with whom you have both parents in common, but amuse yourself with the sister whose mother is in truth the sister of your own mother!" They asked him: "Great hermit, is it right to do this?" He answered: "For royalty which has renounced the throne, it is right to do this!" They took the words of the hermit as their rule, and did according to it. Many boys and girls were born, and when their father heard of it, he said: "Could the young people do such a thing?" Or in Indian language: *Shākya* (could they?). This is the origin of the *Shākyas*.

Fol. 7a.

Fifty-three thousand generations of them originated at *Grong mkhyer gser skya* (Kapilavastu).

Then king *Shing rta bcupa* (Daśaratha) arose. At the end of 25 generations after him, a king called *gZhu brtan* (Dhanvadyurya) came up. He had two sons, *Sengge 'agram* (Simhahanu) and *Sengge sgra* (Simhanāda). *Sengge 'agram* became famous

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that the name *Buramshingpa* is found in many stone inscriptions of Ladakh. There the kings of Ladakh are asserted to be of his family. See Inscr. Nos. 65. 71. 79. 117.



[N.S.]

as a skilful archer. He is the greatest of all archers of 'aDzambu gling (Jambudvīpa). *Sengge 'agram* had four sons: *Zas gtsang* (Suddhodana); *Zas dkar* (Suklodana); *Brebo zas* (Dronodana); and *bDud rtsi zas* (Amritodana). Fol 7b.

*Zas gtsang* was of good form, beautiful, pretty to look at, of great strength, a hero, steadfast, clever, conspicuous for wisdom, cheerful, and of great courage. He was not lazy, and did not pursue evil passions. He was a Dharmarājā full of religion, assiduous to reign according to religion.<sup>1</sup>

This king married the two daughters of king *Legspar rabs bsad* (Suprabuddha), *sGyu 'aphrulma* (Māyā), and *sGyu 'aphrul chenpo* (Mahāmāyā), and each of them had 500 maid-servants.

At a later time, king *Sengge 'agram* died, and *Zas gtsang* reigned. At that time, all men increased in riches, diseases of man and beast ceased, and endued with perfection, he protected them all like children.

At that time, the holy son of the gods, *Tog dkarpo* (Śvetaketu), looked out for the tribe, the country, the time, the family, and the mother, and entered the womb of king *Zas gtsang's* wife, *sGyu 'aphrul chenpo*. After he had remained in it for twelve months, he was born from the right armpit of his mother, without being defiled by the impurity of the womb. [This happened] on the eighth day of the little spring month, when the stars were favourable. He was distinguished by the thirty-two marks of a great man, and was decorated with eighty physical perfections. Fol. 8a.

On that occasion, various miracles of happiness happened: In four great countries four princes were born. At *Magata*, *gZugscan snyingpo* (Bimbisāra), the son of *Padma chenpo* (Mahāpadma); at *Kosala*, *gSal rgyal* (Prasenajit),<sup>2</sup> the son of *Thsang sbyin* (Brahmadatta); at *Badpala* (Kauśambhī), *Sharba* (Udayana), the son of *dMag brgyapa*, (Satanika); at 'aPhags rgyal (Ujjayini), *Tumbu rabsnang*, (Pradyōta), the son of *Mu khrud mthā yas* (Anantanemi). And besides them, 500 [sons] of the upper classes. Together with *Grags 'adzinma* (Yaśodharā), 800 girls, and together with *mDunpa* (Chandakā), 500 maid-servants; 10,000 male and 10,000 female foals, and 10,000 elephants (or oxen) were born, 500 banana (?) gardens, and 500 treasures came into existence. In the centre, (Gayā), the Bodhi tree [began to] grow. Fol. 8b.

The son received the name of *Don thamskad grubpa* (Sarvasiddhārtha). Then the prince grew up and distinguished himself in reading (letters), arithmetic, and the five great branches of

<sup>1</sup> *Zas gtsang* is called an ancestor of the Ladakhi kings in inscriptions No. 38 (time of *Lha dbang rnam rgyal*) and No. 64 (time of *bDe ldan rnam rgyal*).

<sup>2</sup> King *gSal rgyal* was the father of *gNya Khri btsanpo*, the first king of Tibet, according to a statement in the following chapter.

science. As regards strength and dexterity, he was superior to *Lha sbyin* (Devadatta) and all other illustrious men, and was called [*Thubpa*], (the mighty one). Then the son was asked to marry a lady, and the youth replied :

(Verses).

Fol. 9a.

“ My highest wisdom is the understanding of desire ;  
 [Desire] is the root of strife, anger, suffering, and misery ;  
 It is like the poisonous leaf of the 'a*Jigs byed* tree (Bha-  
 yañkara).  
 It is like fire and like the edge of the sword.”

In this way, he enumerated many sins of the household and added : “ But, if I could find a girl like this, I should marry her !” Thus saying, he wrote down in a letter the qualities of a woman, gave it [to the king], and the king had several [copies] published and gave the following directions :—

(Verses).

“ Who among the daughters of kings and Brahmins,  
 Of the nobility and of citizens,  
 Has the qualities [enumerated] here,  
 That girl must be found !  
 She will be the proper bride  
 Of my flesh and blood (son and kind).  
 In such beautiful qualities and virtue  
 His heart will rejoice !”

Fol. 9b.

Such a letter he gave to a Brahman with respectful greetings, and the Brahman went to all countries to search [for a bride]. In course of time, he found *Sa thsoma* (Gopā). He smiled [saying] : “ Now I have found [all] the qualities [combined] !” He told the king, and the king said : “ I do not believe that this woman is capable of telling great lies. Assemble all the girls [here] on the seventh day ! Give the youth all the riches (household utensils ?) he wants to have !” Thus he said, and all the girls came. When the giving of household utensils [as presents] was almost finished, *Sa thsoma* arrived and smiled. She asked : “ What have I done amiss, that I am left without household utensils before them all ?” Then the youth smiled and gave her rings to the value of 100,000 ounces.

Fol. 10a.

The youth married *Sa thsoma*. Then he married also *Grags 'adzinma* together with 10,04,000 ladies. When he was 29 years old, *Grags 'adzinma* became with child. In that very same year he saw the unbearable misery of birth, old age, [illness] and death, and became a mendicant.

Then, when he was 35 years old, on the 15th of the month

[N.S.]

*Saga*, (Kumudi), he subdued the devil (Māra). On the morning (or next morning) of the same day and year, he became a perfect *Sangs rgyas* (Buddha).

Exactly on the same evening, a boy was born to *Grags 'adzinma*, and as the moon was [just then] seized by *sGra gcan*, (Rāhu), the boy received the name of *sGra gcan 'adzin* (Rāhula). Then king *Zas gtsang* said : " It is [now] six years since *Shākya thubpa* became a mendicant. This son of *Grags 'adzinma* is not a son of *Shākya thubpa* ! " Thus saying, he blamed *Grags 'adzinma*, and she cried. Then he placed the boy on a stone in a pond, saying : " If he is *Shākya thubpa*'s son, may the [stone] swim on the water ! If he is not *Shākya thubpa*'s son, may the stone sink ! " The stone remained above the depth of the pond, like a leaf of a tree. When king *Zas gtsang* saw this, he entered the water with his clothes on, took [the boy] on his lap, and lovingly caressed him. He also became a mendicant, and the royal line came to an end. Fol. 10b.

Altogether, from *Manqpos bkurba* to *sGra gcan 'adzin*, there are 10,66,511 kings, or *bCom ldan 'adas* (Buddha) and *sGra gcan 'adzin* included, 10,66,513.

Notes on this chapter : Schlagintweit mentions the following books as treating of the same or similar subjects :—

*Csoma*, On the Origin of the Sākya Race, J.A.S.B., vol. ii.

*Csoma*, Notices on the Life of Sākya, As. Res., vol. xx.

*Fausböll und Weber*, Die Pāli-Legende von der Entstehung des Sākya-und Koliya-Geschlechtes, Ind. Stud., Bd. v.

*Foucaux*, rGya cher rolpa (Lalita-vistara).

*Schiefner*, Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Sākya-muni's, Mém. des sav. étrang. de Pétersb., vol. vi.

*Schiefner*, Über die Verschlechterungsperioden der Menschheit. Bull. hist. phil. der Petersb. Akademie, Bd. ix.

*Turnour*, The Māhavaṃso.

#### PART IV.—THE KINGS OF LEH AND LHASA DOWN TO LANG DARMA.

The head of the line (*lit.*, lineal king) is *sPu rgyal*, the king of Tibet. There is not much material [to utilise]. Although there are [books called] *rGyal spunpo gsum khug blonpoi rgyal mthsan*, the *gSangba* or *'aBru bḍus*, and many others, yet, if we compare (collect) them, the following two remarkable facts [come to light] : Fol. 11a.

(Verses).

