

A STUDY ON THE CHRONICLES  
OF LADAKH

*(Indian Tibet)*

BY

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CALCUTTA

1939.



To  
His Excellency  
Professor Giuseppe Tucci  
in token of  
Deep Esteem and Gratitude



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## PREFACE

The materials for the present book were collected during the research work for a thesis for the Doctor's degree at the University of Rome, in 1935 and 1936. The printing required a rather long time, and, therefore, some statements in the Introduction and in Ch. IV are at variance with the results of further investigation, as set forth in the last chapters. I may, therefore, draw the attention of the reader to the short list of Addenda at the end of the work.

Perhaps the reader will feel the want of a map of Ladakh attached to the volume. But, as the present work will normally be used together with Francke's edition of the chronicles of Ladakh (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. II, Calcutta 1926), it is easy to refer to the splendid maps of Ladakh and neighbouring countries, found in Francke's work. They have also the very substantial advantage of giving the Tibetan names in scientific transliteration, and not, as in the Survey maps, in more or less phonetical transcription.

The system of transliteration employed by me is as follows:

ཀ ka	ཁ k'a	ག ga	ང na
ཅ ca	ཆ c'a	ཇ ja	ཉ ña
ཏ ta	ཐ t'a	ད da	ན na
པ pa	ཕ p'a	བ ba	མ ma
ཅ་ tsa	ཆ་ ts'a	ཇ་ dsa	
ཟླ wa	ཞ ཟ་ za	ཟ za	འ 'a
ཡ ya	ར ra	ལ la	
ཤ ཤ་ śa	ས sa	ཧ ha	ཨ a

For Chinese words I employed Wade's system. But I kept distinct the sound *ki* and *tsi*, *hi* and *si* (and derived sounds), which,

in Pekinese pronunciation and in Wade's system, are reduced to *chi* and *hsi* respectively. I write, therefore, e.g.: *kin* and *tsin*, not *chin*; *hia* and *sia*, not *hsia*.

For Sanskrit words I followed of course the transliteration recommended by the International Oriental Congress of 1894.

I am deeply obliged, first and above all to my revered teacher Professor Giuseppe Tucci. He not only opened to me his wonderful library of Tibetan wood-prints and manuscripts, but also tendered me every kind of help and advice while reading the Tibetan texts. I owe him also many valuable suggestions on several special problems.

My sincere thanks are also due to Professor G. Vacca of the University of Rome, for advice in connection with the Chinese texts; to Dr. B. P. Saksena, of the University of Allahabad, for translating for me several passages from Persian texts; to Mr. S. C. Deb, of the University of Allahabad, for reading with me the proofs of the second part; and to the Manager and the staff of the Calcutta Oriental Press for the painstaking work of printing a book so full of diacritical marks and other difficulties.

The list of Errata is certainly longer than it should have been. The attention of the reader is particularly drawn to the dates misprinted at pp. 2, 3, 7, 48. I had to revise the proofs far away from the press, first in Rome and then in Allahabad, which involved a good deal of correspondence and delay. And this may serve, to a certain extent, as my explanation.

L. PETECH

Allahabad,  
August 23rd, 1939.



## INTRODUCTION

The *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (Royal Genealogy of Ladakh) which constitutes the subject of this work, is one of the most well-known chronicles of Tibet. But inspite of its reputation, it has not yet been the object of a serious and thorough study which might determine its origin and nature and profitably bring out the historical materials contained in it. My endeavour has been principally directed, within the limits of my possibility, to achieve this object, and to make at the same time some new contribution to the history of Tibet, of which our knowledge is still so scanty.

I have accepted and followed the edition of A. H. Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. II), limiting myself to some necessary additions and corrections. The text of the *LdGR.* has suffered many vicissitudes. The first edition and translation of an incomplete manuscript of this work is due to E. von Schlagintveit. It was published under the title of "Die Könige von Tibet" in the *Abhandlungen der königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. X (1866). Schlagintveit's translation was such as could possibly be under the conditions of Tibetan studies in his time, particularly because of the lack of good dictionaries; it bristles with errors of all kinds and is today wholly inadequate. In spite of this, it held the field for a quarter of a century. It was only the Moravian missionaries that brought to light its insufficiency and discovered the existence of more elaborate recensions of the *LdGR.* than that of Schlagintveit. The new finds were collected by Dr. K. Marx, and after his death they were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, in three instalments (1891, 1894, 1902). On the basis of the studies of Marx and his own researches, the late Dr. A. H. Francke took upon himself the task of publishing a final edition, together with a new translation, of

the *LdGR.* in its most extensive form. The work was ready in 1913, but its publication, under the care of F. W. Thomas, was delayed for various reasons until 1926.

The translation is on the whole good, considering the many obscurities of the text, and in the second part of my work quotation always refer to it. In the first part, however, where I refer to other Tibetan sources, I have preferred to quote the original text.

Francke adopted the system of putting together in one single account all the materials of the five manuscripts he handled. Although the author did not intend to furnish a critical text, his edition represents all that could be done with the materials available, which were far from being satisfactory, since the manuscripts of the *LdGR.* are all more or less corrupt and mutilated, particularly in the first few pages. So far as I am aware, there exist, or at least existed, only two manuscripts which Francke did not make use of: (1) The manuscript on which was based the notice on Ladakhi history in Cunningham's *Ladàk, physical, statistical, and historical* (London 1854). This appears to have been more complete than the others, since it records the date of the battle of Basgo (1646), which is wanting in all the manuscripts utilised by Francke. Unfortunately it did not since reappear, and it is not known if it still exists. (2) The first part of the manuscript in the British Museum (Francke's Ms. *L*), which is also more complete than the others. Francke availed himself of the second part of this manuscript, but did not consult the first part which contains the cosmological legends. The damage is not serious, given the little importance of that section of the text. In any case, I have thought it useful to publish, either in footnote or in appendices, the pieces supplied by this manuscript, that are missing in Francke's edition.

The *LdGR.* can be divided into three sections. The first section (in Francke's edition: Chapters I, II, III) is a brief treatise

on cosmology and mythology; the second (Chapters IV and V) narrates the history of the Tibetan monarchy from its legendary origins to its fall in 842 A.D.; the third (Chapters VI and VII) contains the history of Ladakh up to about 1635. Then follow three appendices, of which the first (Chapter VIII) brings the narrative down to 1834, the second (Chapter IX) relates the Dogra wars (1834-1842), and the third (Chapter X) comes down to 1886. Leaving out these three additions of a much later date (XIX century), the *LdGR.* in its present form was written down during the last years of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal (c. 1610-1640), that is, at the zenith of the short-lived Ladakhi empire founded by the prowess of Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal (c. 1580-1635).

Of the three sections mentioned above, the first two are strictly connected with each other, and together constitute a small but complete chronicle of Central Tibet, practically without any connection with the third section. It is instead very closely related to the great Lamaist chronicles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which, in general, are equally divided into two parts: the first dealing with cosmology and mythology, the second with history. These two sections of the *LdGR.* not only do not deal with Ladakhi history, but also there is no mention anywhere in it of Ladakh. Francke has tried to prove the identity of various places, mentioned in the *LdGR.* in connection with gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po the first king of Tibet, with localities in Ladakh.<sup>1</sup> But this sort of identifications cannot offer a solid base for further research, because it is too much uncertain, and in this particular case it is also in contrast with the whole Tibetan tradition, which localises the legend of gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po in the valley of Yarlung, to the south-east of Lhasa. There as everywhere else, Francke proceeds from his preconceived idea that

<sup>1</sup> See chiefly his article "The Kingdom of gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po in *JASB.*, 1910. But this assertion is repeated in almost all the works of Francke.

Ladakh has been the cradle of the Tibetan monarchy, a wholly baseless theory which will be amply discussed later on.

As pointed out above, the first two sections do not mention Ladakh. I have, therefore, thought it necessary to consider them, for all practical purposes, as a separate work, to be placed among, and to be judged by the same criteria as adopted for, the other chronicles of Central Tibet.

The third section is a good example of those local chronicles of the small mountain states, which are far from being rare in the entire territory of the Western Himalayas. It finds thus its place with the *Vamśāvalis* of the Punjab Hill States and with Francke's "Minor Chronicles" (chronicles of Tibetan-speaking regions neighbouring to Ladakh, which Francke collected and added to his edition of the *LdGR*). This is in perfect accord with the undeniable fact that the historical development of Ladakh was indissolubly connected with the destiny of the neighbouring Indian regions, while on the contrary the political contacts with Central Tibet were always rare and occasional, inspite of the identity of language and religion.

Thus my work is naturally divided into two parts, as the *LdGR*. In the first part I have tried to determine, so far as is possible, the sources of the first two sections of the *LdGR*. and the position they occupy among the other Tibetan chronicles. Besides that, I have tried to utilise the historical materials that they offer, not negligible both for its size and for its importance. In this connection I had to extend my researches to various other problems raised by the comparison of the *LdGR*. with other relevant sources. In order to have a clearer arrangement of the materials, I have preferred to study one after another the single kings of the great Tibetan monarchy, since only in this way could I make the best possible use of all the sources without producing confusions. It should be made clear, however, that this first part has no pretension

to be a History of Tibet under the monarchy. Such an attempt would be highly premature and of no practical utility until the most important sources have not been rendered accessible. Accordingly, I have followed an analytical method, examining each and every problem that presented itself during the course of my study, and without attempting to arrive at synthetical conclusions.

I have been concerned exclusively with the political history of Tibet, since the religious history remains outside the scope of this work, and a study of political institutions and of social and economic conditions is at present impossible, on account of the meagreness of the available sources and the lack of any preparatory work whatsoever. The only exception is the researches of F. W. Thomas on Tibetan administration in Eastern Turkestan; but he had at his disposal the contemporary documents discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in the sands of Turkestan, a source of information which has no counterpart for Central Tibet.

Besides taking advantage of the principal Tibetan chronicles, I have tried to keep myself abreast of all that has been published on the subject in Europe and India. In spite of my endeavours for completeness, I am conscious of many omissions. Thus, the researches of Japanese scholars have remained inaccessible to me. I have neither been able to get hold of the two historical works published by Sarat Chandra Das, the *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzan* and the *rGyal-rabs-bon-gyi-'byun-gnas*, which latter should be very useful for ascertaining better the nature and origin of the Bon-po infiltrations in the first section of the *LdGR*.

I have tried also to extract the useful materials from the few Chinese texts at my disposal. Also in this field I have my regrets for not having been able to consult a work of the highest importance, the *T'ung-tien* by Tu You, a geographical treatise of the 8th century (contemporary to the great Tibetan monarchy), which has been the principal source of Ma Tuan-lin's *Wen-hien-t'ung-k'ao*;

it should contain much important information on Tibet, judging by what can be found in Ma Tuan-lin.

Besides the omissions, I may be accused of having indulged myself in some digressions that are not directly concerned with the *LdGR.*; for example, that on the chronological problem of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po; nevertheless I do not think I have done wrong by including in my work a discussion of those two interesting problems.

In the second part, on the contrary, I have tried to write the History of Ladakh, more up-to-date than that of Francke (*History of Western Tibet*, London 1907). As no new source has since come to light, I have not been able to make much additions to what was already known; and this part is largely based on Francke's invaluable pioneer work. I have of course been obliged to modify here and there his conclusions, as a result of a more cautious interpretation of the materials already published. But in the field of the Ladakhi history there still remains much to be done. It is not quite likely that other literary sources might be brought to light; but there is urgent need of collecting and publishing the most important Ladakhi inscriptions. The first attempt of Francke with his "First, Second and Third Collection of Tibetan historical inscriptions on rock and stone," issued in a handful copies of polygraphs at Leh in 1906, 1907, 1908, is insufficient from every conceivable point of view. Besides, the three collections have hardly ever been available for European scholars. Although the historical value of Ladakhi epigraphy is rather insignificant, it remains nevertheless a valuable complement to the *LdGR.* A collection of this nature should be very useful not only from the point of view of Ladakhi history, but also for the high religious interest of some of the inscriptions.

Moreover, I believe that a careful exploration of the Moghul and Persian-Kashmiri historiography might lead to many interesting

discoveries. Having had at my disposal no other than the most fundamental works, I could not make my researches more complete than as presented in this monograph.

For the same reasons adduced in regard to the first part, I had to give up the study of the social conditions and administrative structure of the Ladakhi state.

I have brought my work to a close with the treaty of Tingmos-gang of 1646, partly because the succeeding periods lack sufficient historical interest, partly because the *LdGR*. in its original shape (that is, excepting the appendices attached thereto in the 19th century) was compiled exactly in that period; and thus the history of the succeeding times falls beyond the scope of this work.

I cannot close this preface withing paying tribute to the memory of my great precursor A. H. Francke. During the course of my work I have had often occasion to disagree with his opinions. But I must record my debt of gratitude to the assiduous and unselfish work of that distinguished scholar, who for a long time and with unabating passion dedicated himself to saving the memories of past glories of the Ladakhi people from ruin and oblivion. Even if his love of that country where he lived the greater part of his life, had obscured to a certain extent his clear vision of the facts, it does not constitute a blemish for his undeniable merits as a pioneer of Ladakhi historical studies.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- CFD.* = *Chronicle of the fifth Dalai-Lama.*  
*DT.* = *Deb-t' er-sñon-po.*  
*GR.* = *rGyal-rabs-gsal-bai-me-loñ.*  
*LdGR.* = *La-dvags rgyal-rabs.*



# FIRST PART

## CHAPTER I

*The first section of the LdGR. (cosmology and mythology)*

The first section of the *LdGR.* inspite of its size (almost one-third of the entire work) would offer little interest but for some elements of pure Tibetan origin which lie intermingled among the well-known Indian Buddhistic myths. The *LdGR.* seems to be the only Tibetan chronicle of which the cosmology is not purely Buddhistic. It has preserved for us some of the primitive Bon-po legends on the creation of the world and of the gods, an occurrence which is all the more important inasmuch as our knowledge of the Bon-po literature and mythology is yet very limited. An analysis of this part of the *LdGR.* will thus be not fruitless.

First of all, it should be observed that Francke's edition of this section, although presented as a unique whole, is a combination of two different redactions of the text, a larger one contained in the British Museum manuscript (Francke's *L. Ms.*) and in the Marx manuscript (Francke's *A. Ms.*), and an abridged one contained in the Schlagintveit manuscript only. These two redactions correspond in Francke's edition thus: the first to chapter I (introductory hymn), chapter II (cosmology) and p. 25 l. 18—p. 28 of chapter III (genealogy); the second to chapter I and the whole of chapter III.

As said, the larger version appears in two manuscripts. But Francke's edition of this section does nothing but reproduce the text published by Marx in *JASB.*; this means that it is based on *A. Ms.* only. This manuscript must have been in a rotten condition; there were some gaps in it, a big one at p. 23, l. 6 and others throughout the text but of minor importance. I have reproduced in appendix *A.* the text of the biggest gap extracted from the British Museum

manuscript, of which I was able to secure a photographic copy. It has no great importance, being only a Buddhist legend copied from the *Vinaya*.

The introductory hymn in the British Museum Ms. is much longer than as it appears in Francke's edition. After the first two verses, the only ones edited by Francke, it continues as follows (Brit. Mus. Ms. fol. 1a—2a):

rgyal bod kun tu mk'as rnam kyis  
 śakyai rgyal rabs rnam mañ spel  
 bdag kyañ legs bśad de rnam kyis  
 rjes 'brañ bdud rtsi sten la spro  
 z'es\* dan  
 skye stobs sbyaṅs pai blo gros dpal ldan pas  
 gsuñ rab don gyi gz'uñ 'di k'o bos mt'oñ  
 bstod pai ro 'dñin don ldan sgrub sañs rgyas  
 gzur gnas dga z'iñ spyi bos bsten par bgyi  
 bka dan bstan c'os rin c'en dbyiñs las 'oñs  
 sa skyoñ 'bum p'rag rigs rgyud p'un ts'ogs rabs  
 rnam snañ gsal byed 'od can bdud rtsi dbyiñs  
 gsal' legs skye dgui gtsug rgyan bri bar bya

#### *Translation*

The most learned men of India and Tibet amply diffused the genealogy of the Śākyas. I too delight in collecting the ambrosia that is derived from these beautiful sayings. Thus it is said, and also: I saw the books containing the true meaning of the sacred words, pronounced by the man (Buddha) possessing a perfect intelligence purified by virtue of the (continuous) rebirths. Being delighted in calling as witness the Buddhas who have achieved what the meaning of the hymns in its true sense says about them, and bending my head before them, I write the perfect genealogies of the races of the 100,000 protectors of the earth, who are descended from the precious womb of the Law contained in the sayings of the Buddha and in their explanation, genealogies that are like a womb of ambrosia containing a light which enlightens the entire world of the phenomena and which is like a diadem of the beautiful-shining creatures."

The first few lines in prose after the introductory hymn, concerning the creation of the world, are based probably on the work

\* Z' = ॐ

*Yon-tan-bsdud-pa* (*Gunasamgraha?*) cited at p. 19, ll. 21, of which nothing else is known.

In the following lines, we find, inserted between the Indian myth of creation and the theory, also Indian, of the four continents, a genealogy of gods composed of eight members: Nam-k'yer-rgyal-po *alias* Ye-mk'yen-c'en-po, Srid-ber-c'en-po, Nam-ber-c'en-po, 'Od-gsal, K'ar-gsal, C'ar-byed, Bar-lha-bdun-ts'igs, rGyal-srid. This series has evidently a Bon-po character, for some names similar to those are found in the few Bon-po works hitherto published. The name of a divinity C'ar'bebs appears in the Klu'bum-bsdus-pai-sñin-po<sup>2</sup>. The name of gTo-rgyal Ye-mk'yend occurs frequently in the gZer-myig,<sup>3</sup> it is the name of the first teacher of the Bon-po religion; gSen-rab, the man who is considered as the founder of the Bon, is stated to be an incarnation of Ye-mk'yend. The name Bar-lha 'Od-gsal also occurs in the gZer-myig (p. 330). The number of eight gods must have been due to some misunderstanding on the part of the compilers. The last two names can hardly refer to gods, for "Bar-lha bdun-ts'igs" means "union of the seven middle gods" and "rGyal-srid" means "kinship" or "royal lineage." We are concerned not with names but with some phrase no longer understood by the compilers as it became corrupt during many centuries of oral transmission. As regards the first six names, any element for the determination of their nature is completely lacking.

With this genealogy is connected a series of gods who stand in relation to the four continents (p. 20, ll. 12-21). Here too is an overlapping of Indian and Tibetan elements; to the former belongs the theory of the four continents, and to the latter the names of the gods, that seem to be of a purely indigenous origin.

<sup>2</sup> Laufer, *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, XI (Helsingfors 1898), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Francke, *Asia Major*, IV (1927).

After some lines (p. 20, ll. 21-24) referring to Manu and to the celebrated legend of the birth of the four castes from the various limbs of his body, there is to be found a list, which we may term a genealogical table of nations. The text of these genealogies, that are certainly of Tibetan origin, is very obscure, and the identification of geographical names is difficult. Francke attempted it; but unfortunately a very few of his conclusions are acceptable. He starts with the postulate that all the unknown geographical names in the *LdGR.* must be sought for in Ladakh. This is completely baseless, because, as already shown, the first part of the *LdGR.* is not a chronicle of Ladakh, but only the Ladakhi version of the ancient traditions concerning the great Tibetan monarchy, traditions that are the common legacy of the entire Tibetan people. In no way can there exist any inclination in favour of Ladakh in the reconstruction of the historical geography of the *LdGR.* The political centre of the Tibetan monarchy has never been Ladakh, but always, formerly as well as now, the province of dBus.

The first list (p. 20, ll. 24-27) consists of the principal countries bordering Tibet, they are: K'a-c'z, Bal-yul, Za-hor, O-rgyan, Ta-zig, K'rom-Ge-sar-'dan-ma, rNa-rnam, T'on-mi Gru-gu, Rag-śi and the other tribes of rGa. The first five names do not present any difficulty and correspond to Kashmir, Nepal, Mandi, Udyāna and Persia. rNa-rnam in the dictionaries is stated to be the Tibetan name for Samarkand. But T'on-mi Gru-gu is not a place near Kambardzong in Ladakh as proposed by Francke; it is instead the region (Gru-gu or Drug-gu) lying between Guchen and Turfan in Chinese Turkestan. K'rom Ge-sar, is not Ladakh, but should also be located in Chinese Turkestan. According to Thomas,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan, V, in *JRAS.*, 1931, p. 830.

K'rom Gesar is held by the later Tibetan authors to be a region; but originally it was nothing but the capital of the kings of Gru-gu, who bore the dynastic name of Gesar. As regards Rag-śi (probably an error for rGa-śa) and the other tribes of rGa, I do not know to what people these names might be attributed.

The second series (p. 20, l. 30—p. 21, l. 7) contains the names of some other bordering countries, within a more limited radius. Here we are concerned with the names of the very first non-Tibetan peoples that one would meet when starting from the heart of the land and travelling outwards in different directions, while the first series contains the names of the most famous neighbouring states, whether bordering Tibet or not. This second list has the following names: Z'añ-zuñ,\* Se-'Aža. gTon-gSum-pa, T'añ-c'uñ-ldoñ-Mo-ñag. Z'añ-zuñ is Guge. Se-'Aža is not Lahul, but is the region of Shan-shan in Chinese Turkestan.<sup>5</sup> The gSum-pa lived in the region which is called today Amdo, and correspond to the Su-p'i of the Chinese texts.<sup>6</sup> Mo-ñag, more commonly written Me-ñag or Mi-ñag, is the region of the Tanguts to the south of the Koko-nor, near the source of the Huang-ho.

The rest of the list is a sequel of personal names, on which nothing can be said with precision.

The following lines (p. 21 ll. 7-18) are derived from the *Abhidharmakośa* and the *Lokaprajñapti*, although no exact correspondence can be traced with any particular paragraph of these two works. There is some addition as well, gathered from unknown sources.

\* འཇ་འཇ

5 Thomas, 'Tibetan Documents etc.' I, in *JRAS.*, 1927, pp. 57-86.

6 Pelliot, 'Notes sur les T'ou-yu-houen et les Sou-p'i', in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. XX, (1920-1921), pp. 330-331.

Lines 12, 13 should be corrected and completed as follows (British Museum Ms. fol. 8a):

dus ni sañs rgyas ge re  
 bstan pa lo byon tsa na  
 dei c'a skyen du byon  
 lha mi groñ bdun gyi mi ni  
 ri mu k'yud 'dsin gyi mi ni  
 ri ma k'yud 'dsin gyi rtse k'og la gnas

*Translation*

The time was when the various Buddhas came to teach (the Law) and went upwards to this part. As to the men of the Seven Towns of Men and Gods<sup>7</sup>..... As to the men of Mount Nimindhara, they lived on the belly of Mount Nimindhara.

The list of the dwarf tribes (p. 21, ll. 19-24) is very obscure. It is difficult to make out any meaning from its second part. The first part, consisting of the list of the "dwarfs of the frontier" and of the "inner dwarfs," refers again to the peoples living on the borders of Tibet. The arrangement repeats the scheme of a mañḍala: we have a central point (Tibet) surrounded by two concentric circles, each of four regions situated at the four cardinal points. The elements of the Buddhistic mañḍalas are always catalogued from right to left (that is, from east to south); here instead the order is from left to right (from east to north). This arrangement, which is characteristic of the Bon-po mañḍalas, would demonstrate, if need be, the purely Tibetan and pre-Buddhistic origin of the series. This mañḍala is constructed thus: in the centre is Tibet, to the west Z'añ-zuñ, to the south (more properly to the south-east) gToñ-gSum-pa, to the east Me-ñag, to the north 'A-ža. This gives us a list identical to the one considered before. Outside this first circle, there is another: to the east rGya, to the north Hor, to the west Ha-le Mon, to the south Spu-rgyal Bod. This last name is evidently misplaced; Spu-rgyal-Bod is Tibet itself, and it should stand at the centre of the whole. rGya is China. Nor is

7 Apparently some words are missing there.

the name of the Turkish and Mongolian tribes of the north. It is rather difficult to say definitely who were the Ha-le Mon; it is evidently a particular section of that non-Tibetan population on the southern frontier of Tibet, which even today is called in Western Tibet by the generic name of Mon. I venture to propose that these Ha-le Mon may be the same as the bsKal-mon of the Guge legends<sup>8</sup> and as the Kālamānya in Jonarāja's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.<sup>9</sup> The name was perhaps applied to the original non-Tibetan people of Guge.

In the second half of this chapter of the *LdGR.*, the Bon-po infiltrations are considerably reduced, and the sources are more easily recognizable.

The paragraph p. 21, l. 29—p. 22, l. 10 is drawn almost word for word from the *Vinaya*.<sup>10</sup>

The origin of the paragraph p. 22, ll. 11-18 is certainly Indian, although it is difficult to determine its source.

According to the British Museum Ms., (fol. 12a), line 13 should be read as follows:

ston gsum dbaṅ byed spyi p'ud rgyal po daṅ  
sa 'dsin rgyal po [daṅ]  
p'yogs skyoṅ rgyal po daṅ  
rigs drug rgyal po [daṅ]  
'dsam gliṅ rgyal po daṅ lña  
de yaṅ etc.

*Translation*

The Spyi p'ud king, ruler of the 3000 (worlds), the king lord of the earth, the king warden of the cardinal points, the king of the six kinds of being, the king of Jambudvīpa, altogether five.

8 This name is probably of non-Tibetan origin; it has been tibetanized in script and later on also in pronunciation. On the bsKal-mon see Tucci, *The Secrets of Tibet*, pp. 103, 104, 106.

9 Francke and Pandit Daya Ram Sahni: References to the Bhottas or Bhauttas in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kashmir, in *IA.*, 1908, p. 182.

10 *Dul-ba*, V, fol. 157b-160a. Translated by Rockhill, *The Life of Buddha*, (London 1884), pp. 3-5.

The first list of the groups of kings at p. 22, ll. 18-22 is purely Tibetan and Bon-po. There are to be found the 360 gods of the Bon-po mythology<sup>11</sup> and also Spu-rgyal (see *infra*).

The whole of the following paragraph (p. 22, l. 22—p. 23, l. 28), including the lines that, being missing in Francke's edition, have been given in appendix *A.*, has been literally copied from the *Vinaya*.<sup>12</sup>

The Śākya genealogy (p. 23, l. 28—p. 24, l. 11) seems to be extracted from the *Lokaprajñapti*, but with additions that are not to be found in the said text.

Finally, the concluding lines of the chapter (p. 24, ll. 11-21) should have spoken of the seven Buddhas of the past cosmic ages, but this passage, through an excess of abbreviation, is reduced to such a hopeless confusion that its textual reconstruction is an impossibility. But the whole chapter does not indeed shine in clarity.

There is no doubt that the compilers had some knowledge of the *Vinaya*, the *Abhidharmakośa* and the *Lokaprajñapti*.<sup>13</sup> But these two last works, very widely known, are quoted from memory without the help of the text; this gives rise to many errors. In a passage at p. 19, ll. 15-19, the *Abhidharmakośa* is referred to. But in this work there is not a single paragraph that might literally correspond to the text of the *LdGR.*, although there is some vague affinity in style and in conception with *Ak.* III, 49c-d. In another place (p. 20, l. 9) is said: "An account of the occasion, origin, and measure of them (the creatures) and the four or eight continents will be learnt from the *Abhidharmakośa*." There is some hint as to this matter in the *Ak.*, but it is too meagre to justify such a reference.

11 Their appellation in the Bon-po literature is Gi-k'od. Judging from the number indicated, they seem to have an astronomical character.

12 'Dul-ba, V, fol. 163b.

13 For an analysis of this work see La Vallée Poussin: *Vasubandhu et Yaçomitra* (Mémoires publiés par la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, ser. II, tome 6), London 1914-1918.



In a third passage (p. 23, ll. 10-14) there is a blunder far more serious; the verses referred to as a quotation from the *Ak.* are to be found word for word in the *Vinaya*,<sup>14</sup> while any trace of them is lacking in the *Ak.*, the name of which is there due to an error. It appears that the standard of culture of the compilers was not very high, because such a superficial knowledge of the *Ak.*, one of the most important Buddhistic texts, is at least very strange.

The first half of the third chapter, which constitutes the introduction to the abridged version of the *LdGR.*, is nearly the same as the Śākya genealogy in chapter II, and thus is extracted from the same passage in the *Vinaya* already referred to. At p. 25, l. 14 the *Lokaprajñapti* is cited in support of the number of 1,215,114 rulers, but I have not been able to find a calculation of such a nature in the *Lokaprajñapti*. The compilers must have confused the *Lokaprajñapti* with some other work.

gZ'on-nu-dpal mentioned at p. 25, l. 16 is the author of the *Deb-t'er-sñon-po*, one of the most important Tibetan historical works, which I shall have occasion to discuss later on.

The legend of Gautama and the genealogy of Buddha (p. 25, l. 8—p. 27, l. 4) have been copied word for word from the *Vinaya*.<sup>15</sup>

The passage on the wedding of the Lord is a summary of the Śilpasamdarśanaparivarta of the *Lalitavistara* (ed. Lefmann, p. 136-159). Of the two groups of verses quoted in the *LdGR.* the first (p. 27, ll. 8-11) corresponds to *Lal. Vis.*, p. 137, ll. 14-15 and the second (pp. 14-21) to *Lal. Vis.*, (p. 140, ll. 1-5), with some variations.

The second chapter of Francke's edition is almost a necessary introduction to a work of this nature.<sup>16</sup> But the long genealogy

14 'Dul-ba, V, fol. 163b.

15 'Dul-ba, III, fol. 433b-445a. Rockhill, pp. 9-13

16 The European mediæval chronicles too begin often with the creation of the world.

of the Śākya in the third chapter may appear out of all proportions to the scanty accounts of the life of Buddha that follows. The genealogy should be normally only a complement of secondary importance. But in this connection I wish to emphasize the great political significance of these genealogical lists. The kings of Ladakh were particularly proud, at least in the three last centuries of their existence, of their supposed descent from the Śākya, and on this descent they established their sovereignty by divine right. It is enough to look at the long series of the Ladakh inscriptions that boast of the king Bu-ram-śiñ-pa (Ikṣvāku) as the first ancestor of the Ladakhi kings.<sup>17</sup> This lineage was the greatest pride of the dynasty, and it is thus quite natural that the official chronicle devotes to it so much space. As to the scarcity of biographical data regarding the Buddha, it is inherent in the nature of the *LdGR*. itself, a work which has a markedly laic character, absolutely unlike its sister work the *GR.*, of which the first seven chapters are exclusively dedicated to Buddhist mythology.

17 The tale of the miraculous birth of this king is narrated at pp. 25-26 of the inscriptions, see Francke's *First and Second Collection of Tibetan Historical Inscriptions*, N. 65, 71, 79, 117. Other inscriptions, as yet unedited, of which H. E. Giuseppe Tucci kindly placed at my disposal a few photographs, mention equally among the royal titles that of a descendant from Bu-ram-śiñ-pa.

## CHAPTER II

### *The twenty-seven mythical kings*

The lists of the Tibetan kings up to Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po show in various sources a remarkable homogeneity, and can be easily reduced to a single scheme. According to all the great Buddhist chronicles of Central Tibet (*DT.*, *GR.*, Bu-ston), the founder of the Tibetan dynasty is gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po, the first member of the line of the seven K'ri's (thrones) and the son of an Indian king whose name varies in the different texts.<sup>1</sup>

This is confirmed also by other sources. Several Ladakhi inscriptions of the XVI, XVII and XVIII centuries speak of gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po as the first king of the dynasty. The only Bon-po chronicle yet edited<sup>2</sup> also accepts this version,<sup>3</sup> which to all intents and purposes may be called official. It is the only account to be found in all the existing Tibetan chronicles, and no other version is known.

But there are some traces of another and more ancient account.<sup>4</sup> One of the Lhasa pillar edicts published by Waddell<sup>5</sup>

1 The most commonly found name is Prasenajit of Kośala.

2 rGyal-rabs-bon-gyi-'byuñ-gnas. The edition of S. C. Das (Darjeeling 1900) is unfortunately not to be found any more, and I have been able to avail myself only of the data contained in a review by Laufer in *T'oung-Pao*, 1901 (Über ein tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bon-po).

3 The only difference is that the Bon-po chronicle inserts gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po in the great Indian epic tradition, and identifies him with Karṇa, the son of Pāṇḍu, with the intention of substituting for the Buddhist tradition something more ancient and equally reputed. This inclination towards the Indian classical tradition is a familiar feature of the Bon-po mythology.

4 Some details on this question were collected already by Francke, *Notes on Khotan and Ladakh*, *IA.*, 1930, p. 65.

5 Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa, *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 931.

mentions the "divine magic king" 'O-lde-spu-rgyal. The same name is to be found in one of the documents discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia and published by Thomas.<sup>6</sup> The *T'ang-shu* (Chap. 216A, fol. 1a) speaks as well of this king, whose name is transcribed with the characters Hu-t'i-po-si-yeh (see the table of Chinese characters at the end of this volume, No. 1). Laufer<sup>7</sup> attempted the reconstruction of the original Tibetan form and was involved in some contradictions; later on Pelliot<sup>8</sup> showed the perfect equivalence of Hu-t'i-po-si-yeh with 'O-lde-spu-rgyal. It should be noted that Ma Tuan-lin (Ch. 334, fol. 15b) transcribes this name somewhat differently: Hu-t'i-si-pu-yeh (see the table of Chinese characters No. 2). There is also a shorter form, which is to be found in *T'ang-shu*, (Ch. 216A, fol. 1a), and in *Kiu T'ang-shu*, Ch. 196A, fol. 1a: Su-po-yeh, (Table of Chinese characters, No. 3) corresponding perfectly to Spu-rgyal; it is an additional name of Fan-ni, the first king of Tibet according to the Chinese sources. The name Spu-rgyal means "hairy king" and is probably connected with the legend of Tibetans having descended from monkeys, a most ancient tale to which the entire eighth chapter of the *GR.* is devoted.<sup>9</sup>

It is remarkable that no document of the period of the monarchy (VII-IX century), at least none of those as yet published, gives the name of gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po, while on the contrary, none of the later chronicles mentions 'O-lde-spu-rgyal as the ancestor of the Tibetan kings. It follows from this that during the monarchical period the legend of 'O-lde-spu-rgyal was the only recognised version of the origin of the kingdom and of the nation. It is exactly this monar-

6 Tibetan Documents etc., II, *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 71, 77.

7 Bird Divination among the Tibetans, *T'oung-Pao*, 1914, pp. 75, 77-78.

8 Quelques transcriptions chinoises de noms tibétains, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1915, pp. 10-11.

9 See also *LdGR.*, p. 20, l. 28.

chical, laic, and Bon-po character that might account for its disappearance from the later Buddhist sources. But before it disappeared, it was so widely known that it gave a nickname to Tibet: Spu-rgyal-Bod (Spu-rgyal's Tibet).

In the texts of a much later period, another form is sometimes to be found: Spur-rgyal,<sup>10</sup> "king of the lemurs."

Francke shifted the theatre of the legend of Spu-rgyal on mount Purgyl near Chini in Kunawar, and from this he derived a proof of his theory that Tibetan monarchy had its origin in Western Tibet.<sup>11</sup> But the name of this mountain, which has been spelt in the most varied manners by European travellers and by the Tibetans themselves,<sup>12</sup> appears to have belonged originally to one of the little-known Himalayan languages, perhaps to Kunawari. It was later on tibetanized, when the cultural and ethnic influence of Tibet became overwhelming—a process which was very common in Western Tibet, that has throughout a non-Tibetan ethnic foundation. On account of some vague similarity in sound, which appealed to the transcribers, this tibetanization was responsible for a close resemblance between the name of the mountain and that of the king. But an identification of the king with the god of the mountain is unknown as much to the chronicles as to the people, for the various spellings for Purgyl collected on the spot by H. E. Tucci are all quite far from the form Spu-rgyal.

As we have said before, the tradition of this first king vanished with the passage of time, and in the great chronicles of the XIV and XV centuries, the founder of the Tibetan dynasty is always called gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po. After him follow five groups of kings, or (we

<sup>10</sup> *CFD.*, fol. 81b. The local chronicle of Ti-nan (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I., p. 212, l. 14) has yet another spelling: Bur-rgyal.

<sup>11</sup> Notes on Khotan and Ladakh, *IA.*, 1930, p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> On mount Purgyl see Tucci and Gherzi, *The Secrets of Tibet*, pp. 69-70.

may better say) of gods: seven heavenly K'ri-s (thrones), two upper Steñ (high ones), six middle Legs (good ones), eight earthly IDe, three lower bTsan (mighty ones). This system is essentially the same in all chronicles, although some difference may be noticed and although it has been fully developed in the *GR*. only.

The series of the 27 gods<sup>13</sup> is undoubtedly of Bon-po origin. In a treatise of kLoñ-rdol bLa-ma, in which are enumerated the categories of creatures according to Bon-po cosmology,<sup>14</sup> some classes of beings are mentioned, which offer a close resemblance to the five groups of chronicles. Among them are to be found also the eight IDe (fol. 12b). It is true that it is a single case of perfect identity; but, generally speaking, the system followed in the lists of kLoñ-rdol is, in its principal features, very near to that followed in the chronicles. Evidently, the Tibetan historians built their royal genealogies on the same lines as followed by the Bon-po in the classification of the elements of their cosmology. This explains the purely mythological character of these genealogies, which is so markedly demonstrated by the achievements that are attributed to these personages.

It is probable, as proposed by Francke, that there is a correspondance between the five groups and three worlds of Bon-po cosmology: sTañ-lha (seat of the gods), Bar-btsan (earth), gYog-klu (seat of the Nāgas).<sup>15</sup> There are several reasons which support this analogy. The difference in the number might not have any

13 Their list is seldom to be found complete. But most of the chronicles explicitly records the number of kings who reigned down to Lha-t'o-t'o-ri-sñan-bśal, as 27. *GR*. fol. 51; Bu-ston, II, 182; 'Jigs-med-nam-mk'a, pp. 5-6. *Padma dkar po*, fol. 97b.

14 *bsTan-sruñ-dam-can-rgya-mts'oi-miñ-gi-grāns*, vol. XIII (Pa) of the complete works.

