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AND

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

BY

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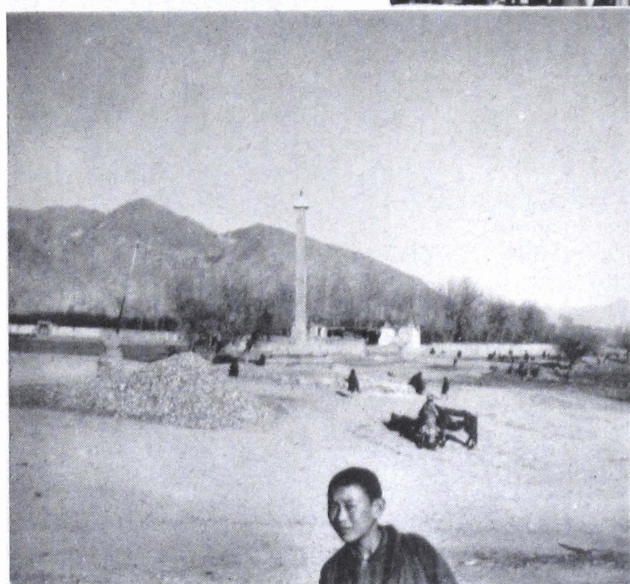
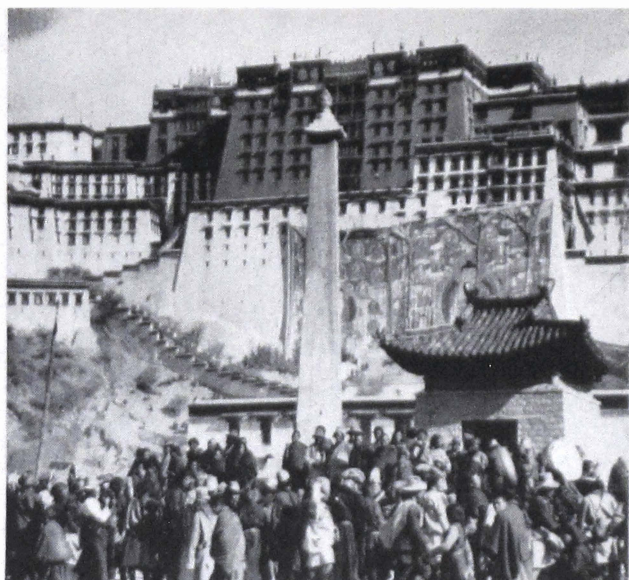
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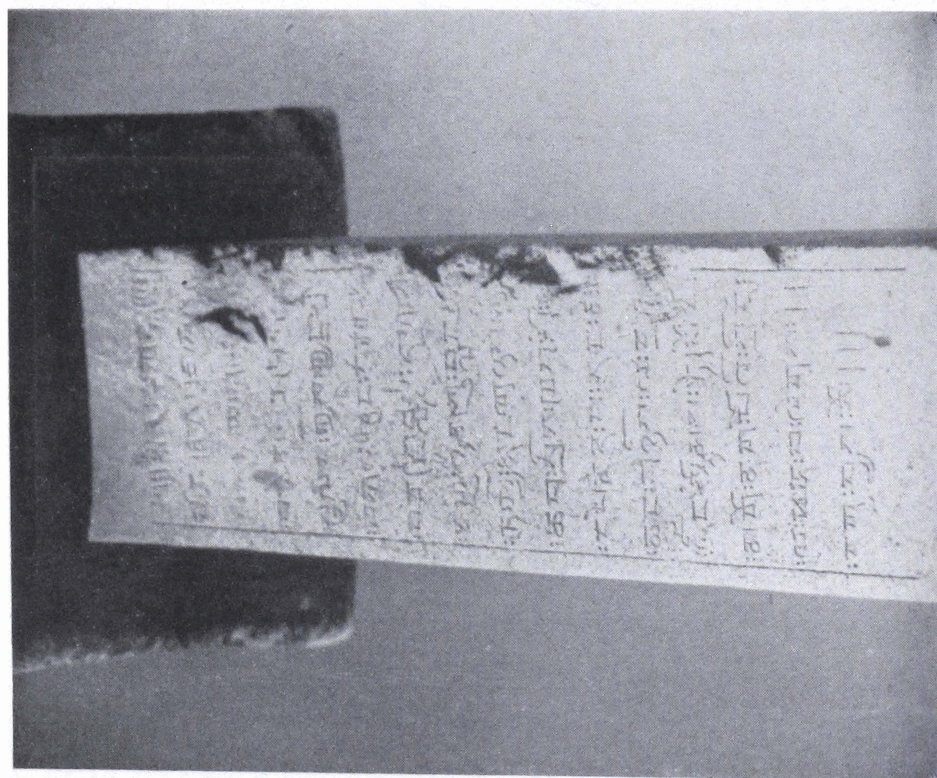
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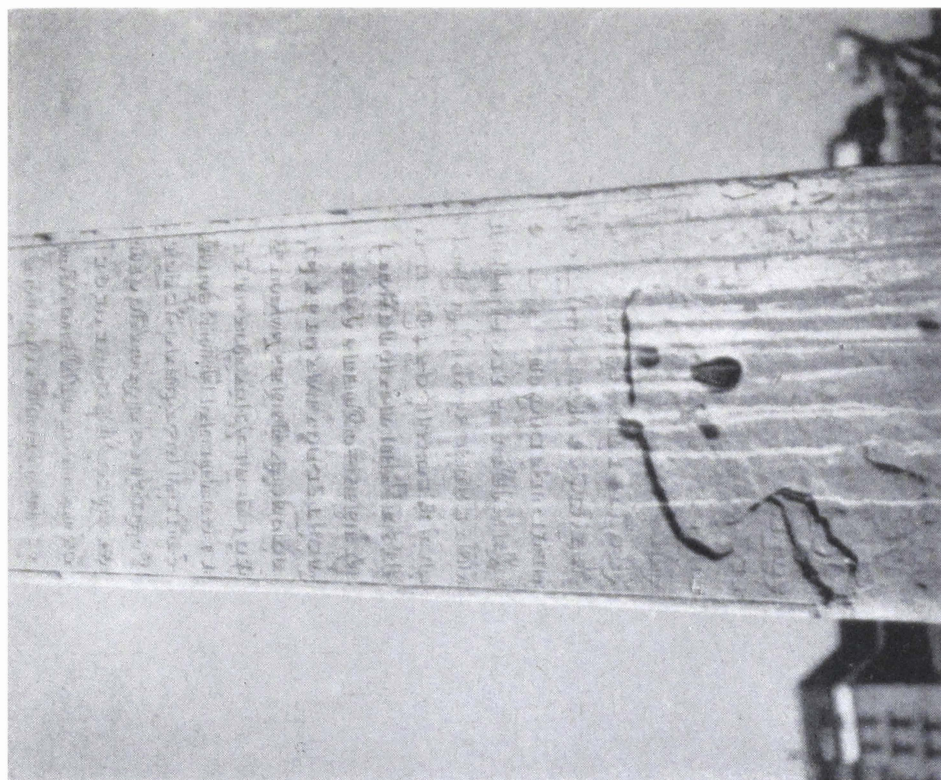
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Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa

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

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years of my stay at Lhasa I have studied the texts, taken many photographs of the pillar, and attempted to sort out the historical references in the inscriptions.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

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

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

The principal figure in all three inscriptions is Nan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ. The name nowhere appears in full, being given in the east inscription as Blon Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ; in the south inscription as Nan Lam Klu Khoñ, Klu Khoñ, and Blon Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ, and in the north inscription as Blon Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ. But I have no doubt that only one person is covered by these variants. Nan Lam appears to be a family name, for in the north inscription Nan Lam Gsas Slebs is given as the name of Stag Sgra

Klu Khoñ's grandfather ; while in *Documents de Touen-Houang Relatifs a l'Histoire du Tibet*, by J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint (Paris, Geuthner, 1946), the name of Nan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Goñ appears in a list of Chief Ministers of Tibet.

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

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

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

The Chronicle includes Hbal Skye Zañ Ldoñ Tshab in the list of Chief Ministers and states that he was accused of a crime (p. 102). The Annals show that Dbahs Snañ Bžer Brtsan, who succeeds Hbal in the list given in the Chronicle, was Chief Minister in A.D. 757 (p. 57). The portion of the Annals from A.D. 748 to 754 is missing

and there is therefore no mention of the death of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan or of the conspiracy of Hbal and Lañ although its aftermath is visible in references to “ the father’s followers being overthrown by the soldiery ” and to the banishment of Lañ and Hbal’s servants, and the assessment of their property (p. 56). It also appears that the interval between the fall of Hbal and the appointment of Snañ Bzer Brtsan as Chief Minister was filled by Minister Skyes Bzañ Rgyal Khoñ acting as Deputy Chief Minister (p. 57).

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

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

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

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

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

The *Blon-po Bkañ Thañ* states that Ñan Lam Rta Ra Klu Goñ was a champion of the Bons.

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

The *Rgyal Rabs Gsal Ba-hi Me Lon*—? late fourteenth century but possibly later—names Stag Ra Klu Goñ as one of the Ministers who abolished Buddhism on the death of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan ; and also says that Ñam Stag Sgra Klu Goñ was the maker of the

black *mchod rten* at Bsam Yas and also made an offering—as Li Nam Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ.

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

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

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

A Bon history called *Srid-pa Rgyud Kyis Kha Byuñ Chen-mo*,

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

² *Sba Bžed* is attributed in its original form to Sba Gsal Snañ who lived in the eighth century A.D. Several versions of this work are mentioned in later writers. The copy which I have mentions the coming of Atiša, but I cannot trace any exact dating in it.

of uncertain date, refers several times to Blon-po Nam (or Nam-pa) Stag Ra Klu Goñ as a Bon champion.