Well known is the lineage of the gods according to Bonpo ideas ;

Mysterious remains the lineage of men according to Buddhist ideas.

Now we will relate concerning the navel of 'aDzambu *gling*, the centre of the countries, the elevation of the earth, the crooked horn of the snow mountains, the icy *Tise* (Kailāśa), the root of crystal *mchod rtens*, the lake *Mabang* (Mānasarovar) with its shore like a magic circle of turquoises, the precious country of gold mines, the source of the four great rivers, the six divisions of Tibet, the pure place of *Lhasa* "the high hill"; we will relate of all this according to [the book] *Dangpo dbang byed rimpai dgu byung*.

Fol. 11b.

At the time when Tibet was troubled by the twelve little kings, the king of *Kosala*, *gSal rgyal* (Prasenajit), who was of *bCom ldan 'adas'* (Buddha's) family, had five sons. The third (middle one) of them, called *Buddha shiri*, was born with his eyes turned upwards like those of birds, the [fingers and toes of his] hands and feet were connected like those of ducks, and his eyebrows were [blue] like turquoises. Along with him, a host of devils were born. He was shown to Brahman astrologers, and the Brahmans said: "This prince will get a famous name, the height of his body will also be enormous; he will reign before his father is dead!" When they prophesied like that, the father thought in his mind: "He will reign, by killing either me or his brothers! We will turn him out!" The Brahmans answered: "If we send him to the snowy northern region, he will be of benefit to living beings!" As they prophesied thus, they made a throne on the neck of four fast running men who carried him to the northern mountains and wilds, and laid him down on the [mountain?] *Lhari gyed mtho*, in the middle of Tibet. Although there are many conflicting statements with regard to this [event], he is certainly a *Shākya* of *Goutama* and *Mangpos bkurba's* family.

Fol. 12a.

Fol. 12b.

Some hunters saw him and asked: "Who are you? Tell us, O *bTsanpo* (majesty), whence you came!" As he did not understand their language, he pointed with his finger to the sky. The hunters told and confirmed this to the people, and many people went there and were shown [the boy]. When the twelve little kings saw him and considered that he was good and highly glorious, they all agreed and said: "We have no superior, we must call him with a little drum!" Thus saying, *bTsan khrung* and *sNums*, both, *gNyara rtse* and *gTso*, both, and the two *Khu stegs*, these six subjects invited him. *Ra sangs darpa* and *Khyungpo* . . . were made governors, *Me ngaggi shes gnyen* was elected minister. Thus he was appointed king of all black-heads. (Tibetan expression for 'men'). The name of *gNya khri* (neck throne) was given him. "Great *gNya khri btsanpo!*" thus he was addressed. The land *Yarlung* was his precious and holy diadem, and he resided at the castle *Phyi dbang stag rtse*. Power and justice were his ornaments. He ruled the world according to religion, and his realm was in a happy state.

Fol. 13a.

[N.S.]

He had a fourfold bodyguard, and the outside foes were subdued by the 44 governors of rGod ldod. At the four extremities [of his kingdom] he appointed spies (or scouts). The enemies of the four extremities were subdued by the eight *Khromkha* (governors ?) At *Rongdo*, 22 officials [called] *Khabaso* filled the barns [with grain]. From the 12 markets, riches were offered [to the king]; wise men decided about rewards for good and bad. By punishing criminals, the source of deceit was stopped. Five wise men brought fame to the country through their writings Fol. 13b. in gold and turquoise; five heroes became an ornament [to the country] through their [subduing] lions and tigers; five quick messengers rode on horses which they changed in their course. The justice of this great [king] was as [glorious] as if the sun rose over glaciers. [In course of time (?)] he built the palace of *U[m] bu bla sgang*.

Theft, deceit [was overcome]; in trade, advantage was not looked for. The whole kingdom flourished, and the government was beneficent. It was grand and excellent in all respects.<sup>1</sup>

His son was *Mukhri btsanpo* (metrical :)

His son was *Dir khri btsanpo*.

His son was *So khri btsanpo*.

His son was *Me khri btsanpo*.

His son was *gDagskhri btsanpo*.

His son was *Srib khri btsanpo*.

[These] seven are called the seven heavenly thrones. Fol. 14a.

After seven cycles.

The tombs of the seven *Khri* were founded in heaven,  
Their divine bodies dwindled away like rainbows  
without any decay.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> King *gNya khri btsanpo* is mentioned as an ancestor of the Ladakhi kings in the following inscriptions of my collection: Nos. 52, 54, 72, 75, 78, 81, 84, 111, 119. The place-names given in the account of his kingdom all seem to refer to Ladakh: see my article, 'The kingdom of *gNya khri btsanpo*' written for this journal.

As regards his date, the following attempts at fixing it have been made: 313 B.C. according to Ssanang Ssetsen; 250 B.C. according to Csoma de Körös; 50 B.C. according to Schlagintweit and S. Ch. Das; 416 B.C. according to the book *Grub mthā shelgyi melong*; before Buddha, according to the Bonpo chronicles.

Legend of his origin according to the Bonpo chronicles: He is the son of Pāṇdu and Krasnā (Kṛishnā or Draupadī). In this connection the Mahābhārata tale and many of its names occur in the Bonpo chronicles. (See Laufer, Tibet. Geschichtswerk der Bonpo, Toung Pao, Série ii, vol. ii).

Chinese legends of his origin: According to the *Ytoug-tche*, he came from a western country and settled at *Sī-tche-choui*. His name was Houi-ty-pou-tsoui-ye. In Parker, Manchu relations with Tibet, we read: a *Wutiyana Khan*, who fled eastward over the Hindu Kush, founded the Yarlung house. His name was *Nyatpo Khan*.

The Mongol versions are in close agreement with the Buddhist Tibetan versions.

<sup>2</sup> In Central Tibetan historical works, the names of the queens of

As they had the gods of light for their leaders, they lived many years, and when the sons below were fit to hold the bridle (were fit for ruling), the fathers above went happily to heaven, dwindling away like a rainbow.

The son of *Sribs khri btsanpo* was *Grigum btsanpo*.<sup>1</sup>

He had three sons: *Sha khri*, *Nya khri*, and *Bya khri*. *Bya Khri* received the name of *sPu de gung rgyal*. He resided at the great castle of *Yarlung*. In the time of this king, the Bon [religion] of the *Yungdrung* (svastika) arose.<sup>2</sup>

these kings are given. Herbert Müller notes that all these kings were named after their mothers. (The Tibetan matriarchate). In line 7 of the above song the 'adi of the Tibetan text is superfluous.

<sup>1</sup> A revolution under *Gri gum btsanpo* is mentioned by S. Ch. Das. See J.A.S.B., vol. 1, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> As regards the Bon religion, its earliest type is certainly nature worship, as represented in the ancient Tibetan inscriptions from Lhasa (8th and 9th century), and in the *gLingchos* of Ladakh. As regards *gLingchos*, see my article in Hastings's Dictionary of Religions and Ethics; also, the Ladakhi Prebuddhist Marriage Ritual, Ind. Antiquary, 1901: A Bonpo Hymnal, Ind. Ant., 1901; Kesarsage, Mém. de la Société Finno-ougrienne, No. XV; A Lower Ladakhi version of the Kesarsaga, Bibl. Ind., Nos. 1134, 1150, 1164; The Paladins of the Kesarsaga, J. and PASB., 1906, 1907; and other unedited MSS. from Khalatse, Poo, and Tagmachig.

Places of the cult of the *gLingchos* see in my article Historische Dokumente von Khalatse, ZDMG., Bd. LXI.

Illustrative rock-carvings see in my article 'Rock-carvings from Lower Ladakh,' Ind. Ant., vols. xxxi, xxxii, and our finds on the expedition of 1909.

As regards editions of *Bonpo* literature of the period when it was influenced by Buddhism and Hinduism, the following may be mentioned:—

*Mdo gser mig* and '*aDuspa rinpoche*. Extracts by S. Ch. Das, in J.B.T.S., 1893. It contains the history of *gShenrabs*, of *Zhang zhung*, the legendary founder of the Bon religion. It is modelled on the Buddha legend. Then it speaks of *gShenrabs*' journey to China, to assist the emperor *Kongtse* in saving his castle. This tale is modelled on the tale of Kesar's journey to China.

Then in Appendix II of the same journal we hear of the highest aim of the Bon religion. It is to retain one's personality by seeking the welfare of all beings.

After that, a number of charms and lists of *Bonpo* deities are given. In these lists the name *khrobo*, which is so common in ancient inscriptions from Ladakh, is found. The four great *khrobo* are mentioned.

In J.A.S.B., vol. 1, p. 187 ff., S. Ch. Das gives a translation of the eighth book of *Grub mthā shelgyi melong*, in which are described the different stages of the Bon religion. The fact of its accepting Hindu doctrines at various times is mentioned.