15 *LdGR*. p. 81.

importance, if it is true, as we shall see later, that two of the groups have been added in later re-arrangements.<sup>16</sup>

I. Group (7 K'ri):

- |   |                                 |   |                                |
|---|---------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1 | gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po               | 5 | Me-k'ri-btsan-po <sup>16</sup> |
| 2 | Mu-k'ri-btsan-po                | 6 | gDagd-k'ri-btsan-po            |
| 3 | Diñ-k'ri-btsan-po <sup>17</sup> | 7 | Sribs-k'ri-btsan-po            |
| 4 | So-k'ri-btsan-po                |   |                                |

On this group there is little to say. There cannot be any doubt on the existence of some relation between the seven heavenly K'ri's and the world of gods. It may be noticed that the last two names begin respectively with the words: day (gDags) and night (Sribs).

II. Group (2 Steñ):

- |   |                  |   |                  |
|---|------------------|---|------------------|
| 1 | Gri-gum-btsan-po | 2 | Spu-de-guñ-rgyal |
|---|------------------|---|------------------|

This group differs from the others in many respects. It consists of only two kings, and these have a personality of their own, while the rulers of the other groups are mere names. It is also significant that in some sources these two kings do not form a group. Moreover, Sanang-Setsen makes Gri-gum-btsan-po the last member of the K'ri series, and Bu-ston omits him altogether. There is a long narrative about Gri-gum-btsan-po in the *GR*. (fol. 53-54); he was assassinated by his minister Loñ-ñam, who usurped the kingdom for some years. He was in his turn overthrown by Bya-k'ri, the third son of Gri-gum-btsan-po, who having succeeded to the throne took the name of Spu-de-guñ-rgyal. This account, inspite

16 Nevertheless it is to be noted that the Tibetan preference for the number five is, generally speaking, more ancient in origin and more purely indigenous than the concept of trinity, introduced or at least influenced by Buddhism.

17 *LdGR*.: Dir.—But this form is evidently only an error on the part of the copyist and is due to the similarity of *r* and *ñ* in the Tibetan script.

18 *CFD*. and *DT*.: Mer-. Bu-ston Ye.—This last reading is certainly wrong.

of its historical appearance, is nothing but an explanation of the name Gri-gum-btsan-po (literally: "the mighty stabbed").

Regarding Spu-de-guñ-rgyal, Francke already suggested that the list might have formerly started with him, and that he was identical with Spu-rgyal mentioned at the beginning of chapter IV of the *LdGR*. It is, in fact, certain that we first come across Spu-rgyal, inserted herein by the later historians who contented themselves with placing him in the background, as they could not possibly omit him altogether, since he was too deeply rooted in the tradition. But the breach in the list of the kings has remained clearly visible.

The former name of this king, Bya-k'ri ("bird-throne"), and those of his brothers Śa-k'ri ("flesh-throne") and Ña-k'ri ("fish-throne"), are probably connected with the three worlds of Bon-po cosmology.

The chronicles attribute to Spu-de-guñ-rgyal achievements that are characteristic of the founder of a nation: discovery of principal metals, introduction of agriculture and irrigation, building of the first capital of Tibet, that is, of the great castle of Yarlung, and lastly and most important of all, the rise of the Bon-po religion.<sup>19</sup> This means that it is the tale of the origin of Tibet and of its dynasty, inserted there by the Buddhist historians. Spu-rgyal is the Romulus of Tibet; Gri-gum-btsan-po has no other importance except in so far as it plays a prominent part in the legend of Spu-rgyal. Accordingly, he was left out in the more abridged versions of this tale, as it happens in the C'os-'byuñ of *Bu-ston*.

It is needless to point out that the name Spu-de-guñ-rgyal is nearly the same as 'O-lde-spu-rgyal of the Lhasa edicts and of the *T'ang-shu*, having in common with it three components out of four.

Between the two versions of the origin of the Tibetan dynasty (gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po and Spu-rgyal), there is an essential difference:

<sup>19</sup> *GR.*, fol. 54-55. *LdGR.* p. 24, l. 26.



Spu-rgyal is a human being and as such occurs in all ancient sources (see before); on the contrary, gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po is a sa-bdag (spirit of the earth), and the knowledge of his divine nature was never lost, as it is demonstrated by the Ladakhi inscriptions.<sup>20</sup> Besides, gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po is followed by a long series of king-gods, while nothing similar is known in the case of Spu-rgyal, who seems to have been always directly connected with the first semi-historical personages of the dynasty.<sup>21</sup>

It is worth noticing that the sources which mention Spu-rgyal are always connected in some way or other with the Tibetan monarchy. To the official narrative of the monarchy, the Buddhist Tibetan Church opposed the series of the 27 kings, more complex and more flattering for the nation. This version was also accepted by the later Bon-po (see above), who substituted, however, the Buddhist origin of gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po by a Hindu one, partly with a view to mere differentiation, and partly because the relations between Bon and Hinduism were very close and remote, and a connection with the great Indian epic cycle appeared, therefore, desirable. It was not difficult for the Bon-po to accept this new version, since Buddhism did not introduce with gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po a new element, but contented itself with giving new features to the first member of a category of beings in the indigenous Tibetan mythology.

The *LdGR.* put together the ancient legend of monarchical times with the new one of Buddhism; being written by Lamas for kings, it accepts both the versions, placing the first before the second without making any attempt at reconciliation: Ch. IV begins with the definite affirmation that "the head of the line is Spu-rgyal, the king of Tibet", and then, through a rather confused passage, it

20 Francke, First and Second Collection, N. 51, 54, 65, 72, 78, 114, 119; the phrase is always the same: gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po z'es-byai sa-bdag (A sa-bdag named gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po).

21 This is proved by the list in *T'ang-shu*, Ch. 216a, fol. 1b.

begins to narrate the myth of gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po. This arrangement is a unicum among the Tibetan chronicles.

### III. Group (6 Legs):

1. A-śo-legs<sup>22</sup>
2. I-śo-legs (*LdGR.*, Bu-ston)  
or De-śo-legs (*GR.*, *DT.*, *CFD.*)
3. T'i-śo-legs<sup>23</sup>
4. Gu-ru-legs<sup>24</sup>
5. 'Broñ-rje-legs<sup>25</sup>
6. T'on-śo-legs (*LdGR.*, Bu-ston)  
or I-śo-legs (*GR.*, *DT.*, *CFD.*)

There is some uncertainty in regard to the names Nos. 2 and 6. Instead of following the *GR.*, the *LdGR.* offers a series identical with that of Bu-ston. About the relationship between *LdGR.* and Bu-ston, we shall speak more fully later on.

I have followed the *GR.* in calling "middle" the 6 legs, although in fact all the other sources call them "earthly." But this difference is due to the fact that the system of the five groups is fully developed and perfectly organized in the *GR.* only. In a system like this, the Legs cannot but be called "middle," while in the uncertainty of other lists there is ample room left for variations. But if we have to accept an organic system, we must follow that of the *GR.*, even if not supported by other sources.

22 *CFD.*: E-śo-legs.

23 Bu-ston: Do-śo-legs. *LdGR.*: De-śo-legs. The apparent gap in the *LdGR.* before this name is evidently due to an error of the copyist. There cannot be any room for another, seventh, Legs between I-śo and De-śo.

24 Bu-ston: Gu-rub.

25 *DT.*: 'Broñ-z'i-legs. *GR.* ms. *A*: 'Broñ-sel-legs.

It is noteworthy that the last three members of the series carry the names of animals. Gu-rug means ass, 'Broñ = wild yak, T'oiñ = ram.

IV. Group (8 lDe):

- |   |   |   |                 |
|---|---|---|-----------------|
| 1 | Za-rnam-zin-lde                         | 5 | lDe-snol-lam    |
| 2 | lDe-'p'rul-nam-gzuñ-btsan <sup>26</sup> | 6 | lDe-snol-po     |
| 3 | Se-snol-gnam-lde                        | 7 | lDe-rgyal-po    |
| 4 | Se-snol-po-lde <sup>27</sup>            | 8 | lDe-sprin-btsan |

The above list is that of the Central Tibetan chronicles. But the *LdGR.* presents a partially different arrangement, although it utilizes almost the same names.

- |   |                            |   |                 |
|---|----------------------------|---|-----------------|
| 1 | Zin-la-zin-lde             | 5 | Se-snol-po-lde  |
| 2 | lDe-'p'rug-gnam-gzuñ-btsan | 6 | lDe-lam         |
| 3 | lDe-rgyal-po-btsan         | 7 | lDe-snol-po     |
| 4 | Se-snol-lam-lde            | 8 | Sprin-btsan-lde |

This list does not correspond to any other chronicle, so far as I am aware. Bu-ston is of no use to us, as the entire group is lacking in his work; he mentions only the first of the 8 lDe and then, omitting the names of the other members, passes on to relate the story of the first semi-historical kings.

The eight lDe either do not possess any appellation, or are called "earthly." In this case as well the complete name of the group with its adjective occurs only in the *GR.*

V. Group (3 bTsan):

The series of the three lower bTsan, or (as they are called in the *LdGR.*) Klu-rgyal, is peculiar for its number and its composition.

<sup>26</sup> *CFD.*: lDe-btul-

<sup>27</sup> This name is omitted in the *GR.*, at least in the two manuscripts used by me. In Ms. *A* lDe-snol-lam also is left out.

First of all, there is no agreement as to the names and the succession of its members. The list of the *LdGR.*, is:

- 1 T'o-t'o-ri-loñ-btsan
- 2 K'ri-btsan
- 3 K'ri-t'og-rje-t'og-btsan

but they do not form a group, because the *LdGR.* seems to ascribe the name of Klu-rgyal indiscriminately to all the successors of the IDe. The *GR.* furnishes the following names:

- 1 K'ri-btsan-nam
- 2 K'ri-dgra-dpuñs-btsan
- 3 K'ri-de-t'og-btsan

while *DT.* and *CFD.* have the following list:

- 1 To-ri-loñ-btsan
- 2 K'ri-btsan-nam
- 3 K'ri-sgra-dpuñ-btsan
- 4 K'ri-t'og-rje-t'og-btsan

Finally, the Mañi-bka-'bum has already these four names as in *DT.* and *CFD.*, and adds to them a fifth, Lha-t'o-t'o-ri-sñan-gsal, who in all other chronicles appears as the first of the semi-historical kings.

Thus we can find a group of three, four or even five bTsan, the names of whom vary considerably. And of this series, which is already so doubtful, it may be observed again that at least one name, T'o-t'o-ri-loñ-btsan, is evidently a repetition of Lha-t'o-t'o-ri-sñan-gsal. In addition, a group of bTsan is mentioned in *GR.* only. All other works speak of these rulers without mentioning any group formed by them. It is therefore evident that the bTsan group was not to be found in the original list, but was added to it in much later times, being gathered together from various sources. The most practical and simple way for its creation was to copy the names of historical or semi-historical kings. The uncertainty

as to the number of its members is due to the desire of the individual authors to put the total sum of the members of the five groups in agreement with the number of 27 generations, which, as stated explicitly by the chronicles, lapsed before the epoch of Lha-t'o-t'o-ri-sñan-gsal. This number 27, for reaching which the royal list underwent various and thorough modifications (II and V groups), corresponds to the 27 nakṣatras (lunar mansions) of Indian astronomy. It seems therefore that an astronomical criterion has inspired the final-redaction of the list.

Rockhill<sup>28</sup> suggests a possible relation between the five groups and the Chinese San-huang (Three Empires): 13 heavenly, 11 earthly, and 9 human emperors.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, if we consider the three major groups (K'ri, Legs, IDe), neglecting the other two that are very doubtful, the relationship is clear and undeniable. It cannot be a system that was imitated, as were many other things, from the Chinese one during the first period of the influx of Chinese culture in Tibet (VII-IX century), since its fundamental content goes back to the primitive Bon-po mythology. If the relationship really exists, it must be based on a mythological background common to both the peoples and equally ancient as they are.

28 *The Life of Buddha*, p. 209.

29 On the San-huang see the *San-huang-pen-ki* of Szu-ma Cheng, translated by Chavannes in *Les Memoires historiques de Se-ma-t sien*, (Paris, 1895), vol. I, pp. 18-19.

### CHAPTER III

#### *The making of Tibet*

After the mythical series of the 27 kings-gods, all the chronicles speak of four kings who reigned over Tibet before gÑam-ri-sroñ-btsan, the first ruler who is known with certainty to have really existed.

- |                            |                      |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Lha-t'o-t'o-ri-sñan-bśal | 3 'Broñ-sñan-lde-ru  |
| 2 K'ri-sñan-bzuñ-btsan     | 4 Stag-ri-sñan-gzigs |

In all probability these four names applies to something real. Tibetan literature began with the introduction of alphabet during the reign of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po; at this time probably the first attempts were made at writing history, and it is impossible that the names of the immediate predecessor of the ruling king were no longer remembered. There is, after all, no reason for leading us to doubt that these four names are really those of the ancestors of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

In all the sources they have been called kings of Tibet; but a remark of fundamental importance should be made in regard to these so-called kings. The Tibetan chronicles mention gÑa-k'-ri-btsan-po as first king of the country and attribute to him a long list of successors who should have reigned for many centuries over entire Tibet in its present boundaries. The Chinese sources, however, always well informed about the neighbouring peoples, explicitly affirm that upto the end of the 6th century Tibet was divided into a large number of petty states and tribes, without any connection among themselves, which by the Chinese were cumulatively called Western K'iang. In spite of assertions to the contrary by Tibetan historians, the fact is true beyond any doubt. The Chinese were in contact with the Tibetans from very ancient times, since already during the decade 107-117 the Chinese governors of

Turkestan had to carry on a tough struggle with the Tibetan tribes.<sup>1</sup> During their six centuries of acquaintance with the Tibetans, they never became aware of the existence of a Tibetan kingdom, but were concerned only with single tribes, more or less big and powerful, but always without any political organisation. The two histories of the T'ang are very definite on this point.

This state of affairs lasted until one of the many local chiefs succeeded in bringing about the unification of the country, subduing (but not destroying) one after another all the rival states.

The place from which this work of unification was started is called by all the Tibetan sources by the name of Yarlung (Yarklun, "upper field"). Most significantly, this name is also mentioned as the place where gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po was elected to the throne of Tibet and where he built his capital. On account of a wrong interpretation given by Köppen, who was misled by an error of Schmidt in his translation of Sanang-Setsen, Yarlung was taken for the name of a river and was identified with the Ya-lung-ho, a tributary of the Yang-tze Kiang. This statement occurs frequently, particularly in the authors of the last century,<sup>2</sup> and was finally proved erroneous by E. Haenisch.<sup>3</sup> But a "Yarlung controversy" had never had any right to exist. There is no doubt that the Yarlung of the historians refers to the fertile valley of the same name, watered by a tributary of the Brahmaputra, to the south-east of Lhasa. At the lower end of the valley rises the city of Chetang, near which the Tibetan place the theatre of the story of gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po.<sup>4</sup> It is to be noted that Chetang is very near to bSam-yas, which was the holiest spot of Tibet in the earliest times and was, so to say, the private temple

1 Chavannes, 'Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han-chou', in *T'oung-Pao*, 1907, p. 160.

2 I mention only the most important one: Jäschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 508.

3 In Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. IX, pt. iv, pp. 46-48.

4 Tsybikoff, 'Lhasa and Central Tibet', in *Smithsonian Report for 1903* (Washington, 1904), p. 740. S. Ch. Das, *A Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, (London, 1902), pp. 230-234.

of the dynasty. The small territory along the Brahmaputra centering around bSam-yas and Chetang, including the Yarlung valley, must have been, therefore, the cradle of the Tibetan monarchy. In the great castle of Yarlung (probably near Chetang) resided the ancestors of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, and he too, until he transferred his headquarters to Lhasa,<sup>5</sup> was situated in a position more central and better suited for being the capital of the extensive kingdom over which he ruled.

Thus I feel myself justified in suggesting that the title of “chiefs of Yarlung” should be applied to the above-mentioned four rulers, as they cannot be entitled to the designation of king. They were but the headmen of a more or less important tribe, dwelling in a small valley on the northern slope of the Himalayas—petty local rulers among the numerous ones existing in Tibet during the 5th and 6th centuries.

Of these rulers we scarcely know anything beyond mere names. Around the first of them, Lha-t'o-t'o-ri-sñan-bśal, a pious legend was woven by the historians. He appears in the Chronicles as the first of the three incarnated kings. With this title, the Tibetans honoured the greatest rulers of the dynasty; they are: Lha-t'o-t'o-ri incarnation of Samantabhadra, Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan incarnation of Mañjuśrī. No doubt the last two fully deserve this honour, and the Tibetan historians who selected them for it showed a highly developed sense of appreciation of real merits, for they were undoubtedly the two greatest kings of Tibet. But it is rather difficult to make out why for this high honour was selected just Lha-t'o-t'o-ri, about whom nothing is known except the fact that during his reign fell from heaven two books<sup>6</sup> and some other sacred objects, that were preserved and worshipped, although their significance was ignored.

5 GR., fol. 61.

6 *Za-ma-tog* and *sPañ-skoñ-p'yag-rgya*. Naturally such an ancient origin is purely legendary, and the two works belong to a much later period. Both of them



This can be explained by the fact that at the time of the first compilation of chronicles the consciousness was not yet lost of Lha-t'o-t'o-ri being the most remote ancestor of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, the memory of whose real existence still survived. Being thus the historical founder of the dynasty as Spu-rgyal, respectively gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po, was the mythical, he was from the earliest times an object of devotion. This position of his was subjected to a revision with the advent of Buddhism, and in the light of the new teachings he was given the rank of an incarnation, while formerly he was worshipped as a god or demi-god (*Lha-t'o-t'o-ri*; Lha = god).

We are not in a position to say if there lived before gÑam-ri-sroñ-btsan other personages than the four mentioned above; the chronicles mention only four chiefs of Yarlung.

About the three successors of Lha-t'o-t'o-ri nothing is known. The Chronicles do not tell us anything except the usual vague information, drawn from the versified chronicle (see later), as to the progress of civilization and their burial place. In spite of this silence, I do not think there is any serious reason to deny the historical existence of these personages. It is only the memory of their achievements that has been lost through in course of time and also because the political importance of these rulers must have been insignificant. Some traces regarding them may perhaps be found in the *T'ang-shu*. The Chinese could not have known them directly. But when Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po was granted in marriage an imperial princess, the Chinese dignitaries could not fail to obtain information as to his forefathers, and thus the list of names in

are included in the *Kangyur*. The *sPan-skön-p'yag-rgya* is a brief collection of formulas and is to be found in the XXIV volume of the mDo's (Beckh, *Verzeichniss der tibetischen Handschriften in der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, p. 57). The *Za-ma-tog*, translated by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes-sde in the times of Ral-pa-can, is to be found in the VII volume of the mDo's (Beckh, p. 32. See also Lalou, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pt. IV, Ch. I, p. 48). The *Za-ma-tog* was translated into Chinese towards the end of the 10th century (Bunyiiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, N. 782).

*T'ang-shu*, Ch. 216A, fol. 1b, can be, very well, a list of the ancestors of the Tibetan king.

1	Kia-si-tung-mo	(Table of Chinese Characters No. 4)
2	T'o-t'u-tu	( Do. No. 5)
3	Kie-li-shi-jo	( Do. No. 6)
4	P'u-lung-jo	( Do. No. 7)
5	Kü-su-jo	( Do. No. 8)

Laufer<sup>7</sup> thought that the element *jo* in the three last names could correspond to the element *śo* which forms a necessary part of almost all the names in the Legs series (see *ante*, page 25). Pelliot<sup>8</sup> instead suggested an equivalent *jo* = *rje* (noble). But it is much simpler to accept the equation of Chinese *jo* to Tibetan *jo*, a word for which *jo-bo* is more commonly used to-day. It is a common title even at present, and it is in harmony with the status of small local chiefs. The difficulty lies in finding a satisfactory identity between the Tibetan and Chinese forms of these names. It is not to be impossible that this passage of the *T'ang-shu* is corrupted, or perhaps the Chinese knew this name under somewhat different form. Anyway, T'o-t'u-tu has some similarity of sound with T'o-t'o-ri, although there is no phonetic correspondence. Kie-li-shi-jo should correspond to K'ri-sñan-bzuñ-btsan; in fact, Kie-li is an exact, although rare, transcription of K'ri. P'u-lung<sup>9</sup> corresponds very well to the first syllable of the name 'Broñ-sñan-lde-ru. Finally, there is no phonetic resemblance between Kü-su-jo and Stag-ri-sñan-gzigs, if we do not want to accept an improbable equivalent *kü-su* = *gzi* (*gs*); at any rate, given the equivalence of the name of the two lists, Kü-su-jo and Stag-ri-sñan-gzigs cannot but be the one and same person.

7 Bird Divination etc., p. 105.

8 Quelques transcriptions etc., p. 23.

9 In Bushell's translation of this passage of the *T'ang-shu* (*JRAS.*, 1880, p. 443) this character is wrongly transcribed *mung*. See Laufer, *ibid.*

The first name of the Chinese list, Kia-si-tung-mo, does not have any counterpart in the Tibetan list. And it is rightly so, since this name belongs to another version of the story of the origin. He is the son of Spu-rgyal and the father of Lha-t'o-t'o-ri, that is, the link between the mythical origin of the dynasty and the historical one. As he belonged to the legend of Spu-rgyal as a secondary member, the Buddhist historians did not consider it necessary to include him in their list. It is rather difficult to reconstruct the Tibetan form of this name. Si-tung should correspond to a Tibetan -ston-; mo in Tibetan is a feminine suffix; it is thus possible that it could be the name of a goddess.

According to Ma Tuan-lin,<sup>10</sup> the founder of the Tibetan kingdom and at the same time of the Tibetan nation was Lun-tsan-so-lung-tsan. (Table of Chinese Characters No. 9). As to the first character of this name, it is normally the transcription of Tibetan blon (minister). But it cannot be the case there, and it is very difficult to find the exact equivalent. The rest of the name corresponds perfectly to -btsan-sron-btsan. The only Tibetan king before Sron-btsan-sgam-po whose name ends in -sron-btsan is gNam-ri-sron-btsan. Thus Lun-tsang-so-lung-tsan is a transcription, either inexact or based on an original, different from the normal one, of the name of Sron-btsan-sgam-po's father.

Ma Tuan-lin tells us that this king conquered the regions to the west of Tsang-ko (a country of barbarians to the western border of China, extending from Sze-chuan to Yu-nan).<sup>11</sup> This took place during the period K'ai-huang of the Sui dynasty (581-600). The Chinese author says that "after fifty years (of reign?) his state bordered on the west and the south with P'o-lo-men (India)", an

<sup>10</sup> *Wen-hien-t'ung-k'ao*, Ch. 334, fol. 16b.

<sup>11</sup> On this geographical name, which is very vague, see the passage dedicated to it by Ma Tuan-lin, translated by Hervey de Saint-Denys, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine*, vol. II, (Geneva, 1883), pp. 86-91; see also the note by the translator at p. 123.

information of little value, since the place of origin of the dynasty was already very near to the Indian frontier.

It is difficult to take account of the extension of the kingdom of gÑam-ri-sroñ-btsan, but it ought to have been already very extensive because "at the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (619 A.D.) he had (can also be translated "there were") a hundred thousand good soldiers."

The *T'ang-shu* tells us nothing about this king, whom it calls with the abbreviated name Lun-tsan-su (Table of Chinese Characters No. 10).

There is not the least trace of all this in the chronicles of Central Tibet. gÑam-ri-sroñ-btsan is nothing but a name as are his forefathers, and if the chronicles devote a few words to him, it is only because he had the distinction of being the father of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. The account preserved in the *LdGR*. (p. 30, l. 28) is thus all the more precious, since it is unique to be found in all the Tibetan sources. It is a brief reference to the conquest of gÑam-ri-sroñ-btsan, that complements the information given by Ma Tuan-lin. There is mention of two countries conquered by the king. One is gÑa-zúr, a region which I am not in a position to identify; the other is Gru-gu (Turfan), and this leads us to the conclusion that this king conducted expeditions very far towards the north, a fact which is not mentioned in the Chinese sources. Naturally we cannot speak here of conquests. Tibet, which was just unified, could not maintain permanently any possession outside. It must refer to some plundering raids in big scales and at long distances.

We have no particulars as to the administrative system introduced by gÑam-ri-sroñ-btsan, but it follows clearly from all we know about the history of Tibetan monarchy, that it had no centralized character. This Tibetan kingdom which is portrayed in the *T'ang-shu* and in *GR*. as a formidable block of martial power, was in reality far from being a unitary state. gÑam-ri-sroñ-btsan himself was probably little more than the head of a tribal confederation. The

former independent princes and their descendants maintained a great deal of their power and constituted that strong and warlike Tibetan nobility that furnished so many generals and ministers to the state, but that, like the European feudal nobility, was very turbulent and not seldom revolting against the royal authority. To this nobility is to be ascribed the fall of the monarchy after two centuries and a half of glorious career. The principal offices of the court were hereditary, and entire genealogies of ministers were known,<sup>12</sup> proud and powerful families, which refused to yield in dignity and antiquity to the very royal house, and claimed their lineage from the ministers of gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po. These landlords constituted the real power in the state, and in fact it follows from a careful study of the *T'ang-shu* that the Chinese mostly were concerned only with them. The kings, with two or three exceptions, seem to have been left somewhat in the background as nominal rulers more or less respected. On their behalf ruled the aristocracy, connected with the dynasty by numerous bonds of matrimony, and strongly supported by its estates, or better (given the semi-nomad state of the population) by its clans. The name of the clan is never omitted in the names of officers and dignitaries mentioned in the *GR*. If one of these names is to be quoted in an abbreviated form, the representative element is always the name of the clan.

Only Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po and K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan succeeded in overcoming this state of things and in imposing themselves upon the nobility, holding with an iron hand the reins of the government. The other kings either did not attempt it at all, or paid the penalty of such attempts with their lives, as we shall see later on. Of what nature were the relations between the king and his ministers (who in general were the chiefs of the most powerful clans), and to what extent the king could trust his servants, is clearly illustrated by two

<sup>12</sup> Genealogy of 'Gar in the *CFD*. and of T'on-mi Sambhota in *DT*. See also S. C. Das, 'Contributions on the religion, history etc. of Tibet,' *JASB.*, 1881.

passages of a Tibetan manuscript of the 8th century preserved in the Fond Pelliot of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. They were translated by Bacot in "Le mariage chinois du roi tibétain Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po", *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, III (Bruxelles 1935) pp. 7-8. The first refers to the oaths exchanged between Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po and his ministers; the latter swear, among other things, not to take recourse to other rulers against the king and not to mix poison in his food. In the second passage, the king K'ri-'du-sroñ-btsan, singing during a banquet, makes the following allusions to the minister-regent K'in-ling, belonging to the famous 'Gar clan which for two generations occupied a position similar to that of the Maratha Peshwa in mediaeval days: "The subject hopes to become the sovereign. The sons of the minister hope to become king. The toad hopes to fly and pretends to scale the sky." It says many things about the fidelity of the turbulent and an ambitious Tibetan aristocracy.

The organisation set up by gÑam-ri-sroñ-btsan was, however, very strong inspite of its numerous defects. There appears to have been no disintegrating tendencies towards return to the state of things existing prior to the unification of the country; at least nothing of this kind can be substantiated from Chinese or Tibetan sources. The monarchy continued to be the unifying centre of all forces within the state, and this fact in its turn produced in the long run a real national consciousness. It happened sometimes that the clan of some nobleman, defeated in his struggle against his competitors, emigrated and accepted service with the Chinese garrisons of the frontiers; thus behaved the relatives of the minister K'in-ling after his fall and his suicide. But there was never any separatist movement; rivalry between individual chiefs was very common, but the struggle was always within the state and for predominance in the state, and never against the state.

#### CHAPTER IV

##### *Sron-btsan-sgam-po. 1: the Deb-t'er-snon-po and the chronological problem.*

The first two sections of the *LdGR*. do not contain any date. Nevertheless the chronological problem of early Tibetan history is of such importance that it is not possible to ignore it, even if the *LdGR*. cannot contribute anything to its solution.

It is only with the reign of Sron-btsan-sgam-po that Tibetan chronicles and Chinese sources begin to give us some dates. It is therefore necessary to establish with precision the principal dates concerning this king, whose reign constitutes the starting point of the whole chronology of Tibetan monarchy.

The most trustworthy source is the official history of the T'ang dynasty, of which two redactions are extant; the first, the *Kiu T'ang-shu* (Old History of the T'ang), was compiled in the first half of the 10th century; the second, which is a revised edition of the first, is called *Sin T'ang-shu* (New History of the T'ang), or also simply *T'ang-shu*, and was compiled during the 11th century. The chapters regarding Tibet in both works (Chs. 196A and 196B of the *Kiu T'ang-shu*, Chs. 216A and 216B of the *T'ang-shu*) have been translated by Bushell in *JRAS.*, 1880 pp. 435-541. Unfortunately Bushell availed himself of the K'ian-lung edition,\* which combines these two works into one, the *T'ang-shu* being printed in smaller characters as a commentary to the *Kiu T'ang-shu*. Because of this, the *Kiu T'ang-shu* was translated in its entirety but not the *T'ang-shu*, and the translation of the latter is not also quite reliable.

The two *T'ang-shu* give us the most important dates of the history of Tibet from 634 to 879; without them, Tibetan chronology would have remained a matter of pure guess, specially on account

of the discrepancies in the native sources and the uncertainty of the Tibetan sexagenary cycle. The Chinese texts are also very useful in so far as they help us in fitting Tibetan history within the framework of the general history of Asia, a task with which the Tibetans have never occupied themselves. Generally speaking, the two *T'ang-shu* do not present any difficulty of interpretation, except one: the restoration of Tibetan names from their Chinese transcriptions. Even this problem was solved to a great extent by Laufer in his masterly article already referred to.<sup>1</sup> Some names still defy any attempt of reconstruction, but this is of no great consequence and does not reduce the utility of this source.

A problem of the utmost importance is the conciliation of the Chinese dates with those scattered in the various Tibetan chronicles. In addition, it is necessary to lay down a method of plausible interpretation of Tibetan dates, when they are not supported by the Chinese ones.

The authority of the T'ang histories was recognized only at a late date and only in part in Europe, where for a long time scholars used to depend blindly on the chronological systems of a few Mongolian and Tibetan works translated into European languages. The chief source of confusion in this field was the 'History of the Eastern Mongols' of Sanang-Setsen, edited and translated by I. J. Schmidt,<sup>2</sup> a rather recent work (1662) of little intrinsic value. Being the first work of its kind known in Europe, it received too much attention, although undeserving. Its chronology, though untrustworthy, is not more faulty than that found in the great Tibetan chronicles; but unfortunately the translator presented a poor interpretation, and the results are always unreliable and often absurd.

<sup>1</sup> 'Bird Divination among the Tibetans', *T'oung-Pao*, 1914. In using it, however, one should always bear in mind the remarks of Pelliot, 'Quelques transcriptions chinoises de noms tibetains', *T'oung-Pao*, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, St. Petersburg, 1829.



In regard to Tibetan dates, a point of fundamental importance should be made clear. The well-known sexagenary system,<sup>3</sup> resulting from the combination of five elements (wood, fire, earth, iron, water) with the cycle of twelve animals has an origin not very ancient so far as Tibet is concerned. The cycle of the twelve animals, dating back to a remote past and familiar to several peoples of Central and Eastern Asia, was the only system used during the period of monarchy and even later on. This is demonstrated by the few dates contained in the documents from Chinese Turkestan published by Thomas, and in the earlier Tibetan inscriptions (for example, that of Tabo<sup>4</sup> and those collected by Francke); also in Bu-ston, *GR.* and *LdGR.* many dates have been recorded with this imperfect system. Much later, at the time of the second introduction of Buddhism (11th century), the necessity of greater precision was felt by the Tibetan scholars and the sexagenary cycle was adopted, introduced (as it was) from India together with the Kālacakra Tantric system.<sup>5</sup> Naturally the new system was immediately found to be very useful and it was then applied also to the past times, completing with the name of the element the numerous traditional dates which were recorded by the name of animals only. Tibetan historians proceeded in this work using different criteria, and thus it is not surprising and

3 For the calculation of Tibetan dates the tables of Stael-Holstein (On the sexagenary cycle of the Tibetans, *Monumenta Serica*, 1935), are very useful. But unfortunately they start from 1024 only. For earlier dates reference must be made to the tables of Pelliot ('Le cycle sexagenaire dans la chronologie tibétaine.' *J.A.S.*, 1913/1). They are not very easy to handle, but the article is of the foremost importance, since it corrected the errors of the XIXth century authors, and for the first time fully discussed the sexagenary cycle, establishing the fundamental criteria for the conversion of Tibetan dates.

4 Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. III, pt. 1, (Rome, 1935), pp. 195-204.

5 Laufer, 'The application of the Tibetan sexagenary cycle,' *Tsung-Pao*, XIV (1913), p. 589: "Indeed Kālacakra.....is nothing but a designation of the sexagenary cycle, and the vast literature on Kālacakra is filled with expositions of this system." The Kālacakra system was introduced in Tibet by Ni-ma 'K'or gyi Jo-bo in 1027, the first year of the first cycle of the sexagenary system.

that they were not very satisfied with the results obtained. It is necessary to be very cautious in accepting the Tibetan dates as they are; the second component in them is usually reliable, but the first is always a later deduction, which may sometimes be exact, but very often is wrong. In fact, a great deal of the differences between the various dates of the same event as recorded in diverse sources consists only in the different name of the elements, the name of the animal remaining the same. A striking example is the year in which Sanang-Setsen places the death of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. It really occurred in 650 as stated by the two *T'ang-shu* supported by *GR.* and *DT.* The date given by the Mongolian writer, Earth-Dog year,<sup>6</sup> corresponds to either 638 or 698. Schmidt accepted the later date. It is evident that, while the second part of Sanang-Setsen's date is correct, the first has been wrongly restored by the author or by his sources. This absurd calculation was unfortunately accepted by many scholars (for example, by Francke in his *History of Western Tibet*), and has been the cause of many deplorable confusions.

The only work free from such kind of errors is the *Deb-t'er-sñon-po* (Blue Register), the most accurate and trustworthy Tibetan historical treatise yet known.<sup>7</sup> Its author, gŽon-nu-dpal, not only records the dates very frequently, but even takes care, in case of special events, to determine them more accurately by referring to the number of years elapsed from the date of some other famous event.<sup>8</sup> One of these cross-references used most frequently by the author, is the year in which Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po was born. This date has been variously and often wrongly recorded by European authors. The most commonly accepted year is 629 (Earth-Ox year), which has

6 In the text: Wu-dog. Wu is the Chinese cyclical character, which corresponds to the element Earth in the Tibetan system.

7 On the *DT.* see Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, pp. 201-207. I fully agree with the enthusiastic opinion of Bell. From the point of view of chronological accuracy the *DT.* is really an exception in the entire Tibetan historical literature.

8 In accounts of years, the initial as well as the final year are to be counted.

at least an element of truth in it, since, as we shall see later, the king was really born in an Earth-Ox year. Nevertheless this date of 629 is *a priori* absurd. It would follow from it that the king died at 21, since the year of death 650 is fixed beyond any shadow of doubt by the concurring authority of the two *T'ang-shu*, of the *DT.* and of *CFD.* But we know that he had a son who died before him and that he was succeeded by his grand-son! It is not worth while discussing this absurd chronology. The year of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's birth is unequivocally fixed with all possible precision in the following passage of the *DT.* (vol. KA, fol. 25b 11. 1-2) which is of the utmost importance because on it is based the entire chronology of the *DT.* which in its turn is an invaluable help for us in verifying the dates of all other Tibetan sources:

*T'an Kao-tsu gis sa p'o stag la rgyal k'ams blañs pa de| Sroñ-btsan-sgam-poi lo lña bcu pa la yin pas| Dei gon gi lo bži bcu rtsa dgu po bsnan ten|, Sroñ-btsan 'k'ruñs nas lo ñis brgya dan bdun cu rtsa gcig sa mo lug yan la soñ ño|.*

“When Kao-tsu of the T'ang dynasty raised himself to the throne in the Earth-Tiger year, Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po was in his fiftieth year, having completed his forty-ninth year. Upto the Earth-Goat year, 271 years passed since the birth of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.”

The aim of the author is to determine with the utmost precision the Earth-Goat year in which the “destruction of the Law” by king gLaiñ-dar-ma was started, of which he has spoken in the preceding lines. For this purpose he records the number of years that elapsed after such an important event as the birth of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. The latter date, in turn, is determined in relation to Chinese history.

The passage contains two known chronological elements: (1) The Earth-Tiger year 618 in which Kao-tsu founded the T'ang dynasty; the fiftieth year preceding 618 is 569. (2) The Earth-Goat year, which, falling in the reign of gLaiñ-dar-ma (836-842 according to the *T'ang-shu*), must be 839; the 271st year preceding 839

is 569. Thus the date of the king's birth is well ascertained by this double element of proof. And in fact, it is repeatedly stated in the *DT.* that the king was born in the Earth-Ox year, that is, in 569. The same date is found in the *CFD.*; the *GR.* and Bu-ston also confirm the king's birth in an Ox-year, although they wrongly reconstruct the first component of the date. Besides, *GR.*, Bu-ston and Padma-dkar-po say that Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po died (in 650) at the age of 82, which also makes his birth date to be 569.

Another date of fundamental importance, being the starting point of many chronological calculations, is the year of Atiśa's arrival in Tibet: Water-Horse year, 414th after the birth of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po; this date would correspond to 982. But here we are faced with a serious difficulty: all the traditions are in agreement in placing the year of Atiśa's arrival at 1042, as, for example, showed by the tables of the Reu-mig and of the Vaidurya-dkar-po. In favour of the date of 1042, there is another striking evidence. At the time of Atiśa, the king of Guge was 'Od-lde, who belonged to the seventh generation after gLai-dar-ma. But it is not likely that seven generations could exist during the 140 years between 842 and 982, an average of 20 years for one generation being too low. Usually a period of 30 years is accepted, and 'Od-lde must, therefore, have reigned from about 1020 to 1050, which is a proof in favour of 1042. In accepting this date, one must admit an error of an entire cycle of 60 years in the calculations of gZon-nu-dpal. This author depended for the rest of his work on Tibetan sources, and neglected to take account of the data given by the Chinese texts, which he used in his first part. He was not aware that the Chinese chronology and that adopted by him for the subsequent periods were not compatible; and it follows therefrom that an entire cycle of sixty years of Tibetan history has simply disappeared from his work. But this does not at all diminish the value of his chronological data concern-

ing Indian paṇḍits and Tibetan lotsawa of later centuries. Summing up: there cannot be any doubt that Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po was born in 569, but gZon-nu-dpal builds up his chronology of the centuries subsequent to the 11th, by taking the year of the king's birth as 629. This explains to some extent how this absurd date of 629 found so wide acceptance in Europe. It was made known there by the many Tibetan works that derived their information from the *DT*.