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

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

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

He was succeeded by Mchims Rgyal Zigs Śu Theñ who, according to Dpañ-bo Gtsug Lag, was Chief Minister in a Sheep year after the completion of Bsam Yas when Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan took an oath to maintain Buddhism. This could be A.D. 779. There is no clear evidence of the length of his tenure of office. But there is mention in the *T'ang Shu* that, during the negotiation of a treaty between China and Tibet in A.D. 783, the Chief Minister Shang Hsi Chieh was tyrannical while the second Minister Shang Chieh Tsan was more reasonable. The second name may well be Žañ Rgyal Tsan of Sna Nam who, as will be seen was the last Minister of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan. His immediate predecessor was Nan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ whom it is not possible to identify with Shang Hsi Chieh. Apart from the wide difference in the names, Klu Khoñ, even though the rank of Žañ Lon was conferred on his father's

family, is nowhere described as *Žaṅ*. Although there is some doubt about the meaning of that term, which Laufer in "Bird Divination in Tibet" (*Toung Pao*, vol. xv, 1914) takes as the equivalent of the Chinese term for the head of a Ministry, and also as a frequent clan name, it is noteworthy that it does appear with regularity in connection with ministers who can be identified as relations of the royal family—e.g. Mchims, Sna Nam, Tshe Spon. It is not used for all the ministers—even the most senior, who are given in Dpal-bo Gtsug Lag's list of witnesses to Khri Sroṅ Lde Btsan's oath; and in that list Klu Khoṅ, who comes second, is described simply as Blon while the persons immediately before and after him are described as *Žaṅ*. Similarly in the list of Ministers who witnessed the Mu-Tsung treaty of A.D. 822 inscribed on the Lhasa Gtsug Lag Khaṅ rdo riṅ—which is the subject of the succeeding article—only some of the Ministers, and not all the most senior, are described as *Žaṅ*. The probability of *Žaṅ* denoting royal kinship is therefore strong, but it was also possible for other persons to be given the rank of *Žaṅ Lon*. The reference to Shang Chieh Tsan as second minister may relate only to his having been Shang Hsi Chieh's colleague in the negotiations, and not imply that this was his actual seniority. Hsi Chieh may be the same as Shang Chieh Hsi Tsan Mo or Shang Tsan Mo mentioned in the *T'ang Shu* as a prominent general from A.D. 765 onwards and, if so, the resemblance to the name of *Žaṅ Rgyal Zigs Śu Theṅ* is nearer.

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

I do not propose to examine here the vexed question of the date of Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan's death, but accept as the most probable version, that his reign ended in A.D. 797. On that assumption and assuming also that *Žaṅ Rgyal Zigs* held office at least until A.D. 783 it appears that *Ñan Lam Klu Khoṅ* became Chief Minister late in the reign.

I have pursued this point at some length in order to show the improbability that the Klu Goñ who opposed Buddhism and was banished—which in all the accounts was before the founding of Bsam Yas—could be the same as the Klu Goñ who built the black *mchod rten* and made offerings at the dedication of Bsam Yas and who is reasonably identified with the person of that name who became Chief Minister late in the reign of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan.

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

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

It would be possible to treat all the above references as relating to the same person by assuming that accounts, in later histories, of the persecution of the Bon religion are much exaggerated ; that there were, in fact, few or no banishments ; and that Klu

Khoñ, after first opposing Buddhism, was able rapidly to reconcile himself to its acceptance and to retain his position in the State : but it seems preferable not to discard the traditional stories without more specific evidence against them.

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

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

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

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

Sir Charles Bell's translation of " *bkaḥ stald*" as " *an order was given*" is also important to his interpretation ; but from many examples in the *Tun Huang Annals* it is clear that the phrase

means "was appointed". A further point is that if the Rje Blas (translated by Sir Charles Bell as "Chief Minister") was a different person, responsible for the actions described, it is surprising that his name is not given. That Rje Blas is not the equivalent of Blon Che is seen from the fact that Nān Lam Klu Khoñ was "performing the Rje Blas" (rje blas byas pha) at the end of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan's reign when Hbal and Lañ were Chief Ministers (Blon Che). In "Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan", by Dr. F. W. Thomas (*JRAS.*, Jan., 1927), there is a letter in which the word Rje Blas occurs frequently. Dr. Thomas treats it as an interjected address to the recipient of the letter and translates it "Your Excellency". But such phrases as "Rje Blas h̄di . . . gtsigsu gnañ bah", "Rje Blas gyi rño thog myi thog" do not fit with that interpretation; and the last phrase is much the same as "Rje Blas gyi rño thog pa-h̄i rñams" in line 18 of the north inscription where the meaning is clearly "those who are fit for the Rje Blas". The purport of the letter quoted by Dr. Thomas thus seems to be a claim by the writer to the right of his family to a post or to work called "Rje Blas".