The book *gTsangma klu 'abum dKarmo*, translated by A. Schiefner, contains *gShenrabs*' path of delivery from transmigration. It is half Hinduist, half-Buddhist. See Rockhill, Life of Buddha.

The book *Klu 'abum 'aduspai anyingpo*, translated by Dr. Laufer in Mém. de la Société finno-ougrienne, contains a song of exorcism.

B. H. Hodgson published several plates of Bonpo deities in J.R.A.S., 1861. As they look exactly like present-day Buddhist deities, the greater is the importance of my discovery of the ancient Bonpo temple at Lamayuru with frescoes of Bonpo priests and deities in blue and black dress.

[N.S.]

Besides, the essence of burnt wood, coal, and the essence of molten leather, glue, came into existence (were found). Iron-ore, copper-ore, and silver-ore were found.

(Verses).

The three ores were melted with coal, and silver, copper, and iron showed themselves.

Pieces of wood were pierced, and ploughs and yokes were made. Fol. 14b.

Two equal [*mDzos*] were put into the yoke, and the plains were ploughed into fields.

The water of the lakes was led into irrigation canals, and bridges were built across rivers.

Many such improvements came into existence.

His son was *Asho legs*, his son was *Isho legs*, his son was . . . . . By that king the palace of *Phyi dbang stag rtse* was built. It is the first of all castles and palaces that were built. His son was *Desho legs*. During his time, singing and dancing spread. His son was *Guru legs*. His son was '*aBrong rje legs*. His son was *Thongsho legs*. These are called 'the six good ones of the earth.'

His sons were *Zinla zin lde* and *Lde phrug gnam gzhung btsan*, *Lde rgyalpo btsan*, *Se snol lam lde*, *Se snolpo lde*, *Lde lam*, *Lde snolpo*, *Sprin btsan lde*. These are called 'the eight beauties of the earth.'

His son was called *Tho tho ri long btsan*. The father was from above, the mothers were a *Lhamo* (goddess) and a *Klumo* Fol. 15a. (*Nāgi*). He was from below, as were his subjects, relations and sons who were called the lower issue of *Tho tho rilong btsan* or *Klu rgyal* (*Nāga rāja*).<sup>1</sup> His son was *Khri btsan*. During his time, roads (?) and bridges [were constructed]. His son was *Khri thog rje thog btsan*.

His son was called *Lha tho thori snyen bshal*. He was an incarnation of the august *Kuntu bzangpo* (*Samanta-bhadra*). He reigned for 62 years.

The blue dress of the Bonpo priests is mentioned in J.A.S.B., vol. I, p. 198 and p. 211. S. Ch. Das speaks of plates of the Bonpo pantheon in J.B.T.S., 1893, which I cannot find anywhere.

A description of the Bonpo monastery at *Shendardiny* is given in S. Ch. Das, journey to Lhasa; the monastery and the monks can now-a-days hardly be distinguished from Buddhist ones.

*rGyalrabs bongyi 'abyung gnas*, the Bonpo chronicles, printed by S. Ch. Das; extract given by B. Lanfer in *Toung Pao*, vol. ii, No. 1. As the genealogical roll of Chinggis Khan's family shows, the chronicles were compiled later than 1328 A.D. They contain the Bonpo version of the legends of the origin of the Tibetans, and of their first king. They are of a distinctly Hinduist colouring. The story of the fall of the Bon religion under *Khri srong lde btsan* is related at some length.

<sup>1</sup> The Tibetan text is not quite clear here.

At the time when he dwelt at the great palace of *Ūm bu rdzangs mkhar* which had come into existence of itself, without being built, as an omen of the [future] spread of Buddha's teaching in Tibet, a basket came down from heaven. Accompanied by a ray of light, there came down to the king's palace the book *Zamatog* (*Karandavyūha sūtra*); the *Pang kong phyag rgyapa* (a book or a symbol); the essence [of religion], the six syllables; a golden *mchod rten*, a yard high; a *Thsindhamani thsathsa* (terracotta with Buddha's image); and all the *mudrā* positions of the fingers.

Fol. 15b.

The priests of the [Bon] religion did not know what it was. They sacrificed to it with beer and turquoise offerings. Blessing resulted from it, and [the king] remained strong, till he was 120 years of age. Thus, during the time of this king, the beginning of the holy religion took place.<sup>1</sup>

His son was *Khri snyan bzung btsan*. During his time the outlying valleys were brought under notice and cleared for fields. The lakes were furnished with gates and drawn into irrigation canals. The glacier-water was collected in ponds, and the water [which had collected] over night [was used] for irrigation in day-time. Such like things were done in his time.

His son was *'aBrong snyan lderu*. His son was *Stag ri snyan gzigs*. During the time of this king *mDzos* and mules originated from cross-breeding. The prices of riches were determined, and the grass of the hills was plaited in bundles. Such like things were done.

His son was *gNam ri srong btsan*. During the time of this king, there came from China [the arts] of medicine and divination. The king of *gNya zhur* and others who dwelt in the west of India, and *Grugu*, were subdued. In the north, salt was found. A castle called *Khri brtsegs 'abum gdugs* was built.

Fol. 16a.

His son was *Srong btsan sgampo* (600—650 A.D.), an incarnation of the Boddhisatva *sPyan ras gzigs* (Avalokita). During the time of this king, all the kingdoms on the frontier were united under his rule, and every one of the little kings sent presents and letters. Although this king made more sealed documents than can be comprehended, there were no characters in Tibet to send replies to the letters from [various] quarters. And, as [the books of] the famous sanctuary of his ancestor *Tho tho ri snyan shal* remained a mystery [as they were written] in Indian characters, he thought: "We must translate them into Tibetan writing!" Therefore he sent *Thonmi*, the son of Anu, with a *'aBre* (a measure) of gold, and sixteen fellow-students, to Kashmir,

<sup>1</sup> S. Ch. Das states in this journal, Vol. I., that the reign of this king was the most flourishing time of the Bon religion. He also states that this king found a salt mine. But the Ladakh chronicles ascribe this discovery to *gNam ri srong btsan*.

A few years after the supposed descent of the Buddhist books, several strangers arrived in Tibet to explain them (Bodhimör).



[N.S.]

to learn the characters. They learnt the characters from the Brahman *Li byin*. Pandit *Sengge sgra* (Simhanāda) taught them. Bringing them into agreement with the Tibetan language, they made 24 *gSal byed* and 6 *Rings*, [altogether] 30 [characters].

Besides, they made them to agree with the *Nagara* characters of Kashmir, and brought them into shape.<sup>1</sup>

Then, when *Thonmi* arrived in Tibet, he met with the king who was in the garden of his wife *Uru*. The king said: "Have you learnt the letters and the language? Then you may offer praise to *sPyan ras gzigs* (Avalokita)!" As he said so, *Thonmi* Fol. 16b. wrote down the *sholoka* (śloka): *gZhal ras gsalla ngad mdang gangba bzang* (a good and full [offering of] fresh scent to *gZhal ras gsal* (Avalokita)! and presented it to the king. The king was very pleased and erected the temple of *Byingyi khod mar rdo*, and before [the image of] *sPyan ras gzigs* these letters (the śloka) were carved on stone. These are the earliest inscription [in Tibet] and the oldest temple.

Then, the minister *Thonmi sambhota* brought from Nepal the incarnation of *Khro gnyerma* (Bhrikutī), the Nepalese spouse *Khri btsun*. Together with her were brought *Jobo mi skyod rdorje* (Akshobhya vajra); *Byamspa choskyi 'akhorlo* (Maitreya dharmacakra); and *Jomo sgrölma* (Tārā) of sandal-wood. (These are two books, and an idol).

Then, minister *Rigpacan* brought from China the incarnation of *sGrolma* (Tārā), the queen and spouse *Kongjo*. Together with her arrived [the image of] *Jobo rinpoche* (Buddha).

Besides, [the following] worldly inventions were made: Rice-beer, barley-beer; in short, all the necessaries for food: the making of curds from milk; butter and buttermilk from Fol 17a. curds; cheese from buttermilk; pots from clay; water mills; weaving looms; and many clever arts.

Then, at Lhasa, the incomparable temple of *Ramoche* and others were erected. Palaces were built on the *dMarpo ri* and on the *lCagspho ri*, and these two mountains were connected with an iron chain bridge. He built about 900 temples and castles.

In his time, the Indian teacher *Kumara*, the Nepalese teacher *Shilamañju*, the Kashmiri teachers *Tabuta* and *Ganuta*, the Brahman *Li byin*, and the Chinese teacher *Ha shang mahā dheba* were called [to Tibet]. The translators (*Lothsaba*) *Thonmi*, *Dharma ghosha*, and *dPalgyi rdorje* of *Lhalung* translated religious books in every possible manner, and arranged them.