One of these works is the *Vaidurya-dkar-po*, translated by Csoma 'de Körös as an appendix to his *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*. It, together with Sanang-Setsen's history, having been the first work of its kind to be known in Europe, obtained a wide diffusion. Its chronology is derived from various sources, chiefly the *GR*. for the great Tibetan monarchy and the *DT*. for subsequent centuries, and is practically identical with that of Sanang-Setsen.<sup>9</sup> It is remarkable that, while according to this system the kings Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po (c. 620-650) and Ral-pa-can (816-836) are dated about sixty years later, the dates of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan however are approximately correct. The genesis and the causes of these errors in the compilation of the earliest Tibetan chronology deserve a more detailed study.

The year in which the *DT*. was written is also preserved. It is the Fire-Monkey year 848th after the birth of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po (vol. K'A, fol. 3b) and 435th after the coming of Atiśa (vol. CA, fol. 20a), that is, 1476.

All the materials of the *DT*. concerning the period of the great monarchy are condensed in only three leaves. They consist essentially in a synchronistic list of Tibetan kings and Chinese emperors, showing the dates of their accession and death. The

<sup>9</sup> It is to be noted that the dates of the *Vaidurya-dkar-po* must be increased by two years. Pelliot, 'Le cycle sexagénaire etc.' p. 644.

source of this list is undoubtedly a Chinese one, as shown by a small but convincing detail: gŽon-nu-dpal did know how to reconstruct the form K'a-li-k'a-tsu<sup>10</sup> of his source into the original Tibetan K'ri-gtsug (-lde-btan Ral-pa-can), and left in his text the Chinese forms as they were. But it appears that the work he used was not the *T'ang-shu*, since there are some divergences as to the dates; the author might thus have availed himself of materials independent of the official history of the T'ang dynasty.

10 Table of Chinese Characters, No. 11. The modern pronunciation of the first character is k'ò. But in Ancient Chinese it was (according to Karlgren) pronounced k'a and thus it is transcribed in the *DT*.

*Sron-btsan-sgam-po II: The Tibetan Empire*

As we have said, it is established with certainty that Sron-btsan-sgam-po was born in 569. The date of his accession, however, is not known to us. The Tibetan sources place his ascension to the throne at 13, but this is a traditional figure attributed to the accession of many subsequent kings as well. So far as it appears, the heir to the throne, as soon as he reached majority (13 years), used to be solemnly proclaimed as the heir-apparent and nominally associated with the throne. This association, which generally was a purely formal act, could become effective in case of invalidness of the king for reasons of age or illness. This custom survived upto very recent times, and in Baltistan it was in force even during the first half of the last century, inspite of the fact that the Baltis had become Muslims; in 1815 Vigne was present at the enthronement of the heir-apparent of Skardo, who was then aged 13.<sup>1</sup> To the same custom is apparently due the long series of rGyal-ts'ab (Yuvarāja) which occurs in the history of Guge during the reigns of the monk-kings Ye-'ses-'od and Byan-c'ub-'od.<sup>2</sup> This number 13 has of course no connection whatsoever with the date of gNam-ri-sron-btsan's death which is unknown to all sources. I shall only mention that the above quoted passage of Ma Tuan-lin (*ante* p. 37) *can* imply that gNam-ri-sron-btsan was still alive in 618: "In the beginning of the T'ang epoch he had hundred thousands of good soldiers." But the character *yu* (Table of Chinese characters No. 12) may mean, besides "he had", also simply "there were." We may

1 His account is reproduced in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 186.

2 Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II, 23-24.

perhaps assume that gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan lived up to about 620, but there is no certainty about it. Supposing 570-620 to be his regnal years, his son Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po might have reigned from 622 to 652 approximately.

The name of the king, which is so different from that of his predecessor and successors, is not in reality the right and complete one. It is composed of the two syllables -sroñ-btsan, which are a very common ending of Tibetan royal names, and of the laudative nickname -sgam-po ("accomplished"). The real name has been preserved by Bu-ston (II, 183) and by Padma-dkar-po (fol. 97b): it is K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan. This is corroborated by the Chinese sources. The *T'ang-shu* gives the forms K'i-tsung-lung-tsan, (Table of Chinese characters No. 13) that is K'ri-sroñ-btsan,<sup>3</sup> and K'i-su-lung, (Table of Chinese characters No. 14) that is K'ri-sroñ; Ma Tuan-lin (Ch. 334 fol. 27A) has K'i-su-nung-tsan, (Table of Chinese characters No. 15) a name in which the character *nung* seems to be due to a corruption of the text. No Tibetan source other than Buston and Padma-dkar-po has preserved the real name of the king. But this is not surprising at all, because it is a fact which occurs very often in the history of Tibetan monarchy that the real name of a king is nearly forgotten being substituted in common use by a title or a nickname.

Among the events of the reign of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, three have chiefly struck the attention of the Tibetan historians: the creation of the Tibetan alphabet on Indian pattern by T'on-mi Sambhoṭa, and the two marriages of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, with the daughter of king Amśuvarman of Nepal, and with an imperial

3 Laufer, *Bird Divination* etc., p. 92. The equivalence tsung-lung=sroñ seems to me, however, to be rather dubious. Laufer, considering the Japanese pronunciation *so*, has suggested an ancient pronunciation *so* of the character *tsung*. But in fact this character in Ancient Chinese was sounded, according to Karlgren, *tsuong*. Probably there is an error in the text.



Chinese princess. All that the *LdGR.*, has to say about Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po refers mostly to these three facts, on which it is needless to dwell further.<sup>4</sup> The Ladakhi chronicle, on the other hand, completely ignores the great legislative activity of this king, to which several leaves are devoted in the *GR.* A study of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's laws is out of the scope of this work, but that passage in the *GR.* deserves a profound research, and it would be extremely interesting to find out as to what extent those laws are historical reality and how much are creations of later historians.

On this point of the text of the *LdGR.*, it might be remarked that the name of the pandit who taught Sanskrit to T'on-mi Sambhoṭa is not Señ-ge-sgra (Simhanāda) but, by agreement of all the other sources, Lha-rig-señ-ge (Devavidyāsimha).

The most important personality of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's reign was undoubtedly the minister 'Gar gDoñ-btsan,<sup>5</sup> commonly called simply by the name of his clan, 'Gar (often also mGar). This name

4 Cf. in addition to the great Tibetan chronicles, *T'ang-shu* in Bushell's translation pp. 443-445. See also Bacot, *Le mariage chinois* etc., who translated the passage of the *Mañi-bka-'bum* referring to the Chinese marriage. It is rather difficult to accept Bacot's opinion that the *Mañi-bka-'bum* is the work of one of the earliest Dalai-Lamas, since it was certainly known to the author of the *GR.* (written in 1328). The XIIth and XIIIth chapters of the *GR.*, which speak of those two marriages, are completely drawn from the *Mañi-bka-'bum*, which has frequently been copied word for word. The materials upon which the work is based, must in each case have been very ancient.

5 Bacot says (*Le mariage chinois* etc., p. 11): "The talents which the *Mañi-bka-'bum* attributes to him were those of his predecessors and rivals. He must have been one of the youngest ministers of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po and he survived the king for long". This opinion is completely unfounded. The importance of 'Gar can by no means be reduced; all the sources, Tibetan as well as Chinese, agree on this point. Especially the *T'ang-shu* is very explicit in stating that the internal consolidation and the territorial expansion of the Tibetan kingdom are largely due to the exploits of 'Gar, it speaks comparatively less of the king and more of the minister. Neither there is any reason to suppose that he was one of the youngest ministers; with certainty it is only known that he survived the king and died fifteen years after him (*DT.*, vol. KA, fol. 24a).

'Gar, by which the minister became famous in Tibetan history and legends, is completely unknown to the Chinese sources, where he appears as Lu-tung-tsan (Table of Chinese characters No. 16). -tung-tsan perfectly corresponds to gDoñ-btsan, but I cannot make out what the character *lu* (Ancient Chinese pronunciation: *luk*) might represent. Thus we notice the strange fact that the real name of the minister is nearly always missing from the Tibetan texts and occurs always in the Chinese; on the contrary, only the name of the clan appears in the Tibetan texts, while it is quite unknown to the Chinese.

Another nickname of this minister is brought down to us by the *LdGR*: Rig-pa-can, "the Wise One." This finds its parallel in a passage of the *GR*. (fol. 99a), according to which that 'Gar bore the title of Rig-pa-can.

The *LdGR*. and Bu-ston speak of a group of Indian pandits who, during the reign of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, came to Tibet in order to collaborate with native scholars such as T'on-mi Sambhoṭa and dPal-gyi-rdo-rje in translating Buddhistic texts. This information may or may not be trustworthy; in any case, there cannot be any doubt that the work of translation in a large scale was carried on later on under the supervision of Padmasambhava. It was not in accordance with the actual state of Buddhism in Tibet during the 7th century. Although the Tibetans have made a C'os-rgyal (King of the Law) of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, the introduction of Buddhism with which he is credited does not appear to make him deserve the name. He respected the religion of his two foreign wives and welcomed their images and other sacred objects with that mixed feeling of veneration and fear, with which all sacred objects are accepted in Tibet, from whatever part they might be forthcoming, for fear of offending the gods (or demons) that dwell in them. This holds, above all, for the two famous statues, the Jo-bo Śākya and the Tsan-dan Jo-bo, which in this period had the character of national

palladiums (some such thing as the True Cross was for the kingdom of Jerusalem five centuries later). For accommodating them in a way worthy of them, the first of the famous Tibetan sanctuaries, the Ra-mo-c'e at Lhasa was built. These are the fundamental facts as to which all the chronicles are in agreement, and about which there cannot be any doubt, if the legends woven around them in subsequent times are left out of account. But the theory of the conversion of Tibet cannot be built upon such a scanty foundation. This has been the first contact of the religion of Buddha with the country which later on became its refuge, but nothing more. It is not likely that already in that period a systematic translation of Buddhist texts had begun.

Also for Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, as for gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan, the *LdGR*. is the only Tibetan source that speaks of his conquests. The names of the conquered countries are: rTsa-mi and Śiñ-mi to the east, places which cannot be identified<sup>6</sup>, bLo-bo and 'Žañ-žuiñ to the south; the first name refers, according to Francke, to the region that lies to the north of Muktinath in Nepal (thus, to the west of the Manasarowar), but this is a statement which I have not been able to verify; the second name refers to Guge, which at this time did not belong to Tibet, either linguistically<sup>7</sup> or politically.<sup>8</sup> In the end,

6 The *Padma-bkai-t'an-yig* mentions, among the conquests of Sad-na-legs a gTsañ-mi of the west. Thomas (*Tibetan Literary Texts* etc., I, 271 n.) thinks that this name might correspond to the rTsa-mi of the *LdGR*. wrongly placed by the chronicle to the east. He suggests with reserve the identity of rTsa-mi with Śāmī, lying to the north of Chitral and to the west of Gilgit and Hunza. But this suggestion requires further proofs before it can be accepted.

7 The country is full of non-Tibetan names of places, regions, rivers, and mountains, although sometimes in manuscripts and inscriptions they appear in Tibetan garbs. This should suffice for concluding that there existed a separate language of Guge. But there are also other direct evidences. Cf. Thomas, 'The Žañ-žuiñ Language,' in *IRAS.*, 1933, pp. 409-410.

8 The country required a long time before it finally yielded to the Tibetan domination. One of the documents published by Thomas (*IRAS.*, 1927, p. 822) deals with conquests in Žañ-žuiñ by Zu-te, a relation of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. A

the Turkish (Hor) kingdoms of the north are mentioned, undoubtedly a hint to the campaign conducted little later than 634 against the T'u-yu-hun.<sup>9</sup> The other Tibetan sources are silent about the conquest of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

somewhat later document (*JRAS.*, 1931, p. 808) mentions a defeat inflicted upon the people of Guge by the councillor bTsan-sñā. But the country was completely subdued only by K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, after the murder of its ruler Lig-mi-rgya-yab (Laufer, *Ein tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bon-po*, in *T'oung Pao*, 1901, p. 262). It was probably at the conclusion of peace with Guge that Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po obtained as wife the princess of Žai-žui, of whom the *CFD.* speak at fol. 27b.

9 Identified by Pelliot with the A-ža's of the Tibetan sources. (Les noms tibetains des T'ou-yu-houen et des Ouigours, *J.As.* 1912, pp. 520-523). Thomas places this people in the Shan-shan region in Eastern Turkestan.

## CHAPTER VI

### *The Period of the Regency*

After the death of Sron-btsan-sgam-po in 650, the monarchy suffered an eclipse which lasted half a century. Tibetan sources help us little in regard to this period, and their accounts often show mythical features which remind us of the legend of the 27 kings and also of the Kesar saga. It is a strange contrast with the clarity and the comparative objectivity that may be noticed in regard to Sron-btsan-sgam-po. The Chinese sources, which never appear so much valuable as in this case, permit us to reconstruct in broad outlines the history of Tibet in the second half of the VIIth century. But we are obliged to depend wholly on their reliability (normally a very high one), as we are not in a position to verify their statements by comparison with other sources.

The doubt already arises on the identity of Sron-btsan-sgam-po's successors. This great king had no sons by the two foreign princesses whom he married in a very advanced age: the Nepalese one at 66,<sup>1</sup> the Chinese one at 72.<sup>2</sup> But by another queen, the princess K'rilcam of Moñ,<sup>3</sup> he had previously had a son who rose to the throne (that is, was associated with his father) at 13 and died at 18, leaving a son of tender age. Sron-btsan-sgam-po again ascended the throne (that is, all the powers, he shared with his son were again concentrated in his hands), and at his death in 650 he left his grandson heir of the kingdom. These are the positive facts that can be derived from the chronicles and are confirmed by the *T'ang-shu*, which also speaks of the succession of the grandson to the throne at a very young age. All the rest is obscure, beginning with the very names of the son and grandson of Sron-btsan-sgam-po. In the chronicles two names are

1 *GR.*, fol. 87.

2 *T'ang-shu*, Ch. 216A fol. 1b

3 Perhaps a name of clan. *GR.*, fol. 113a and *CFD.*, fol. 28a.

to be found, *Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan* and *Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan*, but there is no agreement as to which refers to the son and which to the grandson. The commonly accepted version, represented by *GR.*, *DT.*, *CFD.* followed by later chronicles, attributes the name of *Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan* to the son of *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po* who died before his father. On the contrary, the small group of works not influenced by the *GR.*, and constituted by *LdGR.*, and *Bu-ston* (who in this case was copied by *Sanang-Setsen*), inverts the order of the names. In the light of the antiquity of this group, which outweighs the numerical insufficiency of its constituents, we cannot decide off-hand in favour of the commonly accepted version. The Chinese sources are of no use in this case. *Ma Tuan-lin* (Ch. 334 fol. 17b) calls *K'i-li-p'i-pu* (Table of Chinese characters No. 17) the successor of *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po*. This name, the ancient pronunciation of which was *K'iat-liei-p'jie-puo*, cannot be reduced to a Tibetan form, except the usual prefix *K'i-li = K'ri*. The documents from Central Asia hitherto published are silent on this point. This problem may eventually be solved by the publication of the two Tibetan chronicles in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris used by *Bacot* in his article already referred to. The question has a certain importance also because its solution would offer a good indication of the comparative value of the official historiography (*GR.* and other works based on it) and of the group *Bu-ston—LdGR.*

In the Chinese sources this period is characterized by the brilliant and happy regency of *Lu-tung-tsan* first, and of his son *K'in-ling* next. The latter was for about thirty years the most powerful man in Central Asia; to him is due the increase of Tibetan power in such enormous proportions as to become a serious danger not only to the external possessions but also to the interior territories of China and even to the very existence of the empire.<sup>4</sup> His most

4 A detailed and very useful account of these events from a Chinese point of view may be seen in *Franke's Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, II, 395-402.

notable success was the complete extermination, in the years subsequent to 663, of the T'u-yu-hun, followed by a crushing defeat inflicted on a Chinese army in 670. In this long struggle the minister had been ably assisted by Sron-btsan-sgam-po's old minister T'onmi Sambhoṭa, who seems to have assisted him chiefly through his skilful diplomacy,<sup>5</sup> and by his brother Tsan-po, commander of the army that was fighting on the Chinese frontier. The victory of 670 brought to Tibet the acquisition of the Chinese "Four Garrisons" (Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha, Karashahr), that is to say, the possession of the whole of Eastern Turkestan. It is true that this first Tibetan empire was shortlived; it fell to pieces before a Chinese expeditionary force which reconquered the "Four Garrisons" in 692 without much difficulty. Later on in 699 the minister, whose popularity might have vanished after the loss of Eastern Turkestan, was overthrown by a reaction against his rule headed by the king himself, and was driven to suicide. In spite of his sad end, it cannot be denied that he was a strong and genial-minded personality. Lu-tung-tsan and K'in-ling are two of the most interesting figures in early Tibetan history. They were the very able and vigorous representatives of a tendency towards hereditary ministry, analogous to that which in different times and different places gave rise to the Franc majordomo's the Marathi Peshwas, and the Japanese Shogun. In Tibet this attempt was premature and was nipped in the bud by a strong reaction on the part of the dynasty, which was still too young and vigorous to abandon the direct management of the state and to content itself with merely an honorary position.

Still more striking is thus the fact that the record of these two personages partly is missing at all, and partly is differently related in the Lamaist chronicles. This is the only case of a direct and irreconcilable contrast between the Chinese and Tibetan sources. This

5 He was still alive in 675 when he was sent with proposals of peace to the Chinese Court. *T'ang-shu*, Ch. 216A, fol. 2b.

contrast is already in evidence in the accounts of the events which immediately followed the death of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. The *GR.* (fol. 122b) and the *CFD.* (fol. 30a) tell us that the Chinese, as soon as they came to know of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's death, desiring to avenge the devastations inflicted by 'Gar during the preceding wars, invaded Tibet with a powerful army, arriving so near to the capital as to necessitate, as a measure of precaution, the transport of the two Jo-bo's from the Ra-mo-c'e to the fort of Lhasa. The invaders were eventually driven back by 'Gar who, however, died during the war. This account has all the appearances of the truth, and there is no intrinsic reason whatever for doubting its historical authenticity. Nevertheless, there are some weighty arguments which speak against it. First of all, the T'ang-shu, who records many other wars of which the Tibetans have lost all memory, does not mention this invasion, which is ignored also by the Chinese source of the *DT.* Moreover, the *DT.* vol. KA fol. 24a has recorded the date of 'Gar's death as falling 15 years after Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's death, i.e., in 664. The chronology of the *DT.* is generally very accurate, and its authority considerably reduces the value of the account in *GR.*, according to which 'Gar should have died during the Chinese invasion immediately after the death of the king. It may be safely inferred, therefore, that this war is not a historical event. But as it is unlikely that the Tibetans should have invented needlessly such a story from top to bottom, I think that it may be based on the vague memory of some inroad of Mongolian tribes from the north or of the people of Guge from the west. This incursion was falsely painted and exaggerated by the chronicles, that wrongly put the 'death of 'Gar in relation with it.

But for this uncertain information, 'Gar's activity as regent is completely unknown to the Tibetan chronicles, although they are full of his achievements as the minister of king Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

So far as K'in-ling is concerned, the problem is still more difficult. The *CFD.* (fol. 62a) gives us the following genealogy of the



'Gar clan: "dPon-sa'i-rgyas-dños-grub descended from the heavens to the land of men and became mGar Ts'o-nam-ts'a-brug: To him was born mGar sToñ-mes-k'ri-c'ags; the son of the latter, mGar sToñ-btsan Yul-bzuñ was the minister of the dharmarājā Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. His son was bTsan-po Yon-tan-rgyal-bzuñ, then in succession Lha-gcig sÑan-ldem-bu, K'ri-zañs-dum-bu, K'ri-gñer, K'ri-lcags; the son of the last (dei-sras).....etc.". It is likely that the five personages last mentioned were brothers. And in fact according to the *T'ang-shu* (Ch. 216A, fol. 2a), Lu-tung-tsan had five sons: Tsan-si-jo who died young, K'in-ling, Tsan-p'o, Si-to-kan, P'o-lun. Evidently bTsan-po of the *CFD.* corresponds to Tsan-p'o of the *T'ang-shu*, the able general who for many years fought victoriously by the side of his brother K'in-ling against the Chinese. It is more difficult to find out K'in-ling in the Tibetan list. I propose to identify him with sÑan-ldem-bu. This personage bears the very high title of Lha-gcig (the Divine One); in addition, we are informed by the *GR.* (fol. 122b) that one of the ministers of king 'Du-sroñ-man-po-rje was in fact gÑa-btsan-ldem-bu, son of 'Gar. The Turkestan documents<sup>6</sup> as well speak of a minister named 'Gar-bTsan-sña, an important personage who came to Turkestan about 673 after having defeated the Guge peoples. Phonetically the name K'in-ling (Table of Chinese characters No. 18; ancient pronunciation: K'iəm liəng) remains a mystery, and it is neither possible to say if it is a name or a title. It is impossible to find something similar in Tibetan.<sup>7</sup>

The 'Gar clan survived the disaster of 699 and maintained his position in the high Tibetan aristocracy,<sup>8</sup> but never again exercised any political influence.

6 Thomas, in *JRAS.*, 1931, p. 808.

7 In the documents published by Thomas (*JRAS.*, 1927, p. 54) there is mention of a minister named K'ri-briñ, whom Thomas wants to identify with K'in-ling. But the phonetical similarity is too vague.

8 The name 'Gar occurs in the list of the Tibetan nobility present at the

As we see, the Tibetan chronicles completely ignore the regency. They do neither tell us anything more about the grandson of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po than that he married a princess of Bru-ža (Gilgit)<sup>9</sup> and died in 679.<sup>10</sup> He was succeeded by his son 'Du-sroñ-mañ-po-rje,<sup>11</sup> called by the Chinese K'i-nu-si-lung, (Table of Chinese characters No. 19), that is K'ri-'du-sroñ.<sup>12</sup> Also about him the chronicles of Central Tibet give no useful information. He married a princess of mC'ims<sup>13</sup> and died in 704.<sup>14</sup>

consecration ceremony of bSam-yas during the reign of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, (755-797), more than eighty years after the downfall of K'in-ling (*GR.*, fol. 132a).

9 *GR.*, fol. 122b.

10 *DT.*, vol. KA, fol. 24a, supported by the *T'ang-shu*.

11 This is the most common form of the name. But the words -mañ-po-rje constitute nothing but a laudative surname ("Polykrates"), which was very common in this epoch. It frequently occurs in many names of ministers preserved by the eighth century chronicles found at Tun-huang (Bacot, *Le mariage Chinois* etc. p. 30). But the true name of the king was another. One of the chronicles of Tun-huang (Bacot, *Le mariage Chinois* etc., p. 8) calls him K'ri-'du-sroñ, a name which perfectly corresponds to the Chinese transcription in *T'ang-shu*. Taking account of the rather rigid uniformity of the onomastic type of the Tibetan dynasty, the name in its exact and complete form must have been K'ri-'du-sroñ-btsan. The form Guñ-sroñ-'du-rje accepted by Francke is undoubtedly wrong.

12 Laufer, *Bird Divination* etc., p. 74. Laufer affirms that the character *nu* had in the T'ang period the phonetical value of *du*. This statement has no foundation. The ancient pronunciation of this character was, according to Karlgren, *nuo*. The equivalence *nu*='du can be explained in the following way. In the modern pronunciation prevailing in Eastern Tibet and to a great extent also in Western Tibet, the prefixed letter ' is not silent, but is sounded as a nasal, if the preceding words end in a vowel (bKa-'gyur is pronounced Kangyur). Thus the union K'ri-'du is pronounced nearly as K'rindu. Now, the prefixes in that period were still fully alive, just as they are to-day in the dialects that have remained in a more archaic stage; it may be also pointed out that in Tibetan orthography, which is a historical one and may be taken to represent with a sufficient degree of accuracy the actual pronunciation of the VIIIth century, prefixed ' in many cases freely interchanges with a prefixed *m*, showing thus its nasal value. In Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's time, prefixed ' not only was sounded, but also it put into background, at least for Chinese ears, the following dental. Thus *nu* is a sufficiently exact transcription of *du*.

13 *GR.* fol. 122b. This clan played a very conspicuous part in the internal events of Tibet during the VIIIth century.

14 *DT.*, vol. KA, fol. 24a. Not in 705 as it appears in Bushell's *Chronological*

The *T'ang-shu* is vaster in information. The greater part of this reign was occupied by the regency of K'in-ling. But as soon as the king achieved majority, he became tired of the old minister's tutelage, and succeeded in bringing about his downfall and his suicide, an event in which Chinese intrigues played a great part. Three years later (702) the king himself for the first time since Sron-btsan-sgam-po took the field personally against the Chinese, although with little success. A little later he died during a campaign against Nepal and the peoples of the Indian frontier that had rebelled against him. The young king must have been a very energetic personality and his premature death was a great loss for the dynasty, if not for the state. As a matter of fact, the monarchy apparently suffered a new eclipse under his successors, since the Chinese again were in contact with generals and ministers only, the king being scarcely ever mentioned.

During the reign of 'Du-sron-ma'i-po-rje, the chronicles refer to the existence of seven heroes famous for their physical force. About each one of them a remarkable achievement is narrated, such as seizing a lion by his mane, catching a wild yak by throwing a sling at his feet, and so on. The insertion of such a legend in the heart of history is a curious fact, and it is difficult to find out its origin and its reason. It is however not impossible that there is some relation between the seven heroes and the Tibetan aristocracy, since some of the names of the most famous clans occur in the list: Cog-ro, 'Bron, 'Gos. Do this refer to the legends of the eponyms of the principal Tibetan families? But how could they be inserted here? It is to be hoped that some new texts might be discovered and bring fresh light on this interesting problem.

*Table* (p. 438). The *T'ang-shu* states only that in 705 the Tibetan ambassadors arrived with the announcement of the king's death and with the customary gifts sent by this successor.

Also in the case of 'Du-sroñ-mañ-po-rje the *LdGR*. is richer in historical materials than the chronicles of Central Tibet. It gives us the list of the king's conquests, a list which is all the more important, because not even the *T'ang-shu* tells us in this regard anything more precise than the usual vague hints to war in the one or the other direction. We thus come to know that the Tibetan armies reached the Hoang-ho (K'in-ling's wars and war of 702) and invaded Nepal (war of 704), Turkestan (conquered in 670) and bLo-bo (on which see ante; it refers to the conquest of Guge). In fine, we find for the first time the mention of Baltistan, relations with which acquired considerable importance during the following reign.

The political horizon of Tibet particularly expanded during this epoch. In addition to China, Nepal, Guge,—countries with which their relations date back at least to the time of gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan, the Tibetans, as a result of their northern campaigns, came into contact with the Turks,<sup>15</sup> with the peoples of Khotan and of Kucha, and a little later also with the Arabs, with whom last they maintained amicable relations during the entire 8th century.

The petty kingdom of gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan had grown in less than a century to be a pan-Asiatic power. The documents from Central Asia throw a flood of light on the Turkestan wars, on the administrative system of the countries under direct Tibetan control, and on the policy followed in regard to the protected states. It is a pity that the memory of that glorious period gradually underwent corruption and obliteration after the victory of Buddhism following the fall of the monarchy. In the Lamaist chronicles, the history of Tibetan monarchy is nothing but a pretext for edifying tales, or, at the most, the framework in which the life and work of the great apostles of Buddhism are bound together. A little more than the

15 In 674 and 696 the Tibetans concluded a military alliance with the Turks against the Chinese. Chavanne, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*. (St. Petersburg 1903) pp. 74, 77.

skeleton of the history of the dynasty, and almost nothing of the history of the nation has been saved from the general shipwreck.

We hear nothing about Buddhism during the period of political and military expansion towards the north which was the principal merit of the dynasty. This confirms once again the scarce historical foundation of the so-called introduction of Buddhism by Sron-btsan-sgam-po. It is, however, probable that the religion began to gain ground, through the continuous commercial and military relations with India and Turkestan. We shall see how during the following reign Buddhism already exercised a certain influence, which later on grew very rapidly.

## CHAPTER VII

### *Mes-ag-ts'oms and K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan*

In 704, after some troubles, the throne was occupied by K'ri-lde-gtsug-btsan,<sup>1</sup> more commonly known by his surname Mes-ag-ts'oms. The name of this king is to be clearly distinguished from that of K'ri-gtsug-lde-btsan, alias Ral-pa-can (817-836); the same thing can be said about the names of the kings K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan (755-797) and K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan Sad-na-legs (797-804).<sup>2</sup>

It appears that Mes-ag-ts'oms was strongly subjected to the influence of his mother's family, the mC'ims clan. His chief minister was mC'ims rGyal-śug-stiñs.<sup>3</sup> The Chinese annals as well state that the king never exercised any personal influence on the affairs of the state; they mention a family called Ch'en, which in this period was all-powerful in Tibet and played a decisive part in the enthronements of new kings. This Ch'en, corresponding to an ancient T'iəm, is a transcription of a foreign sound C'im; it is thus clear, as shown by Pelliot,<sup>4</sup> that the Ch'en family is identical to the mC'ims clan. The great influence of this clan is thus confirmed also by the Chinese sources; it was still considerable in the last period of the monarchy, for the Lhasa pillar inscription of 822 mentions two ministers belonging to this family.<sup>5</sup> The mC'ims' did not, however, enjoy the nearly royal rank and position of the 'Gar's in the preceding century.<sup>6</sup>

1 Called by the Chinese K'i-li-so-tsan (Table of Chinese Characters No. 20). Laufer, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans*, p. 92.

2 Cf. Hackin, *Formulaire Sanskrit-Tibétan*, pp. 68-73. 3 GR., fol. 123a.

4 *J.As.* 1925 p. 73. In Bushell's translation (*JRAS.*, 1880, p. 523) this character is wrongly transcribed as Lin.

5 mC'ims Žañ-rgyal-bžer-k'on-ne-btsan and mC'ims Žañ-brtan-bžer-snağ-cig. Laufer, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans*, pp. 74-75, nn. 13 and 15.

6 The seat of the mC'ims clan was near bSam-yas. The holy cave of mC'ims-p'u is still an object of worship (S. C. Das, *Journey to Lhasa*, p. 294), being associated by tradition with the career of Padmasambhava (Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, p. 134).

The reign of Mes-ag-ts'oms was characterised by a lively political and military activity in all directions. Round about 715, the Tibetans entered into an agreement with the Arabs with a view to impose by common consent a new king on Ferghana.<sup>7</sup> Another of the chief features of the great Tibetan-Chinese conflict was the struggle over Baltistan; it never ceased during this reign, because this land was the key to Turkestan and its possession allowed the Tibetans to attack the flank of the Chinese defensive system in Central Asia. Matrimonial alliances with the Turks were concluded.<sup>8</sup> A remarkable activity was also going on in the south, where the failure of 704 had to be avenged; we may infer from Ma Tuan-lin's account<sup>9</sup> that the Tibetan raids were very frequent and fortunate, with disastrous consequences for the Northern Indian rulers, who had to turn back even upon China for help against the Tibetans. And all these are but elements of secondary importance in the imposing picture of the duel between the T'ang's empire and the mountaineers of Tibet for the possession of Central Asia.

The wars continued uninterruptedly, but for the moment there was no decision. An attempt was made by the Chinese for arriving at an agreement, giving in marriage to the Tibetan king an Imperial Chinese princess, but the result of this policy was nil. About this agreement there is a discrepancy between the *T'ang-shu* and the Tibetan chronicles. The Chinese annals say that it was concluded while the king was still very young, in 710, a little later than his accession. The *GR*.<sup>10</sup> places this marriage in a much later epoch and gives a romantic account of it. The princess had been betrothed to the heir-apparent Ijañ-ts'a-lha-dbon (son of the queen Ijañ-mo K'ri-btsan); but the prince on his way to the frontier

7 Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue Occidentaux*, p. 148 n.

8 Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue Occidentaux*, p. 46.

9 Ch. 338, translated by Julien, *Notices sur les pays et les peuples étrangers, tirées des géographes et des annales chinoises, I.As.*, 1847, II.

10 Fol. 123b-124a. Cf. also Bu-ston, II, 186.

where he was to meet his bride, fell from his horse and broke his neck. The princess thus had to content herself by marrying the old king. From this marriage a son was born, whom another wife of the king, Za-bži-steins, a princess of sNa-nam (Samarkand?), tried with success to present as her own. I do not think that this story is tenable. The *T'ang-shu* explicitly states that the king at the time of his wedding was a mere youth. Whenever there is a contrast between the Chinese and Tibetan sources, it is always preferable to rely on the Chinese version, not only because it is much nearer to the events,<sup>11</sup> but above all for the infinitely greater historical sense that distinguishes the Chinese chroniclers.

In the *LdGR.*, this time every mention is missing of military undertakings, although this was one of the periods most troubled by unceasing warfare.

To Mes-ag-ts'oms a great building activity is attributed; his most important achievement was the construction of the royal fort at Lhasa, which is referred to also in the *T'ang-shu*.

Besides this, the Tibetan sources inform us of the translation of several Buddhist texts by a group of lotsawa. There is no reason to call this information in doubt. Buddhism began already to take root in the country, or at least in the court, and the need was felt for having the sacred texts of the new religion available in the mother tongue. This zeal of translation, still scarcely systematic and disciplined, went on gradually increasing and had as a consequence, a little later on, the coming of Padmasambhava and the final acceptance of Buddhism by the dynasty and by more or less wide sections of the people. But already at that time reactions were not lacking. During a pestilence in 740-741, all the foreign monks, and a little

11. The *Kiu T'ang-shu* was compiled in the first half of the 10th century, while none of the Tibetan chronicles used by me is older than the first half of the 14th century.



later the Tibetan monks too, were expelled from the country in order to appease the irritated gods.<sup>12</sup>

In 755<sup>13</sup> Mes-ag-ts'oms died and was succeeded by his son K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, called by the Chinese K'i-li-tsan, K'i-li-su-lung-lie-tsan and So-si-lung-lie-tsan (Table of Chinese Characters No. 21, No. 22 and No. 23), that is, K'ri-btsan, K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan and Sa-sroñ-lde-btsan.<sup>14</sup> He was born in the Iron-Horse year 730 according to *GR.* and the Vaidurya-dkar-po, or in the Water-Horse year 742 according to the *CFD.* It is another of the many examples of uncertainty about the first component of a date, which has been reconstructed in later times. The birth of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan in a Horse year remains in all cases certain.

His reign is doubly important because it marked the zenith of Tibetan power and the affirmation of Buddhism as the chief religion of the state. The history of this period is characterized by a definite superiority won by Tibetan arms in their struggle against their century-old enemy. But, as a matter of fact, this success was to a great extent due to two events in which the Tibetans took no part. One was the destruction of a Chinese army by the Karluks and the Arabs in 751,<sup>16</sup> an event which shook from the foundations the already tottering Chinese dominion in the Tarim basin. The other was the terrible insurrection of An Lu-shan and of his successors, which for seven years (756-763) carried destruction over all the

12 Thomas, *Literary Texts* etc. I, 62 and 83-84.

13 *DT.*, vol. KA, fol. 24b. *T'ang-shu*, Ch. 216A, fol. 11b.

14 Laufer, *Bird Divination* etc., pp. 74, 93; but see Pelliot's remarks, '*Quelques transcriptions*' etc., p. 23. Laufer affirms that, analogous to the equivalence *nu-du* (see above page. 59), the ancient pronunciation of *lie* was *de*. This statement has no foundation. In this case also, in order to explain the correspondence *lie-lde*, one must bear in mind the full phonetical value of the prefixes, which were not yet weakened. The sound *l* in *lde* was pronounced with such emphasis as to lend its phonetical value to the entire word. Thus *lie* is simply the transcription of *lde*.

15 Csoma de Körös, *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, p. 183.

16 Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (London 1928) pp. 195-196.

Chinese provinces, often forcing the emperors to flee from the capital, killing enormous number of men, and inflicting an irreparable blow to the dwindling authority of the T'angs.<sup>17</sup> The weakening effects of these two great calamities were soon felt. In the years between 760 and 766 the Tibetans conquered almost the whole of Kansu, thus cutting off the Chinese army of Turkestan, which by 766 was reduced to the garrisons of Kucha and Pei-t'ing near Guchen (the "Two Garrisons"). Although segregated from the mother country, the Chinese veterans heroically held out for a quarter of a century, yielding only in 787.<sup>18</sup> But Khotan, although apparently not held by Chinese troops, continued to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty till about 791.<sup>19</sup> While the northern army was fighting in Kansu and Turkestan, the eastern army obtained in 763 its greatest success in two centuries of struggle, entering victoriously in the very capital of the T'ang's, Ch'ang-an, where the Tibetan commanders crowned as emperor a T'ang prince who assumed the title of reign (*nien-bao*) Ta-she. But the rule of this puppet lasted only 15 days, after which, on the retreat of the Tibetans, the capital was re-occupied by the soldiers of the rightful emperor Tai-tsung. The war continued with alternate prospects of victory and defeat until an "eternal" treaty of peace and alliance was concluded in 783. It recognized the vast Tibetan conquests: the whole of Turkestan, almost the whole of Kansu, and vast portions of Szechuan. The *T'ang-shu* diffusely relates the preliminary negotiations and the ceremonies of the conclusion of this pact. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the vexed question whether the inscriptions of the Lhasa pillar, as published by Waddell,<sup>20</sup> refer to this

17 O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, vol. II (Berlin 1936), pp. 454-465.

18 Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, p. 114.

19 Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford 1907) p. 536.

20 *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa*, *JRAS.*, 1909.

treaty or to that of 822, as held by Pelliot.<sup>21</sup> I shall only point out that to the strong arguments supporting the latter date may be added the silence of the Tibetan sources about the treaty of 783, while that of 822 is widely spoken of by the historians, who were certainly aware of the real contents of the Lhasa inscriptions. The *GR.* speaks profusely of them.

The "eternal" treaty of 783 was broken soon after its conclusion, and the war started again, gradually degenerating, however, into a series of devastating raids, of no military or political consequence; and the Chinese eventually gained the upper hand. But the shock suffered by the T'ang empire, already on the verge of decadence, was very grave, and Turkestan was never recovered by the Chinese.