Although, in this word, the derivation of "Blas" from "Bla" "superior" would seem *prima facie* probable, Tibetan scholars whom I have consulted, after studying the use in the inscriptions, prefer to treat it as the equivalent of "las" "work". The term therefore may be taken to mean "The Royal Work" and the post may have been something in the nature of confidential secretary to the King. From other examples it appears that the word could be used also as a title, e.g. the reference in the *T'ang Shu* to Ming Hsieh Lieh who visited China in A.D. 730. Dr. Waddell has plausibly identified Hsieh Lieh there with "Rje Blas". It may also appear in the name Shang Tang Cho Hsi La, who is mentioned in the *T'ang Shu* as going to China in A.D. 710 to fetch the Chinese bride of Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan, and who appears in the Tun Huang Annals as Žañ Btsan To Re Lhas Byin.

I turn now to a brief examination of Dr. Waddell's interpretation of the three inscriptions.

His ascription of the date A.D. 730 to the east inscription is based on the view that Rje Blas was the personal name of the Tibetan minister who, as mentioned above, is recorded in the *T'ang Shu* as having visited China in that year. It has been seen

that Rje Blas relates to an official post and is not a personal name. Moreover, Dr. Waddell's text lacks the first six lines of the inscription, in which Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ's name appears. If Dr. Waddell had seen these lines he would have had to alter his interpretation and date, for he could hardly have credited Klu Khoñ with an active life of over one hundred years which would be the implication of assuming that the dates of these inscriptions extend from A.D. 730 to 842.

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

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

Dr. Waddell ascribes the north inscription to the year A.D. 842 and interprets it as recounting a state of utter disorder in which Klu Khoñ and his family had seized dictatorial power. He finds the possibility of such a period in the break-up of the monarchy which followed the death of Khri Ral Pa Cen, and in confirmation of this dating he interprets his reading of line 5 “Yab Btsan-pho Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan” to mean “the King's father's father, Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan”. “Yab” is an error. It is not in the text. Yab Btsan Pho would be an unusual, if not impossible, term for grandfather; the normal word for grandfather in such a context in extant inscriptions being “Myes”. It will also be seen that the use of “pa” and “pha” in the inscriptions under examination is haphazard. In line 12 another misreading leads to the translation “the King's grandson having died”. The text actually reads “during each generation of the King's sons and grandsons”. By two further mistranslations Dr. Waddell finds evidence that the royal family were afflicted by lunacy. In line 6 he translates “Dbu sñuñ gñañ te” as meaning that Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan was “sick in the head”

or mad ; and in lines 61 and 62 “ Btsan-po ža sñar glo-ba riñs yañ dag par rgyud na gañ ñes pa-ñi sgor ” appears as “ With the King’s mental disposition as of old, in further uprisings and emergencies what happiness can there be ? ”. This passage, in fact, refers to the possibility of some of Klu Khoñ’s descendants being estranged from the King. It will be seen from the revised text and translation that the whole inscription recounts the honours bestowed on Klu Khoñ and his family by Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan ; and Dr. Waddell’s interpretation and much of his translation must be discarded. Accepting the date of the south inscription as after A.D. 762, it remains to be seen whether that date can be narrowed down more closely and how the other two inscriptions fall into line with it.

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

In the east inscription, Klu Khoñ claims that, having been

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

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

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

From the wording of the inscriptions I consider that they are the work of Klu Khoñ himself and not strictly a royal decree. The King is mentioned several times as could be expected, but only in the north and south inscriptions. In the east inscription, which I take to be a preamble, only Klu Khoñ is named; and the references to the King in the other inscriptions seem such as another person might make about him rather than what he might say about himself. In my article in the *JRASB.* for 1949, mentioned above, I have drawn attention to the use of the phrase Hphrul Gyi Lha Btsan Po in decrees of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan's successors which are clearly of royal origin. The title came into being at the time of

Khri H̄dus Sroṅ, the grandfather of Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan (see Tun Huang Chronicle, p. 149), and, although there is no evidence of its use by Khri Sroṅ Lde Brtsan, its absence here may be significant. There is also no definite statement, such as appears in other inscriptions, that Klu Khoṅ's inscriptions were made by royal command; they begin and end with Klu Khoṅ and, although they must have had the King's authorization they appear to be the work of a powerful, though not royal, personage.

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

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

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

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

interpreting the inscriptions : Bde Chen Chos Hkhor Rin-po-che, Tsha Sprul Rin-po-Che, Dge Hdun Chos Hphel, also Rai Saheb Pemba Tsering and Kazi Sonam Tobgye of the Indian Mission, Lhasa.