During the time of this king, *rTsami* and *Shing mi* of the east, *bLobo* and *Zhang zhung* of the south, and the *Hor* kingdoms

<sup>1</sup> The last sentence seems to be a later interpolation. In those days, the Nāgarī alphabet was not yet in existence.

Fol. 17b.

of the north (Turkistan), and others were brought under subjection, and the customs of the holy religion were introduced into them.<sup>1</sup>

His son was *Mangsrong mang btsan* (650—679 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

His son was *Gung btsan*. His son was *Gung srong 'adu rje* (679—705 A.D.). During the time of this king were conquered in the east the *rGyalpoi chu* (Hoangho); in the south, *Shing khun* of Nepal; in the north, *Krakrag darchen* of Turkestan; in the west, Chunrings of [b] *Lobo*; *Nanggong* on the Balti-road,

<sup>1</sup> Notes on this king. *Srong btsan sgampo's* two queens, the white and the green *Tārā*, remind us of the Kesarsaga, Kesar's white wife is 'a*Bruguma*, and his green wife is *gYui dKon mchogmo* (see my article on *gLingchos* in Hastings's Dictionary of Religions). The Ladakhi tale of minister *Riggacan* of Shargola in Ladakh, who was sent to fetch the princess from China, is similar to the tale of minister *Gar* (see S. Ch. Das' article in JASB., 1881). Both versions remind us of the Kesar-saga.

Introduction of writing. The characters were formed after the Indian *Lañthā* (Bodhimör). The *dbu med* alphabet was formed after the Indian *Vartula* (Togbarlova). This is all phantastical. The Indian script which is most closely related to the Tibetan, is the Gupta of the fourth and fifth centuries. (See my article 'The kingdom of *gNya khri btsanpo*' in this journal).

Literature. Works by *Thonmi sambhota*: *bStan 'agyur mdo*, vol. cxxiii, *Sku gzugs kyi mthsan nyid*, by *Anu'i bu*; vol. cxxiv, *sGrai bstan bcos sumcupa*, a grammar; *Lung du stonpa stagskyi 'ajugpa*, by *Thonmi Anu* (a grammar).

*Thonmi sambhota's* grammar is the same as the one which is printed in the Darjeeling School series. It is evident that this grammar was written in very ancient days, for it treats of the *drag*, a final suffix which has long disappeared even from the classical language. It treats also of the Tibetan system of tones, and is therefore more than a mere repetition of Indian grammars. (See my article in ZDMG., vol. lvii).

*Buston* says that the Chinese *Kechana* were the guides of the Tibetans in the commencement of Buddhism. But there are very few translations by Chinese Buddhists in the encyclopædias.

*Srong btsan sgampo* is the reputed author of the book *Mani bkā 'abum*, which contains a glorification of Avalokita, and his own history. *Wassilieff* says with regard to it that it is undoubtedly a modern book. He also wrote a book on horse breeding (Bodhimör); perhaps the one which is still circulated in Ladakh.

His lawbook. S. Ch. Das gives his 16 moral precepts in his article, J.A.S.B., vol. 1. His 'laws' are also found in the Bodhimör. From the Bodhimör we learn that his court of law consisted of four ministers and 100 officials. There were also ministers of inner and outer affairs, the *Sain* and *Berke* of the Bodhimör.

Progress of civilisation. The Bodhimör states that silkworms, mulberry trees, barley-beer, watermills, paper, ink, and the calendar, were introduced from China.

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese chronicles (Thangshu) call him *Tsanphu*. At first *Lutungtsan* (*Thonmi sambhota*) governs the country; later on *Thonmi sambhota's* son. (Major domus). Then the Thangshu speaks of a war between the Tibetans and the Tukahun. The latter as well as the Chinese were beaten by the Tibetans. Great extension of the Tibetan empire, beyond the Pamir (Thangshu).

[N.S.]

and *Shi dkar* of the Lowland, in the direction of Lhasa (hither). From *rGya* (China or India) came: tea, *borddha mal* (?), clarionets, long trumpets, telescopic trumpets, etc.

Besides, the seven men of great skill arose [as follows]: *Khri bdun yul byin* could jump across chasms which were nine 'adom (27 feet) wide; *gDung grags* of *gSal snang* could catch a wild yak by throwing a sling at his feet; *rKod btsan* of *Athog* could seize a lion by his mane; *Klu gong* of *Cogro* could pierce with his arrow a tree which was two 'adom (18 feet) thick; *Ltag bzang* of 'aBrom could bring down castles, by leading water [below them]; and *gYag chung* of 'aGos could twirl round his head a deer's hide filled with gold. [This king] was one of the most powerful among the early kings of Tibet.)<sup>1</sup> Fol. 18a.

His son was *Khri lde btsun* (*btsug*) *brtan mes ag thsoms* (705—755 A.D.) During the time of this king, the castle of *Kha brag dar phu* was built at Lhasa; all the lowlands were filled [with buildings]. At *Khri rtse brag dmar* (possibly *Khrigtse* of Ladakh) of *gLing bcu* ('Ten lands') he built the temples *Ga chu shar sgo*, *Phang thang ka med*, *Ka chu pan chub*, *Brag dmar mgrin bzang*, and other [temples]. *Sudgu sho ka* of *Brag kha* and *Dznyana kumara* of *sNyegs* became translators (*Lothsaba*) and translated the two books *gSer 'od dampā* (Suvārṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra) and *Las brgyapa* (Karmaśataka). *Pitsi tsanda shri* translated the *sMad sbyad*, the *rTsis* (divination) and others, and introduced the ceremonies of religion.<sup>2</sup>

His son was *Khri srong lde btsan* (755—797 A.D.), an incarnation of the Bodhisatva 'aJam dpal (Mañjuśrī). This king invited the teacher (*mKhanpo*) *Bodhisatva* from India. *Ananta*

<sup>1</sup> Notes on this king from the Thangshu. He is called *Chin-u-hsi lung*; but there is no absolute certainty about the identity of the Tibetan and Chinese names. The Major domus retained his authority. In 678, a Chinese army was beaten on the Kukunor by the Tibetans. Then several Tibetan chiefs took the side of the Chinese, and the Chinese reconquered Turkestan. The Major domus was turned out, and he committed suicide together with 100 of his friends. (The Bodhimör mentions two Major domus during his reign).

<sup>2</sup> Notes. The Thangshu calls him *Chi-li-so-tsan*. He was married to a Chinese princess called Chincheng (the *khyimshang* of the Tibetans). The Tibetans had received the towns of *Chiu-chü* and *Kuei-te* on the Hoangho as her dowry. Continual wars about those places. Whenever treaties were concluded, a market for bartering horses was mentioned with emphasis.

The great war with the Chinese about the possession of *Gilgit*. See Stein, Ancient Khotan, Section ii and iii.

*Gilgit* is now identified with Little Poliu, Baltistan with Great Poliu. The king of Kashmir, Muktapīda, assisted the Chinese against the Tibetans, and the Tibetans were aided by the Arabs. The Chinese emperor of the period was Hsiantsung, 713—755 A.D.

The Bodhimör says that the Tibetan king was married to two queens, one from Yarkand, the other one from China. The latter was intended for his son who broke his neck when going to meet her. Therefore the father married her.

Fol. 18b.

of Kashmir became translator and preached on the ten virtues, the 18 regions (or 'elements'), and the 12 causes of existence.

On that account, the gods and demons of Tibet became angry and the hill *dMarpo ri* was struck by lightning, [the plain] *Phangthang* was devastated by water, and much illness came to men and animals. Therefore the teacher said: "The gods and demons of Tibet do not like my preaching. To subdue the gods and demons of Tibet, you must invite the teacher *Padma byung gnas* (Padmasambhava) from *Orgyan* (Udyāna)." He said: "We three united in prayer before the *mchod rten* of *Buddha 'Od srung'* (Kāśyapa)!" *sNa gsal snang* and *Coro legs sgra* were both sent, and invited the teacher. Then all the gods and demons of Tibet were exorcised. And after the model of the Indian temple of *Otantrari* (Odantapura), the eternal temple of *bSam yas* was built, although it came into existence of itself (Svayam-bhū). Many Indian pandits and seven critical translators [translated] the *sDe snod gsum* (Tripi-taka). In short, by these three: the king, the dispenser [of a sacrifice], and the priest, the holy religion was made to spread over Tibet, never failing in purity, [in a country] which had been dark. [Several] of the subjects received the dignity of orders. It was made a custom [among the lamas] to carry the pebbles which are below the feet, on the crown of their heads.<sup>1</sup>

Fol. 19a.

At *bSam yas* he built preaching halls, and at '*aChingbu* meditation cells. At the palace of *rLung thsugs* he founded the towns of *Skyidpai byung gnas* and *Thsangspai byung gnas*.