In order to have a free hand against China, the king seems to have constantly followed a policy of friendship at all costs with the other great Asiatic power, the Arabs. From all the sources collected by Chavannes in his very useful volume *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue Occidentaux* we get the impression that the Arab-Tibetan collaboration was seldom disturbed. Informations from Arab sources are very scanty. For the period under discussion, we have only a passage of al-Ya' qūbī,<sup>22</sup> according to which the Caliph at-Mahdī (775-785) demanded and got tributes from various eastern rulers, among whom the king of Tibet is mentioned. A temporary payment of tribute to the Arabs is not surprising, as Tibet at that time was passing through the critical period which preceded the peace of 783, and it was a vital necessity to avoid at any cost hostilities in its rear.

The *LdGR.*, refers, in its usual list, to conquests in all directions. The wars in Turkestan are mentioned, under the shape of the notice of the conquest of Kashghar, which was one of the "Four Garrisons."

<sup>21</sup> 'Quelques Transcriptions' etc., 1-2. Cf. also Hackin, *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain*, p. 69 sqq.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibn Wādbih qui dicitur al-Ya'qūbī Historiac.* ed. Houtsma (Leyden 1883) vol. II, p. 479.

Mention is also made of campaigns in India, and this corresponds to actual facts, since the Pāla kings in Bengal and Bihar were compelled by K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan to pay tribute to Tibet,<sup>23</sup> and the king Ral-pa-can (817-836) still maintained some kind of suzerainty over two or three rulers of India.<sup>24</sup> Last of all, the *LdGR.* speaks of the conquest of Baltistan up to Gilgit; this was a natural consequence of the conquest of the Four Garrisons, since Chinese intervention, which several times had upheld the independence of this land, was now impossible. China had been cut off from Central Asia, and nearly a millennium had to elapse before the Chinese armies re-appeared in the Tarim basin.

In internal politics a curious fact can be noticed. The Tibetan sources, not confirmed by the Chinese, tell us of a regency of ministers hostile to Buddhism, who were overthrown and killed when the king reached majority. As we see, it is nearly the same story as the *T'ang-shu* relates about K'in-ling and 'Du-sroñ-mañ-po-rje sixty years before. But there are no evidences as to whether these facts are historical or are the result of a bad mistake of the chroniclers, who transferred events of the reign of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's successors to the reign of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan. If we accept the historicity of this regency, it may be observed that one of the ministers is called mC'ims rDo-rje-spre-c'un.<sup>25</sup> This fact points to a continuation and even a growth of the influence of the mC'ims clan, that was already very strong, as we have seen, during the reign of Mes-ag-ts'oms. Not only the grandmother and one of the ministers of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan belonged to this clan, but also his first queen, mC'ims bZa-ma.<sup>26</sup> The mC'ims clan (and the Tibetan aristocracy in general) seems to have been utterly hostile to Buddhism, as it may be inferred from the persecutions ordered by K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan's ministers who

23 Thomas, *Literary Texts* etc., I, 272-273.

24 *LdGR.*, p. 34, ll. 5-6.

25 *DT.*, vol. KA., fol. 14b.

26 Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, p. 120.

did not hesitate even to treat with indignity the two venerated Jo-bo, burying them first, and carrying them away later on. As we shall see further on, gLañ-dar-ma's reaction too was to a great extent manipulated by the nobility.

The reign of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, whom the chroniclers call an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, is the most important in the history of the Land of the Snows. But in addition to this, his reign exercised also a great indirect influence on the ultimate destiny of Central Asia, through the elevation of Buddhism to the state religion of Tibet. This saved the main spiritual conquests of Mahāyāna Buddhism from the irreparable decadence to which it was subject in the country of its origin. The king, as soon as he took the reins of government in his hand, completely inverted the policy adopted by the ministers whom he had displaced, and became the most enthusiastic propagator of the new religion in his kingdom, although it is possible that the chronicles, which are the works of monks, have exaggerated the religious zeal of this king. It is also very likely that political considerations largely influenced his activities in favour of the new faith, because its introduction largely helped to the destruction of the power of numerous noble families which had hereditary Bon-po priesthood and took advantage of the religion for increasing their political fortunes. Whatever the true designs of the king may have been, it is certain that Tibetan Buddhism made an enormous stride during his reign. This progress is indissolubly connected with the name of Padmasambhava, the greatest of the Indian paṇḍits who were called in by the king for helping him in the conversion of his subjects. Padmasambhava soon became all-powerful and completely dominated the mind of the royal family. The religiousness of the king and of his wives<sup>27</sup> was undoubtedly sincere, as it is reflected in the education of

27 The *bTsun-moi-bkai-t'an-yig* (3rd part of the *Padma bkai-t'an-yig*), translated by Laufer under the title *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, shows the queen Ts'e-spoñ-bza as a devout Buddhist and as a helping hand to her husband in

their descendants, who faithfully continued the work of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan till the reaction of 836 and the subsequent fall of the monarchy.

A great importance is attached by the *GR.*, and the allied chronicles to the foundation of bSam-yas, an event which took place, according to Bu-ston, (II, 189) and Padma-dkar-po (fol. 100a) in 787. The importance of this foundation has been undoubtedly exaggerated by these sources, since it is to be borne in mind that the author of the *GR.*, bSod-nam-rgyal-btsan, who wrote his work in 1328, was a monk of bSam-yas, and was naturally inclined to exalt his own monastery. The long epic fragment in the *GR.*, which has been translated by Laufer,<sup>28</sup> is certainly drawn from the dkar-c'ag (māhātmya) of bSam-yas. This ceremony must have been nevertheless an act of the utmost importance; otherwise there could be no explanation of the dominant position it occupies in the *Padma-bkai-t'an-yig*, the first composition of which goes back probably to the IX century, and in Bu-ston, who is also earlier than the *GR.*, as he wrote in 1323.<sup>29</sup>

The date of the king's death is, according to the *T'ang-shu*, 797. Tibetan sources widely disagree on this point. The *GR.* (fol. 135a) gives the Wood-Ox year 785; the *CFD.* (fol. 39b) the Iron Dragon year 800; Bu-ston (II, 196) the Water-Tiger year 762 or 822; the *DT.* the Iron-Monkey year 780. The statement of the *DT.* is due to a misunderstanding, as I shall explain later on, and all this bewildering cluster of dates has no weight against the authority of the *T'ang-shu*, so much nearer in time to the events concerned. Anyhow, this question is intimately connected with the intricate problem of the succession of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

religious work. Another queen, P'o-yoñ-bza instead, is portrayed as an obstinate antagonist of Padmasambhava.

28 *Die Bru-za Sprache*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1908, pp. 39-47.

29 *Reu-mig*, in *JASB.*, 1889.

## CHAPTER VIII

### *The sons of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan*

K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, according to all the sources, had three sons,<sup>1</sup> the eldest of whom, Mu-ne-btsan-po,<sup>2</sup> succeeded his father at the age of 28.<sup>3</sup> A very strange fact is reported about him, strange not only to us, but also to the Tibetans themselves.<sup>4</sup> He is said to have redistributed three times the wealth of the country, establishing thus social equality between rich and poor; but after each redistribution, those who had been rich recovered their wealth within a short time, and those who had been poor returned to their original state. This story may at first sight appear an absurdity. But it seems to me that such stories are difficult to invent root and branch (besides, to what purpose?). There must have been some sort of a foundation for the growth of such a legend. I venture to propose, therefore, the following interpretation, although I admit that it is a simple hypothesis, based on very uncertain foundations. The Tibetan aristocracy maintained at this time its great influence on the government, which practically was in its hands. And this was also the case during the reign of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, although he was the most powerful of Tibetan kings; this is amply demonstrated by one of the songs sung at the foundation ceremony of bSam-yas and preserved in the *Padma-bkai-t'an-yig*.<sup>5</sup> In it the noble singers display a strong sense of pride and a clear consciousness of their

1 He had also a daughter, princess K'rom-pa-rgyan, whom he presented to Padmasambhava as wife. Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, chs. 15-21.

2 The form Mu-k'ri-btsan-po in *LdGR*. is doubtless wrong.

3 *GR*. fol. 133b.

4 See, e.g., the attempts at a philosophical explanation in the *CFD*. (fol. 40a).

5 Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, p. 126-127.

power and wealth; there is even a mention of parties which struggled to acquire predominance in the state. The power of the nobility reflected itself in that of the ministers; only a few of the more energetic kings succeeded in getting rid of their regents-ministers, who acted, though nominally on behalf of the king, in reality according to their own convenience. Mu-ne-btsan-po as heir-apparent had occasion to feel the influence of the aristocracy, and had before him the example of his father's vigorous action. He decided to free the monarchy from the power of the nobility, destroying the very foundation of its strength. Accordingly, he gradually confiscated in three successive steps the estates of landed proprietors (that were nothing but the old tribal chiefships of the 5th and 6th century subdued by gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan), either joining them with the private possessions of the crown, or parcelling them among the commoners. But the old aristocracy of the clans, deep-rooted as it was in the country, was too strong an enemy for the royal reformer; it was his attempt at strengthening the effective power of the monarchy that was responsible for his tragic death after a short reign, the shortest in the entire Tibetan history. The chronicles attribute his end to private reasons. He had married one of the widows of his father. This lady having refused to undergo the formalities of mourning for K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, the queen P'o-yoñ-bza, mother of Mu-ne-btsan-po, attempted to assassinate her, but she was protected by the king against the murderers sent by the old queen. P'o-yoñ-bza, furious about her failure, turned against her son and caused him to be poisoned." It may well be that his death was due to personal reasons, but I am inclined to believe that the queen, who profoundly felt the duty of solidarity with her clan, rendered herself the interpreter of the wishes of the entire aristocracy, removing her son who threatened to do away with the nobility.

6 GR. fol. 134a. See also *Bodhimör* in appendix to Sanang-Setcen, p. 357.



To the death of the king may also have contributed the complete failure of his foreign policy and the difficult situation in which Tibet was placed. The victories of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan over China made Tibet the most powerful state of Central and Eastern Asia; but as a logical consequence Tibet's friends of yesterday, who became apprehensive of Tibet's unchecked expansion, changed into enemies. The first blow to the Tibetan system of alliances was struck already during the reign of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan. In 791 the powerful king of Nan Chao (modern Yun-nan), hitherto a faithful ally of the Tibetans, concluded peace and alliance with China, and inflicted a crushing defeat on a Tibetan army sent to punish him. Henceforward, Tibet had to guard against this new enemy from the south-east, who threatened the communications of the Tibetan armies fighting against China. Some years later, the Arab Caliph too, hitherto the traditional ally of Tibet, turned against it. The greatest of the Abbasides, Hārūn ar-Rashīd (785-809) distrustful about his too powerful neighbours, sent in 798 an embassy to the Chinese court for the purpose of organizing a joint attack on Tibetan Turkestan.<sup>7</sup> This attack was carried out with considerable success. While the Arabs kept more than the half of the Tibetan army fully occupied on the western border,<sup>8</sup> the Chinese had a free hand and gained a long series of victories in the campaign of 802. On the whole, however, the Tibetans succeeded in holding their own, and the storm passed away without any substantial loss of territory. But the fighting on three fronts became too much for thinly populated Tibet, and its forces were not sufficient for gaining the upper-hand. Even when the Tibetans occasionally fought some victory, it did not change the general course of the

7 *T'ang-shu*, Ch. 221B, quoted by Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, III, 411.

8 *Kiu T'ang-shu*, Ch. 198, fol. 17b, quoted by Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, II, 484.

war. Tibet was abruptly checked in its expansion and was now reduced to the defensive. The imperial dream of the Tibetan kings had vanished for ever; but the very fact that nothing less than the coalition of the two most powerful empires of early Middle-Ages was necessary for checking the expansion of the Tibetan state, is a magnificent witness of the political capacities and military valour of those sturdy mountaineers.

The Chinese sources do not speak of the murder of king Mu-ne-btsan-po. They know of him little more than the name, which in the *T'ang-shu* (Ch. 216B, fol. 4b) is Tsu-chih-t sien (Table of Chinese Characters no. 24). In the beginning of the 9th century it might have been pronounced approximately Tsiuk-chih-tsiän. Probably the text is corrupt, because it is impossible to find a Tibetan equivalent for this name, which is so different from all the other names of Tibetan kings occurring in the *T'ang-shu*.

As pointed out above, Mu-ne-btsan-po had two brothers. We are not sure about their names, not one source agreeing with the others on this point; the most commonly occurring ones are Mu-rug-btsan-po, Mu-tig-btsan-po and K'ri-lde-sron-btsan. Apparently the confusion is due to the fact that the kings were called by different names according as they came into contact with different kinds of people. The problem is thus solved to a great extent by a passage of the *Padma-bkai-t'an-yig*,<sup>9</sup> which explains the diverse value of the various names of the third brother, Mu-ne-btsan-po's successor: in his intercourse with his teacher (Padmasambhava), he was called Mu-tig-btsan-po ("Pearl King;" probably an initiatic name); with his father he was called K'ri-lde-sron-btsan (probably the true personal name, perfectly agreeing with the onomastic type of the dynasty); with the ministers he was called Sad-na-legs (a nickname which in the chronicles normally

9 Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, I, 270.

substitutes all the others, and was probably the popular name of the king); in his relations with China the name Mu-ru-btsan-po was used.

The above-mentioned personage succeeded Mu-ne-btsan-po, since the second brother (whose name in all likelihood was Mu-rug-btsan-po or Mu-rum-btsan-po) had already been assassinated during the reign of K'ri-sron-lde-btsan. Mu-ne-btsan-po had reigned one year and several months according to the Tibetan sources, one year according to Bushell's translation of the *Kiu T'ang-shu* (Ch. 196, fol. 12b). But there are strong evidences against this. Particularly in the case of the *Kiu T'ang-shu*, there seems to be an internal contradiction. The facts are the following: For this period, the *Kiu T'ang-shu* relates the death of Tibetan kings in the following years: 797, 804 and 817. But to the notice about the death of the Tsan-p'u in 804, the following sentence is added: "The Tsan-p'u who died in the 4th month of the 13th year of Chên-yuan (797) was succeeded by his eldest son, who died one year after, when the second son succeeded to the throne."

The obvious interpretation is that K'ri-sron-lde-btsan's eldest-son succeeded to the throne in 797 and was succeeded in 798 by his brother, who died in 804. But under the heading of the 13th year of Chên-yuan there is no mention of a change on the Tibetan throne, and the above quoted sentence does not occur either in the *T'ang-shu* or in later works such as the *T'ung-chih* and Ma Tuan-lin. It is even positively contradicted by the *T'ang-shu*, which, besides not mentioning such an event in 798, definitely states that the Tsan-p'u who died in 804 was followed by his brother. It seems therefore probable that we must read *seven* years instead of *one* year.

On the other hand, in doing this we are in contradiction with the Tibetan sources, which nearly unanimously assign to Mu-ne-btsan-po a reign of one year and several months. But if we want

to follow them and the *Kiu-T'ang-shu*, we must accept three kings as reigning in this period: the first 797-798, the second 798-804, the third 804-817; this would lead us to an absurdity, since all sources, Tibetan as well as Chinese, know only of two kings, viz. K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan's two sons Mu-ne-btsan-po and Sad-na-legs.<sup>10</sup> I may add that, if there is anything real in the tale of the threefold re-distribution of wealth, such a far-reaching reform, which might almost be called a revolution, cannot have been carried out in the short time of one year. '

The *DT.* does not give us any help for solving this question. gŽon-nu-dpal misunderstood his Chinese sources, and a complete confusion was the result. His list of kings for this period is the following:

Mu-ne-btsan-po	...	...	780-797
Ju-tse-btsan-po	...	...	797-804
K'ri-lde	...	...	804-814
K'a-li-k'a-tsu	...	...	814-836

The dates of Mu-ne-btsan-po are due to a curious misunderstanding. In a passage of the *Kiu-T'ang-shu* (Ch. 196B, fol. 2b) concerning the events of the year 780, K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan is incidentally called with the abbreviated name K'i-li-tsan, that is, K'ri-btsan.<sup>11</sup> This name led astray several authors, Chinese as well as Europeans, and also gŽon-nu-dpal; they supposed K'ri-btsan to be another king, who succeeded to the throne in or before that year. And since the successor of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan is Mu-ne-btsan-po, gŽon-nu-dpal took him as the Tibetan equivalent

<sup>10</sup> The name of a king lDiñ-k'ri which is inserted between Sad-na-legs and Ral-pa-can by some of the manuscripts of the *GR.* (my ms. B and ms. III of those quoted by Hackin, *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain*, p. 71), is most certainly an interpolation. It does not occur in any other Tibetan source; more than this, it is even ignored by most of the manuscripts of the *GR.*, also by the most ancient: Hackin's ms. I, found by Pelliot in Tun-huang.

<sup>11</sup> Laufer, *Bird Divination*, p. 93 note.

of the supposed Chinese name K'i-li-tsan. But next he was faced with the puzzling name Tsu-chih-t sien, which he could not translate by Mu-ne-btsan-po. He did not overcome the difficulty, and simply transliterated Tsu-chih-t sien as Dsu-ce btsan-po, for which Ju-tse-btsan-po is evidently a misprint. The dates of this king are quite correctly given as 797-804, showing thus that gZon-nu-dpal understood the text of the *Kiu T'ang-shu* in the same way as I have done and was not misguided by the passage concerning the one-year reign of Tsu-chih-t sien. Next comes K'ri-lde (-sron-btsan Sad-na-legs), 804-814. Except for the second date, which is 817 in the *T'ang-shu*, all this is also perfectly correct. It may be observed that, notwithstanding its errors, the *DT.* supports my theory concerning the period 797-817, and mentions only two kings in those years.

As for the *LdGR.*, its royal list of this period is wrong. The compiler made things easy for himself; the succession according to him is always from father to son (which is quite false), and he relates little more than the bare names of the kings.

Summing up the preceding discussion, we may safely assume that K'ri-sron-lde-btsan had three sons, of whom the first, Mu-ne-btsan-po (Chinese: Tsu-chih-t sien) succeeded the father, the second did not reign, and the third, Sad-na-legs, succeeded his brother.

The following table shows the dates of these kings:

K'ri-sron-lde-btsan	...	...	755-797
Mu-ne btsan-po	...	...	797-804
Sad-na-legs	...	...	804-817

Sad-na-legs' reign was comparatively uneventful. The Tibetan chronicles do not relate anything noteworthy. There is an information in the British Museum Ms. of the *LdGR.* about the coming of the Pandit Kamalaśila during this reign. This is wrong: Kamalaśila had been invited to Tibet by K'ri-sron-lde-

btsan, under whose presidency the famous debate took place in which the Pandit defeated the Tibetan followers of Chinese Buddhism<sup>12</sup>. In the relations with China, this reign was a comparatively peaceful one, while it was characterised by the closest, but essentially hostile, contacts with the Caliphate. From the beginning of the century, al-Ma'mūn, the second son of Harūn ar-Rashīd, was governor of Khorasan. Immediately after his father's death, he came into conflict with his brother, the new Caliph al-Amīn (809-813). In addition to these troubles with his brother, which soon were to degenerate into a fratricidal strife for the throne, he was obsessed by the incessant Tibetan raids. A heterogeneous mob, the back-bone of which was composed by Tibetan troops (junūd), besieged even for a time the capital of Transoxania itself, Samarkand.<sup>13</sup> The Tibetan war, which he inherited from his father, had become a serious handicap for al-Ma'mūn; in fact, he laments in a letter preserved to us by the historian at-Ṭabari<sup>14</sup> of his difficult situation, because on the eve of taking the field against al-Amīn, he had to leave at his rear the hostile rulers of the east, amongst whom he mentions the king of Tibet. But eventually he succeeded in arriving at an agreement with the king of Tibet, who (probably, in reality, the Tibetan governor of Turkestan) even paid a visit to al-Ma'mūn in one of the towns of Khorasan, and presented him with an idol of gold seated on a golden throne bedecked with jewels. al-Ma'mūn later on sent this precious object to the highest sanctuary of Islam, the Ka'ba at Mecca.<sup>15</sup> According to the Arabic historians, the king of Tibet should even have been converted to Islam. We do not know whether this peace lasted for long. In any case, this is the last mention of Tibet in Arabic sources.

12 Bu-ston, II, 191-196.

13 al-Ya'qūbi, II, 528.

14 *Ta'rikh ar-rusul wal-mulūk* (Leyden edition), II, 815. See also Ibn al-Atir-*Ta'rikh al-Kāmil* (Thornberg edition), VI, 160.

15 al-Ya'qūbi, II, 550. See also Ibn al-Faqih (*Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, V) p. 19.

## CHAPTER IX

### *Decadence and fall of the monarchy*

With the accession of king K'ri-gtsug-lde-btsan Ral-pa-can to the throne 817, the history of Tibet becomes again clear and does not present any chronological and genealogical difficulties till the fall of the monarchy. The father of this king (Sad-na-legs had five sons. The eldest, gTsañ-ma, renounced the world and took the vows of a Buddhist monk (later on he was killed by order of gLaiñ-dar-ma); the second one, Ral-pa-can, was the most fervent Buddhist that ever rose to the Tibetan throne; the third gLaiñ-dar-ma,<sup>1</sup> was to give later on a fierce demonstration of his fanaticism for the Bon-po religion. The royal family seems to have been animated in this epoch by strongest religious enthusiasm. Such an atmosphere characterises in all times and in all places the conversion of a people to a new religion; the fanaticism of the Turkish converts two centuries later offers an instance.

The nickname Ral-na-can (Sanskrit *Kesarin*, Lat. *Caesar*) is explained by the *GR*. thus: the king, in order to show his veneration for the monks and the lotsawas, wrapped his hair with long pieces of cloth, on which the holy men sat. The rise of such legends plainly shows that the king was really a very religious, nearly a bigoted, man. Accordingly, some chronicles<sup>2</sup> even tried to place him among the incarnated kings, as an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi; but this was not accepted by the majority.

The pacific mentality of the king manifested itself in a lull in military activity. In fact, the three great empires which for two centuries had struggled for the possession of Central Asia were

<sup>1</sup> According to *CFD*. fol. 41a, gLaiñ-dar-ma was the second son; he should have ascended to the throne after the death of his father, but was excluded from it on account of his Bon-po faith.

<sup>2</sup> Bu-ston, II, 196 followed by Sanang-Setsen, p. 49.

already in full decadence. The Caliphate was now under the influence of the disintegrating forces to which it finally succumbed; in 820 the semi-independent dynasty of the Tahirids in Khorasan was founded and at the same time began the career of the Samanids of Transoxiana; the Arabic state disappeared thus for ever from the political life of Turkestan. The empire of the T'angs was nearly on its last legs and was not in a position to busy itself with what happened outside the frontiers of China proper. Tibet was now exhausted by the long and unequal struggle on three fronts. Peace was called for by the force of circumstances. As we have seen, the treaty between Tibet and the Caliphate was concluded round about 810. Little later on, in 822, the famous treaty was signed which finally closed Tibet's long-lasting fight with its great neighbour. The text of the treaty together with the additional documents was inscribed on stone pillars. It is now too well-known to require further elucidation here. Waddell's edition is imperfect, but until it becomes possible to secure a good estampage or photographs of the inscriptions, it is useless to resume the discussion.

Unlike the treaty of 783, the 822 peace was not broken (apart from the usual incidents on the frontier) and lasted until the fall of the monarchy, the end of the T'ang, the partial Uiguric conquest and then the Islamization of Eastern Turkestan removed all possibilities to conflict for several centuries to come.

The *LdGR.* gives us the customary list of conquests; but it deals with countries that were already under Tibetan suzerainty since a long time past. According to the statement of the *T'ang-shu*, Ral-pa-can was far from being warlike, and the same impression can be gained from a perusal of the Tibetan chronicles. The works of peace were much more attractive for him, and, in addition to the invitations to Indian pandits,<sup>3</sup> we hear also of a regulation of weights and measures after the Indian pattern.

3 The expression bKa-cog of the *LdGR.* (p. 33) is an abbreviation of the



The Buddhistic zeal of the dynasty was responsible for a gradual replacement of the aristocracy by Buddhist monks in the most influential charges of the court. The *Bodhimör*<sup>4</sup> speaks plainly about this. In addition, a real persecution of the old Bon-po religion was in sight. All this contributed to the growth of a tension that had to burst inevitably into a revolution. In 836 a conspiracy was formed and the king was assassinated by two noblemen. The chronicles clearly recall that the conspiracy was the work of the aristocracy. Among the conspirators and the chief supporters of the new regime occur a few of the most famous names of the old families that once formed the backbone of the state, and of which for a long time, since the coup d'état of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, nothing was heard. The assassins were sBas Stag-snas (Bu-ston: sBas rGyal-to-re) and Cog-ro Legs-sgra; the Cog-ro clan was one of the most noted Tibetan families in the eighth century.<sup>5</sup>

The conspirators placed on the throne prince K'ri-dbu-dum-btsan,<sup>6</sup> called gLañ-dar-ma, younger brother of Ral-pa-can. This king became the target of all Lamaist historians who painted him with the foulest colours as a combination of Nero and Julian the Apostate; the *T'ang-shu*, under Buddhist influence, increases the dose. Out of all these exaggerations it has become impossible to lay down precisely what was the real character of this king. In any case, it is undeniable that the persecutions, or more appropriately vexations, of Ral-pa-can were answered by a deliberate attempt at suppressing Buddhism. I do not think that the chronicles are far from truth when they say that the temples were closed or destroyed, and the monks were forced to escape or were

names of the two lotsawas dPal-rtsegs of bKa and Klui-rgyal-mts'an of Cog-ro (*GR.*, fol. 34b).

4 In the notes to Sanang-Setzen, pp. 361-362.

5 A minister Cog-ro Blon-btsan-bžer-lto-yoñ is mentioned in the Lhasa pillar inscription of 822. Laufer, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans*, pp. 74-75, n. 14.

6 *GR.*, fol. 134a.

dishonoured by being obliged to break their vow of *ahiṃsā*. The prime minister of *gLañ-dar-ma* was one of the murderers of *Ral-pa-can*, *sBas Stag-snas*; he was probably the guiding spirit of the reaction.

The *LdGR*. offers a curious interpretation of these events. It makes the king and his three chief ministers incarnations of demons invoked by four Brahmans who were angry on account of the success of Buddhism in Tibet. This legend, evidently of popular origin, remains isolated and no trace of it is found in other sources.

In 842 *gLañ-dar-ma*<sup>7</sup> was assassinated by the monk *dPal-gyi-rdo-rje*, who succeeded miraculously in escaping. But the death of the protector of the *Bon-po*'s did not restore the predominance of Buddhism, although the historians like to represent the activity of *gLañ-dar-ma* as a simple interlude after which Buddhism resumed its victorious penetration. The fact that the throne remained to the descendants of *gLañ-dar-ma* and that for two centuries scarcely anything is heard about the new religion, is enough to explode the legend of an immediate restoration of Buddhism. The persecution done by *gLañ-dar-ma*, although it lasted only four years (it really began, as it appears, in 839), inflicted a heavy blow on Buddhism and revealed how superficial was its penetration, apparently so brilliant. The Tibetan converts, no longer guided

7 Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 10) affirms that even *al-Berūni* knows *gLañ-dar-ma*. He refers probably to the king *Lagatūrmān*, who according to *al-Berūni* (Arabic text, p. 208, l. 2) was the last of the Tibetan dynasty (this is a blunder of *al-Berūni*; it was probably of *Śaka* origin) of the *Śāhi* of *Kabul*. In fact, *Sachau* (*Alberuni's India*, II, 361) thought of *gLañ-dar-ma*, but he himself abandoned the idea which is absolutely untenable, historically, geographically, and phonetically. If we admit a corruption (quite possible and very frequent) of Arabic *l* with "*taśdid*" into *k*, the name perfectly corresponds to *Lalla-Toramāṇa*. *Toramāṇa* is a well-known name among barbarian rulers of North-Western India, and *Lalla* finds a correspondence in the very name of the successor of this king, *Lalliya* (which in *al-Berūni* is corrupted into *Kallar*; see *Scybold* in *ZDMG.*, 1894 pp. 699-700).

by the profound learning and spiritual altitude of the Indian teachers, rapidly degenerated and gradually reverted to the worship of natural forces which seems to constitute the nucleus of Bon-po religion; as a matter of fact, the Tantric Buddhism of Padma-sambhava already contained in itself the germs of similar development. Thus the necessity of persecuting Buddhism was no longer felt, as this religion had practically disappeared. It was only after two centuries that Rin-c'en-bzan-po, Atiśa and Mar-pa started, one may say, *ex-novo* the work of conversion, which on this occasion was crowned with success.

After the death of gLaiṅ-dar-ma the first queen pretended to be pregnant<sup>8</sup> and a little later she presented as the son of the murdered king a baby who had the name of K'i-ri-lde,<sup>9</sup> but, as he owed the throne to the mother, was generally known as Yum-brtan ('he who was supported by the mother'). The *T'ang-shu* (Ch. 216B, fol. 4b) confirms this story in the main lines; it calls the new king K'i-li-hu (Table of Chinese Characters No. 25); in fact, K'i-li = K'ri; he was really the nephew of the queen and ascended the throne at the age of three under the regency of his aunt. It is to be noted that the queen, and thus the new king as well, belonged once more to the famous clan mC'ims. But a little later another wife of gLaiṅ-dar-ma brought to light a son, gNam-lde,<sup>10</sup> commonly known under the name of 'Od-sruis. The young prince, or others in his behalf, claimed the throne, with partial success. The unity of Tibet was destroyed; after a century there existed a great number of petty local chieftains, descended from 'Od-sruis and Yum-brtan.

The two families seem to have antagonized in the field of religion as well. While the short rule of Yum-brtan over the entire country continued to support the Bon-po religion,<sup>11</sup> to 'Od-sruis is

8 *GR.*, fol. 140a.

9 *CFD.*, fol. 46a.

10 *CFD.*, fol. 46a.

11 *GR.*, fol. 140a.

attributed by the chronicles the immediate restoration of Buddhism. This is wholly unlikely, but it is striking that the kings of Guge, to whom finally the victory of Tibetan Buddhism is due, were the descendants of 'Od-sruis.

After the brief information about K'i-li-hu, the Chinese do not know the existence of a monarchy in Tibet, and for the rest of the T'ang period had their contacts only with the local chiefs of the frontier. The old kingdom of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po was dissolving into tiny fragments and did not come to life any more.

It is not easy to-day to determine the causes of the fall of a monarchy which for two centuries fought against the Chinese empire as an equal adversary. But one of the causes was certainly the discredit into which the monarchy fell in the eyes of the people and, above all, of the aristocracy. As in all oriental dynasties, the inevitable decadence overtook also the Tibetan one, although it was slower and less pronounced in this case. For a warlike people as were the Tibetans before the victory of Buddhism, the military feebleness and political incapacity of the last kings was bound to appear discreditable. Besides this, while we do not hear of an attempt against the person of the king for two centuries, when the queen P'o-yoñ-bza struck a serious blow to the dynasty poisoning her son, the fascination disappeared and the people followed the example which was offered by the reigning house itself. The last two kings were assassinated; the monarchy did not command any more respect either morally or politically.

gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan founded the state and Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po consolidated it and made it powerful, basing it on the aristocracy; the monarchy maintained itself keeping the friendship of the nobility and dividing it in order to secure its obedience. But the last kings had lost the political tradition of the founders. If the attempt of Mu-ne-btsan-po had succeeded, it would have placed the state on new and sounder bases. But

after its tragic failure the succeeding kings were too weak to deserve the respect and esteem of the nobility; moreover, they foolishly antagonized it, trying to keep it away from influential positions, that were accorded to the new spiritual aristocracy hailing from India. The nobles, who could no longer dominate the dynasty, opposed it, and the reaction they led was so strong as to sweep away not only Buddhism, but the monarchy itself, which had to appear as an useless burden on the chiefs of clans who had regained the consciousness of their power. They continued however to disguise their ambitions under the name of rightful princes of the ancient royal house. These princes succeeded in founding strong states in the west (Guge, Ladakh), where the Tibetan immigration was more recent and the immigrants were freer from the bonds of the clans. But they could never again exercise an effective power in the feudal anarchy of Central Tibet, where the clan system remained as the only true form of government until Buddhism had changed gradually in the course of centuries the very character of the people.<sup>12</sup> The monarchic tradition, extinct in Tibet proper, took refuge in territories originally non-Tibetan, in the western states.

The Tibetan monarchy, although it filled two centuries of the history of Asia, did not leave any political or ethnical traces in Turkestan; it left only scanty and unimportant traces in Tibet itself, which in 842 found itself nearly in the same conditions as it was in the 6th century. From the cultural point of view, the monarchy marks the beginning of Tibetan literature, which did not, however, show any remarkable development in this period. It began to flourish only one century and a half after the death of

<sup>12</sup> Even today the nobility maintains a portion of its ancient great power and Tibet may be said to be to a certain extent a feudal State. Cf. Bell, *Tibet Past and Present* (Oxford 1924) p. 142.

gLan-dar-ma, when Rin-c'en-bzai-po and Atiśa commenced the translation of the sacred texts systematically and on a large scale.

There is one aspect of the historical mission of Tibetan monarchy which deserves to be studied more thoroughly; it is its function of a dividing wall between the two great empires and civilizations: the Chinese and the Arabic-Musalman. If Tibet had not arrested the march of Chinese armies which in the decade 650-660 were about to penetrate into Western Turkestan, they would have come face to face with the Arabs in Khorasan. In anticipation of a similar clash, the Chinese, with that practical political sense which has always distinguished them, prepared ably the political bases of their advance, presenting it as a restoration of the Sassanian empire. They had always been in amicable relations with the old Persian dynasty; the last king, Yazdajird III, before the decisive battles with the Arabs in 636 and 642 sent the state treasure in safety to China.<sup>13</sup> His son Firuz was recognized by the T'angs as the king of Persia and was installed in this position in the frontier regions, probably in modern Seistan, but could not maintain himself against the Arabs but for a few years. His son Narses too enjoyed Chinese support.<sup>14</sup> The unexpected intervention of the new Tibetan state nipped in the bud all Chinese designs in Persia, obliging the Chinese governors of Eastern Turkestan to devote all their attention towards the south-east. It is impossible to speculate to-day what consequences Chinese support to the last defenders of the ancient Persian kingdom and religion would have brought, or simply to foresee what results the direct contacts between the two great civilizations, Arabic-Musalman and Chinese, could have produced.

13 Euty chius (Sa'id ibn al-Batriq), *Nazam al-jawhar*. Quoted by Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, vol. III (Milano 1910) p. 654.

14 Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-king Occidentaux*, p. 172 and *Notes additionnelles sur les T'ou-king Occidentaux*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1904, p. 22.

## CHAPTER X

### *The Sources of the LdGR.*

In Chapter I, I have dealt with the sources of the first section of the *LdGR.* (cosmology and mythology). The aim of the present chapter is to put the second section of the *LdGR.* (history of the great Tibetan monarchy) in its right place among the other Tibetan chronicles. It may seem highly premature to speak of the sources of the *LdGR.*, since the number of Tibetan chronicles hitherto known is so scanty that it makes impossible any attempt of real research of the sources carried out with strictly scientific criteria. Scholars in Europe are in a particularly unfavourable condition in this regard, because the few Tibetan and Mongolian chronicles that have been published in Europe and in India are (with one single exception) certainly not among the best or the oldest or the most authoritative. It is just the best fruits of Tibetan historiography (the *GR.* and the *DT.*) that have escaped their attention. Thus the only possible course is of laying down a few general lines of development of history-writing in Tibet on the base of the scanty material hitherto known; the following scheme is thus to be regarded as altogether provisional and may need correction or even may be discarded on the evidence of any new Tibetan historical work coming to light. It is simply a systematic catalogue of all the works that I know of.

The historical literature of Tibet may be divided into three great periods.

I. The first period, that may be called archaic, ranges from the 7th to the 13th century, including thus the monarchy, the epoch of final introduction of Buddhism by Rin-c'en-bzan-po and Atiśa, and the centuries immediately following. Very few works of this period have survived. Among the oldest ones are the various

manuscripts of historical contents discovered in the sands of Eastern Turkestan and preserved partly in Paris and partly in London. They are contemporary to the great Tibetan monarchy, and as such their publication would mark an important step ahead in our knowledge of Tibetan history. The first origin of the famous work, the *Padma-bka-t'an*, an account of the career of Padmasambhava, dates back to this period; but in its present form, it is certainly of much later date. It has preserved to us a good deal of highly interesting information which would otherwise have been lost. The various *rnam-t'ar*, or biographies of the great Buddhist teachers and thinkers, are a kind of literature that largely flourished during the latter half of this epoch;<sup>1</sup> they are very interesting from the point of view of religious history, but have scarcely any importance for the history of Tibetan monarchy. Towards the end of this period or at the beginning of the following, (but in any case before the *GR.*) was probably composed the *Mani-bka-'bum*, a narration of the achievements of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po attributed to the king himself.

II. The second period is the golden epoch of Tibetan historiography. It includes the 14th and 15th centuries, an epoch that also corresponds to a magnificent revival of the entire religious and literary life of Tibet; it is sufficient to recall the names of Bu-ston and Tson-k'a-pa. To this second period belong only three of the works known to me. But these have an outstanding importance and exercised a deep influence on all subsequent chronicles.

The first in the chronological order is the *C'os-'byun* (history of religion) of Bu-ston, of which we have an excellent translation by Obermiller. It was written in 1323 and is a veritable mine of information about Indian Buddhism. The history of Tibet, instead, is concentrated in a few pages and is very concise so far as the non-religious facts are concerned.

1 On the *rnam-t'ar* literature see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. II.



A few years later, in 1328, was written the *rGyal-rabs-gsal-bat-me-loñ*, that became the history of Tibet par excellence. This chronicle, which is very imperfect from our western point of view (the historical material is buried under a mass of confused legends and anecdotes), has an intrinsic value that is certainly much inferior to that of the other two works of this period; it is, however, richer in information about the political history of Tibet.

The third of the great chronicles, the *Deb-t'er-sñon-po*, was composed in 1476, a century and a half later than the other two. It is not, strictly speaking, a real chronicle, since it consists of a small historical introduction in the form of chronological tables derived from Chinese sources, and of a series of biographies of the great teachers of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. Its chronology is a remarkable example of precision, an unique thing in the whole of Tibet. One could even have the impression that gZon-nu-dpal had a Chinese teacher from whom he imbibed the love of exact chronology that is characteristic of the Chinese.

From these three works are derived practically all the chronicles of the third period. The *DT.*, naturally, has not exercised any great influence, since it could not serve as a source for the history of the monarchy, which it only refers to in passing. Of Bu-ston and the *GR.*, it was certainly the second that had the greater number of followers.