EAST INSCRIPTION

- 1 ༄ || ལྷོན་སྐྱུག་སྐྱུ་ལྷོ་
 2 ལྷོང་། ལྷོན་ལྷོན་ལྷོན་
 3 ལྷོ་དང་ལྷོ་གལ་[ལྷོན]¹
 4 ལྷོ་ལྷོན་ལྷོ་། ལྷོ་[ལྷོ]²
 5 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 6 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་དང་[ལྷོ]³
 7 ལྷོ་། ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་[ལྷོ]⁴
 8 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 9 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 10 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ * ⁵
 11 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 12 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་[ལྷོ]⁶
 13 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་། ལྷོ་
 14 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 15 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ ||
 16 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ |||⁸

EAST INSCRIPTION. NOTES ON TEXT

1. Hchos is reconstructed from Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag's Chos Hbyuñ.

2. Bell reads "gyis" but it is clearly "kyis", which is the correct form after a final "d".

3. I have discussed this reconstruction above.

4. dkaḥ appears in the south inscription.

5. Khab sor seems a suitable reconstruction but, as there is a tshag after "so", it cannot be accepted. The missing word might be "la".

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

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

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

EAST INSCRIPTION. TRANSLATION ¹

The Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ was also appointed Chief Minister of the Interior ² and Chief Yo Gal Hchos Pa.³ *In accordance with orders, he devoted his mind* ⁴ to the difficult royal work and treating the outer and inner administration as equal, with impartial *strictness* towards the advantage of various parties ⁵ and to great and small alike, he conferred many benefits upon the kingdom of the black-headed Tibetans.⁶

NOTES

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

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

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

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

officers may have been to see that the King's orders were put into effect.

4. *Namsu blaṅs te* ; lit. receiving into his mind.

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

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

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

SOUTH INSCRIPTION

- 1 །། བཙན་པོ་ཁྱིའི་ལྷོ་གཙུག་
- 2 ཚན་གྱི་རིང་ལའ་ །།
- 3 །། ངན་ལམ་གྱུ་ཁོང་གིས་ །།
- 4 ལྷོ་བ་ཉེ་བའི་རྗེ་བླ་མ་བྱས་པ་
- 5 །། འབལ་ལྷོང་ཙམ་དང་ ། ལང་
- 6 གཉེས་ཐེགས་ ། ལྷོན་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་
- 7 ཕྱེད་ཕྱེད་པ་ལས ། ལྷོ་བ་རིངས་
- 8 ནས །། བཙན་པོ་ལབ་ཁྱིའི་
- 9 གཙུག་ཚན་གྱི་སྐུ་ལ་དཔར་ཉེ་ །
- 10 དབྱང་ཏུ་གསེགས་སོ །།
- 11 བཙན་པོ་སྐས་ཁྱིའི་ལྷོ་བཙན་
- 12 ལྱི་སྐུ་ལ་ནི་དཔར་ཏུ་ཉེ །། པོད་
- 13 མགོ་ནག་པོའི་སྲིད་ནི་འཇུག་ཏུ་
- 14 ཕྱེད་པ་ལས ། ལྷུ་ཁོང་གིས་ ། འབལ་

15 དང ། ལང་གྲོ་བ་རིངས་པའི་གཏན་
 16 གཅིགས། ། བཙན་པོ་སྐུ་ཁྱི་སྲོང་
 17 ལྡེ་བཙན་གྱི་སྐྱུ་རྩ་གསོལ་ད་ནས་
 18 རབལ་དང ། ལང་གྲོ་བ་རིངས་ །
 19 བཏེན་བར་གྱུར་དེ་ ། ཁོང་ཏ་ནི་
 20 བཏོན་པའ་སྡེ་ ། ། ལྷ་ཁོང་གྲོ་བ་ཉེའོ་
 21 ༄། ། བཙན་པོ་ཁྱི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན་གྱི་རིང་
 22 ལ། ། ། ། རན་ལམ་ལྷ་ཁོང་གྲོ་བ་ཉེ་ལ་
 23 བཀའ་གྲོས་ཚེ་ནས ། ཐུགས་བཏེན་
 24 ཉེ ། ། རང་གྲོན་བཀའ་ལ་གཏོགས་
 25 བར་བཅུག་ནས་ ། ། རྒྱའི་སྲིད་གྱི་ཉམ་
 26 རྩོད་ཏོག་ཅིང ། ཁར་ཙན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་
 27 ཐོག་མ་དངས་པའི ། དམག་དཔོན་
 28 རུ། བཀའ་སྐུ་ལར་གྱིས་ཀྱང ། དབའ་
 29 ཐབས་མཁས་ལ་གྲོས་གྱིས་སོང་དེ།
 30 རྒྱའི་ཁམས་སུ་གཏོགས་པའི་ལ་ན་
 31 ³[ར]ང་པོ་བཅུ་ལྔ། རྒྱ་ལས་མནངས་པལ་
 32 ⁴[ས]་ཚེ་བཙད་པས། རྒྱ་སྤྲོ་གོང་སྡེ། ། རྒྱའི།
 33 ཁ[མས]་སུ་[གཏོ]གས་པ་དབྱར་མོ་ཐང།
 34 * * * * * ⁵ན་དང ། ཙོང་ཀ་ཕྱོགས་
 35 * * * * * དང་ནས་ལས་སྤྱོད་གས་
 36 [པ] * * * * * ང་པོ་གཙལ་ད། ལྷ་
 37 [ཁོང་གིས་] * * * * * རྒྱུགས་པའི་དག་
 38 * * * * * ཚབ་སྲིད་ཚེན་པོ་མ[རྩ]་⁶
 39 * * * * * [བཀའ]་གྲོས་ཚེན་པོ་གསོལ་ད་
 40 * * * * * ལྷོ་བ་ཉེ་ཞིང་ཚབ་སྲིད་ལ་དཔེན་ད་
 41 ⁷[པའི་སེམས]་དཀའ་བ་ཕྱས་སོ། ། ། ། བཙན་