At that time, the teacher *Padma [byung gnas]* presented to the king the water of life and wisdom; but the ministers who did not like it, said to the king: "It is a maddening drink of the Mons, and poisonous!" As they said so, the king became doubtful about it and did not drink it.

That leprosy might not enter [the country], he exorcised the Nāga kings *Madros* (Anavatapta) and *Zilchen* (Manasvin) [of the Mānasarovar lake]. He put a vajra into the water, whereupon *Zilchen* took the shape of a boy and was appointed to be an assistant to the king. He promised to fulfil every wish of the king. The king honoured the pair of Nāgas highly, and they became his tutelary deities. Then the teacher departed to the south-western country of *rNga yab*, the land of demons (Udyāna).

Fol. 19b.

At that time, all Tibet prospered and was happy, the people increased, the harvests were good, and it was a time without strife. All the provinces on the four frontiers were subdued. China in the east, India in the south, *sBalti [stan]* and '*aBrushal* (Gilgit) in the west, *Sai cho odon Kas dkar* (Urdum Kashgar) in the north, were brought under his power. Both political

<sup>1</sup> A kind of lama hat is still known by the name of *gtsug rdor*. 'stone crest.'

[N.S.]

and religious practices were firmly established. During the time of this king, the Bon religion was suppressed, and the holy religion was made to spread.

(Verses).

Then the regent of the conqueror (Buddha), the holy  
*Zhiba 'athso* (Śānta-rakshita),  
 And the superior master of incantations, the ascetic  
*Padma 'abyung*,  
*Kamalashila*, the ornament of wisdom,  
 And *Khri srong lde btsan*, of surpassing thoughts ;  
 Through these four the sun rose in the dark country of  
 Tibet ;  
 The bright holy religion spread as far as the frontiers ;  
 Through these holy men of unchanging kindness  
 All Tibetans will for ever bow before and reverence them.

The [above] ditty was composed.<sup>1</sup>

His son was *Mu khri btsanpo* (798—804 A.D.). To carry out to completeness the thoughts of his father, [this king made Fol. 20a. at *bSam yas* the noble sacrifice of [a copy of] the '*aDulba mngon-pa mdo sde gsum* (Vinaya, Abhidharma, Sūtra, the Tripitakam). He gave ample food to the clericals. Three times he equalized the rich and hungry. In [some] parts of both countries of *rGya* (China and India), not all those who had bowed before his father, bowed before him. Although they did not, he

<sup>1</sup> Notes on this king. From the Thangshu: He is called *Se-hsi-lung-lich-tan* by the Chinese. War against China. The capital, Singan-fu, was taken by the Tibetans, and a new emperor enthroned. Then the Tibetans had to retreat. When Tai-tung became emperor of China in 780 A.D., peace was concluded. He sent the Tibetan prisoners home. The Tibetan king did the same with the Chinese prisoners. Great oath of peace. Chinese Tibetan inscription in Lhasa, referring to it. Brought to light by Waddell, J.R.A.S., October, 1909. Then the Chinese and Tibetans were united against a rebel in Sze-chuan. As the Chinese had treated the Tibetans like barbarians, there was again war between them, and the Tibetans conquered Turkestan. The Tibetan inscription in 'Stein, Ancient Khotan, Tibetan sgraffiti at Endere, p. 569,' may refer to that war.

The *Batu mkhar* inscription of Ladakh seems to be of the time of the same king. See Ind. Ant., vol. xxxiv, p. 203 ff., and ZDMG., Bd. xli, p. 583 ff. *Batu mkhar* was a custom house in those early times.

Fall of the Bon religion. It is related in full in chapter 21 of the *rGyal rabs bongyi 'abung gnas*, translated by B. Laufer, Toung Pao, vol. ii. The trick by which the Buddhists were victorious, see in J.A.S.B., 1881, p. 223.

Notes on Padmasambhava. His life was translated by E. von Schlagintweit, Abhandl. der K. bairischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. As regards his connection with Lahoul and Mandi (Rewalsir), see my History of Lahoul. For his connection with other parts of Western Tibet, see my Diary of a tour along the Tibetan frontier, 1909.

endured it with patience. He divided the country of Tibet from the countries of *rGya* (defined the frontier). On the mountains which belonged to Tibet, all the grass grew [better than on the other side].<sup>1</sup>

His son was *Sadna legs*. This king built the temple of *Skar chung rdo dbyings* [in the] province of *rGya*.<sup>2</sup> He invited the Pandita *Kama [la] shila* and others [to Tibet]. *Kumara* of *sNyegs* became translator and translated many religious books which had not yet been [translated].

His sons were: *gTsangma*, *Ralpacan*, *gLang darma* (by the first wife), and *Lha rje* and *Lhun grub* by an inferior queen. These five were born. The first son, *gTsangma*, loved religion. He entered the order [of lamas], admonished men to [adopt] religion, and wrote a book (*Sāstra*). *Darma* loved sin and was unworthy to rule. *Ralpacan* (804—816 A.D.), the middle one, reigned. He built the town of *Ushang rdo*, and erected the temple of *rGya phibs gyu sngon can* ('Having a Chinese roof of turquoise colour').

Although during the times of his ancestors many religious books from *rGya* (China or India), *Li* (Kunawar or Turkestan), *Zahor* (Mandi), *Kache* (Kashmir) and other countries had been translated, there were many conflicting interpretations. He said: "It is difficult to learn religion!" and invited the Indian Paṇḍitas *Dzina mitra*, *Shrilentra bodhi*, *Dhana shila*, and others [to Tibet]. The two Tibetan translators [called] *bKā cog* and the priest *Yeshes sde*, examined everything and gave it sanction.

Finally, he made the weights, measures, etc., to coincide with those of India and appointed seven households of his subjects to wait always on each lama.

Fol. 21a.

The king [used to] sit in the middle and had silk streamers tied to the ends of his locks on the right and left. Then he made the clericalssit there and had the excellent ones on his right and left [hand side], and [himself] in the middle, all sitting together.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A king *Muni btсанpo*, who reigned for one year only, is stated to have preceded this king: see Bodhimör, and S. Ch. Das. The Bodhimör says that he married a younger wife of his father and was therefore poisoned by his mother. S. Ch. Das tells of his communistic experiments which in the *rGyalrabs* are attributed to his successor.

*Mukhri btсанpo*. His name was not known to the Chinese. Apparently during his reign Harun al Rashid (786—859) sent embassies to the emperor of China, to induce him to make war against the Tibetans. But the latter succeeded in winning him over to their plans. In 800 A.D., Arabic armies are mentioned under Tibetan command. Then Alamun concluded a treaty with the Tibetans, to guard his eastern frontier.

<sup>2</sup> This is possibly the district of the village of *rGya* in Ladakh.

<sup>3</sup> As we know from the *Spiti Gazetteer*, the head-dress of the *rNyingmapa* monks consisted originally of streamers of silk. *Ralpacan* apparently had the ends of their streamers tied to his locks, to share in their excellence.

[N.S.]

During the time of this king were conquered the mountains of *Pholonshan*, which look like a curtain of white silk, and which touch the frontiers of China. There a stone pillar was set up with an inscription on which was carved: "Downwards from here did I reign!" In the south, *bLo[bo]* and *Mon*, India, *Li* (Kunawar), *Zahor* (Mandi), and [the countries] upwards from the lake of the *Ganga* with its surface like a bowl of iron, were subdued; in the west 'a*Brushal* (Gilgit) on the Persian frontier, and others, were conquered; and in the north, all the provinces of *Hor* (Turkestan) were subdued. He reigned over three or two [princes] of 'a*Dzambu gling* in the south (India), and everywhere in the friendly [province] of *dBus* he erected 108 temples. This is the first spreading of the teaching.<sup>1</sup>

## PART V. LANGDARMA'S PERSECUTION OF BUDDHISM.

Then, during the lifetime of the ruler *Darma dbyig dur btsan* (816—842 A.D.), four heretic Brahmans were unable to tolerate either the many paṇḍitas who had been invited to Tibet by the ruler *Ralpacan*, or the offerings of golden writ (books), nor the spread of Buddha's teaching over Tibet. To submerge the religious teaching, they prayed to be reborn in the bodies of four demons of which there were plenty (?) in Tibet. Then they precipitated themselves [from a rock] and achieved their end. The ruler *Darma dbyig dur btsan*, *Cogro legs sgra*, *Dabs* (*dbus* ?) *dore stags snya*, and 'a*Bal 'akhor zhes legspa*, these four, entered the demons *Thugs yid phung 'agong nagpo*, *gNam rdeu dKarmo*, *Sa rdeu nagpo*, and *Byang rong*. Fol. 21b.