III. The third period extends from the 16th century to our own times. It opens with the *C'os-'byun* of Padma-dkar-po, written probably in the first half of the 16th century. Though being of the utmost importance for the history of the Lamaist sects, it is almost useless for the history of the monarchy. Judging by the few leaves which it devotes to the latter, it appears that it owes more to Bu-ston than to the *GR.*

The first work of the 17th century is the well-known history of Indian Buddhism of Tāranātha. Any mention of Tibet is practi-

cally missing in it, and thus it cannot be possibly counted among Tibetan chronicles.

In 1662 the Mongol prince Sanang-Setsen wrote his chronicle, the undeserving reputation of which has already been pointed out. It is based (so far as the history of Tibet is concerned) almost completely on the *GR.*, although the author has kept in view, and occasionally even followed, Bu-ston.

In the notes to his translation of *Sanang-Setsen*, J. J. Schmidt quotes long extracts from a Calmuc work, the *Bodhimör*, the date of which is not known. It is a sufficiently faithful translation of the *GR.*

In the second half of the 17th century one of the greatest figures in Tibetan history, the fifth Dalai-Lama Ngag-dbañ-blo-bzañ (1617-1682), wrote his chronicle (for its full title see Bibliography), the reading of which presents innumerable difficulties, to the extent of being nearly unintelligible, on account of its continuous dependence on the rules of Indian alaṅkāra. In spite of this, it has no mean value, inasmuch as the author, besides being one of the most brilliant intelligences Tibet ever produced, could avail himself of materials not accessible to others, as, for example, the Lhasa archives. So far as the history of Tibetan monarchy is concerned, it follows mainly the *GR.*

The chronological tables of the *Vaidurya-dkar-po*, translated by Csoma de Körös in appendix to his *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, date back to the end of this century (1686). The chronology of the *Vaidurya-dkar-po* seems to have been derived mainly from the *GR.*

Towards the latter half of the 18th century (after 1746) a work of the same nature was compiled: the chronological tables of the *Reumig* by Sum-pa-mk'an-po (1703-1776), translated by S. C. Das in *JASB.*, 1889. It is a sufficiently accurate work, far more than the *Vaidurya-dkar-po*. It appears that the author extensively availed

himself of the *DT*. These tables are but an appendix to a more bulky work, *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, which I could not make use of. It is a strange fact that the list of the 27 kings in the *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, as reproduced by Francke in his notes to the *LdGR.*, is independent as much of the *GR.* as of Bu-ston, and seems instead to have been derived from the *Mani-bka-'bum*.

Finally, in the opening years of the 19th century the *Hor C'os-'byun* of 'Jigs-med-nam-mk'a was composed. It contains but scanty references to the history of Tibetan monarchy, probably drawn from the *GR*.

I do not know to which epoch belongs the *rGyal-rabs-bon-gyi-'byun-gnas*, edited by S. C. Das and known to me only through Laufer's review ('*Ein tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bon-po*', in *T'oung-Pao*, 1901).

Having thus drawn in broad outlines a picture of the Tibetan historiography, we can determine the position that the *LdGR.* deserves in it. It occupies an important position among the best works of the third period. As for myself, its value is inferior only to the *CFD.* and is at least equal to Sanang-Setsen. The *LdGR.* is closely akin to Bu-ston, as I have already mentioned. The grounds on which this statement of mine is based are limited but sure. In the first place, the list of the 27 kings is identical in both the *LdGR.* and Bu-ston, while it differs definitely from that of other chronicles. Secondly, the list of Indian paṇḍits that came to Tibet during the reign of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po is characteristic of *LdGR.* and Bu-ston, while in other chronicles there are but scanty traces of it. Thirdly, the group of works that call the son of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po with the name of Man-sroñ-mañ-btsan is formed by *LdGR.* and Bu-ston only. Lastly, the identity of facts as narrated by Bu-ston and *LdGR.* is, generally speaking, perfect while discrepancies are not lacking in this regard between these two works and all the other chronicles. The difference, however, in the style and arrangement of materials

is such as to exclude a pure and simple derivation of the *LdGR.* from Bu-ston. The possibilities are two: either the authors of the *LdGR.* knew Bu-ston through one or more intermediate compilations, or the *LdGR.* is wholly independent of Bu-ston and was derived from the same sources as Bu-ston; the second possibility is more likely.

But the compilers of the *LdGR.*, although availing themselves of the same materials as Bu-ston, took notice also of the *GR.*, or of its sources, for the proto-historic and legendary parts. Here too it is difficult to say whether it was done as a direct derivation from the *GR.*, or quite independently of it. Those parts of the text which are word for word the same in both *LdGR.* and *GR.* are composed by what we shall call the "chronicle in verse."

The story of the Tibetan kings up to Sron-btsan-sgam-po was transmitted at the outset in the form of a chronicle in verse, of a type which closely resembles the *Vamśāvalis* of the Punjab Hill States. Of this chronicle nothing remains but a few sections preserved in the *LdGR.* and *GR.* Below is given a list of the pieces found in *LdGR.*

A. The first and the longest piece occurs p. 29/l.13—p. 30/l.9. It includes the following fragments

- (1) The series of the seven K'ri's (page 29/l. 13-22) in verses of seven syllables
- (2) Also the following two lines (23, 24) constituted a part of the chronicle, although, corrupted during the many centuries of oral tradition and also later on by the copyists, they appear as prose. Comparing them with the corresponding paragraph of the *GR.* (fol. 52), equally corrupted, they can be reconstructed thus:

de dag la dbu la 'od kyi lha dag yod pas  
 dguin lo man du bžugs  
 sras 'og ma rnam bc'ibs k'a t'ab tsa na  
 de ltar bde bar gśegs.

- (3) The following lines of prose (25-27) can easily be reduced through some small modifications to verses of nine syllables. They appear also in the *GR.* in a much enlarged form, in which the order of verses is different and which looks as if it were a paraphrase of the original text. The more concise form of the verses in the *LdGR.* seems nearer to the original.
- (4) Then follows a group of verses (p. 29/l.28—p. 30/l.6) on the progress of civilisation in the times of Spu-de-guñrgyal; they occur almost identically in the *GR.* (fol. 55).
- (5) The list of the Legs' is in its nucleus composed in verses of five syllables, all of the same type: Dei sras.....  
śo legs. The interpolated observations concerning some of these rulers are in prose. The series of the IDe's is also in prose, and perhaps it was so in the original. At least it is very difficult to reduce it to verses.

B. A group of four verses (p. 30/l.22-25) that speaks of the discoveries made under king K'ri-sñai-bzuñ-btsan, evidently formed a part of the chronicle.

C. The same may be said about the verses that speak of the discoveries made under king Sroñ-btsan?sgam-po (p. 31/l.18-24). They occur also in the *GR.*, but there they are inserted absurdly in the middle of a song on the lips of the Chinese bride of Sroñ-btsan-sagm-po on the eve of her departure for Tibet.

The verse at page 31/l.11 does not form a part of the chronicle. It is of an erudite origin and is the first verse of a poem which in its entirety is given in the *GR.* (fol. 66). It is a sort of grammatical joke and consists of four verses of nine syllables containing no vowel but *a*, and of four verses of seven syllables containing only the vowels *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* respectively. The verse in question is rather obscure. It is beyond our knowledge why Francke takes gžal-ras-gsal as a name of Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara); this is completely groundless.

Comparing the various readings,<sup>2</sup> I propose to reconstruct the verse as follows:

žal ras gsal ba dañ mdañs gañ ba bzañ

and to translate it:

“The face (of Avalokiteśvara) is completely luminous and the colour is altogether auspicious.”

Another fragment in verse is to be found at page 33/1.8-15. But its style, so different from that of the verses hitherto quoted, its argument (a sort of hymn in honour of K’ri-sroñ-lde-btsan and Padmasambhava), the phraseology, which reminds us of the later Lamaist authors, conspire to make it unlikely that these verses should form a part of the chronicle. It is instead, one of the few examples included in the *LdGR*. of those poetic pieces of half epic and half religious character that abound in the *GR*. and of which a fine specimen was translated by Laufer.<sup>3</sup>

The *GR*. contains in addition certain other fragments of the chronicle in verse. But there is a wide difference between the *LdGR*. and the *GR*. in this regard. Instead of the verses relating to the progress of civilization under the single kings, of frequent occurrence in the *LdGR*., the *GR*. regularly mentions (in verses of nine syllables) the location and names of the royal tombs, and this information is never missing for any king, even in the 8th and 9th century.<sup>4</sup>

The fragments are too scanty to enable us to conclude whether the *LdGR*. and the *GR*. derive from the same source, each one of them drawing different groups of verses, or they were based on two

2 *LdGR*. ms. *S*: gžal ras gsal la ñad mdañs gañ ba bzañ  
*LdGR*. ms. *L*: gžal ras gsal la ño mdañ gañ ba bzañ  
*GR*. ms. *A* (fol. 66): žal ras gsal la dañ ’dañs gañ ba bśad  
*GR*. ms. *B* (fol. 76b): žal ras gsal ba dañ dañs gañ ba bzañ

3 ‘Die Bruža Sprache’, in *T’oung-Pao* 1908, pp. 39-47.

4 It is to be noted that the *CFD*. gives after every king a short poem on his achievements. Those poems, however, have a somewhat different character and are of a later origin.

different sources. It may be only pointed out that the fragments in *LdGR.* show an archaic character which is slightly more pronounced. In any case, the existence of a sort of primitive *Vaṃśāvalī* in verse is not to be doubted.

Another very important source of the *LdGR.*, chiefly for its third section (Ladakhi history) must have been the *dkar-c'ag* (*mābāt-myas*) of the Ladakhi monasteries; they are works of usually very ancient origin and contain very interesting informations. The notices in the third section about pious works and donations of the kings are almost certainly copied from the *dkar-c'ag* of the most important Ladakhi monasteries: for example, Alchi and Lamayuru.

The general impression that the *LdGR.* offers us is that of a great antiquity of its material. As we have it now, it is of recent origin, but its first redaction goes back to a remote past. The entire first section with its numerous Bon-po infiltrations must be of a very ancient origin. For the second section the compilers have not only availed themselves of a historical material identical to that used by Bu-ston, whose work is the oldest among the three great chronicles, but also have preserved for us extensive pieces of the very ancient chronicle in verse. The entire arrangement of the materials and the style itself of the work lead us to the conclusion that the *LdGR.* was not simply compiled from Bu-ston and the *GR.*, but represents a more or less independent redaction of an ancient body of historical traditions brought into Ladakh by its Tibetan invaders (*Skyid-lde Ņi-ma-mgon*), which maintained itself comparatively pure up to its final redaction.





## SECOND PART

### CHAPTER I

#### *Ladakh before the 10th century*

As we have seen, the first part of the *LdGR*. should be grouped with Central Tibetan chronicles, with which, despite all of Francke's attempts at interpretation, it shares the peculiarity of never mentioning Ladakh; the name of Mar-yul (Ladakh) is practically absent from the great Lamaist chronicles, which mention it only on a unique occasion, when they relate the partition of Western Tibet among 'Od-sruis' descendants. Even the Chinese sources, although very well informed about Tibet and contain references also to Baltistan, seem to have no knowledge of Ladakh. In Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* no more than vague allusions are to be found. Hence, it may be said that there are no literary sources extant on Ladakh's history prior to the 10th century, which, therefore, remains practically unknown and may be only tentatively outlined by hypothetical reconstruction based upon present ethnical conditions and upon the history of neighbouring countries and none too abundant epigraphical data. Francke is the only author who has attempted such a reconstruction.<sup>1</sup> Without wishing by any means to detract from the merits of this able pioneer in such an almost unexplored field as the history of Tibet and Ladakh still is, one cannot help recognizing that the value of all his work and particularly of his research on the period of the origins is materially diminished by his preconception that Ladakh was the original seat of the Tibetan monarchy and the centre of the formation of the state.

In the population of Ladakh, Francke admits four successive strains, as the consequence of four successive immigrations:

<sup>1</sup> *History of Western Tibet*, pp. 12-46.

Tibetan nomad tribes, Mons, Dardis, Central Tibet folk. The existence of the first of these strains is argued from Ptolemy's mention of a Dabasai people, whose name was connected by Cunningham, Francke and others with dbUs—the region, of which Lhasa is the capital. But the connection does not seem to be phonetically warranted. Furthermore, the territorial subdivision system presupposed by the name dbUs is of a later age, at least not prior to the fall of the monarchy, and probably as late as the time of the first Dalai-Lamas. Such a system appears as patterned after a *maṇḍala* scheme,—not a surprising occurrence inasmuch as the *maṇḍala* theory occupies a preponderant place throughout the Tibetan 'Weltanschauung'; we have already seen in the first section of the *LdGR*. a list of regions so arranged as to form a *maṇḍala*. The later officially recognized division of Tibet into provinces may be reduced to the following scheme: dbUs (which, in fact, literally means 'centre') in the centre, K'ams to the east, Lho-yul (the country between the Tsangpo and the Indian frontier, including Bhutan) to the south, gTsañ to the west, Byai-t'an to the north. Such a division certainly did not exist in the 7th and 8th centuries, not being mentioned in the Lhasa inscriptions, in the Turkestan documents, or in any of the older literary sources; it cannot possibly date back to Ptolemy's time.

Moreover there is no reason for locating the Dabasai in Western Tibet. They were a trans-Gangetic Indian people, dwelling to the west of the Dabasa mountains, where Ptolemy places the source of the Daona (the river Mekong).<sup>2</sup> They seem, therefore, to have lived in north-western Yün-nan; they might have been a Tibetan people, but they cannot have anything to do with Western Tibet. In the latter region Ptolemy knows of but two peoples: the Daradrai,<sup>3</sup>—the present Dardis, and the Byltai',—namely, the Baltis, of whom the

2 Berthelot, *L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale*, p. 400.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 285.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

former certainly and the latter most likely are not a Tibetan people; the Baltis, being originally kindred to the Dardis, could not have become Tibetanized at so early a time. Hence it is clear that it is utterly impossible to find in Ptolemy any evidence as to the existence of a Tibetan population in Ladakh at his time.

The name of Mon designates in Ladakhi the low caste of the musicians and blacksmiths, representing, in Francke's opinion, the remains of the ancient population conquered and reduced to a low condition by the Dardi invaders. But this view cannot be upheld any longer, since Dainelli<sup>5</sup> proved that the Mons do not in the least differ from the remainder of the population. The fact that popular tradition credits the Mons with many ancient constructions of unknown origin does not have any evidential value, because the Western Tibet people apply the name to all the non-Tibetan populations of past ages, without reference to any tribe in particular; by Mon buildings, therefore, they mean only buildings credited to foreign peoples of ancient ages, who of course have no connection whatsoever with the caste of musicians and blacksmiths.

Francke's system is untenable as far as the two first strains are concerned. But the other two fit historical and ethnical realities. There is no doubt that the ethnical substratum of the Ladakh people is Dardi. The names of rivers and mountains are there to attest it, although dressed in Tibetan garb. Anthropometrical research confirms the present Ladakhis to be a mixed race, the chief elements of which are the Dardic (Indo-Iranic) and the Tibetan (Mongoloid).<sup>6</sup> Dardi folklore preserves the tradition that the whole of Ladakh was originally occupied by the Dardis.

5 *Spedizione Italiana De Filippi*, serie II: *Resultati geologici e geografici*, vol. IX: *I tipi umani* (Bologna 1925) pp. 137-139.

6 Biasutti, in *Spedizione Italiana De Filippi*, II/X, *I tipi umani*, p. 262. Dainelli (*ibid.*, p. 44) goes one step further and positively avers: "It is a white people, which, certainly not in its mass and perhaps not even in a majority of its members, has had a slight touch of mongoloid characters."

The period of the Tibetan immigration is difficult to fix, but it is most unlikely to belong to a time prior to the 7th century, as up to then Ladakh not only had no connection with Tibet, but was also separated from it by the Guge people of non-Tibetan race and language.

The first glimpse of the country's history belongs to the 2nd century of the Christian era. Ladakh belonged then to the great Kuṣāṇa empire,<sup>7</sup> which has left a mark of itself in an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters at Khalatse. This inscription, edited by Sten Konow,<sup>8</sup> bears the name of the great king Uvima Kavthisa (Wima Kadphises II) and a date, the year 187, corresponding perhaps to 103 or 104 A.D.<sup>9</sup> Obvious economic and geographical considerations warrant the assumption that in later times, as in the previous Kuṣāṇa period, the various rulers of Kashmir did not neglect to secure control of the important trade highway of Ladakh by garrisoning the strategical key-points, until the establishment of the strong Balti kingdom of Skardo interposed a barrier between the two countries. Such military occupations are most likely to have occurred, but they have left no trace other than a religious and cultural influx attested to us by several inscriptions of various periods.

None of the great Chinese pilgrims seems to have gone through Ladakh. Yuan Chuang mentions a Mo-lo-so region, which Cunningham identifies with Ladakh.<sup>10</sup> This identification, how-

7 Ptolemy places the Byltai (Baltis) in the Śaka region (Berthelot, pp. 199-208). This might warrant the suggestion that Baltistan (hence, probably, Ladakh as well) before the Kuṣāṇa conquest could have been included in the Śaka satrapy of Taxila.

8 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, The Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, vol. II, part I (Calcutta 1929) pp. 79-81.

9 But Konow's chronology is very doubtful; see Rapson's remarks in *JRAS.*, 1930, pp. 190-191 and 198-199. I disagree with Rapson's views only inasmuch as I do not think the possibility of the existence of a Kuṣāṇa inscription in Ladakh may properly be doubted on geographical grounds.

10 *Ancient Geography of India* (Calcutta 1924) p. 164; *Ladakh, physical, statistical and historical* (London 1854) pp. 18-19. But Mo-lo-so does not stand

ever, extends us no aid, for Yuan Chuang talks of these regions by hearsay, never having visited them.

For the 8th century events we can rely on the history of Baltistan for the same period. The latter country, continually threatened by the Tibetans, could maintain its independence only by virtue of frequent Chinese aid. In 722 A.D., 4000 Chinese soldiers entered Baltistan and assisted its king in repulsing the invaders.<sup>11</sup> Shortly before 733<sup>12</sup> king Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa of Kashmir raided the eastern countries and defeated the Dardis and the Tibetans.<sup>13</sup> Another Tibetan invasion occurred in 737, the Chinese this time aiding indirectly by a diversion towards the Kuku-nor regions.<sup>14</sup> Lastly in 747 the king of Baltistan having made an alliance with the Tibetans, a large Chinese expeditionary force under Kao Hsien-chih re-established the T'ang influence in Baltistan.<sup>15</sup> A Chinese garrison was even established for a few years at Gilgit. This is the last information on Balti history to be derived from Chinese sources. A few years after the expedition of Kao Hsien-chih, the Tibetan conquest of the "Four Garrisons" eliminated China altogether. Baltistan was eventually forced to recognize the more or less effective suzerainty of the Tibetan kings, and is, in fact, listed among the countries conquered by K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan.<sup>16</sup> Baltistan's strategic importance to the Tibetans was enormous in that it made flank attacks possible on the Chinese stronghold system in Turkestan. All strife with Baltistan was brought about by the Tibetans' desire of gaining an opening towards a new line of attack on the "Four Garrisons", as plainly stated

for Mo-lo-po and is not a transcription of dMar-po ("Red land"); it only transcribes the words Mar-sa ("Low land"), a variant of the more common name Mar-yul. Cf. Francke, *Notes on Mo-lo-so*, *JRAS.*, 1908, 188-189.

11 Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue Occidentaux*, pp. 150-151.

12 In 733 Muktapīḍa announced his success to the Chinese court. Chavannes, *ibid.*, p. 167.

13 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Stein's translation, Ch. IV, verse 168.

14 Chavannes, *ibid.*, p. 151 note.

15 Chavannes, *ibid.*, pp. 151-153.

16 *LdGR.*, p. 87.

in a passage of the *T'ang-shu* translated by Chavannes,<sup>17</sup> wherein the Tibetans speak to the Baltis thus: "We are not plotting against your kingdom, but only availing ourselves of the road through it in order to attack the "Four Garrisons." In fact, the northern mountain passes winding down from Eastern Turkestan into the Indus valley, although difficult, afford fair accessibility, and have been run through more than once by comparatively large armies, as, beside the Chinese troops in the 8th century, also by the Turco-Mongolians of Sultan Said Khan and Mirza Haidar in 1532 and 1533. The relations between the kingdoms of Baltistan and Khotan were very close in the 8th century, and commercial and military traffic through the passes can be surmised to have been very lively. Even an instance of personal union between the two kingdoms occurred in 737, when, upon the death of both kings in battle, Vijayavarman, a son of the king of Skardo, became, though not for long, also king of Khotan.<sup>18</sup> The way through Baltistan, therefore, was by its very nature the most suitable for effecting flank attacks on the Chinese positions in Turkestan,—an advantage that outweighed the imperiousness of the tract along the Indus from Guge to Baltistan to the movement of an army.

Guge had been conquered during the second half of the 7th century. Baltistan was overpowered by the Tibetans in the years immediately following 751. The occupation of Ladakh must have been effected some time between these two events, probably early in the 8th century. Ladakh did not constitute an integral part of the Tibetan state, but must have been considered as a dependency or even as a kind of colony, since, like the whole of Western Tibet, it remained outside the territorial organization of the Tibetan army as described in the *Padma-bkai-t'an-*

17 Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-king Occidentaux*, p. 150.

18 Thomas, *Literary Texts etc.* I, 139

*yig*, part V, chapter 4.<sup>19</sup> This colonial or semi-colonial status is quite natural, because Ladakh's population was not as yet or was only beginning to become Tibetan,—a process that must have required a long time, inasmuch as the Tibetanization of Guge, separating Ladakh from Tibet proper, was a pre-requisite. Tibetan rule was not to last long; Turkestan's conquest abated interest in Baltistan, as a country too remote and now devoid even of the military importance that formerly had been its only attraction. Lhasa's sovereignty must have soon become merely nominal. When Skyid-lde Ņi-ma-mgon early in the 10th century founded the Western Tibetan kingdom, he found no trace of Tibetan rule in Ladakh. The lower part of the valley was divided into a large number of very small states, while upper Ladakh constituted a single state a little more important; its dynasty boasted, as did the Gru-gu dynasty, of descending from Kesar.<sup>20</sup> Probably this situation had existed from very ancient times, notwithstanding the invasions the country had suffered.

The story of the founding of the kingdom by Skyid-lde Ņi-ma-mgon strangely recalls, with but little change, the customary account of the founding of all the Punjab Hill States: a foreign (Rajput) prince, taking refuge with a few followers into the country, subdues the various Rāṇās and Ṭhākurs (local chiefs), establishing thereby a state. As can be seen, the Ladakhi story is identical excepting for the fact that the prince is not a Rajput, but a Tibetan. This, however, is but one of the many traits that the *LdGR*. and the *Vaṃśāvalis* of the Punjab Hill States have in common; as already observed by Francke, the resemblance in basic outlines between these works is very remarkable. Although I do not feel warranted to draw historical conclusions from such a coincidence, which might well be entirely fortuitous, I should, however, say that primitive political conditions in Ladakh and in the mountain states

19 Thomas, *Literary Texts* etc. I, 282.

20 *LdGR*., p. 93.

were alike, the local nobility holding power and keeping the land divided into a number of petty states wholly unconnected with one another. It is the same situation as in Central Tibet during the 6th century, though with this very important difference, that, while in Tibet unification was a spontaneous process arising within the country, and the dynasty was a native one, in the western states (Guge, Ladakh, Punjab Hill States) unification was the work of a foreign élite.

For the reasons stated above (see *ante* pp. 98-100) the population found in the country by Skyid-lde Ņi-ma-mgon must have been practically free from any Tibetan strain. The first mention of Tibetan people in Ladakh is to be found in the *Hudūd al-'Alam*, a Persian geographical treatise composed in 982-3, translated by Minorsky (Gibb Memorial New Series, XI, London 1937). It calls the regions that correspond to-day to Baltistan and Ladakh by the name of Bolorian Tibet (p. 93). This proves that in the 10th century the process of Tibetanization was so far advanced that Ladakh could be described as a Tibetan country. The earliest tangible tokens of the existence of Tibetans in Ladakh are the inscriptions of Alchi, dating no further back than the 11th or 12th century.

Buddhism, no doubt, was the country's religion even before the foundation of the new state, although not in the form it took in Tibet, as any Tibetan religious influence earlier than the 11th century is to be excluded, but as introduced from and influenced by Kashmir. Indian cultural and religious influence must have been very strong from the most ancient times, as attested by the numerous Indian inscriptions of a religious nature found in Ladakh, the oldest of which, an inscription in Brāhmī characters at Khalatse, dates back to the 3rd or 2nd century B.C.<sup>21</sup> Not until the 11th or 12th cen-

21 On these inscriptions, besides their first mention in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1905/6, p. 165, see Francke's articles '*Historische Dokumente von Kbalatse*', *ZDMG.*, 1907, pp. 592-593.



ture did Kashmir's influence begin to abate, gradually yielding to that of Toling, Guge's great religious centre.

Before the introduction of Buddhism the local religion must have consisted in the amorphous mass of animistic and totemistic beliefs which is characteristic of the infancy of all peoples and which later on was set up into a well-organised religious system under the name of Bon. Graffitoes representing the ibex are very common in Ladakh: in later times the Buddhistic figuration of *mc'od-rten* (*caitya*, *stūpa*) was laid over many of them. Hence we are confronted with an earlier totemistic cult having the ibex as the sacred animal, which was supplanted by Buddhism, probably about the Kuṣāṇa period or even earlier, not without, however, leaving its traces in Ladakh's popular mythology; in fact, according to a local legend, one of the incarnations of the Buddha was an ibex.

## CHAPTER II

### *The first Ladakhi dynasty*

Ladakh's history proper begins for us in the first half of the 10th century, and, as the *LdGR.* is the only source extant for the period from that time to the beginning of the 15th century, we have no choice but to follow this text almost blindly, since we lack practically all possibilities for a critical use of it. Where Chinese sources leave off, there is no other record enabling us to make a comparison. None of the inscriptions containing royal names dates further back than the 15th century. Moreover, as far as inscriptions are concerned, disappointment would be the lot of anyone who would rely on them for materials for completing the meagre information supplied by the *LdGR.* Unlike India's magnificent collection of inscriptions that have enabled us to reconstruct her early history, Ladakh's epigraphy, although occasionally interesting from a religious point of view, is so hopelessly poor in historical content that the few names of kings and the very few dates found in it look to us like a big find. The *LdGR.* itself, although generally richer in historical material than the chronicles of Central Tibet, suffers remarkably from being the work of Lamas, whereby the tokens of piety (temples, sacred paintings and sculptures, copies of sacred books) constitute its chief topic. Little more than the mere names of the kings is all that the *LdGR.* has preserved of the first dynasty, whose rule lasted till the latter half of the 15th century, and even the list of those names is anything but reliable, because, as some of the names are missing from one or another of the manuscripts, so other names may be missing from all the existing manuscripts. In short, these six centuries are practically a blank page in Ladakh's history. In the following pages I have assembled all the positive facts that can be gathered from the sources at my disposal.

As I have already stated, after gLañ-dar-ma's death Tibet had plunged into a state of anarchy as a result of the strife between Yum-brtan and 'Od-sruñs: hatred survived them in their respective descendants with continuous and unrelenting hostilities lasting many years. During one such armed engagement in Central Tibet, a grandson of 'Od-sruñs, Skyid-lde, also known as Ñi-ma-mgon,<sup>1</sup> was defeated and compelled with a small party of his followers to take refuge in mÑa-ris-skor-gsum, while his more fortunate brother succeeded in holding out as a ruler of upper Tsang.<sup>2</sup> Skyid-lde was well received by king (?) dGe-śes bKra-śis-btsan of Purang, who gave him as wife 'Bro-bza 'K'or-skyoñ, of whom we are not told whether she was of dGe-śes' kin or not; but at any rate she belonged to that 'Bro clan, which had held an important place among the Tibetan nobility of the 8th century<sup>3</sup> and had already given a queen to Tibet: 'Bro-bza Byañ-c'ub, one of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan's wives.<sup>4</sup> Whether through this marriage or otherwise, Ñi-ma-mgon became the master of Purang.

He built for himself a capital there—a city which Bu-ston (II, 200) calls Ñi-zuñ,—and operating from such a 'base, he conquered the whole of m-Ña-ris-skor-gsum. Upon his death

1 According to Bu-ston, II, 200: K'ri-skyid-lde. Almost to a certainty, this is the same as the K'ris-kyi-liñ of the *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibetain* edited by Hackin (p. 18). After gLañ-dar-ma's death, the type of the Tibetan royal names changes completely. Up to that time they had been quadrisyllables ending in *btsan* and with either of the terms *gtsug* or *sroñ* in the second or third place. The true names of 'Od-sruñs, Yum-brtan, Ñi-ma-mgon and of the greater number of Guge's kings are disyllables, with the element *lde* in the second place. The names of the first Ladakhi dynasty do not run to a definite type; but an agnomen ending in *mgon* is very frequent among them and eventually becomes a name.

2 *DT.*, vol. KA, fol. 19a.

3 In the Lhasa pillar inscription of 822 a minister 'Bro Žañ-..... is mentioned. Laufer, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans*, p. 78.

4 Laufer, *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, p. 121.

about 930<sup>5</sup> he left his vast kingdom to his three sons who divided it among themselves. According to the chronicles of Central Tibet,<sup>6</sup> dPal-gyi-lde, also known as Rig-pa-mgon<sup>7</sup> took Ladakh, bKra-śis-mgon took Purang, and lDe-gyi-lde took Guge. The *LdGR.* instead affirms that Rig-pa-mgon took Ladakh, bKra-śis-mgon Purang and Guge, and lDe-gtsug-mgon Zanskar and Spiti. It is difficult to decide which is the correct version. The chronicle of bZaṅ-la in Zanskar, edited by Francke,<sup>8</sup> supports the *LdGR.*'s version, which seems to be the more credible, among other arguments, because no trace of a Purang kingdom is found in any later source and this region appears to have always been a dependence of Guge, while it is known that the Zanskar kingdom lasted in independence throughout seven centuries until Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's time.

Francke avers that dPal-gyi-mgon received with Ladakh the suzerainty over his brothers. There is no ground for this opinion; there is no mention in the *LdGR.* of any suzerainty over Guge vested in the kings of Ladakh, although the *LdGR.* should have been eager to confirm a matter doing so much honour to Ladakh. On the contrary, we have evidence that the situation was quite the reverse: according to the *GR.* (fol. 142a) the kings of Guge down to Nāga-

5 The approximate dates were set by Francke by assigning an average thirty year's rule to each king. Of course they have but a hypothetical value and more so because one or more names may be missing from the list of the kings. The dates recurring in this chapter tally with those of Francke's translation of the *LdGR.* The dates in the *History of Western Tibet*, assigning a twenty-five year's rule to each king, are vitiated by the initial error of placing gLañ-dar-ma's death in 925. It is one of the unfortunate results of Sanang-Setsen's undeserved fame, whose chronology has misled so many European authors.

6 *GR.* fol. 142a; *DT.*, vol. KA, fol. 19b; Bu-ston, II, 200.

7 This is the complete name preserved by Bu-ston (II, 200). The *LdGR.* shortens it to dPal-gyi-mgon. The *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibetain* (p. 18) has the form dPal-byin-mgon.

8 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 163-166.

lde ruled also over Purang and Ladakh; there is no reason for doubting this statement which is quite in keeping with the high cultural, political, and religious level attained by Guge's kings, as attested by the magnificent buildings of Toling and Tsaparang.<sup>9</sup>

To this time (10th century) probably goes back the foundation of the Alchi monastery, the oldest in Ladakh.<sup>10</sup> Francke further attributes to Skyid-lde Ńi-ma-mgon an inscription at Shih.<sup>11</sup> But his reasons for so doing are too weak and partly rest upon an erroneous figure of this king's reign, 975-1000. The only certainty is that the inscription, which bears no king's name, must date back to a very ancient time, as evidenced by its archaic features (*drag* suffix and title of *btsan-po*).

With Byañ-c'ub-sems-dpa, the fourth king of this dynasty, is connected the question of the great Tabo inscription mentioning a king of this name, whom Francke<sup>12</sup> identifies with the king of Ladakh, gathering therefrom what he considers additional evidence of Ladakh's suzerainty over Guge. But, as we have seen, the actual situation was quite the reverse. Hence, as this king could not be a ruler of Ladakh, Tucci's<sup>13</sup> theory is doubtless correct that he is the same as the king-monk Ye-sés-'od of Guge, Rin-c'en-bzañ-po's protector.

As to Lha-c'en-rgyal-po, the sixth king, to whom the erection of the Li-kyir monastery is attributed, it is to be noted that Lha-c'en-

9 Cf. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. III, pt. 11 (Rome 1937) and Tucci, *Secrets of Tibet* (London 1935). For the cultural and religious importance of the kings of Guge cf. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. II, where on pp. 17-21 the royal genealogies according to the various sources are given.

10 Francke, 'Archæology in Western Tibet', *Indian Antiquary*, 1906, pp. 350-352.

11 No. 10 of his *First and Second Collections*. See also *Archæology in Western Tibet*, pp. 93-96.

12 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, 41 and 90.

13 *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. III, pt. I, pp. 198-199. The full text of the inscription is printed at pages 195-198 of the same work.

rgyal-po is not a name, but the result of the joining of two titles, the first of which (Mahādeva) is common to all the kings of the first dynasty, and the second means just "king."

The names of these first rulers are very doubtful and have probably been preserved in mutilated form in the chronicle. dPal-gyi-mgon, as we have seen, is a contraction of dPal-gyi-lde and Rig-pa-mgon. 'Gro-mgon (second king) is perhaps a nickname although by his time the forms ending in -mgon might already have become proper names; Ñi-ma-mgon is a nickname; Grags-pa-lde (third king) is a true name; Byañ-c'ub-sems-dpa (Sanskrit: Bodhisattva) has every mark of being a title.

Utpala, the sixth king (c. 1080-1110) is chronologically the first of the few great monarchs Ladakh can boast of. The strangeness of his Sanskrit name has its parallel in that curious process of Hinduization whereby shortly after this period the kings of Guge bear Hindu names, to begin with the name of the very dynasty, rMal (Malla). I do not know whether this taking of Indian names had also a political background. In the case of the kings of Guge it may be due to matrimonial alliances with the Malla dynasty of Nepal; but in the case of Ladakh such a fact cannot be accounted for.

Prior to his accession to the throne, Utpala was but the chieftain of a small principality under the suzerainty of Guge. His successful wars enabled him to subjugate Kulu, which for many centuries remained a tributary of Ladakh,<sup>14</sup> bLo-bo, Purang, and several localities of Baltistan. Naturally his eastern conquests were not lasting ones, such territories being unreachable except through Guge, but the suzerainty of Guge over Ladakh came to an end and does not seem ever to have been renewed. Such a declaration of independence

14 The authors of the *History of the Punjab Hill States* identify (p. 438) this invasion with the one referred to in the *Vaṃśāvali* of Kulu in Uchit Pal's reign; but this king lived in the second half of the 10th century, while Utpala belongs to the end of the 11th century; this fact would seem to exclude any connection.

should find its confirmation in the above quoted passage of the *GR.*, according to which Guge's rule over Ladakh lasted until Nāga-lde's reign. But serious chronological difficulties stand in the way. The latest known date of Guge's history is that of the council assembled at Tabo by king bTsan-lde in the Fire-Dragon year, not a long time after Atiśa's coming (1042), namely in 1076. Admitting that bTsan-lde reigned approximately from 1060 to 1090, the reign of Bha-re, Nāga-lde's father, would occur approximately between 1150 and 1180. As can be seen, there is a very wide difference between this date and Utpala's time; but the list of the kings of Ladakh is so doubtful that a possible contemporaneity cannot be excluded *a priori*, although it would be necessary to admit a misplacement or an omission of a few names in the *LdGR*.

Nag-lug, the seventh king, built the castle of Khalatse in the year of the Dragon,—an event that can be connected with an inscription (No. 30) which records the construction in the Dragon year of the Khalatse bridge by the great minister Gar-ka.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately the inscription bears no king's name.

As to dGe-bhe and Jo-lдор, eighth and ninth kings, it may be noticed that their names look as if they were of Dardi origin.

The very existence of the eleventh king, Lha-rgyal, is in doubt, as it is mentioned only in the Schlagintveit Ms. Even his name, "God-king", looks suspicious. Under our hypothetical chronology, this king should have ruled about the middle of the 13th century. It seems that Ladakh recognized then<sup>16</sup> the suzerainty of Jinghiz Khan and of his successors and sent them tribute. But the country was too far out of the sphere of action of the great empire of the steppes to make such recognition more than purely platonic, unless it were just a piece of the mere boasting by Mongolian writers.

15 Francke, *Archæology in Western Tibet*, p. 237.

16 The first time in 1207, according to Jigs-med-nam-mk'a, p. 24.

Concerning dÑos-grub, the thirteenth king, the information given by the lamas, who compiled the *LdGR.* is of a religious character, and it is quite in keeping with the king's name (Siddha). It is an interesting fact that "in the time of this king the usage of novices going to dbUs-gTsañ was first introduced." It occurs to me that, as formerly novices were content to seek knowledge in the schools of the monasteries founded by Rin-c'en-bzañ-po in Guge and in Ladakh itself,<sup>17</sup> the change would indicate the end of Guge's cultural and religious influence over Ladakh.

rGyal-bu Rin-c'en, the fourteenth king, presents the problem of the identification of the Kashmir king Riñcana Bhoṭṭa of Jonarāja's *Rājataranḡiṇī*. The passage concerning this king was translated by Paṇḍit Daya Ram Sahnī in the article *References to the Bhottas or Bhauttas in the Rājataranḡiṇī of Kashmir* in the *Indian Antiquary* 1908, to which Francke contributed an article. Studying the question from a Tibetan point of view, he came to the conclusion that the two names represent one and the same person. It is true that the identity of time (Riñcana reigned ca. 1320-1323 and Rin-c'en is placed approximately between 1320 and 1350 by our hypothetical chronology) and that of name (Riñcana being the Sanskrit transcription of Rin-c'en) constitute seemingly a decisive evidence; but, on the other hand, a Rin-c'en as a king of Ladakh does not at all fit in with the information given in the *Rājataranḡiṇī*, which pictures him as a prince fleeing from his country as a result of his bloody vengeance on his father's assassins.<sup>18</sup> The very title attributed to him by the *LdGR.*, rGyal-bu (king's son), stands against the identification, as, while it fits perfectly a fugitive prince, it is quite unsuitable for a king.