42 མོ་ཁི་སྲོང་ལྷེ་པཅུན་ཐུགས་སྐམ་ལའ་ |

43 [བཀའ] མོས་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བས | ཆབ་སྲིད་གར་

44 མཛོད་དོ་ཚོག་ཏུའང་ལེགས་སྟེ | རྒྱའི་ཁམས་

45 ལུ་གོས་ལ་པའི་ལྷལ་དང་མཁར་མང་པོ་

46 བཙོམ་སྟེ་བསྐྱུས་ནས || རྒྱ་རྗེ་ཅེ་ཉུ་འགེ་ལྷོང་

47 ཏེ་རྗེ་ལོན་གྲག་སྟེ | ལོ་ཚོག་ཅིང་ཏུག་ཏུ་དབྱ་

48 དར་ལྷག་ལྷ་ཁི་སྐལ་ཏེ | རྒྱ་དབྱུང་འཇལ་ཏུ་

49 བཅུག་གོ ||| དེའི་འོག་ཏུ | རྒྱ་རྗེ་ཡལ་ཅེ་ཉུ་འགེ་ཅ

50 མང་དེ་སྲོངས་སྟེ | རྒྱ་རྗེ་སྐས་སྤང་ཤེང་མང |

51 རྒྱལ་པོར་ལྷགས་ནས | བོད་ལ་དབྱུང་འཇལ་

52 ཏུ་མ་རུང་སྟེ || བཙན་མོ་ཐུགས་སྐྱུང་བའི་ཆོ་

53 དན་ལམ་གྱུ་ཁོང་གིས || རྒྱ་ལྷལ་གྱི་མིལ་ད | རྒྱ་

54 རྗེའི་མོ་མང་གོང་གིར | བོད་གྱིས་དམག་ཏུང་

55 བའི་བཀའ་གྲོས་གྱི་མགོ་ཆེན་པོ་གསོལ་ད་ནས |

56 གོང་གིར་ཏུང་བའི་དམག་དཔོན་ཆེན་མོར ||

57 ལྷང་མཆིམས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་ཟིགས་ལྷུ་མེང་དང ||

58 ལོན་སྟག་སྐྱ་གྱུ་ཁོང་གཉིས | བཀའ་སྐྱལ་ད་ཏེ |

59 གོང་གིར་ཏུངས་¹⁰ནས || ཅི་ཉུ་ཅིར་གྱི་རབ་དོགས

60 ལུ་རྒྱ་དང་ཐབ་མོ་ཆེན་མོ་བྱས་ཏེ | བོད་གྱིས་གལལ་

61 བཞོག་ནས || རྒྱ་མང་པོ་བརྱུངས་པས || རྒྱ་རྗེ་ལྷང་

62 ཤེང་སྤང་ཡང | གོང་གིའི་མཁར་ནས་ལྷུང་སྟེའ |

63 ¹¹སྐམ་ཅི་ཉུར་གྲོས་ནས | གོང་གི་ཐབ་སྟེ་རྒྱ་རྗེའི་ནང

64 ལོན་འབྲེུུ་ * ར་གོང་ལས་སྐྱོགས་ཏེ་དོང་ལྷན་དང་

65 བོ་གན་ཡ * * * * * * * * * * བཙན་པོ་འི

66 འབ[ངས] * * * * * * * * * * * * * * བོད་ * །གང

67 དང་ཁ¹² * * * * * * * * * * * * * * ཏེ | གིས་ཤེང་གོང

68 ཅོའི་མིང་པོ * * * * * * * * * * * * * * འཁྲིས་ཤིང་

- 69 * * * * * རྩོན་པོ
- 70 * * * * * རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་རྒྱུང་
- 71 * * * * * སྲིད་ལུགས།
- 72 [ག]་བ་དང་གཏོ¹³[མ]་[ལྷན་ཏུ]་སྐྱེད་པར་བྱས་ཏེ། ལྷ་ཁོང་སྲོ་
- 73 བ་ཏེ་ཞིང་ཚབ་སྲིད་ལ་[རལེན]་ད་པའི་[སེམས]་དཀའ
- 74 བ་བྱས་སོ།