They dethroned the monks. As they did not succeed in throwing the [image] of the god *Shākya mune* into the water, they buried it in the earth. The [book] *Byams pa choskyi 'akhorlo* was buried in the sand. The doors of *bSam yas* and 'a*Phrul snang* [monasteries] in Lhasa were closed with walls, and plaster was laid [over them]. A letter was written that the monks should drink beer. The distinctive mark of the monks was not kept up. Some were turned out; some fled; the remaining ones were sent a-hunting with a hunting drum, bow, arrows, and dogs; and some were made butchers. Religious ceremonies were not [again] introduced, and his subjects were forbidden under penalty to resent it. The [religious] customs were thoroughly destroyed. They disappeared from the Fol. 22a.

<sup>1</sup> Notes on this king. The great treaty with the Chinese was carved on a pillar at Lhasa. Translation from the Chinese by Bushell, see J.R.A.S., 1880. My translation from the Tibetan text in *Epigraphia Indica*, 1910. In the Chinese inscription he is called The-chili-tsan. According to the *Thangshu*, he was always ill, and the government was in the hands of his ministers. According to S. Ch. Das, J.A.S.B., 1881, under him a first history of Tibet was written. He is mentioned as a model king in the *rGyal rabs* under *Thee dbang rnam rgyal I*.

frontiers of *mNgāris*. At that time a mountain of *rGya* (India or China) which was under Tibetan rule, collapsed. And the great river *rMa chu skyad* (Hoangho), which flows from Tibet to China, flowed upwards and backwards for three days. Many bad omens of this kind appeared. Then, in course of time, *dPalgyi rdorje* of *Lhalung*, who was meditating at the old sprinkled [mountain of] *Lhari*, heard of it and conceived a very deep feeling of pity for the king (*bTsanpo*).—Rumours of murder.—That is the tale of the submerging of Buddha's religion.<sup>1</sup>

#### PART VI. THE KINGS OF THE FIRST WEST TIBETAN DYNASTY.

Fol. 22b. SMS: The story of the later spread of Buddhism is as follows: '*Odsrung* (c. 842—870 A.D.) was *gLangdarma*'s son. He asked *dPalgyi rdorje* of *Lhalung* [to perform] the highest sacrifice to the Medicine Buddhas, and prayed. The whole empire felt the blessing of the Medicine Buddhas. In harmony with the kindness of his ancestors he established firmly the religious ceremonies and the religious buildings. He protected *mNgāris* according to religion. Besides, when *rTsad rab gsal*, *Yoge 'abnyung*, *dGeba rab gsal*, and *sBarab*, altogether ten [priests] had arrived, Buddha's teaching began to spread [again]. Then also, temples were erected like the stars of heaven.<sup>2</sup>

His son was *Lde dpal 'akhor btsan* (c. 870—900 A.D.). During the time of this king, the temple of Upper *mNgāris*, and others, [altogether] eight temples were erected. Scriptures like the '*aBum* and others were copied in great numbers. He swore an oath to build up religion (or temples).<sup>3</sup>

Fol. 23a. His sons were *Skyid lde nyima mgon* and *bKrahis brtsegs dpal*, the two. *Skyid lde nyima mgon* (c. 900—930 A.D.), when on his way to Upper *mNgāris*,—Tibet being in a state of revolution, —accompanied by a hundred horsemen under the leadership of

<sup>1</sup> Notes on this king. He is the *Tamo* of the Thangshu. The latter says: *Tamo* was fond of wine, a lover of field sports, and devoted to women; and besides, cruel, tyrannical, and ungracious.

According to S. Ch. Das (J.A.S.B., 1881, p. 230) he uttered the following words when dying: "Why was I not killed three years back that I might not have committed so much sin and mischief; or three years hence, to enable me to root out Buddhism from the country."

He figures in the devil-dances of the lamas as the enemy of religion.

The Ladakhi kings who are descended from him wear their hair in a peculiar fashion handed down from his time. (See my History of Western Tibet.)

The earliest version of the legend of the image which cannot be moved out of its position, is connected with the story of Langdarma's persecution of Lamaism.

<sup>2</sup> More notes on this king are found in S. Ch. Das' Contributions on Tibet (J.A.S.B., 1881) and in *rGyaltrabs gsalhai melong*.

<sup>3</sup> More notes on this king are found in S. Ch. Das' Contributions on Tibet (J.A.S.B., 1881) and in *rGyaltrabs gsalhai melong*.



[N.S.]

*dPal ma zug gar*, *Khyung dpal ldan grub*, and the two *Aka badzra* of *Me nyag*, happened to be obliged to eat fish and eggs. [The servant] brought [the food] wrapped in a napkin. From this it came to be a custom with the kings of Tibet to use the [so-called] giant's napkin (also explained as 'napkin of eight folds'). He built *Khar dmar* of *Rala* in the horse year, *rTse tho rgya ri* in the sheep year. He caused many villages and hamlets (towns) to be built throughout the broad valleys of *Dam* and *Lag* (or *Damlag*). *Maryul* he left undisturbed.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the rest of this chapter, K. Marx's translation of it in J.A.S.B., Vol. LX, pp. 114-123, should be consulted. In the following I give a list of royal names with notes on them.

*Lhachen dpalgyi mgon*, c. 930—960 A.D. He received Ladakh proper. His brother *bKrahis mgon* became vassal-king of Guge and Purang, *bKrahis mgon* probably died without issue, and his kingdom was inherited by the descendants of his younger brother *Lde btsug mgon*. The names of *Lde btsug mgon's* descendants are found in Schlagintweit's tables, in S. Ch. Das' Contributions on Tibet, and in *dPag bsam ljon bzang*.

*'aGro mgon* and *Chos mgon*, c. 960—990 A.D. Nothing known beyond the names.

*Lhachen gragspa lde*, c. 990—1029 A.D. S.M.S. spells *bLachen gragspa lde*. Perhaps he was a lama.

*Lhachen byang chub sems dpā*, c. 1020—1050 A.D. S.M.S. spells *bLachen*. He was very probably a lama, like the contemporary kings of Guge. He is mentioned in the Tabo inscription together with *Rinchen bzangpo*, *Atiśa*, and king *Byang chub 'od* of Guge. He erected the Tabo and Alchi monasteries, and probably several others. His portrait is found in the Alchi monastery together with an inscription by himself. There are also frescoes of the sports of his times, notably hawk-hunting. He probably came to grief in the Turkoman gold mine wars; compare the history of *Yeshe 'od* of Guge. His name as a prince is found in an ancient document excavated at Kyelang.

*Lhachen rgyalpo*, c. 1050—1080. His portrait (probably) as a young man is found at Alchi where he is represented together with his father. S.M.S. spells his name *bLachen*, etc. He was probably a lama. He is mentioned in the *Māhātmya* of the Likir monastery which in its present edition, however, dates from the 18th century.

*Lhachen utpala*, c. 1080—1110 A.D. His conquest of Kulu is not confirmed by the chronicles of Kulu; but the *Rājataranginī* of Kashmir is rather in favour of the statement. It says in a somewhat obscure passage that *Zainu-l-abidin* in 1428 A.D. found Kulu occupied by Tibetans. After the battle of *Basgo*, 1647 A.D., the treaty with Kulu was apparently exchanged for a trade contract. (See my History of Lahoul, written for the Ind. Ant.)

*Lhachen naglug*, c. 1110—1140 A.D. For notes on his connection

<sup>1</sup> The following inscriptions from Ladakh are probably of his time, although they do not contain his name. The Sheh inscriptions; the Alchi mkhar gog inscriptions (see my article 'Archæology in Western Tibet,' Ind. Ant., Vols. XXXV, XXXVI); and inscriptions at *Bya* in Zangskar, discovered by Rev. G. Hettasch of Kyelang.

A song of king *Nyima mgon* is found in my article 'Ten ancient historical songs from W. Tibet,' Ind. Ant., 1909.

The names of the officers as given in K. Marx's A.M.S. are different from those given here,—A.M.S. reads *rTse sho rgya ri* instead of *rTse tho rgya ri*.

with Khalatse, see in my History of Western Tibet. The last vassal kings of Khalatse were apparently *rGya zhin* and *Shirima* (Srimān).

*Lhachen dge bhe* and *dGe 'abum*, c. 1140—1170. A.D. S.M.S. spells *bLachen*. Nothing known beyond the names.

*Lhachen jo ldor*, c. 1170—1200 A.D. Nothing known beyond the name.

*bKrahis mgon*, c. 1170—1200 A.D. Nothing known beyond the name. But if *Lha rgyal*, whose name is found only in S.M.S., has to be omitted, all that is mentioned under *Lha rgyal* would refer to his reign.

*Lha rgyal*, c. 1230—1260 A.D. I think I had better give up the idea of identifying him with *Lhachen kundgā rnam rggal* of the Daru inscription, as I did before. See Ind. Ant., Vols. XXXV, XXXVI, Archaeology in Western Tibet.

*Lhachen jo dpal*, c. 1260—1290 A.D. A song in honour of king *Jo dpal* is found in Ind. Ant., 1909, 'Ten ancient historical songs.'