17 Myar-ma monastery; see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II, 64.

18 The killers are called Kālamānya. They probably are identical to the Ha-le Mons of the *LdGR.* and to the bsKal-mons of the Guge legends (Tucci, *The Secrets of Tibet*, pp. 103, 104, 106). The latter is probably only a learned spelling of the foreign name Ha-le Mon.



A reasonable theory would be that the name of prince Rin-c'en, although he did not reign over Ladakh, was inserted here by the compilers of the *LdGR*. in order to increase the importance of the kings of Ladakh in the eyes of the Kashmiris, with whose country Ladakh had very close political and, above all, commercial ties at the time of the writing of the chronicle; thanks to such an interpolation, the kings of Ladakh could boast of having ruled over Kashmir in past ages. Furthermore, it is all the more easy to admit that Rin-c'en was not a Ladakhi king; the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* does not afford the least indication that he had come from Ladakh rather than from Baltistan or Purig or Zanskar or Guge.

Śes-rab, the fifteenth king, is a very doubtful personage, his name does not appear either in the *Schlagintveit* or in the British Museum Ms.

The two last kings of the first dynasty, 'Grag-s-'bum-lde and bLo-gros-mc'og-ltan, most probably reigned for the greater part of the 15th century (about 1410-1440 and 1440-1470 respectively).<sup>19</sup> During this century Ladakh's history becomes somewhat clearer. The information supplied by the *LdGR*. is no longer so meagre as for former periods, and elements for critical comparison are furnished by non-Tibetan works as well. Naturally, for the Lama compilers the outstanding activities of the king are those possessing a religious character; hence, the narrative is encumbered with long lists of temples and *mc'od-rten*, sacred paintings and texts. It is of interest at this point to learn of the building of a temple by 'Grag-s-'bum-lde in Toling, Guge's great religious centre. Guge must have then been a much more powerful and populous kingdom than Ladakh and was not at all, as claimed by Francke, under Ladakh's suzerainty; but there is nothing peculiar in a king acquiring merit by erecting

<sup>19</sup> There is no ground for attributing, as Francke does, a 40 year reign to 'Grag-s-'bum-lde.

holy buildings in a country not his own, and Toling had been and perhaps to some extent still was one of the most active cultural and religious centres of all Western Tibet and one with which Ladakh's Lamas and kings were then in close touch.

The approximate correctness of the dates set down for 'Grags-'bum-lde (1410-1440) is verified by the record in the *LdGR*. that he received a mission sent to him by the great reformer Tson-k'a-pa (1357-1419). It was probably the result of this mission that the Mulbhe edict (No. 36) was issued against the last survivals of local worship, preserved probably by the Dardi elements of the population; the Mulbhe edict definitely prohibited all bloody sacrifices.<sup>20</sup> It is obvious that in this king's time the dGe-lugs-pa sect must have held great sway in Ladakh,<sup>21</sup> where even now it shares the leadership with the 'Brug-pas.

The 15th century is characterized by repeated Musulman invasions, which were then more frequent than at any other time, although generally not of great consequence. We learn of them from sources foreign to Ladakh, since the *LdGR*. makes no mention of them, just as it makes no reference even to Mirza Haidar's much more serious invasion in the next century. This consistent ignoring of such events is somewhat strange and cannot be accounted for only by national pride forbidding to include in the great royal chronicle the narration of events that were anything but flattering for the country. There must be some stronger motive which it is impossible to discover.

The Kashmiri menace began to make itself felt towards the end of the 14th century. Firishhta tells us that the king of Little Tibet, having learned of king Shihab ud-din's (1359-1378) great conquests, sent him an embassy to plead for the sparing of his

20 Francke, 'The Rock Inscriptions at Mulbhe', *Indian Antiquary*, 1906, pp. 75-76.

21 *LdGR.*, p. 100.

country from invasion.<sup>22</sup> This report doubtless concerns Baltistan and not Ladakh. For the Moghul historians of India, Little Tibet is Baltistan and Great Tibet is Ladakh. Central Tibet is generally unknown to them, but is once or twice referred to under the name of Ursang or Urzang (dbUs-gTsañ). Experience shows that, whenever sources refer to Tibet without further qualification, Baltistan is usually meant.

There is no doubt that Firishta refers to Baltistan when he tells us that Rāi Mādari, king Sikandar's (1394-1416) all-powerful minister, completely subdued Little Tibet.<sup>23</sup> Sikandar, having become suspicious about Rāi Mādari's intentions, marched against him, met and defeated him at the frontier of Tibet (Zoji-la ?), put him to flight and permanently annexed Baltistan to Kashmir. The conversion of the Baltis to Islam was effected most probably by the most brutal and ruthless means, as Sikandar is famed as the most fanatical of the Kashmir kings, and by his inhumanity and intolerance has earned in history the title of Butshikan (the Iconoclast). This invasion probably left Ladakh unscathed or affected it only slightly. But through Baltistan's (temporary) annexation to Kashmir, Ladakh had become a neighbour of that strong Muslim state and was bound sooner or later to fall a prey to ravaging raids from it.

In fact, king Zain ul-Abidin (1420-1470) immediately after his accession to the throne personally led an expedition against Tibet "and plundered the country and massacred its people;"<sup>24</sup> on this occasion Ladakh also was invaded, as the *Rājatarāṅginī* tells us that the king reached as far as Guge (Goggadeśa). It seems that Sheh

22 *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, (Lucknow 1321 A.H.), p. 339. Briggs, *History of the rise of Mohammedan power in India*, (London 1829) vol. IV, p. 459.

23 *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, p. 340. Briggs, IV, 462.

24 The sources on this invasion are *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, p. 342 (Briggs, IV, 469) and the *Rājatarāṅginī* of Jonarājā, translated in the already quoted article *References to the Bhottas* etc., p. 188.

was sacked in the course of this invasion, as the king saved a golden statue of Buddha from the hands of his soldiers in Śayadeśa,<sup>25</sup> which name may stand for the territory of Sheh as well as for the whole of Ladakh, of which Sheh was the capital. Of course the king had no intention of effecting a permanent conquest: it was merely one of the customary raids aiming at collecting plunder and extorting tribute, a good deal like those that in the same period were almost systematically effected by the first kings of the Sayyid dynasty of Delhi. The *LdGR*. does not record this invasion; on the contrary, it tells of the conquest of the whole of mNa-ris-skor-gsum and of a rich booty or tribute taken from Guge by king bLo-gros-mc'og-ldan. Francke has struck the right manner of reconciling the reports from Kashmir with those from Ladakh by admitting that the Ladakhi king, defeated by the invaders, was compelled to join them in their expedition to Guge and, therefore, conspicuously shared in the booty. It also appears that the king's brother was taken as hostage to Kashmir and was there converted to Islam, since the *LdGR*. gives him the Muslim name Ali.

Firishta<sup>26</sup> tells us of a tribute of rare birds sent from lake Manasarovar by the Rājā of Tibet to the king of Kashmir, but it is impossible to establish whether the tributary sovereign was the king of Guge, the king of Ladakh or the prince of Skardo.

In 1451 Ladakh suffered another raid from Kashmir<sup>27</sup> led by Adam Khan, Zain ul-Abidin's eldest son.<sup>28</sup> But this too must have been rather unimportant, as we know that it constituted but an honorable form of exile for the prince; it is not likely that the

25 It is remarkable that Mirza Haidar too (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 460) employs the form Shaya.

26 *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, p. 344. Briggs, IV, 470.

27 *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, p. 345 (Briggs, IV, 471). *References to the Bhottas*, etc., p. 189.

28 Adam Khan was never king of Kashmir, as erroneously stated by Francke in his notes to the *LdGR*.

king could be so imprudent as to place at the prince's disposal a force of any importance.

bLo-gros-mc'og-ldan's reign, badly begun with the Kashmiri invasions, disastrously ended with the downfall of the dynasty: he was deposed and imprisoned with his brothers by a prince descending from a collateral branch; with him ended the first Ladakhi dynasty.

Excepting for the last two kings, about whom there is a little more detailed information, the *LdGR.*, as far as the first five centuries of the Ladakhi kingdom are concerned, amounts to but a mere genealogy with a few errors to boot. We have seen that the names of two kings (Lha-rgyal and Śes-rab) occur only in some manuscripts and another (Rin-c'en) is probably a late interpolation. I have already repeatedly suggested that it is not to be excluded and is indeed probable that some kings' names were lost to the handwritten tradition: in fact, the 30 year average duration required by Ladakh's royal list in its present form (including, therefore, Rin-c'en's interpolation), although it roughly corresponds to the average duration of reign in the great Tibetan monarchy, seems to be excessive inasmuch as the Punjab Hill States,—Chamba, for instance where living conditions do not vary a good deal from Ladakh's—present in general a 20 years average. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that succession should have occurred invariably from father to son, as the *LdGR.* would have us believe. We have already pointed out an instance in which the chronicle, in violation of historical truth, reports kingship to have invariably been transmitted from father to son. Besides, the names of the kings of the first dynasty are strangely heterogeneous, contrasting with the almost standardized names of the great Tibetan monarchy, of the Guge dynasty, and even of Ladakh's own second dynasty. Finally, none of the first dynasty kings' names has been preserved in the inscriptions. Hence, were we to extend our critical inspection up to its furthest limits, we should have to conclude that this fragmentary list is nothing else

than a purely fantastic reconstruction of a later date, and that the descent of the Ladakhi kings from Sron-btsan-sgam-po is a legendary one. But I do not deem it necessary to go so far.

Be that as it may, during this whole period of six centuries the kingdom led a peaceful and even life throughout, not unlike any of the other Himalaya states, suffering no particularly serious irruption from without or, until the very last years, no internal commotion within. As it seems, Ladakh did not share (or shared only in a very small measure) the magnificent revival of Buddhistic religion, art, and literature, which was started in Guge in the 11th century and continued all over Central Tibet in the successive centuries; none of the great teachers of Tibetan Buddhism was born in Ladakh, the importance of which in the development of Tibetan literature and art is practically nil. Only two of the kings of the first dynasty may be recognized as having a certain personality of their own and some historical importance: Skyid-lde Ņi-ma-mgon (who, strictly speaking, is out of the count, his son dPal-gyi-mgon having been the first true king of Ladakh) and Utpala. From all that we have said, the conclusion is obvious that the history of this period holds but a merely local interest.

### CHAPTER III

#### *The first kings of the second dynasty and Mirza Haidar's invasion*

The new dynasty, which occupied the throne in the second half of the 15th century, descended from king K'ri-gtsug-lde (c. 1380-1410), who had two sons; the elder, 'Grag-s-'bum-lde, succeeded him on Ladakh's throne, while the younger, 'Grag-s-pa-'bum, established a collateral branch, receiving a few villages as an apanage. He built gTii-sgan (Tingmosgang) as a capital for his little dominion. His descendants in the first two generations bear Indian names, a fact for which we can discover no reason; the son was called Bhara and the grandson Bhagan. Bhagan deposed and imprisoned the last king of the first dynasty and became the founder of the second dynasty, which endured until the overthrow of the Ladakhi kingdom and its annexation in 1841 by Gulab Singh of Jammu, later on Maharaja of Kashmir.

It was during the reign of Bhagan (if we can rely on our hypothetical dating),<sup>1</sup> that the country suffered two Muslim raids, the one from the north and the other from Kashmir. For the invasions from the north (from Eastern Turkestan) the chief source is the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* by Mirza Haidar. The author was a magnificent, gallant, intelligent, and faithful warrior, one of the most interesting figures of this period. His work has no rival (in the 16th century) excepting for Babur's *Memoirs*, which, however, it surpasses in wealth of historical content. Its author carried on war in Ladakh and neighbouring territories for over three years, and collected a large mass of information about

<sup>1</sup> The Bhagan mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (p. 463) as a local chieftain (Jo) in Ladakh is not the same as this king. It would be a chronological absurdity to think otherwise. And even if we were to admit with Francke that king Bhagan was still alive in 1533, it is clear from the text that Mirza Haidar's Bhagan was not the king of Ladakh, but only some local ruler.

the country and its religion and customs. But this information, whether it deals with names or events, is of very scanty use and is difficult to reconcile with the *LdGR*. The fault is partly of Mirza Haidar, who certainly is not too exact, particularly concerning proper names, and partly of the compilers of the *LdGR*., who, besides taking much more interest in religious than political events, omit as a rule all accounts of foreign inroads and in general all references to matters of an untoward import.

About 1480 two of the generals of king Hasan Khan of Kashmir (1472-1489) were sent to invade both Great and Little Tibet. Because of dissensions, they proceeded by different ways with the result that, while one succeeded in occupying Ladakh's capital, the other suffered a heavy reverse;<sup>2</sup> the invasion remained fruitless, as the victorious general was compelled to retreat as a consequence of his associate's defeat. The *LdGR*., as usual, does not spend a single word on this event.

Not many years later, another enemy reached into the valley of the Indus,—the Mongols from the north.<sup>3</sup> It appears from a passage in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (p. 320) that Mir Vali, one of the generals of Abu-Bakr Khan of Kashgar, subdued Balor (Gilgit and Kafiristan) and Tibet (Mirza Haïdar always applied this name to Ladakh) as far as the Kashmir border. Elias<sup>4</sup> places this event in the last few years of the 15th century. It is very doubtful that Ladakh was reached by this first invasion, which probably stopped at Skardo or Nubra.

Bhagan had two sons, Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal.<sup>5</sup> The latter, after his father's death, caused his elder

2 *References to the Bhot̄tas* etc., pp. 190-191.

3 So called Mongols. Actually these Moghulistan princes of Mongol (Jinghiz-khanid) strain had become practically Turks, though still boasting of their origin. Their troops were absolutely non-Mongol.

4 *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 403, note.

5 From these two kings onwards, the name type of the dynasty changes, and



brother to be blinded and usurped the throne (about 1500). But, being childless, he allowed his brother to marry, in order to enable the dynasty to survive; in fact, all of the three sons of the blinded prince held the throne in succession.

The *LdGR*. repeatedly emphasizes the fact that in Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal's time bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal held the throne. To that period belongs an inscription (No. 38), wherein Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal is mentioned with the title of Yab-c'en-rgyal-po ("great father king") together with his three sons, the eldest of whom bears the title of Sa-skyoñ-c'en-po ("great warden of the earth"). None of these four personages bears the official title of the Ladakhi kings: C'os-rgyal-c'en-po (Mahā-Dharmarājā), i.e. Great Righteous King; hence, bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal was still reigning. The two titles in this inscription are very strange and, as far as I know, do not occur elsewhere. Probably bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal had compromised with the legitimate heirs to the throne by granting them such high-sounding titles. It is remarkable that this inscription was found at Tingmosgang. This village was the private property of the dynasty, of which it had been the cradle, and was now probably an estate assigned to Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and his family.

In 1517 Ladakh was attacked by Mir Mazid, one of the Emirs who had revolted against Babur and had been defeated by him.<sup>6</sup> But, for once, that was a raid that turned out in a disaster, the Emir being defeated and killed. Probably the mention in the *LdGR*., (p. 103) of a victory over the Hor (Mongols) refers to this invasion. It cannot possibly refer to Mirza Haidar, because the latter, although ultimately compelled to quit the country, was never actually defeated by the Ladakhis; besides, his long occupation of the country is completely ignored in the *LdGR*.

down to the ultimate fall of the Ladakhi kingdom takes the form of quadrisyllables, invariably ending in -rnam-rgyal.

6 *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 357.

In spite of these minor foreign interferences, Ladakh abruptly awakened from its age-old slumber by the Kashmir invasions of the previous century and gradually came into political and military contact with the neighbouring countries, began, though timidly, to take its first steps in a policy of expansion. At least this seems to be what the *LdGR.*, means to convey when it vaguely speaks of conquests from Purig to Guge's eastern borders. Of course, annexations are out of the question; it may be understood that the king sent raiding parties against many of the neighbouring countries, receiving therefrom spoils and promises of tribute. But a little later the storm of Mirza Haidar's invasion made short work of these first hints of the urge to rule near-by foreign territory.

The *LdGR.*, as usual, almost altogether ignores this king's political activities, and is content with the above vague mention, while it dwells at length upon his building activity, which seems to have been really important; and of course it does not fail to list donations to monasteries and execution of copies of the whole set of the *Kangyur* and *Tangyur*.

This promising progress was suddenly interrupted by a fierce invasion from the north, one of the most serious ever suffered by Ladakh. In 1532 Sultan Said Khan, a remote descendant of Jinghiz Khan ruling at Kashgar since 1514, set out with his army for the holy war against the Tibetan misbelievers. His Emirs had previously effected raids into Ladakh,<sup>7</sup> but this invasion of 1532, carefully prepared and led by the Khan in person, was organized and carried out as a war of conquest.<sup>8</sup> One of the sections of his army, led by his ablest commander, Mirza Haidar, through the Suget and Karakorum passes reached Nubra (in the Shayok valley), where the weak resistance of the local levies was drowned in blood. From

7 *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 403.

8 Mirza Haidar devotes pp. 135-137, 143-144 and especially 403-465 of his work to his Tibetan adventure.

Nubra, Mirza Haidar passed on to Ladakh. About the government of the country he tells us: "In Ladakh there are two rulers, by name one Tashikun and the other Lata Jughdan." This statement roughly depicts the situation actually existing in Ladakh at the time. The country was then split between king bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal ruling from Sheh, the capital of Ladakh, over most of the territory, and the Yab-c'en-rgyal-po Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal ruling, under his brother's suzerainty, over an unknown, but small, area in lower Ladakh, comprising Tingmosang (gTin-sgai) and Linshot (Liñs-sñed). Tashikun (this transcription will be explained later on) stands for bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal; the form Lata Jughdan is more difficult to connect satisfactorily with Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal. It would not of course be fair to expect from Mirza Haidar a scientific and correct transcription such as, to a certain extent, the Chinese transcriptions in the *T'ang-shu* are; nevertheless, it is obvious that he knew this name in a form different from that handed down in the *LdGR.*, and in the inscriptions. Lata might be an approximate transcription of Lha-dbañ (it would, however, be necessary to admit that the prefixed letter *d* had not yet become silent by that time). Jughdan probably stands for some title, perhaps P'yug-ldan or mC'og-ldan.<sup>10</sup>

The Khan soon joined Mirza Haidar. At first he had wanted to take a more eastern route, but, owing to the advanced season and to the poverty of the country on the way, he was persuaded to go by the same road by which his lieutenant had come. Sultan Said spent the winter in Baltistan, while Mirza Haidar carried out a successful raid on Kashmir, returning then to his chief. The scarcity of victuals prompted the Mongols to divide their forces: Mirza Haidar was to attempt the conquest of

9 *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 418.

10 Francke's explanation (*LdGR.* p. 101) is untenable.

Central Tibet, while the Khan was to return to Yarkand. But Sultan Saïd's health, undermined by excessive use of strong drinking, did not stand the strain and, further weakened by mountain sickness, he died while crossing the Suget pass (July 1533). His death completely changed the situation. His successor, Rashid Khan, not only took no interest in the plight of his troops that had remained beyond the passes, but even mortally offended Mirza Haidar by putting to death the latter's uncle. Mirza Haidar was thus cut loose from his base; he became after this, and was even after, a mere soldier of fortune, acting on his own, a man without a home and destined to become soon a captain without soldiers. When Sultan Saïd died, he was already on the way to Central Tibet and he did not arrest his march on receiving the bad news. He entered Tibet (Guge, in this case) and advanced without meeting practically any resistance. But, as befell the Dogras three centuries later, the climate and the insurmountable difficulties of the ground stood against the invaders as a more formidable barrier than any Tibetan army. Mirza Haidar had to bow to such foe and start back when he was no more than at eight days' march from Lhasa. Under such conditions a retreat could not fail to be disastrous, but his military genius was much greater than that of Zorawar, the Dogra leader, who three centuries later had to lose battle, army and life on the same ground. Mirza Haidar succeeded in saving at least a small number of his troops and in returning to Ladakh; he then established his winter quarters in Sheh, the capital of the land. He stayed in the country two years longer. Probably during this period the Nubra rebellion took place which he narrates at length on p. 403.<sup>11</sup> Tashikun supported the rebels and answered with his head for it (1535); Mirza Haidar

11 I do not deem it necessary to admit the big error that Francke (*LdGR.*, p. 104) attribute to Mirza Haidar.

does not say who succeeded him. His Tibetan adventure was nearing its end. Forsaken by one after another of his men, he was at last compelled to quit the country where he had spent fruitlessly three of his best years, and in 1536 with a handful of followers he departed for Badakhshan.

Within the limits of his possibility, he had studied the country rather well during his stay and he devotes to it pages which, although very poor in intrinsic value, are interesting in that they reflect the personal impressions derived by an intelligent, almost genial, warrior, but a narrow-minded and fanatical Muslim, from the contact with the Buddhistic civilization of Tibet.

Tashikun is bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal; there can be hardly any doubt about this. The form Tashikun also lends itself to an attempt for a solution of the vexed problem arising from one of the inscriptions of Daru (No. 102). There is mention in that inscriptions of one Lha-c'en Kun-dga-rnam-rgyal who does not appear in the list of the kings of Ladakh. Francke at first thought this to be the full name of king Lha-rgyal (c. 1230-1260);<sup>12</sup> then he abandoned this theory and proposed to identify Kun-dga-rnam-rgyal with Bhagan (c. 1470-1500);<sup>13</sup> but the grounds of either hypothesis are very weak. I may add that the suggestion might be warranted of Kun-dga-rnam-rgyal of the inscription being identical with the lama of the same name (b. 1432 d. 1496)<sup>14</sup>,—all the more so because another great religious dignitary, the third Tashi-Lama bLo-bzai-don-grub (1505-1569), is named in the next inscription. But the title of Lha-c'en is so characteristic of the Ladakhi kings that its presence here prompts the exclusion of this last suggestion. I would, therefore, offer the following solution of this interesting problem. The inscription is somewhat earlier than that mentioning the third

12 *Archæology in Western Tibet*, p. 91; *History of Western Tibet*, p. 67.

13 *References to the Bhottas etc.*, p. 191; *LdGR.*, p. 102.

14 *Ren-mig (IASB., 1889)*, pp. 65 and 69.

Tashi-Lama. Hence, it must go back to the first few years of the 16th century, namely to the time of bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal. From a comparison of the three forms, bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal of the *LdGR.*, Kun-dga-rnam-rgyal of the Daru inscription and Tashikun of Mirza Haidar, the full name of the king may be reconstructed as bKra-śis-kun-dga-rnam-rgyal, of which Mirza Haidar retained only the first three syllables (bKra-śis-kun, pron. Tashikun), whereas, for reasons we do not know, the Daru inscription retained the last four. The mention of the Tashi-Lama in the next inscription is accounted for by the fairly close relations existing between the Ladakhi kings and the lamas of Tashilhunpo.<sup>15</sup> Such a shortening of a name of six syllables into a quadrisyllabic is not unprecedented; the name of the last king of Ladakh, Ts'e-dpal-mi-'gyur-don-grub-rnam-rgyal is once to be found in the *LdGR.*, (p. 124) shortened to Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal.

After the first unsuccessful resistance, Ladakh never again attempted to free itself by force of arms from the invader; its king's execution for the guilt of connivance with the Nubra rebels showed that the newcomers were in earnest. The new king, Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (c. 1535-1575) adopted, therefore, a policy supinely subservient to the foreign ruling power, even when it had become weak enough to warrant rebellion.

The Ladakhis' passive resistance, a formidable weapon in the hands of peoples of Mongol race, prevailed on Mirza Haidar's tenacity. He had to quit, and Ladakh recovered its independence without spilling a single drop of blood, though exhausted by a three and a half years' occupation by an army that, albeit not great in number, had constituted a very heavy burden on the meagre resources of the country.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal's embassy to the fourth Tashi-Lama C'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an (1569-1622), in the *LdGR.*, p. 108.

It can be understood that the rather humiliating events of Mirza Haidar's invasion would not be willingly recorded; yet, the total absence of even the slightest hint to them in the *LdGR* is very strange, while even the Zanskar chronicles<sup>16</sup> have preserved a vivid record of Mirza Haidar (Mig-za-dhar) and of his faithful companion Haji (Ha-ži).

## CHAPTER IV

### *The sons of Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal*

As I have said, the Yab-c'en-rgyal-po Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, deposed and blinded by his brother bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal, had three sons, who succeeded one after another on the throne of Ladakh. The first to succeed their uncle, executed by the northern invaders, was the eldest of the three brothers, Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal. He is said to have begun his career of conquest when he was still very young. Hence, we may allot him a reign of forty years (c. 1535-1575). He was the greatest of the Ladakhi kings before Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal. It was probably due to a large extent to him that Ladakh was able to recover with a certain easiness from the consequences of Mirza Haidar's occupation. Under him the kingdom regained its former power and also some substantial accretion from the victorious campaigns which he waged against Guge and Baltistan, and with which I will deal later on. But before achieving such brilliant results the king had to sustain a hard fight against repeated ravaging attacks from Mirza Haidar, who for a long time kept the country in the sorry plight of having its independence in jeopardy. This ceased only upon the timely death of the fiery and stubborn Mongol warrior.

Mirza Haidar seems to have felt throughout the remainder of his days a strong attraction to what had been the field of his most venturesome activities. After firmly establishing himself in Kashmir, where he ruled from 1540 to 1551, he twice led an army beyond the Zoji-la. In 1545 he attacked Tibet and conquered the Lūsūr district; I do not know what section of the country this would be.<sup>1</sup> In 1548, by a large scale operation, he conquered and annexed Little Tibet and Great Tibet and other regions as well.<sup>2</sup> He even appointed

<sup>1</sup> *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, p. 355 (Briggs, IV, 499).

<sup>2</sup> *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, pp. 355-356 (Briggs, IV, 501).



governors for his new possessions,—Mullah Kasim for Little Tibet (Baltistan) and Mullah Hasan for Great Tibet (Ladakh) amongst them. We do not know to what extent these men actually ruled the countries placed under them, nor do we know whether the local rulers were deposed or allowed to continue in power under such governors' control. At any rate, this state of affairs did not last longer than three years, as after Mirza Haidar's death in 1551 Kashmir fell into such a confusion that its foreign possessions must have got loose, had they not already re-asserted their independence before.

But the Kashmir danger did not come to an end with Mirza Haidar's death. We know of at least two other invasions. The first, a mere reprisal for Tibetan raids into Kashmir, was led against Great Tibet (Ladakh) in 1553 by the noblemen Haidar Chak, son of Ghazi Khan, and Habib Khan.<sup>3</sup>

The second invasion was a more serious sort of enterprise. Firishta tells us that "in 970 A.H. (1562 A.D.) Ghazi Shah king of Kashmir 1561-1563) left Kashmir and encamped at Lar. He sent his son Ahmed Khan together with Fattch Khan Chak, Nasir Kitabti and other leading amirs to conquer Great Tibet. When they arrived within five *kos* from Tibet, Fattch Chak entered Tibet without the permission of Ahmad Khan and raided the capital. As the Tibetans were reluctant to fight, they agreed to pay a heavy ransom, and he immediately returned from among them. On this occasion, it occurred to Ahmad Khan that Fattch Khan had gone to Tibet and returned unscathed: if he could do the same, the Kashmiris would praise him. He therefore decided to go alone to Great Tibet. Fattch Khan told him not to do so; if he was bent on it, he should go at the head of a large army. Ahmad Khan did not listen to him. He went (to

<sup>3</sup> *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, p. 359 (Briggs, IV, 505).

Great Tibet) with 500 men, leaving Fattch Khan in the camp. When the Tibetans saw that Ahmad Khan had come so thinly attended, they surrounded him. Ahmad Khan found resistance hopeless and fled. He reached Fattch Khan and asked him to take charge of the avant-garde and lead the army that day. Fattch Khan did not hesitate for a moment and placed himself in the van. The Tibetans advanced against him, and finding him (practically) alone, opened the battle. Fattch Khan being full of courage fought alone and became a martyr. Ghazi Shah on receiving the report of this incident was terribly amazed at his son.”<sup>4</sup>

The aim of the largely-planned expedition seems to have been the real conquest of the country. But it was turned to disaster through the foolishness and cowardice of prince Ahmad, and the untimely death of Fattch Khan, who showed himself as wise in the council as rash in the field. Kashmir was thus cured for a long time of any whim of winning easy laurels in the north. King Ghazi Shah Chak entertained for a moment the intention of invading Great Tibet in order to avenge his son's defeat, and actually went so far as to set his camp near the border. But leprosy was rapidly depriving him of any ability to act, and his tyrannical rule disaffected his people to such an extent that soon after he was compelled to abdicate in favour of his brother. Anarchy grew throughout the country, which twenty years later fell an easy prey to the Moghul conquest.

The Kashmir menace over, Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal began a strong policy of expansion. The *LdGR*. speaks of two successful expeditions against the kingdom of Guge on one hand and Baltistan on the other, in both of which countries Ladakh's suzerainty was established by this king. The chronicle further tells us that he had

4 *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, p. 362. I owe the translation of this passage to the kindness of Dr. B. P. Saksena of the Allahabad University, who also checked for me the other quotations from *Firishta*. Briggs's translation is very unreliable. The passage concerned is to be found, much abridged, in vol. IV, pp. 513-514.

even conceived a plan of war against the Mongols (Hor) to the north of Ladakh; probably he wished to retaliate for the damages suffered from Mirza Haidar, by means of a large scale raid in the direction of Kashgar and Yarkand. It is an evidence of the king's political wisdom that he timely desisted from so risky and useless an adventure, upon entreaties by the people of Nubra, for whom the commerce with Central Asia was of vital importance, and who from sad experience knew best the bravery and above all the ruthlessness of the Mongols. Thus giving up ventures that would take him far afield, he concentrated upon nearer territories, winning either by arms or by peaceful means the tributes above referred to. Some of them are exactly described in kind and quantity in the *LdGR.*, and, in view of the poverty of those lands (Guge was already in the throes of economic decline), we must recognize that they were a good deal more than merely symbolic.

As can be seen, the two severe shocks of 1532-1535 and 1548 had failed to destroy Ladakh's power, which, being at first swept off its ground and then seemingly overwhelmed beyond hope of redemption, eventually managed to revive the storm through a series of favourable circumstances. But, if Mirza Haidar had not been reduced to utter resourcelessness without hopes for reinforcements in 1536 and if he had not been killed in 1551, it is doubtful whether the Ladakhis would ever have been able to set themselves free by their own efforts. The invasion had met with scant armed resistance. The ruggedness of the ground constituted the greatest difficulty. Hence, it is plain that the Ladakhis, capable to have the advantage of peoples of equal race, strength and number, were utterly incapable of opposing effective resistance to superior foreign invaders. It was, besides the Buddhist Tibetan's military inferiority as against the Muslim Turco-Mongols,<sup>5</sup> above all a

5 Whatever may be said, Buddhism has ever had a deleterious influence on the fighting qualities of the peoples whom it touched. When a nation of particularly

matter of proportions. While an army of a few hundreds strong could achieve easy conquests in the enormous but thinly populated territories of Tibet, the intrusion into that small world of the mountains of a foreign power, trained in the evaluation and employment of infinitely larger military, economic and political means, could but meet with absolutely negligible resistance,—a truism that was to be clearly verified by the Dogras in 1834.

The *LdGR.* mentions also a conquest of Kulu by Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal. In fact, the *Vamśāvalī* of Kulu<sup>6</sup> speaks of fights with the Pithi-Thākurs for the conquest of lower Lahul. But these events took place under king Sidh Singh (c. 1500-1532) and cannot be connected with the alleged conquest by Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (c. 1535-1575). The Pithi-Thākurs were probably leaders of Tibetan clans immigrated from Spiti, and not Ladakhi commanders. The information of the *LdGR.*, at the most, must refer to some raid.

Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal died childless and the throne passed to another of Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal's sons. The second of them, rNam-rgyal-mgon-po, is not mentioned in the *LdGR.*, which declares 'Jam-dbyañs-rnam-rgyal, the third son, to have been the successor. But here matters are further complicated by the epigraphic evidence. An inscription of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal at Hundar (No. 40) contains the name of the Lha-sras rNam-rgyal-mgon-po. Lha-sras (Devaputra) was the normal Ladakhi title of the heir-apparent. This could mean nothing, as rNam-rgyal-mgon-po might have died before his elder brother. But in another inscrip-

good fighters became converted to Buddhism, either of the two things could happen: the nation's fighting spirit could react against it and re-fashion it so as to overcome its debilitating influence, as in Japan, or Buddhism could overwhelm the nation's temper and gradually sap its fitness for war, as in Mongolia and Tibet, where this process developed to such an extent that it is almost impossible to recognize Jinghiz Khan's Mongols and Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's Tibetans to be of the same stock as the thoroughly unwarlike subjects of China in the 18th and 19th centuries.

6 Hutchison and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, vol. II, pp. 447-450.

tion (No. 103) we find the following passage: "C'os-rgyal-c'en-po rNam-rgyal-mgon-po daiñ 'Jam-dbyañs-rnam-rgyal....." This cannot refer to the joint rule of two kings, as the building of the sentence would be contrary to Tibetan syntax. Hence the royal title C'os-rgyal-c'en-po concerns only the first of the two, although it is somewhat strange that the second name is not preceded by the title of Lha-sras or rGyal-sras, which is seldom absent in similar instances from Ladakhi inscriptions.

It is thus certain that, even though for a very short time, rNam-rgyal-mgon-po was king of Ladakh, I cannot quite account for the *LdGR.*'s silence, but we might surmise that the harmony, that appears from the inscription, between the two brothers was short-lived and that 'Jam-dbyañs-rnam-rgyal soon usurped the throne getting rid of his brother, and attempted to efface the very memory of his victim. The chronicle having been written under bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, 'Jam-dbyañs-rnam-rgyal's grandson, the dynastic interest requiring official ignorance of rNam-rgyal-mgon-po was still effective. At any rate, rNam-rgyal-mgon-po must be added to the list of Ladakh's kings. His reign must have been very short and I believe five years (about 1575-1580) is rather more than less of its actual duration.

A record of a period of agitation before 'Jam-dbyañs-rnam-rgyal's final accession to the throne is found even in the *LdGR.*, (p. 106): "Upon this (Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal's death) all the vassal princes in one place after another lifted up their heads," probably as a result of the fratricidal quarrel. The situation was serious and the usurper revealed himself utterly unequal to his heavy task. He attempted to re-establish his prestige against the rebelling tributary rulers, intervening in a conflict between two Purig chiefs;<sup>7</sup> the outcome was a complete disaster, the most terrible ever suffered by

7 We know one of them, Ts'e-riñ of Cig-tan, not only from the *LdGR.* but also from the Cigtan chronicle (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 173-174) and from

Ladakh before the Dogra wars. Even the chronicle, telling in this instance the whole truth without reticence (the Lamas seem to have rejoiced for this defeat that reduced the king to further busying himself with nothing else than religious rites), dwells upon it with true terror: "The time had now come when the period of darkness should intervene, the period when royal supremacy should well-nigh be destroyed." The foe that brought about so big a calamity were the Baltis.

Baltistan, which, as we have seen, had long been the bone of contention between China and Tibet in the 8th century, had probably remained under Tibetan suzerainty from about 770 until the fall of the Tibetan monarchy. From the 9th to the 16th century we are in complete darkness as to its history. The old dynasty, which was completely Hinduized,<sup>8</sup> continued until the Dogra conquest in the branch of the princes of Skardo, who, however, no longer ruled the entire country, which had been broken up into a number of small independent states. At an undetermined time (possibly at the time of the invasion by king Iskandar of Kashmir at the beginning of the 15th century) the country had become converted to Islam<sup>9</sup> and had thus entered in irreconcilable opposition to Buddhist Ladakh. In the earlier inroads the Ladakhis seem not to have encountered a strong resistance on the part of the Baltis; but this time there sat on the Skardo throne the greatest and most energetic figure in Baltistan's history: Ali Mir. This sovereign realized that his interest demanded that Ladakh be prevented from re-establishing its suzerainty over Purig, which was Baltistan's

two folk songs edited by Francke (*Ten Historical Songs from Western Tibet*, in *Indian Antiquary*, 1909, pp. 64, 65 and 66).

8 The royal names began by Vijaya—. See Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Text* etc., I.

9 Up to then the country had certainly been Buddhist, perhaps even from the times of the Kuṣāṇas, and had produced a religious authority important enough to be mentioned in the '*Reu-mig*': sBal-ti dGra-bcom, b. 1129 d. 1215.

bulwark. He, therefore, carried on an armed opposition to the Ladakhi intervention in Purig, although adopting a Fabius Cunctator tactics necessitated perhaps by the inferiority of his forces. The war dragged on undecided until snow choked the valleys and passes (in this instance, particularly the Namika pass). The Ladakhi king, isolated and resourceless in an enemy territory, which, besides, had probably suffered from the ravages of war, was eventually compelled to surrender with his whole army. The Baltis of course seized upon the occasion to invade (probably in the next spring) defenceless Ladakh and thus without risk and at one stroke gave vent to their hatred for the past raids suffered at the hands of the Ladakhis, gratifying their religious fanaticism as well. The story of their ravages as related by the *LdGR*. recalls to the mind the accounts of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasions in India. After the Baltis had quenched their thirst for vengeance, peace was made. Of its terms the *LdGR*. says but that 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal was compelled to marry Ali Mir's daughter rGyal Khatun (a half Tibetan and half Persian title; we do not know her true name). From the situation following upon the disaster as well as from later developments, it is plain that Ladakh was compelled to accept the suzerainty of the princes of Skardo, which lasted for the remainder of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's reign and probably until the death of Ali Mir, whose successors, as far as we know, were not worthy of him. The Balti suzerainty must have been effective: a Mulbhe inscription<sup>10</sup> mentions, beside the king's Muslim wife, the minister Hu-sen-mir (Husain Mir), most likely a kind of Balti resident who represented the prince of Skardo at the Ladakhi court and watched the administration of the vassal country on his sovereign's behalf.

'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal never recovered from this ignominious defeat, for which he had only himself to blame. He renounced all

10 No. 45. See Franckes's *Rock Inscriptions at Mulbhe*, pp. 79-80.

further undertakings of war and devoted himself solely to the administration of his country, which this war had pushed back to its original frontiers (from the Purig border to Brain-rtse, *LdGR.*, p. 107). It seems that, besides carrying on strenuous religious activities,<sup>11</sup> he paid a good deal of attention to the country's revenue system. The *LdGR.* tells us that he wanted to exempt all his subjects from taxation and that he thrice equalized rich and poor. This tale is obviously traced after that of Mu-ne-btsan-po's reform (see *ante*, pp. 73-74) and bears the marks of a legend. Probably what originated it, was some revolutionary reform of the tax distribution.