SOUTH INSCRIPTION. NOTES ON THE TEXT

1. "Pa" and "pha" are used almost indiscriminately, e.g. "btsan pho", "blon po", "chen pho", "byas pha", "byed pa". In this inscription the spelling "btsan pho" is consistent but in the north inscription "btsan po" appears also.
2. Bell reads "Myi *"; Waddell reads "Myis Gzigs" but there is not room for so many letters. In "Tibetan Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan", by Dr. F. W. Thomas, there is mention of a Lan Myi regiment which might make "Myi Gzigs" appear the best reading. But the second letter looks like "sa", and the vowel over the "mya", although damaged, appears to be *hgren bu*. As the name Myes occurs in the list of Tibetan signatories to the treaty inscribed on the Gtsug Lag Khañ rdo riñ, I have adopted that reading.
3. The first letter is effaced and the word might be "mañ po". I have adopted the guess "dañ po".
4. The words in brackets in lines 31 to 43 are reconstructions, and where they are obvious I make no comment.
5. The word before "dañ" might be Hbu Śiñ Kuñ which appears in the Tun Huang Annals (p. 65) as the name of a place captured in A.D. 762. Dpya Dar Mo (? Dbyar Mo Thañ) appears also in the same passage.
6. Mdzad is a possible guess; only the m is clear and it is followed by two letters, one written below the other for lack of space.
7. This reconstruction is based on the appearance of "** nd pa-hi *e**" "dkah ba byas so" in lines 73 and 74.
8. Bell reads "Žig" but the word is clearly Hki with the "i" written over the "k".
9. Bell reads "dmag" but it is clearly "dmak"—a mistake by the writer.

10. Bell has “ blañs ” ; Waddell “ drañs ”. Examination of the pillar shows the latter to be correct.

11. Bell reads Ssem ; Waddell “ Žeñ ” but this is incorrect. The subscribed letter might be \underline{h} or h ; but as the *T'ang Shu* gives the name of this place as Shang Chou, Ssem appears the best reading.

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

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

SOUTH INSCRIPTION. TRANSLATION ¹

In the time of King Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan,² Nan Lam Klu Khoñ carried out the confidential royal work.³

Hbal Ldoñ Tsab and Lañ Myes Zigs,⁴ although they were Chief Ministers, became hostile and did injury⁵ to the person of the King, the father, Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan so that he went to Heaven.⁶

They nearly did injury also to the person of the King, the son, Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan, and internal dissension being caused in the kingdom of the black-headed Tibetans, Klu Khoñ brought to the notice of the King, the son, Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan all the facts⁸ about the hostility of Hbal and Lañ ; and the hostility of Hbal and Lañ⁷ being proved, they were condemned⁹ ; and Klu Khoñ became near (to the King).

In the time of King Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan, Nan Lam Klu Khoñ being in (the King's) confidence, gave great counsel. Being of steadfast mind,¹⁰ he was appointed Minister of the Interior Under the Royal Order. He considered the troubles of¹¹ the kingdom of China and was appointed general¹² for the first attack¹³ in the direction of Khar Tsan.¹⁴ And, as he understood the arts of war,¹⁵ he continued to give advice.¹⁶ First Ha Ža¹⁷ belonging to China was subdued and a great extent of her dominion was cut off from China. China shivered in fear. Dbyar Mo Than¹⁹ and (in) the neighbourhood of Tsoñ Ka²⁰ from Dañ etcetera²¹ many were scattered. Klu Khoñ enemies who caused disturbance made the kingdom great gave great counsel²² being in the (King's) confidence he took great trouble in his mind for the benefit of the kingdom.

King Khri Sron Lde Brtsan being of profound mind,²³ the breadth of his counsel increased and whatever he did for the kingdom turned out well in every way. He conquered and held under his sway many districts and fortresses of China. The Chinese King He-hu Hki²⁴ Wañ Te and his ministers were terrified. They offered a perpetual yearly tribute of fifty thousand rolls of silk. China was compelled to pay tribute. After this, the Chinese King, the father, He-u Hki Wañ Te died and the Chinese King, the son, Wañ Peñ Wañ,²⁵ having succeeded to the throne, was not able to pay tribute to Tibet. When the King (of Tibet) was grieved by this, Nan Lam Klu Khoñ took the principal lead in counsels²⁶ for the launching of war by Tibet against the centre of China, the Chinese King's palace at Keñ Śi.²⁷ Žañ Mchims Rgyal Rgyal Zigs Śu Theñ and the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ were appointed the two chief Commanders for the attack on Keñ Śi. They attacked Keñ Śi; and a great battle was fought with the Chinese on the banks of the ford at Ci-hu Cir.²⁸ Tibet put them to flight. Many Chinese were killed.

The Chinese King Kvañ Peñ Wañ left the fort of Keñ Śi and fled to Ssem Ci-hu.²⁹ Keñ Śi was taken. The Chinese King's Minister of the Interior, Hgehu .in Keñ and others Doñ Kvan and Bo Kan Ya subjects of the (Tibetan) King *paid taxes to Tibet ?*³⁰ . . . the brother of Kim Śeñ Koñ Co,³¹ *Ga-u Wañ* . . . being attached to *was made King of China* Minister Kings great and small so doing in order to spread *the fame and praise for ever*³² into the heart of the kingdom, Klu Khoñ being in the (King's) confidence took great trouble in his mind for the benefit of the kingdom.