*Lhachen dnqos grub*, c. 1290—1320 A.D. He is mentioned in the Māhātmya of Likir as having come to the throne seven generations after *Lhachen rgyalpo*. Introduction of the *bKā 'aggyur* which had just then been completed by *Buston*. The Mongols received the *bKa 'aggyur* in 1310 A.D. If we can trust the Kashmir chronicles, he was killed by the Kalamanyas, people of *Kharmang*.

*Lhachen rgyalbu rinchen*, c. 1320—1350 A.D. See my article 'References to the Bhottas in the Rājātarānginī,' Ind. Ant. 1908. He became the first Mohamedan king of Kashmir. The Persian 'History of Azmi' tells of his conversion to Mohamedanism, of the erection of Bulbul Lankar in Srinagar by him, and of his erection of a mosque.

The Persian 'History of Malvi Haidar Mailik' contains a translation of a lost inscription by Rainchana in his mosque. According to it, he was only half Mohamedan.

The Ladakhi 'Song of the Bodro Masjid' speaks of the great saint Bulbul. A song entitled 'Prince Rinchen's deparature' is found in my article 'Ten ancient historical songs,' Ind. Ant., 1909.

*Lhachen shesrab*, 1350—1380 A.D. See my History of W. T. His name is omitted in S.M.S.

*Lhachen Khri gtsug lde*, c. 1380—1400 A.D. Notes in my History of W. T.

*Lhachen grags 'abum lde*, c. 1400—1440 A.D. For his rock inscription at *Mulbe*, see Indian Ant., Vol. XXXV, p. 72. For the invasion of Zainu-l-abidin of Kashmir, see my article 'References to the Bhottas in the Rājātarānginī,' Ind. Ant., 1909. S.M.S. spells his name *gLa chen*.

*bLo gros mchog ldan*, c. 1440—1470 A.D. For invasions of Kashmir kings, see my article in the Ind. Ant., 1909. His name is found in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, probably with reference to his descendants.

## PART VII. THE EARLY KINGS OF THE SECOND DYNASTY OF WESTERN TIBET.

A translation of this chapter will be found in K. Marx's Three Documents (J.A.S.B., Vol. LX, pp. 123—135). In the following, names and notes only are given.

*Lhachen gragspa 'abum*, c. 1400—1440 A.D. A seal attributed to this king is still in the possession of the ex-kings of Ladakh. He was probably against *bTaongkhapa* and his reformation. Inscriptions of the time of the reformation are found in the desert between Bashahr and Spiti, and one at Khalatse. See my article 'Historische Dokumente von Khalatse,' Z.D.M.G., Vol. LXI, p. 583.

*Lhachen bhara*, c. 1440—1470 A.D. Nothing known beyond the name.

*Lhachen bhagan*, c. 1470—1500 A.D. During his reign the invasion

[N.S.]

of the Kashmir King Hasan Khan probably took place. It ended in the defeat of the Kashmiris. Being the founder of the *rNam rgyal* dynasty, he possibly accepted the name *Lhachen kun dgā rnam rgyal* which is found in the Daru inscription. A certain Baghan is mentioned as a *Chui (Jo)* of the provinces of Tibet in the Tarikh-i-Rashidi. Baghan was possibly still alive in 1532 A.D.

*Lha dbang rnam rgyal* and *bKra shis rnam rgyal*, c. 1500—1532 A.D. An inscription mentioning *Lha dbang rnam rgyal* was found at Tingmogang. See my collection of Historical Inscriptions, No. 38. An inscription and a portrait of *bKra shis rnam rgyal* exist in the *mGon khang* temple at Leh. Another inscription of *bKra shis* is found in the *gSum rtsag* temple at Alchi which he renovated. Ladakhi Songs, No. V, refers to this renovation. The pedestal of his flag-staff is still in existence at *Phyi dbang*. He was apparently a great politician. He instigated the Turkomans to fight all his disobedient vassal-chiefs, one after another; compare the Tarikh-i-Rashidi, but he was possibly killed by the Turkomans in 1532 A.D. A Balti or Nubra chief of those times is called *Bahram* in the Tarikh-i-Rashidi. He is probably the *Bagram Mir* of the Nubra inscription (No. 41 of my collection). The Turkomans call *bKra shis rnam rgyal*—*Tashikun*, which corresponds to *bKra shis mgon*.

*Thse dbang rnam rgyal*, c. 1532—1560 A.D. He built the *Byamspa* monastery at Basgo where there is his portrait, together with those of his two brothers. His conquest of Kulu is confirmed by the chronicles of Lahoul. For the song of old *Bumbha*, his minister, see Indian Ant., 1909, 'Ten ancient historical songs,' No. VI.

*rNam rgyal mgonpo*, c. 1560 A.D., seems to have reigned for a short time, according to the Domkhar inscription, No. 103 of my collection.

'*aJam dbyangs rnam rgyal*, c. 1560—1590 A.D. For a song on his alliance with *Thsering malig* of Chigtan see my article 'Ten ancient historical songs,' No. VIII, Ind. Ant., 1909. In this song he is called *mDzes ldan rnam rgyal*. For Ali Mir Sher Khan's position in Balti history, see my remarks on song No. V of my collection 'Ten ancient historical songs from W. Tibet,' Ind. Ant., 1909. Ali Mir Sher Khan is probably the Balti king who was placed on the throne of all Baltistan by the Moghul emperor; compare Bernier's travels. The history of Baltistan from 1550—1839 A.D., is found in Vigne's travels. Vigne took down Raja Ahmed Shah's account. For an inscription referring to '*aJam dbyang*'s marriage to a Balti princess, see my article 'Rock inscriptions at Mulbe,' Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXV. The so-called 'Song of Ali Mir' is found only in K. Marx's B.M.S. not in S.M.S.

*Sengge rnam rgyal*, c. 1590—1620 A.D. The accounts of the reign of this king, as they are found in K. Marx's A.M.S., and in S.M.S., agree on the whole, but S.M.S. contains the following additions:

SMS: Then also, he built a *sKu gdung* (kind of stūpa) six stories high furnished with copper and gilt wheels [on the top], and had a *bKā 'aggyur* [copied] in gold, silver, and copper. At Leh he erected three *manthang* (Mendong, mañi walls), and one in *Zangs mkhar*, with altogether 100 millions of mañi stones. As a scent offering he erected the images of the golden chain of the *dKar brgyud* lamas, and the great *Thub [pa]* (Buddha) at *Shel* (Sheh). He caused the precious teaching of Buddha to rise like the sun over all men. Fol. 306.

Notes on the above passage from SMS. In K. Marx's BMS the great Buddha and the great stūpa, both at Sheh, are stated to have been erected by *bDe ldan rnam rgyal*. Their construction was possibly begun under *bDe ldan*'s father, *Sengge rnam rgyal*. The *dKar brgyud* lamas are the nine 'church fathers' of the '*aBrugpa* sect of Tibet. In

inscription No. 128, their names are given as follows: 1 *rDo rje 'achang*, 2 *Tili (Telopa)*, 3 *Naro*, 4 *Marpa*, 5 *Mila*, 6 *rGampo*, 7 *Tharsabpa*, 8 *gNas phugpa*, 9 *dPal ldan 'abrugga*. The images of several, if not all, of them can be seen at the Lamayuru monastery.

General notes on this king: The image of Maitreya which he erected at Basgo is to be found at the Seljang monastery where there is also the ancient royal library. According to the chronicles, he introduced all the great deities of Hindustan. It was probably during his reign that 'the Ladakh people imbibed faith in the doctrine of Guru Nanak,' as stated in the *Dzamling gyeshes* (JASB., vol. lvi, p. 192). Even now-a-days, the Golden Temple at Amritsar is a Ladakhi place of pilgrimage. King Sengge's orders regarding the dress of his subjects are found in my MS. collection of proverbs from *rGya*. A picture of the royal household of his times is found at *Nyoma* in Ladakh. An inscription from Hemis, which gives an account of *Sengge rnam rgyal's* erection of the Hemis monastery, is reproduced in Schlagintweit's *Buddhism in Tibet*. His defeat at *Shiri dkarmo* is mentioned by Mongol writers as having taken place in 1619, see Köppen II, p. 146. The history of *Sengge rnam rgyal's* stepbrother, *Ngag dbang rnam rgyal*, is found in my history of Lahoul, written for the Ind. Ant. *Ngag dbang's* name is also connected with the Ladakhi monasteries of *Stagsna* and *Ngod*.

### PART VIII. THE LAST INDEPENDENT KINGS OF LADAKH.

In the following a translation of the Tibetan text, as it is contained in SMS, will be given. With this ought to be compared K. Marx's translation from a fuller text. See JASB, vol. lxxiii, pp. 94—106. A few notes of general interest will be attached to my translation from SMS.