The king did not long survive his defeat. The *LdGR.* tells us that his life was short and that, in spite of his good intentions, he lacked the time for repairing the damages wrought by the war. He must have been rather old indeed, as he was the third of the three sons of Lha-dban-rnam-rgyal. I do not think I wander far from the truth by setting at ten years the duration of his reign. This length of time squares with the probable date of the reign of Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal. 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, therefore, might have ruled about 1580-1590. The thirty years of reign as ascribed to him by Francke are, at any rate, altogether too much. This dating is supported by the contemporaneity of this king with Ali Mir of Skardo, whose dates range from 1591 to 1603. Upon his death, his son Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal inherited a kingdom greatly reduced in area by the loss of the short-lived conquests of his predecessors, a country laid waste by the Balti invasion and subject to the suzerainty of the Skardo rulers, in a condition, which was even worse than that in which Mirza Haidar's invasion had left it.

<sup>11</sup> As contrasted with Grags-'bum-lde (c. 1410-1440), favourable to the dGe-lugs-pa's, 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal placed in a position of great honour the red sect of the 'Brug-pa's, even inviting from Central Tibet to Ladakh the 'Brug-pa incarnate of Ralung. This sect's ascendancy grew rapidly and culminated in the founding of the great royal monastery of Hemis during Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign.



## CHAPTER V

### *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal.*

One of the peace terms imposed on 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal by Ali Mir was that his new Balti bride should be made the first queen and that the two sons born to him by his marriage with Ts'e-riṅ-rgyal-mo should be excluded from succession to the throne. The king complied. The two princes, Nag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and bsTan-'dsin-rnam-rgyal, besides being disinherited, were sent to Central Tibet under pretence of a mission to place offerings before the Jo-bo Śākya, the holy image that had ever been adored as the protector of the ancient Tibetan monarchy. It was of course an honourable form of banishment. In fact, we hear nothing further of the two princes.

The new queen, rGyal Khatun, bore the king two sons, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal and Nor-bu-rnam-rgyal, the former of whom succeeded his father, who, as we have seen, died a few years after the peace.

Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal (probably born during the 1570-1580 decade) is at once the greatest and one of the best known of Ladakhi kings. For the account of his rule the principal source is naturally the *LdGR*. The inscriptions, so far quite rare, suddenly become more numerous. Also European sources, namely Portuguese and French travellers' accounts, begin to be available.

Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, as we have seen, inherited from his father a kingdom reduced to a position subordinate to the princes of Skardo. The whole history of what is now Indian Tibet is dominated during the second half of the 16th century by the great figure of Ali Mir of Skardo. Unfortunately we know practically nothing of his life and the little we know is indirectly derived. He was an intensely active and mostly successful statesman and warrior. The Moghul historians recognize his political importance and his

military power. We learn from Badauni<sup>1</sup> that in 1591, probably as the consequence of some peace treaty, he gave a daughter of his in marriage to prince Salim, afterwards the emperor Jahangir,—an honour which was not so easily granted. These close bonds with the Moghul empire lasted quite a while. The Jesuit Father Jerome Xavier in a letter of 1598 states that the king of Little Tibet (Baltistan) was a great friend of the emperor Akbar.<sup>2</sup> But not many years later the situation changed, as we know that in 1603 Ali Mir invaded Kashmir, though meeting with a quick repulse.<sup>3</sup> This is the last we hear of him. He must have died not long after, and his removal from the scene coincided with the beginning of the career of Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal. Ali Mir's sons, in fact, were not worthy of him. The suzerainty over Ladakh was lost by his successor Ahmad Khan, as explicitly recorded by the Balti traditions.<sup>4</sup> Upon Ahmad Khan's death his brothers Abdal and Adam fought for succession to the throne, the former coming out victorious. But this strife had greatly weakened the country, which became ever less able to withstand the Moghul inroads which culminated in their conquest of the country in 1636, with which I shall deal later on.

Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal was half Balti on his mother's side and seems to have long entertained friendly relations with his Skardo kin. This friendship was not broken until the last years of his reign. The king even married a Balti princess, probably a cousin: the famous queen bsKal-bzañ, whose name recurs in all inscriptions jointly with the king's and who, while still living, was held to be an incarnation of Tārā, a title that is never absent from the inscrip-

1 *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, trsl. W. H. Lowe, II, 388. See also the account of the English merchant William Finch (1610) as quoted in Sven Hedin's *Southern Tibet*, I, 145-46.

2 Hosten, 'Fr. N. Pimenta's Annual Letter on Mogor', *JASB.*, 1927, p. 61.

3 *Ain-i-Akbari*, transl. Blochmann (Calcutta 1873), p. 474.

4 Collected by Vigne in *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh etc.*; passage reproduced in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 184-186.

tions. The *LdGR*, (p. 108) mentions her as being a native of Ru-śod, a region identified by Francke as Rupshu; but an inscription at Tagmacig (No. 53) clearly states that she was the daughter of the prince of Skardo. Inscriptions are generally more reliable than chronicles, the text of which has the disadvantage of possible corruptions. The new young blood thus transfused into the old dynasty descending from Sron-btsan-sgam-po arrested its decadence, already very threateningly displayed in 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, and it enabled the Ladakhi state to endure for more than another two centuries.

'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal had died only a few years after the peace and the marriage. Hence, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal must have ascended the throne as a minor, probably about 1580 or shortly after. Since childhood he was remarkable for his physical strength and dexterity in the handling of weapons. He first saw war when still in his early youth, and carried on conquering expeditions one after another throughout his reign: he, together with his son, bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, was the most warlike of Ladakhi kings. His chief foe and the one who gave him the greatest troubles was the old, gallant Guge, during a century recovering and losing several times the independence of Ladakh.<sup>5</sup> Already at a tender age, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal had led an expedition against the P'yi-'brogs of Guge,<sup>6</sup> reaching as far as the Kailāsa. The second war, which was decisive, lasted, with long intervals, as long as sixteen years. We are fairly well informed of it by the letters of the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio de Andrade.<sup>7</sup>

5 As stated in the *LdGR*, Guge first came under Ladakh's suzerainty under Blo-gros-mc'og-ldan's reign, probably in connection with the Kashmir raid which this king seems to have joined (*ante*, p. 116). But it is difficult to say whether this was a case of actual subjection or one of tribute extorted for once and not followed by regular payments.

6 "Back pastures." At the border towards Misser, between Gartok and the Kailāsa.

7 On the two journeys of Andrade see F. M. Esteves Pereira, *O descobrimento do Tibet pelo P. Antonio de Andrade* (Coimbra 1921). For Andrade's report on the

The latter completed his first journey to Tsaparang, Guge's capital, in 1624 and was favourably received by the king, whose name unfortunately he does not mention.<sup>8</sup> He was there again in 1625, when he established a mission which lasted with fair success under royal protection for five years, but received a mortal blow by the Ladakhi conquest in 1630. The Christian community, faithful unto the last to the king who had been its benefactor, was nearly destroyed and the new government was hostile to the Christians and kept close watch over the missionaries. The mission had to be abandoned in 1635 and an attempt to re-establish it in 1640 was a total failure.

A letter written by Andrade in 1635 gives a sufficiently detailed information as to the fall of the kingdom of Guge.<sup>9</sup> In 1612 the wife of the king of Guge had become insane owing to child-birth. Two years later the king asked and received in marriage a Ladakhi princess, a sister of Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal.<sup>10</sup> The princess started on her way to Tsaparang, but, when she had already reached its neighbourhood the king, for reasons that have not come down to us, refused to receive her and sent her back to Ladakh. Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal at once declared war on Guge (1614). The great length of this war caused Guge to fall into a state of utter disorder. A particularly serious shock was that of 1624, when it narrowly escaped destruction owing to the revolt of three vassal princes sup-

Guge wars and for the journey of Francisco de Azevedo see Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia* (Haag 1924).

8 Francke's theory (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, 36) that his name was K'ri-bkra-sis-graps-pa-lde,—a name appearing on a votive tablet found at Hurling,—has not sufficient foundation to be admitted. Andrade calls him by the title of Chodakpo, which Francke has reconstructed in Jo-drag-po. Tucci (*Secrets of Tibet*, p. 181) brought it back to C'os-bdag-po synonymous with the more common title C'os-rgyal (Dharmarāja). But the true form of this title is doubtless Jo-bdag-po, or Jo-bo-bdag-po, as it is given in the *LdGR*. (p. 40, l.29).

9 Wessels, pp. 75-80.

10 Perhaps princess gCos-ma-nor-'dsin of inscriptions No. 51 and 54.

ported by the Rājā of Garhwal.<sup>11</sup> The people's discontent over the miseries of the war was increased by the support which the king accorded to the apostles of the new religion in order to check the influence of the great monasteries; and a general revolt occurred in 1630. The king, besieged in the Tsaparang royal fort by the rebels aided by a Ladakhi army, was forced to surrender and was removed to Ladakh as a prisoner.<sup>12</sup> On the same occasion or a little later the semi-independent viceroy of Ruthog, Guge's vassal, was deposed and his territory was annexed to Ladakh.<sup>13</sup> Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal entrusted the government of the new province to his second son, Indrabhoti-rnam-rgyal, who till then had been a lama at Hemiś.<sup>14</sup> The policy of this monk-viceroy was hostile to the small Christian community, which was eventually suppressed. No great importance should be attached to this first attempt at Gospel preaching in Tibet: it owed its first passing success to a chain of favourable circumstances, among which the royal favour was outstanding, and it had been, at any rate, but an inconsequential episode in the history of Western Tibet. Its historical interest lies only in the information that we derive of the country's conditions and events from the Portuguese Jesuits' accounts.

Meanwhile great changes were going on beyond the western frontier of Ladakh. The small Muhammedan state of Skardo, Ladakh's traditional foe, suffered an eclipse, being substituted (for the time being) by the most powerful Muhammedan kingdom of India, the Moghul empire. It was an event of the utmost gravity for Ladakh. Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal's state was now cut off from any expansion toward the western regions of the Himalayas. In its mili-

11 Wessels, p. 67. Esteves Percira, pp. 68-69.

12 To the siege of Tsaparang refers also the *LdGR.*, which tells us that Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal took rTsa-bran and Los-loñ. The latter is not, as understood by Francke, a person's name, but a copyist's corruption of the name of the great royal monastery of Toling (mT'os-gliñ). Tucci, *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 181.

13 Wessels, p. 77.

14 *LdGR.*, p. 113.

tary and religious struggle against the Muhammedans, it had to fight with the paramount power of India, and not, as till then, with a state decidedly inferior in size and wealth to Ladakh.

Friendship between Baltistan and the Moghuls had already found an end in the last years of Akbar's and Ali Mir's reign, and the Balti raids in Kashmir became wearisome to the Moghuls. The emperor Jahangir (1605-1627) made an unsuccessful attempt at conquering the troublesome neighbour. The facts are thus related in Abdul-Hamid Lahori's *Badshah-nāmeḥ*:<sup>15</sup> "The late emperor Jahangir long entertained the design of conquering Tibet, and in the course of his reign Hashim Khan, son of Kasim Khan Mir Bahr, governor of Kashmir, under the orders of the emperor invaded the country with a large force of horse and foot and local zamindars. But, although he entered the country and did his best, he met no success and was obliged to retreat with great loss and with much difficulty." Shah Jahan (1627-1658) then took up the designs of his father. He profited by the discords in the royal family of Skardo; as already related, Ali Mir's sons Abdal and Adam Khan had fought for the throne, and Abdal had gained the upper hand. Adam Khan became a refugee at the court of Zafar Khan, the Moghul governor of Kashmir, and from there applied for help to the emperor. This was granted. In 1637, under the order of Shah Jahan, Zafar Khan invaded Baltistan and after a month's march reached the vicinity of Skardo. Abdal had sent his family to the fortress of Kahchana (?), entrusted to the care of his nephew and minister Mohammed Murad, the son of Ali Mir's eldest son Ahmed Khan.<sup>16</sup> The imperial commander sent against Kahchana the pretender Adam Khan, who, partly by force and partly by treason, succeeded in conquering the fortress (August 28, 1637).

15 Translated in Elliot, *History of India as told by its own historians*, VII, 62.

16 For the pedigree of the Skardo chiefs see the Balti traditions collected by Vigne, in Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 185.

Abdal, in despair over the loss of his family, surrendered and was carried as a prisoner to Kashmir.<sup>17</sup> For some unknown reason (perhaps as a reward for his treason), it was Mohammed Murad, and not Adam Khan, who was installed as a ruler of the country. But this arrangement lasted a very short time, for in the next year we find Adam Khan ruling over Baltistan, as a faithful subject of the emperor.<sup>18</sup>

Bernier speaks of these events in following terms: "Some few years since, there existed great dissensions in the royal family of Little Tibet, a country bordering on Kashmir. One of the pretenders having applied secretly to the governor of this kingdom for assistance, the latter was commanded by Shah Jahan to afford all the succour he might need. The governor accordingly invaded Little Tibet, slew or put to flight the other competitors, and left this prince in undisputed possession of the throne, subject to an annual tribute of crystal, musk and wool."<sup>19</sup> The Moghul empire thus became Ladakh's next door neighbour, and a clash was inevitable sooner or later.

In 1639 Adam Khan of Skardo "wrote to Ali Mardan Khan, the new governor of Kashmir, informing him that Sangi Bamkhal, the holder of Great Tibet, had occupied Pūrig in Little Tibet with a large army of horse and foot. Husain Beg started from Kashmir on the 14 Safar 1049 A.H. (June 16, 1639). After some time, Adam Khan with a contingent of Tibetan foot soldiers joined him: on 25 Rab'i II (August 25) they met Bamkhal in the neighbourhood of Kharbu (Karpūpa). Bamkhal opened the battle, but was

17 Abdul-Hamid Lahori's *Badshah-nāma*, vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 282-84. Elliot's translation (VII, 62-63) is too condensed. I am indebted for the translation of this and of the following passage to the kindness of Dr. B. P. Saksena of the Allahabad University.

18 He is recorded to have sent tribute to the court as late as 1640. Lahori, II, 207.

19 *Travels*, p, 421.

defeated; he fled and shut himself in the fort of Kharbu (Karpūr). Then he discovered that before he could reach a safe place, he would either be killed or captured. Therefore he very humbly sent a messenger to Husain Beg and opened negotiations. He promised that, if guarantees of safety and security were held out to him, on his return to his own country he would send suitable tribute to the imperial court. Then Husain Beg returned to Kashmir, where he arrived on 22 Jumāda ul-Akhir (September 25).”<sup>20</sup>

The narrative of Lahori is of the utmost importance. For the first time we find a king of Ladakh mentioned by name in a Muslim chronicle. Sangi Bamkhal is obviously Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal; Bamkhal is a clerical error for Namjal, due simply to an inversion of diacritical marks. This sure date of 1639 is, along with Andrade’s *données*, the main basis of the chronology of Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal.

Bernier, writing in June 1665, refers to these events in somewhat different terms. According to him, the governor of Kashmir “seventeen or eighteen years ago” invaded Ladakh and succeeded in capturing an important fortress. On account of the quite advanced season, he retreated; “he placed a garrison in the fortress just captured, intending to resume the invasion of the country early in the spring; but that garrison most strangely and unexpectedly evacuated the castle, either through fear of the enemy, or from want of provisions, and Great Tibet escaped the meditated attack that had been deferred to the next spring.”<sup>21</sup> This is only a hearsay account of events that had taken place twenty-six (not seventeen) years before. But it is not without importance, since it records particulars which were prudently omitted in the official history of Lahori.

The version of the *LdGR*. differs again from both the preceding accounts: During the time of this king, Adam Khan, the king

20 Lahori, II, 159-160. Greatly abridged translation in Elliot, VII, 67.

21 Bernier’s *Travels* (transl. Constable), p. 422.



of Balti, having brought in the army of Pad-ca Śa-'jan (Padshah Shah Jahan), they fought many battles at mK'ar-bu, and many Hor (Moghuls) being killed, a complete victory was gained over the enemy."

I think, the three versions are not necessarily in contradiction: they rather supplement each other, since the official chronicles of Ladakh and of the Moghuls relate only what is favourable to their sovereigns.

The true course of the events seems to have been the following: Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal invaded and conquered Purig (probably in the spring of 1639). Adam Khan of Skardo called to his aid the Moghul forces of the governor of Kashmir. A battle took place at Kharbu in Purig, and the Ladakhis were routed. Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal disentangled himself from the dangerous situation by more or less serious promises of a tribute. As the season was well advanced, the Moghuls left a garrison in the fort of Kharbu and withdrew to Kashmir. But the Ladakhis advanced again and attacked Kharbu. The garrison, which could not expect any succour from Kashmir since the snow had closed the Zoji pass, evacuated the fort. The invasion was not repeated the next spring, and things remained unsettled for many years to come. Kharbu, evacuated by the Moghuls, seems not to have been occupied by the Ladakhis, as we hear of its conquest many years afterwards, during the reign of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. As for Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal's promises of tribute, they probably were not meant seriously and certainly were not kept, as explicitly stated by Bernier (p. 424). It is not unnatural that of all these events, Lahori has only retained the victory of Kharbu, and the *LdGR*, the final success of the Ladakhis after the withdrawal of the main army of the Moghuls.

The practical results were indecisive. The Ladakhi empire did not accept Moghul suzerainty; but it had to renounce its conquests in Purig for the time being, and to give up for ever any project of

conquering Skardo. This result was not a serious set-back and could not weigh down the brilliant successes which in the meanwhile Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal had scored in the east.

As soon as the conflict with the Moghuls was over, new complications arose on the eastern border. Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal's conquest of Guge had brought him in contact with the kingdom of Tsang in Central Tibet. By that time, Tsang was governed by a personage fairly well-known to Tibetan history, sDe-pa P'un-tso-gs-rnam-rgyal, usually styled gTsañ-pa.<sup>22</sup> His capital was Shigatse, where he was visited in 1626-1627 by the Jesuit Fathers Cacella and Cabral.<sup>23</sup> This ruler's attention was till then fixed rather towards the north, whence a great danger was threatening him from the Mongol tribesmen of Guñri Khan.<sup>24</sup> These nomads, to avenge the devastations brought by the Tsang troops on the dbUs monasteries in 1610 and 1618, had already once (1621) invaded the country defeating the Tsang army at rKyañ-t'añ-sgañ. A few years later (1642) they were to take prisoner gTsañ-pa himself and to become masters of his state. To this menace from the north, a western one was added; after Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal's conquest of Guge, a war between Tsang and Ladakh soon became inevitable because of the ill-determined borders. Soon after the Moghul war, the Ladakhi army started eastward, led by the king himself. The invasion was very unfortunately timed for gTsañ-pa, fully occupied as he was with the Mongol menace; and the Ladakhis, meeting no resistance, succeeded in crossing over one of the most difficult countries of the world and in reaching the border of Tsang proper, where they encamped on the banks of the Chaktak-tsangpo. Prolongation of the war did not

22 'Jigs-med-nam-mk'a (Huth's translation), p. 52. See also Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*, pp. 133-138.

23 Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, pp. 153-157.

24 The dates hereafter are taken from the *Ren-mig* (*IASB.*, 1889), with the corrections suggested by Pelliot (*IAS.*, 1913).

suit either gTsañ-pa, threatened by the Mongols, or Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal, too far advanced from his base of operations and isolated in a country which is the least favourable one may conceive for military movements. An equitable peace ensued, which confirmed Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal in the full possession of all the territories of the ancient kingdom of Guge, and set the border at the Maryum-la (to the east of Manasarowar lake).

The Tsang campaign, one of the most hazardous ever carried in the Himalayas, must of course have been extremely fatiguing, and it is thus not surprising that the hardships of this fearful march impaired the power of resistance of the aged king. Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal died at Hanle during the journey back to Ladakh.

The date of the Tsang war and of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's death can be established with a fair degree of precision. Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal was still alive in 1639, when he fought against the Moghuls at Kharbu; on the other hand, his enemy gTsañ-pa ceased to reign in 1642. The campaign against Tsang and the death of the king must have therefore occurred either in 1640 or in 1641.

Thus Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal reigned from *c.* 1590 to *c.* 1640. The long duration of his reign should not be surprising; he was the son of the old age of 'Jam-dbyañs-rnam-rgyal, being born of the Balti princess imposed on the Ladakhi king by Ali Mir; he must have succeeded to the throne very young.

In the course of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign the Europeans first came to Ladakh. The first European traveller to set foot in Ladakh was a simple Portuguese layman, Diogo d'Almeida, who, probably for commercial purposes, stayed there two whole years; we do not know the exact date, but it must have been some time before 1603. A man of little education, he left no written account of his travels, the only notice of which is an incidental reference of a few lines in a report on the activity of Alexis de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, by the Augustinian Father Antonio de Gouvea. The first to attract

the attention of scholars to this work was Prof. Jarl Charpentier in his paper *Some Remarks on vol. I of Southern Tibet*, in *Geografiska Annaler*, vol. I (Stockholm 1919), where a summary of the passage concerning D'Almeida can be found. The question was more deeply studied by Sven Hedin, first in his paper *European Knowledge of Tibet*, *Geografiska Annaler*, vol. I, and then in vol. VII of *Southern Tibet*. He showed that D'Almeida's account does not refer to Tibet, but is a very correct and reliable description of Ladakh. Unfortunately Hedin utilised only a French translation of a Spanish version of Portuguese original, which last, as he correctly states, is very rare indeed. I have been able to locate a copy of it in the Biblioteca Marucelliana at Florence, and have deemed it useful to reproduce in an appendix the text, with an English translation, of the passage concerning D'Almeida. It affords us no new light. The country impressed him as a very wealthy one. It is to be noticed that the capital at that time was Basgo, whereas thirty years later it was already Leh, which continues as the capital to this day. D'Almeida unfortunately misunderstood the king's name and grasped only its latter part, Tammiguia, doubtless to be corrected in Nammiguia, i.e. -rnam-rgyal. I think it cannot be questioned that it was Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal.

The second visit of a European took place about thirty years later. It was brought about by the vexations inflicted upon the Christian community of Tsaparang by the monk-vice-roy Indrabhoti-rnam-rgyal. The Jesuits, seeing what danger their entire work stood in, decided to appeal directly to the king, and in 1631 the Portuguese Father Francisco de Azevedo went from Tsaparang to Leh for this purpose. His account was published by Wessels in his valuable book *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*. Azevedo was well received and admitted to a hearing before the king, from whom he obtained many assurances and promises of protection. But we know that this had no practical consequences; the vexations

continued and the mission had eventually to be withdrawn. After a short stay at Leh, Azevedo returned to Delhi by the Baralacha pass, in the fall of the same year. His account is not historically important. He gives an interesting description of the physical appearance of king Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal: "He is a man of tall stature, of a brown colour, with something of the Javanese<sup>25</sup> in his features, and of stern appearance. He wore a rather dirty upper garment of some red material, a mantle of the same and a threadbare cap. His hair hung down to his shoulders, either ear was adorned with turquoise and a large coral, whilst he wore a string of skull bones round his neck to remind himself of death." (p. 108).

Sei-ge-rnam-ryal, a warrior and a conqueror, was also one of the kings who did most for Buddhism in Ladakh. His happiest action in this connection was his invitation to the great lama Stag-ts'an-ras-c'en from Central Tibet: he very soon became the first dignitary of the kingdom. He greatly promoted religious fervour among the Buddhists of Ladakh and founded many monasteries, among which the most important was doubtless Hemiś, the private monastery of the royal house, the building of which lasted from 1602 to 1642. Great donations of landed estates granted by Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal to the lamas in general and to Stag-ts'an-ras-c'en in particular, greatly enhanced the clergy's power in the country. The king amply availed himself of the great teacher's counsel also in political affairs. This is recorded in the inscription at Tagmacig (No. 53 of Francke's Collection) and in the *LdGR*. as well. the latter showing that some very important political measures, such as Indrabhoti-rnam-rgyal's appointment as the viceroy of Guge, were due to Stag-ts'an-ras-c'en's initiative. He probably also inspired the policy of hostility to Christianity. The veneration in which this

25 The Tibetans' resemblance to the Javanese seems to have impressed several of the Portuguese travellers. See for instance the already quoted letter of Father Jerome Xavier, and D'Almeida's account.

strange personage was held is clearly seen in the fantastic story of his virtues and miracles in D'Almeida's account, which doubtless refers to him, though not by name.

It is difficult to get a clear view of Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal's personality from the inadequate sources available. This much is certain that he had two great loves: war and religion. His two equally great achievements, the founding of the Ladakhi empire and the giving of a new impetus to Buddhism in the country, stand as an evidence of his extraordinary energy and ability. He shrewdly used a magnificent tool, the lama Stag-ts'añ-ras-c'en, without ever allowing the reins of government to slip from his own hands, and ever remained the inspiring mind behind the great work of political and religious organization.

The general lines along which the expansion of Ladakh's power developed are unmistakable marks of his clarity of vision and proper evaluation of the available means. They may be summarized in this fundamental idea: defensive action on the west, expansion to the east. His action on the western border was by no means one of purely passive defence; but he fully realized that, despite some occasional successes, Ladakh was no match for the great Moghul empire, and that, if there was any brilliant future for Ladakh at all, it was in the East, and not in the West. Accordingly, for over thirty years he personally led his armies eastward to fulfil what had been the age-old dream of the Ladakhi kings: the conquest of Guge. He succeeded in this task; and the fact that the empire he founded did not survive him long, is not to be attributed to him. He of course lacked power to overcome the baffling geographical conditions that forbid the lasting of a great state in the Western Himalayas.

## CHAPTER VI

### *bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal and the fall of the Ladakhi empire.*

Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal was succeeded by his eldest son bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. This prince had been already on the throne since some time before the death of his father, having been associated with him at the age of 13, as customary in Western Tibet. This association was on a basis of perfect equality (at least in theory), since a Hundar inscription (Francke's No. 57) and a Tagmacig inscription (No. 61) bear the name of the two C'os-rgyal-c'en-po, Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal and bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. The latter as heir-apparent, before his coronation as associate king, had borne the customary title of Lha-sras, which recurs in an inscription of Basgo (No. 51) and in another from Skyurbuchan (No. 54).

bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal was a worthy son of his great father. Although compelled in the end to accept Moghul suzerainty, which after all could never be more than shadowy in such a country, he not only maintained, but even increased the vast empire inherited from his father. On the whole and excepting for the two campaigns of conquest in his last years, his reign seems to have been a fairly peaceful one.

Although after the battle of Kharbu, Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal had promised tribute to the Moghuls, this tribute appears to have never been paid, and Ladakh remained for all purposes an independent state. But the new emperor Aurangzeb, the stern champion of Islam, was no longer willing to tolerate this state of things, and took steps to enforce his suzerainty over Ladakh. The circumstances of his action are related at length by the official historian of the

emperor.<sup>1</sup> Under an imperial order, Saif Khan, the governor of Kashmir, sent an embassy to the king of Ladakh, who is given the title of Zamindar of Great Tibet and the name of Deldan Namjal, a very good transliteration of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. The ambassador, Muhammad Shafi, brought an imperial firman, enjoining on the Ladakhi king the acceptance of Moghul suzerainty and of Islam. The envoy was met six miles outside the capital by the king and the principal grandees. They accepted with great reverence the imperial document and submitted to all the requests. Accordingly, the *khutba* was read in the name of Aurangzeb, the building of a mosque was begun<sup>2</sup> and the Ladakhi government undertook to spread the Islamic religion among the people. The ambassador was then sent back to Kashmir with great honours and with a tribute of 1,000 ashrafis, 2,000 rupees and many other precious gifts. The news of this settlement of the Ladakhi question reached the court in November 1664.

In the following year (1665), Aurangzeb went himself to Kashmir, and received there a Ladakhi embassy, which, in the name of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, repeated the pledge of fealty and tribute, and promised that a mosque should be built, and the *khutba* recited and coins struck in the name of the emperor; the French traveller Bernier saw the envoys and spoke with them.<sup>3</sup> It seems that this acknowledgment of suzerainty was understood to be merely the fulfilment of the promises made, but not maintained, by Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal after the battle of Kharbu.

But things did not go so smoothly as the official historiographer of the Moghuls would have us believe; Bernier states that

1 *Alamgir-nāma*, pp. 921-923.

2 The mosque of Leh was inaugurated in 1077 A.H. (1666-1667 A.D.), according to a Persian inscription on its walls Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 118.

3 Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 422-424.



bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal yielded only to a definite threat of an invasion. A later but well-informed author, Muhammad Azam,<sup>4</sup> speaks even of a "conquest of Great Tibet." Probably the embassy of Aurangzeb was backed by a display of force on the Ladakhi border and by the diplomatic and military support of the chief of Skardo. Since 1637, the Balti chiefs of Skardo were the loyal subjects of the emperor, and kept watch for him against the unbelievers of Ladakh, with whom they had been on bad terms from immemorial times. In this period the prince of Basgo was Murad Khan, son of Rafi Khan and grandson of Muhammad Murad who had helped the Moghuls in 1637.<sup>5</sup> He was richly rewarded for his good services on this occasion. Balti tradition even says that Ladakh, lost to the Baltis under the successors of Ali Mir, was recovered by Murad Khan.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps he was entrusted with the representation of the imperial interests in Ladakh.

At first sight it seems that there is not the slightest hint to these transactions in the *LdGR*. But there is a short narrative that could perhaps be brought in relation with the events of 1664. It is an unusually long and exact account of two campaigns carried out with considerable success by the commander-in-chief, Śākya-rgya-mts'o, on the western frontier of Ladakh. The first expedition took place in the Water-Ox year. The Ladakhi army made a raid on Kharbu, where many prisoners were taken, and then conquered the principality of Cig-tan in Lower Ladakh. It next entered Lower Purig, where Sod Pa-sa-ri was conquered, and returned to Ladakh through Upper Purig, which was completely subdued; its ruler, the K'ri Sultan of 'dKar-rtse, was taken prisoner to Ladakh. Next year (Wood-Tiger) Śākya-rgya-mts'o marched against Baltistan: Khapulu and C'or-'bad in the lower Shayok valley were taken, and assigned

4 *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri*, fol. 138a.

5 Cunningham, *Ladak* etc. p. 35.

6 Vigne, reproduced in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 185.

to loyal Muslim chiefs. These successes of the Ladakhi forces were dangerous for the independent chiefs of Baltistan, and, as it was the tradition of his family, the prince of Skardo called in the Moghuls. "The chieftain of Skardo and all the Baltis were unanimous in their complaints to the Nawab (of Kashmir). In anger thereat, an army of Hor numbering 200,000 arrived at Pa-sa-ri (in Lower Purig); but the minister 'Brug-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh and his forces fought a battle against the Hor army and killed many Hor soldiers. They captured ensigns and kettle-drums, winning a complete victory over the enemy."

The years Water-Ox and Wood-Tiger would correspond to 1673 and 1674, but we cannot absolutely rely upon the dates of the *LdGR*. If we should accept as exact the name of the animal, the years 1661 and 1662 could be referred to, and these events would be connected with those narrated by the Moghul sources under the heading of 1664. I have already pointed out that the *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri* seems to hint at a war of conquest of the Moghuls against Ladakh. But the *LdGR*. speaks of a great Ladakhi victory; it is therefore better to leave the problem unsolved and not to do violence to the facts by identifications which are more than doubtful. What real foundation the claim of the *LdGR*. on a big victory can have, I do not know. Precedents (e.g., the battle of Kharbu,) advise us to be very sceptical in this matter.

Anyhow, it follows from the list of the lands ruled by bDe-legs-rnam-gyal, found in the *LdGR*., that the conquests of Śākya-rgya-mts'o were maintained and that bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal bequeathed them to his successor.

Allowing to bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal the usual 30 years, he should have died about 1670. But it is safer to give him five years more, in case the dates 1673 and 1674 for Śākya-rgya-mts'o's war should be after all exact. The regnal years of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal can, therefore, be held to have been c. 1640-1675.

At the time of his death, the Ladakhi empire, although no longer independent of the Mōghuls as it had been under Seiṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, had attained its largest extent. The territories over which the Ladakhi king held sway were the following:

- A. Ladakh proper, in its widest accepted sense, namely with its dependencies of Nubra, Dras etc:
- B. The territories that had constituted the kingdom of Guge, annexed in 1630 and governed by Seiṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's second son Indrabhoti-rnam-rgyal, viz:
  - (1) Guge proper;
  - (2) Purang with the regions between the Manasarowar and the Maryum-la;
  - (3) Ruthog;
  - (4) and (5) Spiti and Upper Kunawar, which were a part of Guge already in the times of Ye-śes-'od and must still have been in 1630;
- C. Upper Lahul, which was a part of Ladakh from Utpala's time; Lower Lahul belonged to Kulu from the beginning of the 16th century and was not included in Seiṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's empire. The Jesuit Father Francisco de Azevedo, who visited Ladakh in 1631, explicitly states that Carja (Gar-ža, the Tibetan name of Lahul) was under Kulu;<sup>7</sup>
- D. Zanskar, which had been a small independent kingdom since Ņi-ma-mgon's death; Seiṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, after having conquered it in a manner and at a time unknown to us, gave it as an appanage to bDe-mc'og-rnam-rgyal, his third son, who founded a new dynasty which lasted until the Dogra conquest in 1841;
- E. Purig, conquered in 1673 (?);

7 Wessels, p. 307.

- F. The lower Shayok valley (Balti chiefships of Khapulu and C'or-'bad) conquered in 1674 (?), and governed by trusted Muslim chieftains.

As can be seen it was a rather vast empire as to area, but very scantily populated and composed of considerably heterogenous elements. This accounts for its short duration and easy downfall.

The Moghul sources<sup>8</sup> on the whole support the above list. According to them, the Ladakhi empire extended itself for six months of travel in length and 1-2 months in breadth. It was bordered by Kashmir, Kumaon, Garhwal, Urzang (dbUs-gTsañ, Central Tibet), Moghulistan, Kashghar and Baltistan. Its army, fairly strong for a Himalayan country, comprised 12,000 men, horse and foot.

bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal's son bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal (c. 1675-1705) was an unworthy successor of his father and grandfather, and in the course of his reign the great empire founded by them was brought to a sudden collapse by a series of unfortunate circumstances, the king's ineptness being not the least of them.

Somewhat absurdly, the cause of the fall of the Ladakhi empire was a question of little importance and in which Ladakh was not directly interested. The 'Brug-pa incarnate who was the supreme religious and temporal authority in Bhutan had some controversy with the authorities at Lhasa. The Ladakhi king, self-styled protector of the 'Brug-pa sect to which he belonged, undertook steps at Lhasa for the protection of his Bhutanese *guru*. Things quickly complicated themselves until finally a declaration of war against Ladakh was made by the government of Lhasa. Tibet at that time was ruled under the suzerainty of the Dalai-Lama by the descendants of Guśri Khan, the Mongol chief who had conquered the country in 1636-1642. Accordingly, the army of invasion was

8 *Alamgir-nāma*, p. 922.

composed of two elements, Mongol tribesmen and Tibetan troops. The choice of the general was not easy, but eventually the government selected for the job a Mongol lama from Tashilhunpo, dGa-ldan Ts'e-dbañ, who surprisingly turned out to be really an able general." The Tibetan army started against Ladakh, but in several encounters it was beaten and driven back by the Ladakhi general, Śākya-rgya-mts'o.<sup>10</sup> King bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal, a very weak ruler as it appears, had sought refuge in Tingmosgang, his dynasty's old capital, and left it to his general to deal with the enemy. Very soon the Tibetan army took again the offensive, defeated the Ladakhi forces at Žva-dmar-luñ in Guge, pursued them into the heart of Ladakh proper and laid siege to the fortress of Basgo. Basgo stood heroically for three years, but eventually the king and Śākya-rgya-mts'o, resourceless and unable to save it from surrendering, appealed for aid to the governor of Kashmir. At this time Ibrahim Khan was in charge of Kashmir; he promptly sent an army under his son Fidai Khan to the rescue of his vassal. A battle took place on the Bya-rgyal plain near Basgo, and the Mongolo-Tibetans were routed. Their flight was not stopped until they reached Tashigang (in Guge territory, but near the present border), where they entrenched and reorganised themselves. Muhammad Azam's account of these events fully agree with that of the *LdGR.*: "In 1683 Great Tibet (Ladakh) was invaded by the Qalmaqs (Mongols); help was sent to the Raja at the intercession of Ibrahim Khan. These auxiliary troops were commanded by Fidai Khan, son of Ibrahim Khan. Fidai Khan put the Qalmaq to flight and brought much booty with him back to Kashmir. He reduced Tibet to subjection."<sup>11</sup> The official chronicle sadly confuses

9 His fame survived him for long. At Taklakot (Purang) there is a temple which is said to have been founded by him and to house his tomb. See Tucci, *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto* (Milano 1937), p. 29.

10 See King Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal's account of the deeds of General Śākya-rgya-mts'o, in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 243-244.

11 *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri*, fol. 147a.

things, and changes Fidai Khan's expedition into a war of conquest of Ladakh.<sup>12</sup> Besides, it calls the king by the name of Daldal, i.e. bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, not aware of the fact that this ruler had died in the meanwhile and had been succeeded by his son. But this account is important as far as it supports the date 1683 given by Muhammad Azam for the battle of Basgo.

After the battle, there was no longer any object for the Lhasa government in persisting in a 'difficult war, which, owing to the great military superiority of the Mughal forces, held out no hope of success. Peace negotiations, therefore, were in order and they were entrusted to a person, whose choice must have been very acceptable and even gratifying to the Ladakhi king Mi-p'am-dban-po, a great incarnate of the 'Brug-pa sect.<sup>13</sup> The 'Brug-pa monks were the spiritual advisers of the king since Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's time, or perhaps even earlier; Stag-ts'an-ras-c'en was a 'Brug-pa, and the royal monastery of Hemiś belonged to them; for their sake the king had begun this disastrous war. The interests of Ladakh were represented by Śākya-rgya-mts'o, a good servant of his master in diplomacy as well as in war. The negotiations were held at Tingmosgang, and led to a final settlement of the relations between Tibet and Ladakh. The borders then set, stood unchanged even after the Dogra conquest; the territorial status settled at Tingmosgang has lasted to this day.

The basis of the treaty was the *uti possidetis* principle. Accordingly, Guge, Purang, Ruthog and the regions between the Kailāsa and the Maryum-la, occupied by the Tibetans, were awarded to the Lhasa government, after belonging to Ladakh for 53 years. Perpetual peace was pledged and a trade pact was also concluded. Lastly, Ladakh had to agree to the sending of a caravan to bring tribute to Lhasa every third year. All these stipulations had a

<sup>12</sup> *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 236.