SMS: His son *bDe ldan rnam rgyal* (c. 1620—1640 A.D.) lived like him according to the ten virtues during his youth. He protected his subjects according to religion. He wrote a biography of his father in accordance with his [father's] character. He showed unceasing kindness to others, and his courage was as great as that of four heroes combined.

Notes: What is called a biography of *Sengge rnam rgyal*, was probably a history of Ladakh which ended with the reign of king *Sengge*, like K. Marx's AMS. Also SMS was such a biography, to which were added a few brief notes on the succeeding kings. That king '*aJig med rnam rgyal*' actually did not possess a better text of the history of his country from 1620—1856 A.D., becomes evident from the following incident: When ex-king *bSod nams rnam rgyal*, on a recent visit to Kharlatse, discovered that the *Tingdzinpa* family was in possession of a *rGyal-rabs* which contained full descriptions of the reigns of the last independent kings, he carried away all these later chapters, returning only the first part of the history to the family.

For king *bDe ldan's* war with the Turkomans, see my notes on it in my article 'Ten ancient historical songs,' song No. V, Ind. Ant., 1909.

During *bDe ldan's* reign, the Jesuit Andrada's Mission to Guge took place. It was ended by the king making his brother *Indra Bodhi rnam rgyal* king of Guge. Two inscriptions, evidently referring to the last vassal king of Guge, *Khri bkrashis gragspa lde*, and to Andrada's Mission, were discovered on my Spiti journey last year. In Duka's *Life of Caoma de Körös* we read the following: 'A work by a Romish Missionary on Tibet, the *Speculum veritatis*, dated 1678, was discovered in an obscure spot of Kunawar in the beginning of the 19th century. Dr. Gerard believed it to be connected with Andrada. It was sent to Caoma.' King *bDe ldan's* third brother, *bDe mchog rnam rgyal*, was made vassal king of

[N.S.]

Spiti and Zangskar. His name is found on inscriptions in Zangskar. See Mr. Howell's collection.

*bDe legs rnam rgyal* (c. 1640—1680 A.D.).

SMS : His son was *bDe legs rnam rgyal*. When he began to reign, the Mongol *dGā ldan thsang*, who had eyes like a bird, overran the country with an army.

(Verses).

The king resided at *Bab sgo*  
And beat the Mongols  
With the assistance of an army from Kashmir,  
And the Mongols fled.

Again the kingdom flourished as before and partook of the holy glory of beautiful virtue.

Notes : The battle of Basgo is also mentioned in Moorcroft's *Travels*, vol. i, p. 336. A document with Aurangzib's seal was discovered at Lamayuru by Moorcroft. It testifies to the dependence of the Ladakhis on the Mughal emperors after the battle. Inscriptions mentioning *Mi pham mgon* as regent of Ladakh after the battle of Basgo have been found at Nyurla and rGya. After the battle, a treaty was concluded between the Tibetans and the Bashahr State. Several documents of this treaty have come to light recently. A fresco representing the treaty is to be found in a garden house of the Raja's palace at Rampur.

SMS : His son was *Nyima rnam rgyal* (c. 1680—1720). He erected also, through the prayers of the brave-minded religious kings (Bodhisatvas ?), all kinds of religious buildings and statues, according to the religious merit of all beings.

Notes : The Jesuit Desideri visited Leh in 1715 A.D. He calls the king *Nima namgial*, and testifies to the absolute independence of the Ladakh empire. The Latin Bible, found in Ladakh by Moorcroft, was probably left there by Desideri. It came from the Papal Press and was dated 1598 A.D. For a legal document and inscriptions of this king, see my article 'Archæology in W. Tibet,' *Iud Ant.*, vols. xxxv, xxxvi.

SMS : His son was *bDeskyong rnam rgyal* (c. 1720—1740 Fol. 31a. A.D.).

Notes : For a song on little prince *bDe skyong*, see *Lad. Songs*, No. xvi, 'The girl of Sheh.' According to an inscription at Alchi, he restored the outer court of the *rNampar snang mdzad* temple at Alchi.

SMS : His son was *Phun thsogs [rnam rgyal]* (c. 1740—1760 A.D.).

Notes : He ordered a rock sculpture of Buddha to be carved in the *Mang rgyu valley*. The inscription below the sculpture is found in my Second Coll. of Hist. Inscr., No. 113.

SMS : His sons were *Thse dbang rnam rgyal* (c. 1760—1780 A.D.) and *Mi 'ajigs thse brtan rnam rgyal*, the two. The elder son reigned in Ladakh, and the younger in Zangskhar.

Notes : As regards the second son, there is no mention of him in K. Marx's 'Three Documents.' According to inscriptions, *Thse dbang*

restored the Likir monastery after a fire; and the restoration of the *Mang rgyu* monastery was apparently also carried out during his reign.

SMS: *Thse dbang rnam rgyal* had two sons. As the life of the first son (*Thse brtan rnam rgyal*, c. 1780—1790 A.D.) was not firm (he died soon), the younger one, *Thse dpal mi a'gyur dongrub rnam rgyal* [reigned],—(c. 1790 1841).

Notes: As regards *Thse brtan*, his reign was compared favourably with that of his younger brother in the seditious placard at Leh in Moorcroft's time. A song treating of his playing polo in the *Murtse* garden at Leh has not yet been published. As regards *Thse dpal's* reign, the country was visited by Moorcroft during that time, 1820—1822. Moorcroft mentions a war between Ladakh and Baltistan, vol. I, p. 336. He was asked to interfere. A Tibetan document referring to this war was published by myself in my article: *Historische Documente von Khalatse*, ZDMG, vol. lxi. A tender of allegiance from the Ladakhis to the British Government was communicated by Moorcroft, but not accepted by the East India Company. A letter from the Czar of Russia to the King of Ladakh was shown to Moorcroft. Trebeck witnessed a war between Kulu and Ladakh, see Moorcroft, vol. i, p. 456, vol. ii, pp. 63, 64. As regards the army of *Rastanpas* which I explained as an army from Lower Ladakh, Dr. Hutchison points out to me that it was in reality the army of *Ratanu of Padar*. I also made a mistake when I treated *Rabstan rnam rgyal* and *mChog sprul rnam rgyal* as two different princes. They seem to be different names of the same person. *Rabstan* probably received the name *mChog sprul* when he was found out to be an incarnation of *Bilva rdorje*.

#### PART IX.—THE HISTORY OF THE DOGRA WARS.

SMS: During the time of his (*Thse dpal's*) son *mChoggi sprul sku*, the army of the *Sing* (Dogras) tampered with his minister (*Ngos grub bstan 'adzin*), and robbed the king of his dominions.

Notes on SMS: As we know from *Thse brtan's* account of the Dogra war, prince *mChog sprul* was made regent of Ladakh a short time before Zorawar overran the country. It is interesting to see that in the mind of the writer of SMS it was the faithlessness of the minister that brought on the ruin of the Ladakhi kingdom.

General Notes: An interesting song on 'minister *Ngos grub bstan adzin* in prison' is among my collection of historical folklore. A Sanskrit inscription in the Chigtan monastery evidently refers to the Dogra war. It speaks of an army and the crossing of a river on inflated skins. *Rayim Khan* of Chigtan, the hero of the 'Polo Song,' Ladakhi Songs, No. III, is probably identical with *Rayim Khan* of Chigtan, of whose tragic fate we hear in the history of the Dogra wars. The raja of Baltistan, Ahmed Khan, who was taken to Lhasa as a prisoner, evidently returned to Kashmir State territory. His grave is shown in Kishtawar. A portrait of Ahmed Khan is found in Vigne's Travels. In Sherring's 'Western Tibet' is reproduced a photo called 'Zorawar's grave,' taken near Taklakar. As Dr. Longstaff points out, the ruin at Taklakar looks far too old to be Zorawar's grave. He connects the ruin with Haidar's Tibetan campaign in 1532 A.D. According to the most recent edition of K. Marx's CMS, Zorawar was actually accompanied by his wife on his Tibetan campaign. A full account of the Dogra wars, 1834—1842 A.D., is found in my 'History of Western Tibet.'

PART X.—LADAKH AFTER THE DOGRA WARS.

SMS: His (*mChog sprul's*) son *a'Jigsméd choskyi sengge mi 'agyr kun dgā rnam rgyal* is this one (the present *ex-king*).

Notes: This last sentence means that the *ex-king* of Ladakh, who was alive in Schlagintweit's time, was in possession of the long name '*a'Jigsméd*, etc. It was he who, as a boy of seven years, reigned at Leh for six weeks, after Zorawar's death. It was he who in 1856 refused to let Schlagintweit have a copy of the *rGyalrabs*, until valuable presents had been made to him. If I am not mistaken, '*a'Jigsméd* is the father of the present *ex-king bSod nams rnam rgyal*.

---