<sup>13</sup> His name in the documents on the deeds of Śākya-rgya-mts'o is Tams-c'ad-mk'yen-gzogs.

character of finality and were still in force during the 19th century. Ladakh, although nominally victorious, had to agree to such a mutilation of its territory because of the unwillingness of the Moghuls to conduct a campaign in the impassable solitudes of Guge; and with its own resources only, it was impossible for Ladakh to recover the eastern possessions, occupied by the Tibetans.

Besides the Lhasa government, its allies had to be satisfied; thus, an agreement was concluded with Bashahr state (now one of the Simla Hill States). Francke has hinted to the existence of a treaty between Ladakh and Bashahr, of which he had collected several copies.<sup>11</sup> We are not told of the terms of the agreement, but it is clear from all we know of the previous and subsequent situations that in the peace of 1683 Ladakh was compelled to renounce Upper Kunawar, formerly a part of the kingdom of Guge.

No sooner peace was made with Tibet and its allies, than Fidai Khan and Ibrahim Khan put in their bill for aid rendered to bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal.<sup>15</sup> The conditions were quite heavy, being partly a reinforcement of the old one of 1664, and partly new. The tribute to the governor of Kashmir was exactly settled; it had to be paid every third year.<sup>16</sup> bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal had to accept (at least outwardly) Islam; he assumed the Muslim name of Aqabat Mahmud Khan, which seems to have been borne by all the later kings of Ladakh, king Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal being known under this name to the Dogras during the war of 1834.<sup>17</sup> He was also

14 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, 7.

15 I cannot understand why Francke (*History of Western Tibet*, p. 112) places the peace with Tibet as having been concluded after the treaty with Kashmir. It is clear from the *LdGR* that the negotiations with the representatives of Lhasa were carried out earlier than, or at most at the same time as, those with Fidai Khan.

16 By Mir Izzet-Ullah's time (1812) the king still recognized the suzerainty of the governor of Kashmir, but the tribute was no longer paid.

17 Cf. Basti Ram's account of the Dogra war in Cunninghams' *Ladak*, pp. 335 and 345.

compelled to have a coin of Moghul type struck in Kashmir for Ladakh. This coin, called *jao* in Indian Tibet, is the only Ladakhi coin yet known; it is described by Cunningham on p. 255 and reproduced on p. 300 of his *Ladak*. It bears the name Mahmud Shah, the legend Zarb-i-Butan (coin of Tibet) and a date, not clear enough to be read. I have no knowledge of this coin having been described by other scholars. Only Mir Izzet-Ullah speaks of the *jūd* of Ladakh, which was worth 1/24 of a rupee and was struck by the king of Ladakh under the name of Mahmud Shah.<sup>18</sup>

Other terms imposed by the Moghuls were that the king should give one of his sons as a hostage, build (or repair?) a mosque at Leh, and grant to the Kashmiri merchants the monopoly of the raw wool trade,—the great Western Tibet staple and the raw material for the manufacture of the famous shawls, one of Kashmir's most important industries. It goes without saying that Ladakh waived any possible claim to Baltistan and Purig. These regions, in fact, at Desideri's time (1715)<sup>19</sup> belonged to the Moghul empire, which ruled over them through the governor of Kashmir.

The Moghuls too had an ally who had to be rewarded at the expense of Ladakh: Bidhi Singh of Kulu (1672-1688) received then Upper Lahul, which became and still is a dependency of Kulu.<sup>20</sup>

Zanskar as well had already become practically independent under the dynasty founded by the third son of Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal.

After the peace of 1683, therefore, of all of Sei-ge-rnam-rgyal's conquests nothing else remained than the more or less effective suzerainty over Spiti. This region was ceded in 1846 to the British Government by Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir.

18 *JRAS.*, 1843, p. 290.

19 *Account of Tibet*, edited by F. De Filippi (London 1937), p. 75.

20 Hutchison & Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, 462.



In all these transactions a great part was played by the commander-in-chief Śākya-rgya-mts'o, the old general of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. His deeds have been recorded by the grateful king Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal, bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal's successor, in a document which has been published by Francke.<sup>21</sup> He seems to have been really an able man, but he was powerless against the course of events, and could not stop the crumbling of the Ladakhi empire.

From the peace of Tingmosgang onwards, Ladakh's history loses all interest of not merely local character and is not worth pursuing—the more so in that the *LdGR.*, the subject of the present works, stops (excepting the 19th century additions) with Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's death. Ladakh never recovered from the disaster of 1683, and there is a flavour of tragical irony in the *LdGR.*'s words closing bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal's life: "Again the kingdom flourished as before, and enjoyed the highest felicity of virtue and happiness."

A short summary of the following reigns will be enough for our purpose. bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal was succeeded by Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal (c. 1705-1734), during whose reign the Jesuit Father Ippolito Desideri visited Ladakh in 1715. He was followed in 1734<sup>22</sup> by bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal (c. 1734-1750), whose successors were P'un-tso-gs-rnam-rgyal (c. 1750-1765), Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (c. 1765-1780), and Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal (c. 1780-1790). The latter's brother, Ts'e-dpal-mi-gyur-don-grub-rnam-rgyal, or more briefly Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal, enjoyed an unusually long reign. He is known to have been on the throne as early as 1792,<sup>23</sup> and was deposed in 1834 by the Dogras, who put on the throne a puppet, the minister dNos-

21 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 243-244.

22 The date of bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal's accession is given in a document stating the services of general Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje, published by Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 235).

23 This and several other dates are found in a document stating the services of the minister bSod-nams-bstan'dsin, published by Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 230-241).

grub-bstan-dsin. After a few years the old king was restored, but finally deposed after the revolt of 1842. Ladakh then became, and still is, an integral part of the territories of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

The importance of the Ladakhi kingdom has been greatly exaggerated, especially by Francke. Strictly speaking, one might say that its history affords only a scanty interest, but for the sixty or seventy years of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's and bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal's empire. Originally but a small principality owing allegiance to Guge, it displayed throughout the course of several centuries no tendency to expand. It had only three really great rulers, Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal and bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, particularly the second of the three. But the rise of its power was invariably interrupted by a foreign invasion. The imperialistic tendency looming up towards the end of the 15th century was smothered by Mirza Haidar's long protracted adventure. Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal's work of reconstruction was destroyed by the Baltis only a few years after his death. Lastly, Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's life work was frustrated by the Mongolo-Tibetans and the Moghuls.

The reasons for the weakness of the Ladakhi state and for its inability to hold durably a vast external dominion have already been stated in part. The basis was too small; Ladakh, because of its scarcity of population which is an inevitable consequence of the very nature of the land, has always been unable to resist a huge army such as could be mustered by the Indian states or by the chiefs of Turkestan and Mongolia.<sup>21</sup> Any expansion, however vast and seemingly irresistible, must stop and fall before foreign intervention. Besides, even if foreign powers had kept out of the zone of its activity, Ladakh, a poor country, could not, in my opinion, long sustain the economic effort required by an imperialistic policy such as Señ-

<sup>24</sup> Mir Izzet-Ullah (*JRAS.*, 1843, p. 291) had the same impression about Ladakh: "Four or five hundred mounted men might plunder the whole country."

ge-rnam-rgyal's. Furthermore, the very temper of the Tibetan people after its conversion to Buddhism was ill-suited to a policy of expansion. This holds true for the kings as well. Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal, Ladakh's only king, who frankly pursued an ambitious policy of aggrandizement, was a half-Balti and his son bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal was a three-quarter Balti. Despite the invigorating effect of the fresh Balti blood transfused into the old Tibetan stock, the dynasty seems to have exhausted all its strength with the two great kings of the 17th century, after whom it produced but mean, and sometimes even despicable characters. Their ineptness and discord brought about the hastening of a process of decadence that eventually ended in the subjection of Ladakh to the Dogras.

The disaster of 1683 was inevitable also because Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's exploits did not have a favourable historical setting; in his time Kashmir had the backing of all the enormous resources of the Moghul empire, then at its height, and Tibet, after centuries of division, had just recovered its national unity at Guśri Khan's hands, and could rely for support for his troops upon the sturdy Mongol nomads, strong in number as well as in fighting qualities. After Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal had made a clean sweep of all the smaller buffer states surrounding Ladakh, a conflict between Ladakh and either of the two great neighbouring powers, and thence between these powers themselves, was inevitable. It came, and Ladakh was crushed in the impact.

Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's short-lived empire vanished without leaving any trace in its wake. It was of no benefit to Ladakh, whose manpower and resources were exhausted in the vain effort of keeping in subjection enormous, thinly populated, and inaccessible territories. It was absolutely disastrous to many of the conquered lands. A striking example is Guge. The long protracted external and civil war (1614-1630) with all its ravages must have been a big factor in the acceleration of that appalling decadence, whereby Guge, a very

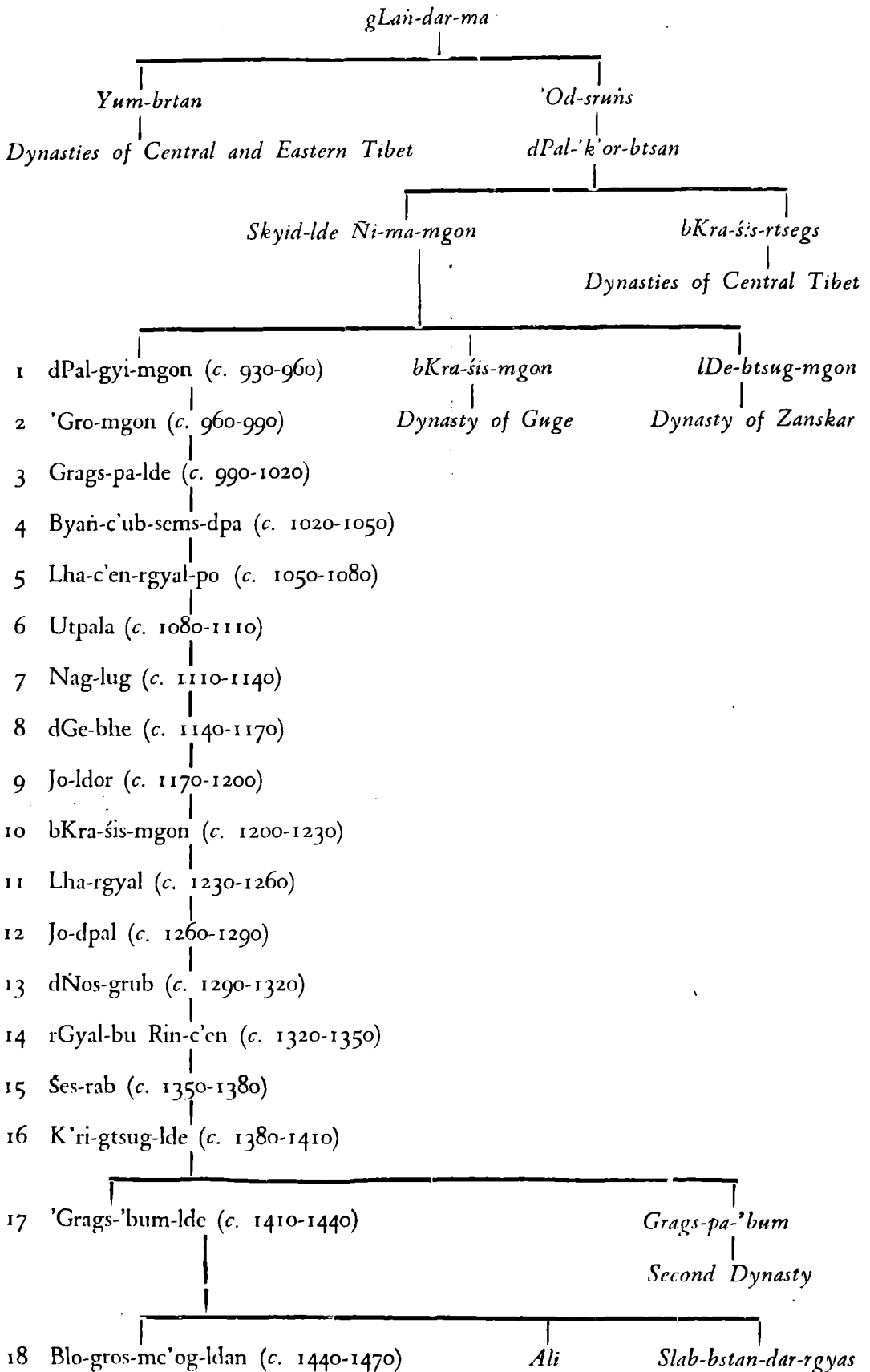
wealthy and comparatively thickly populated country in Ye-sés-'od's days, became what is practically a desert with a few thousands of wretchedly poor inhabitants.<sup>25</sup>

From a cultural and religious point of view the Ladakhi kingdom, from its foundation down to its fall, is of no interest whatsoever. The foundation of the royal monastery of Hemiś had only a local importance. And, herein, we come across an instance of the ironies of human affairs. The history of Ladakh, a country of very small importance in the development of Tibet's religion, literature and art, is comparatively well known to us, for the sole reason that it has been recorded and preserved in the *LdGR*. On the other hand the history of Guge, highly interesting as it is of a country originating the great religious, literary and artistic renaissance started by Rin-c'en-bzan-po and Atiśa, and developed under generous royal patronage through several centuries, the history of Guge is practically unknown to us, because of the irretrievable loss of its chronicles—a loss that cannot be made up by the scanty information we can gather here and there from the chronicles of Central Tibet.

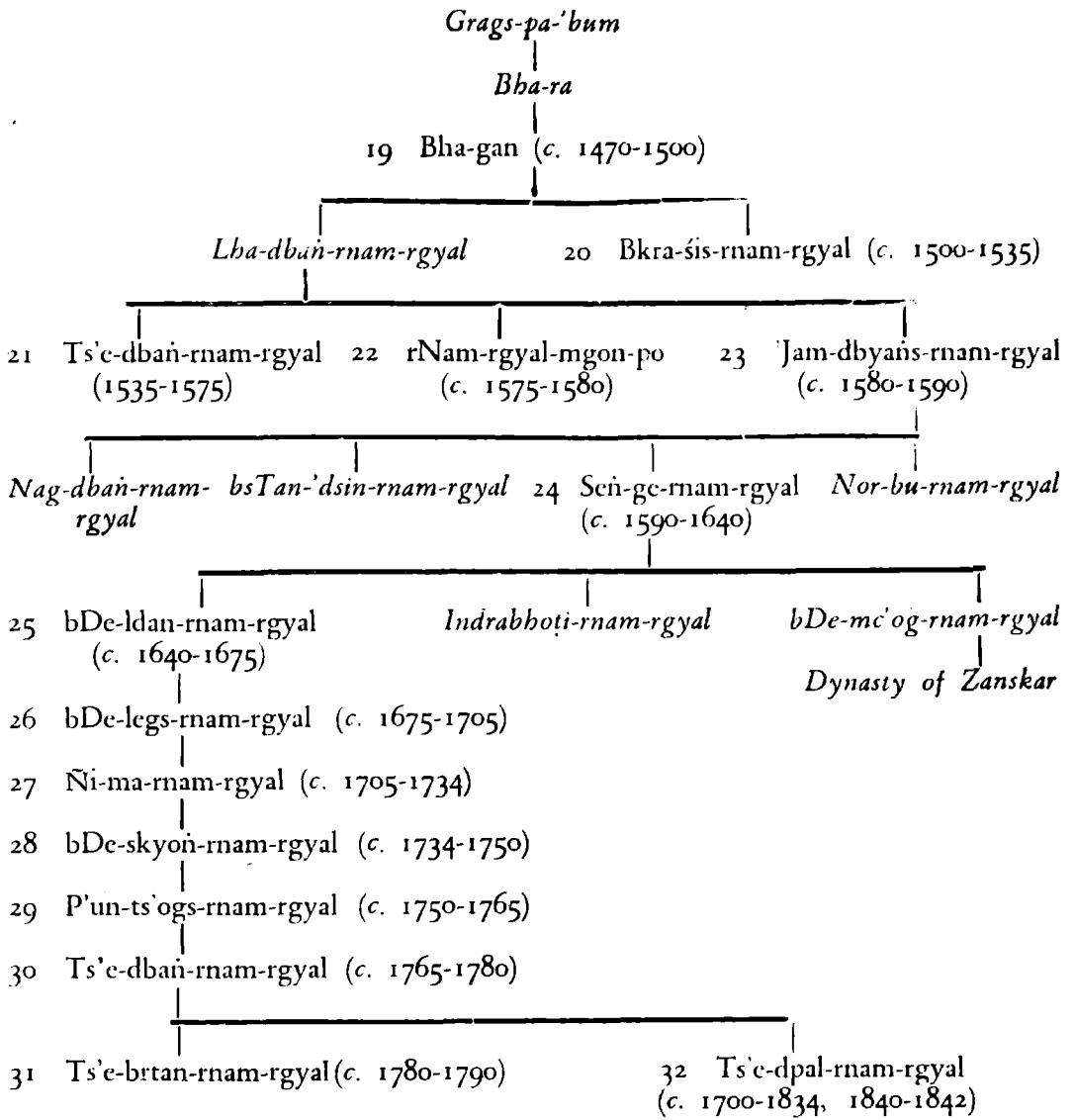
25 This decadence was already very advanced soon after the Ladakhi conquest, since the Jesuit Father Nuño da Coresma in a letter of the 30th August 1635 could write that "the population is very small, as appears from the fact that from the whole of the territory.....it is impossible to assemble 2000 warriors, though all are obliged to serve from their eighteenth to their eightieth year. The others are Lamas.....In this town (Tsaparang), the residence of the king, the mercantile emporium for the whole country, it is impossible to count up more than 500 inhabitants, of whom a hundred are slaves of the Raja.....They are very poor and uncivilized." Quoted by Wessels in his introduction to De Filippi's edition of *Desideri's account of Tibet*, p. 13.



## THE FIRST LADAKHI DYNASTY



THE SECOND LADAKHI DYNASTY



Dogra conquest in 1834. Puppet king dNos-grub-bstan'dsin 1834-1840. Final annexation to Jammu in 1842.

## THE TABLE OF CHINESE CHARACTERS.

1.	鵲	提	勃	悉	野		
2.	鵲	提	悉	補	野		
3.	罕	勃	野				
4.	癩	悉	董	摩			
5.	陀	土	度				
6.	揭	利	失	若			
7.	勃	弄	若				
8.	詎	素	若				
9.	論	贊	索	弄	贊		
10.	論	贊	素				
11.	可	黎	可	足			
12.	有						
13.	棄	宗	弄	贊			
14.	棄	素	弄				
15.	棄	蘇	弄	贊			
16.	祿	東	贊				
17.	乞	黎	披	布			
18.	欽	陵					
19.	器	弩	悉	弄			
20.	棄	隸	隳	贊			
21.	棄	隸	贊				
22.	乞	黎	蘇	籠	獵	贊	
23.	掌	悉	籠	獵	贊		
24.	足	之	煎				
25.	乞	離	胡				



## APPENDIX A

### Text

*From the British Museum manuscript No. 6683 fol. 15b-18a.  
To be inserted at page 23 line 6 of the LdGR.*

fol. 15b mts'on sna ts'ogs śiñ lha dañ 'dra ba rnams la t'ab ciñ rtsod  
pas nas lha ma yin gyi rgyal po|| gsum pa dud 'groi rgyal  
po ni glañ po c'e sa bsruñs yin te| mgo c'u bśel 'dra ba  
mc'e<sup>1</sup> ba drug pai glañ po c'e de la rdsiñ bu bdun bdun|  
rdsiñ bu re re la stoñ bu bdun bdun| stoñ bu re re la  
padma bdun bdun| de lta bui glañ po c'e de la lus dpag  
ts'ad p'ye dañ gsum| bañ ni bskal pa 'jig pas rluñ las  
'gyogs pa| g-yul ñor bźugs na lha

fol. 16a ma yin rnams kyañ zlog par byed pa de dud 'groi rgyal  
po|| bźi pa yi dags kyi rgyal po ni||las kyi c'u c'en yin  
te| ri rab kyi smañ lcags mk'ar<sup>2</sup> sgo med kyi nañ na|  
'jigs pai mts'on c'a sna ts'ogs t'ogs nas bsam pa tsam gyis  
gañ 'dod kyi<sup>3</sup> gnas su p'yin ciñ| lcer bui lus la gsod gcod  
kyi sgra sgrogs śiñ| k'ams gsum gyi zas su zos kyañ mi  
'grañs<sup>4</sup> pa yi dags kyi rgyal po|| lña

fol. 16b pa dmyal bai rgyal po ni| gśin rje c'os rgyal yin te| 'dsam  
bu gliñ nas sa 'og dpag ts'ad stoñ p'rag ñi śu gcal bai 'og  
na| a ba glañ mgo can dañ stag mgo can gñis kyi gtso  
byas pai las byed sprul pai p'o ña mañ po 'gyed ciñ| zañs  
rgyal mo k'ro c'u k'ol ma lcags kyi bśal ma lli<sup>5</sup> sdoñ po  
ral grii so lta bu| c'u bo rabs med la sogs par sems can  
sdug bsñal dpag tu med pa la 'jug pa de dmyal bai rgyal  
po|| de nas bsod nams c'e ba mi

1 Ms: c'e

2 Ms: k'ar

3 Ms: kyi

4 Ms: 'bras

5 Ms: ri

- fol. 17a rgyal po la mk'as pa rnam kyi bśad lugs mi 'dra ba mañ  
 du yod kyañ| ma rmos pai lo tog 'bras sa lu de| sña dro  
 bza rgyu sña dro| p'yi dro bza<sup>6</sup> rgyu p'yi dro len gyin  
 yod tsa na| bol goñ nas byuñ bai mi dañ| gnóð sbyin  
 gdoñ dmar ba gñis kyis źag bcu dañ| zla ba p'yed kyi  
 'ts'o rgyags kyi p'yir bsdod bśes 't'ab mo byas pas med  
 par gsod nas bskyed ma 'dod do|| de nas mi rnam kyis  
 da ni sa lu ma rmos par mi skye bar 'dug pai| sañ źiñ sgo  
 bar byed 'do źes| bar mts'ams gcad nas so sor
- fol. 17b dgos so|| de nas sa lu btab dgos zer nas sa lu btab pa| sa  
 bon 'di nas mar la źiñ bdag tu 'dsin pa dañ| mu ts'igs  
 brel bai mgo rtsom pai dañ po de yin no|| źiñ 'debs pai  
 t'og ma de yin no|| de ltar btab kyañ la las btus nas  
 zos| la las 'dños su p'ogs nas zos| la las rañ la yod kyañ  
 gźan gyi de rkus nas zos pas| bdag po des mt'on nas  
 k'yod rañ gi yod bźin| gźan gyi
- fol. 18a sa lu ma byin par len par mi rigs so|| źes smras pas ñas ma  
 k'yer zer bźes zun zer bas| dei gźil brtsod pa dañ| rtag  
 pa dañ| ma byin par len pa dañ| brdsun du smra ba dañ|  
 srog gcóð pa la sogs pa las mi dge ba rtsom pai t'og ma  
 yin no|| de la sogs pai brtsod pa grañs mañ du byuñ ba  
 dañ t'ams c'ad gros byas nas| etc.

## Translation

*To be inserted in the LdGR at page 68 line 9 from below.*

.....holding various swords and fighting with all those who are like gods, [such is] the king of the Asuras. As the third, the elephant Sa-bsruñs is king of the animals. This elephant with a crystal-like head and six fangs, has on the head seven ponds; each pond has seven stacks; each stack has seven lotuses. Being of this shape, this elephant has a stature of two yojanas and a half. His banner is flapped by the wind at every completion of a cosmic age (Kalpa). When he enters in battle, he checks even the Asuras. Such is the king of the animals. As the

fourth, Las-kyi-c'u-c'en is the king of the lemurs. [He dwells] in a castle of iron without gates, at the slopes of the Sumeru. He holds various terrific swords. As soon as he expresses the wish, he arrives at every place he wants. His body is naked and he utters clamours of slaughter. Even if he devours the three worlds, he is never satiated. [Such is] the king of the lemurs. As the fifth, gŠin-rje C'os-rgyal (Yama Dharmarājā) is the king of hell. [He dwells] under Jambudvīpa 20,000 yojanas below. He is surrounded by several messengers created by his magic power, who perform his various deeds. Of those the principals are the ox-headed one and the tiger-headed one. Such is the king of hell who throws the men in endless tortures in the terrible Zan-rgyal-mo, [which is] a boiling water [on the bank of which] there is a śalmali tree of iron like the teeth of a sword, in the Nadivaitāraṇi and in other rivers. Then, regarding the king of the men possessing great merits, although many different versions exist among the learned men [it is told that, while the men were accustomed to ] take this śāli rice as a non-sowed harvest, at the morning as a morning meal and at the evening as an evening meal, a foot-born man (a Sudra) and the Yakṣa gDoñ-dmar-ba entered in agreement and concluded an alliance in order to [collect] the food sufficient for 10 days or a fortnight. [But then] they quarrelled and killed one another, and the rice no longer grew. Then the men said: "The non-sowed śāli rice grows no longer; tomorrow we shall carry out a division." They traced the dividing boundaries and from this first beginning were generated the private possession of the fields and [the custom of tracing] boundaries. This was the origin of agriculture. Having thus sowed [the rice] many ate it after having reaped it, many after having stolen it, many, although they possessed plenty of it, after having taken it away from others. When the owner [of the field] saw [the thief], he said: "It is not just to take, as it were yours own, the rice of another that has not been granted to you." [The thief] said: "But I do not take it," telling thus a lie. This was the beginning of the evil that consists in the quarrels, in the mark of ownership<sup>1</sup> in taking away what has not been given, in lying, in killing etc. On this and on other questions as well many quarrels arose; and after a council had been held by them all.....

## APPENDIX B

### *Text*

*From A. de Gouvea's "Journey of the archbishop Alexis de Menezes" fol. 3a.*

*The complete title of the work is:*

Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes Primaz da India Oriental, religioso da Ordem de St. Agostinho Quando foy as Serras do Malauar, & lugares em que morão os Christãos de S. Thome, & os tirou de muytos erros & heregias em que estauão & reduzio a nossa Sancta Fe Catholica, & obediencia da Santa Igreja Romana, da qual passaua de mil annos que estauão apartados.

Recopilada de diuersos tratados de pessoas de autoridade, que a tudo forão presentes, por Frey Antonio de Gouuea Religioso da mesma Ordem de Santo Agostinho, lente de Theologia, & Prior do Conuento de Goa.

Coimbra, Na Officina de Diogo Gomez Loureyro Impressor da Uniuersidade, 1606.

.....ainda que conforme à noticia, & informação q̄ foy dada ao Arcebispo por hũ Portuguez chamado Diogo Dalmeida, homẽ de credito. Depois de partido affirmão Bento de Goes não deue ser a Christãdade de que se deu noticia na corte do Mogor à do Catayo como primeyro se cuidaua sem outro fũdamẽto mais, q̄ não se saber doutra Christãdade, situada pa aquellas partes alẽ do Reynos do Mogor, senão a do Catayo: mas outra muyto mais perto das terras do Mogor & cõ que ha mais comercio, que chamão Thibete, donde este Portuguez residio dous anos. & diz estar o reyno de Thibete alẽ do de Guixumir, que hà pouco sogeitou o Rey Mogor, ãtre o qual & o de Thibete senão metẽ mais q̄ hũas serras altissimas, q̄ por rezão da muita neue se não podẽ passar em certos tẽpos do anno, quando ella cae, senao quando cõ a força

do Sol se desfaz & derrete. Dõde vê a ser o caminho mais dificultoso que cõprido, por ser forçado aos q̄ caminhão, senão vão em moução, esperar por ella, não auẽdo de là à entrada deste Reyno mais q̄ quinhêtas legoas de sertão. Cujo Rey no chamão Tammiguia, & em todo o Reyno se não cõsente infiel algũ senão mercador de passagẽ. & a fortaleza principal em que o Rey mora, q̄ he Sõr grãde & isêto, se chama Babgo. He o Reyno rico de ouro & pedraria, cõ a qual se ornão as molheres & se tratão custosamẽte. São os naturais na cor aluos, a modo de Iaos, & bẽ acõditionados. Tẽ em si muitas Igrejas ricamẽte ornadas cõ retabolos & imagẽs de Xpo nosso Sõr & de nossa Senhoras & dos sagrados Apostolos. Tẽ muitos sacerdotes, que guardão cõtinnẽcia, como os nossos, & nos trajos se parecẽ cõ elles, tirado trazerẽ toda cabeça rapada. Tẽ Bispo a q̄ chamão Lamhã, & o que tinhão de presente era tido entre elles por santo, & cõtãuão delle muitos milagres, & entre outros q̄ fazẽdo sua mais cotinua habitação cõ grãde penitencia nũ aspero deserto, q̄ cõ hũ rio largo se diuide da principal cidade, quãdo vinha celebrar os officios diuinos a ella nas solênidades principais, não tomava outra embarcação pa passagẽ do rio, senão o mãto q̄ trazia, ou hũa pelle de cabra, sobre q̄ se assentaua chegãdo enxuto à cidade, O q̄ tudo testemunhou o dito Portuguez Diogo Dalmeida diante do Arcebispo, no anno de 1603, dandolhe juramẽto aos santos Euangelhos cõ intẽto de procurar o bẽ desta Christandade, sêdo assi, & mandar ministros a ella, da qual por ser secular & não ter mais intelligẽcia das cousas ecclesiasticas, nam sabia dar outra informação de seus ritos nẽ de erros algũs se os tinhão. Do que tudo se espera q̄ traga perfeita informação o dito Irmão Bẽto de Goes, porque se entende que este sem falta he a Christandade, de que os Mouros mercadores dauam noticia na Corte do Mogor, & não a do Catayo que he muyto mais longe. & alem deste Reyno de Thibeste ha outro que tambẽ chamão Thibeste pequeno, q̄ possuem Mouros da Ceita do Xaa rey de Persia, que por vêtura sera aquella prouincia de Thibeste, de qua fala Marco Paulo em seu liuro nao fazẽdo mençãoa de nella auer Christandade algũa. E voltando ao fio da nossa hystoria.....

[In 1598 Jerome Xavier, a Jesuit Father dwelling at the Moghul court, informed the viceroy and the archbishop of Goa that a Muhamadan merchant, just arrived from Catay to the court of Akbar, affirmed that Catay was only five months away from the Moghul states. Upon this information, Friar Bento de Goes<sup>1</sup> was sent to Catay (1602). He was hoped to be able to bring back to the Holy Church the Christian community of Catay and to correct the dogmatical errors, to which they were believed to be subjected]

according to the notice and information that was given to the archbishop by a Portuguese named Diogo d'Almeida, a trustworthy man. After his departure, Bento de Goes affirms that the Christian community about which informations were given at the Moghul court, is not that of Catay, as at first it was supposed to be, without any other evidence than the fact that no Christian community was known to exist in those regions beyond the Moghul states, except that of Catay; but it is another Christian community, much nearer to the Moghul country and with which there is much commercial intercourse, which is called Tibet, where this Portuguese dwelled for two years. He says that the kingdom of Tibet lies beyond that of Kashmir, which the Moghul king conquered a few years ago.<sup>2</sup> Between the latter and Tibet there is nothing besides some very high mountains, which at certain times of the year because of the copious snow cannot be crossed over,<sup>3</sup> except when, through the action of the sun, it melts away. Owing to this, the journey is more difficult than long, since the travellers, unless they travel during the monsoon, are forced to wait for it, while from there to the entrance of this kingdom there is no more than 500 leagues of desert. Its king is called Tammiguia; in the entire kingdom he does not tolerate any infidel, except the passing merchants. The chief fortress, where the king resides, who is a great and independent ruler, is called Babgo. The kingdom is rich in gold and precious stones, with which women attire and array themselves expensively. The natives are white in colour as the Javanese and of good dispositions. They have many churches richly adorned with paintings and images of Christ Our Lord and of Our Lady and of the Holy Apostles. They have many priests, who observe the vow of chastity, as our priests do. The garb of our priests is similar to that of theirs, except that they have their heads completely shaved. They have a bishop whom they call Lama. The one whom they have now<sup>4</sup> is believed by them to be a saint. They narrate many miracles in connection with him. Among other things they say that, as he had his customary dwelling with most severe penance in a barren desert, divided by a broad river from the capital, when he came to it (the capital) in order to celebrate the divine offices for more solemn occasions, he did not use any other boat for crossing the river, than the mantle he wore, or a goat skin, over which he sat, arriving thus to the city dryshod.

1 On Bento de Goes' Journey see Wessels, pp. 1-41.

2 In 1587.

3 This description evidently refers to the Zoji-la.

4 The great lama Stag--ts'an-ras-c'en.

All this was testified by the said Portuguese Diogo d'Almeida to the archbishop in the year 1603, taking an oath on the Sacred Gospel, for the sake of procuring the welfare of this Christian community, such being the situation, and of sending missionaries to it. Being a layman and having no great knowledge of ecclesiastical questions, he could not give other informations about their rites and the errors which they may have. It is to be hoped that on all this a complete information will be secured by the above mentioned Friar Bento de Goes, since it is understood that this is doubtless the same Christian community about which information was given by the Moor merchants at the Moghul court, and not that of Catay, which is much more far off. Beyond this kingdom of Tibet there is another, which is also called Little Tibet,<sup>5</sup> that is held by Moors of the sect of the Shah king of Persia.<sup>6</sup> Probably it is the same province of Tibet which is spoken of by Marco Polo in his book, although he does not make reference to any Christian community existing in it. Taking up the thread of our story etc.

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- Deb-t'er-sñon-po*. In the course of the present book it is quoted by the abbreviation *DT*.
- rGyal-rabs-gsal-bai-me-loñ*. I owe much thank to Prof. Tucci for putting at my disposal two manuscripts of this work. The first (Ms. *A*) consists of two European copybooks, the first consisting of 92 leaves written on one side only, and the second consisting of 53 leaves written on both sides. It was copied in 1930, under Prof. Tucci's supervision, from a very ancient manuscript of the Hemiś monastery in Ladakh. The other (Ms. *B*) is a Tibetan manuscript, more recent and less correct than the Hemiś ms.; it consists of 245 leaves of five lines each side. In the course of the present book, this work is quoted with the abbreviation *GR*. The numeration always refers to ms. *A*.
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## ADDENDA

P. 6 (last two lines) and 7 (first three lines).—

These lines were written in Rome in the spring of 1937. When I came to the University of Allahabad in January 1939, I gained access to several Moghul sources which were not available to me in Rome. Because of this, the last three chapters had to be completely re-written.

P. 44.—

For the date of 1042 there is also independent evidence: Atiśa's synchronism with king Nayapāla, of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal (c. 1040-1055). See, e.g., H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India* (Calcutta 1931), vol. I, pp. 327-328.

P. 45.—

Another passage of the *DT.* gives the date of its composition as follows: year Fire-Monkey, eleventh of the reign of the emperor Ch'eng Hua (1465-1488) and 108th of the Ming dynasty. The Chinese date is irregular, because it does not count both the initial and the final year, as it is the rule; it is thus one year less. This was perhaps done for retaining the sacred and auspicious number of 108 years since the foundation of the Ming dynasty.

P. 46.—

Since I wrote these lines, I came to the conviction that gŽon-nu-dpal's source was really the *T'ang-shu*, or some compilation based on it. There seems to exist only one Chinese account of the Tibetan monarchy; and this is the one which, in slightly different redactions, has come down to us in the two *T'ang-shu* and in the *T'ung-t'ien*. Later works, so far as I am aware, only copy from the above named three. The difference of dates in the *DT.* is evidently due to some error or misunderstanding by gŽon-nu-dpal. See also pp. 76-77.



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Printed and published by J. C. Sarkhel at the Calcutta Oriental Press, Ltd.,  
9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

## CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	For	Read
1	22	that	who
2	21	1646	1683
3	4	1635	1640
3	10	(c. 1610-1640)	(c. 1640-1675)
3	12	(c. 1580-1635)	(c. 1590-1640)
3	21	it	them
7	8	1646	1683
11	3 from below	is	there is
12	14	inclination	prejudice
13	cancel the asterisk at l. 13 and the asterisk footnote		
17	4 from below: cancel the second pair of brackets		
18	2 of the footnote	inscriptions, see	of the <i>LdGR</i> . For the inscriptions see
22	4 from below	and	of kings and the
23	5	gDagd	dDags
24	17	characteristic	characteristic
24	6 from below	C'os-'byun of <i>Bu-ston</i>	<i>C'os-byun</i> of Bu-ston
31	4 from below	Tibetan	Tibetans
32	6	Was	which was
33	11	gÑam	gÑam
34	1	fol. 1b	fol. 2a
34	10	page 25	page 26
34	2 and 5 from below	-sñan-	-sñan-
35	10 from below	gÑam	gÑam
35	8 from below	original	spelling
35	4 from below	Yu-nan	Yun-nan
36	4, 12, 17,	gÑam	gÑam
36	10 from below	was	had just been
36	2 and 6 from below	gÑam	gÑam
38	6	latter	latters
38	12	medieval	later
38	15	and an	and
38	17	gÑam	gÑam
38	19	return	a return
41	last	surprising and	surprising
42	read the first line as following: "that the results obtained were not very satisfactory."		

Page	Line	For	Read
43	16	<i>ten/</i>	<i>te </i>
46	4	-btan	-btsan
46	8 from below	Ye-'ses-'od	Ye-śes-'od
48	3	622	620
48	4	652	650
50	20	carried on	carried out
50	3 from below	that	who
50	2 from below	holds	holds good
51	16	'Zaṅ-zuṅ	Zaṅ-zuṅ
53	20	powers, he shared with his son	powers he shared with his son,
53	footnote 2	fol. 1b	fol. 2b
55	9 from below	majordomo's	majordomos,
57	9	fol. 2a	fol. 3b
61	5	dynasty	regency
67	20	al-Ya' qūbi	al-Ya'qūbī
68	6	nautral	natural
79	2	817	in 817
79	4	(Sad-na-legs	(Sad-na-legs)
79	8	third	third,
79	15	Ral-na-can	Ral-pa-can
82	8 of footnote	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>
84	14	As in	As
84	21	poisoning	by poisoning
97	8	contain	containing
112	1	dÑos-grub	dÑos-grub
112	15	Francke contributed an article. Studying	Francke contributed by studying
112	16	view,	view;
124	2 of footnote	attribute	attributes
129	18	1561-1563)	(1561-1563)
134	11	suzarainty	suzerainty
134	19	cenury	century
153	9	Basgo	Skardo
158	12	king	king:
161	11	works	work
165	9	(816-836)	(817-836)

The letters *ž* and *z'* have sometimes been employed instead of *z* in Tibetan words, chiefly in the first pages. Likewise *ṛ* is occasionally to be found instead of *ṅ*.