SOUTH INSCRIPTION. NOTES ON TRANSLATION

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

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

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

4. The name might be Lañ Myi Gzigs. See note on text.

5. “Dard” is explained as an obsolete word corresponding to “bdo” = “gnod pa byed pa.”

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

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

8. “Gtan gtsigs = modern Rgyu rkyen.” Bell.

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

10. Bell translates this “The King, being of unchanging mind” but the phrase seems to refer to Klu Khoñ.

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

12. Bell translates “He gave instructions to the Commander who first led the troops to Khar Tsan”; but, as noted above, “Bkah stald pa” means “to appoint”, and the meaning must be that Klu Khoñ was made general.

13. Dr. F. W. Thomas translates “drañ ba” as “to draw a net round”. This seems an unnecessary introduction of metaphor into the Tibetan which is generally straightforward and unadorned.

I take the word as being derived from “*hdren pa*” and meaning simply “to make war” or “lead troops”.

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

15. This might be “the designs of the enemy”.

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

17. *Ha Ža*. Thomas discusses the position of this district in “Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan” (*JRAS.*, Jan., 1927). It may have extended from the Lop country to the Koko Nor.

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

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

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

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

22. With regard to the damage in lines 31 to 43 of the inscription Bell notes as follows: “The inscription, in the blanks above, is greatly broken as though with hammers or other such instruments. It seems clear that the injury was done by the Chinese when in power at Lhasa to obliterate the names of places in China which Tibet conquered. This portion of the inscription is high up and could not have been injured by the casual mischief of street urchins and others. Moreover, Lonchen Shokhang informed me that when

he was a young man, he remembers the Chinese saying they were going to take a copy of the Gtsug Lag Khañ Doring but it was found that they were scratching out many of the letters with stones, etc." It may be added that, if the damage was done by sensitive Chinese, they failed to erase the most humiliating passages.

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

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

Thugs Sgam is applied, clearly as an epithet, to Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan (Sad Na Legs) in the Rgyal Po Bkaḥ Thañ and is reminiscent of Sroñ ('b)Rtsan's title "Sgam Po".

In the passage in this inscription a title such as Blon Po might have been expected if the words referred to a person. The same applies in the passage in the Gtsug Lag Khañ rdo riñ where the words "Sgam dkyel" appear. The context is "Btsan Po Yab Lha Ḥphrul Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan gyi ža sña nas. Sgam dkyel chen-pos ni. Chos srid ci la yañ mkhas śiñ gsal byams pa-ḥi bkaḥ drin gyis ni". Here it forms part of a series of phrases each with an instrumental termination and all, in my opinion, relating to the King—who, it may be noted, is Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan, not Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan who is indicated by Dr. Thomas' tentative dating. The words appear twice in the inscription on a pillar at the tomb

of Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan in Yar Luñ. First, in an introduction which, I think, can relate only to the King, the context is “Thugs sgam po-hi rlabs dañ bkaḥ luñ bzañ po-hi lugs kyis . . .”. No such word as “Blon-po” is prefixed to “Thugs sgam”; and “rlob” and “bkaḥ luñ” are most improbable words to be used of the relation between a king and his minister. This phrase is also echoed in the Tun Huang Chronicle (p. 115) where it appears as “Btsan po-hi ža sña nas, thugs sgam ba-hi rlabs dañ dbu rmog brtsan po-hi byin kyis”, and where it is applied to Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan. The second occurrence in the Yar Luñ inscription is in a damaged passage reading “Lha ḥphrul gyi ža sña nas, Thugs sgam, rje mdzad pa yañ”.

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

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

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

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

25. The Emperor Su Tsung who died in A.D. 763 was succeeded by Tai Tsung. The name Wañ Peñ Wañ is changed to Kvañ Peñ Wañ in line 61.

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

27. It is not clear how the name of the Chinese capital Ch'angan has become Keñ Śi in Tibetan. A Chinese friend suggests that the name may stand for Kung Shih—"palace precinct".

28. Ci-hu Cir. Chou-chih.

29. Ssem Ci-hu. Shang-chou.

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

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

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

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

NORTH INSCRIPTION ¹

- 1 །། རྩོན་སྒྲུག་སྒྲུ་ཁྱེ་ཤོང་།
- 2 དཀྱུ་རྒྱལ་གཅིག་མེད་གནད
- 3 བའི་མཛོད་རྩོད་རིང་ས་ལ་ཡི་ག་སྤྱི་ལྔ
- 4 རྣམ་པའི་ལྔ་།།
- 5 །། བཙན་པོ་ཁྱིའི་སྤོང་ལྷོ་བཙན་
- 6 ཕྱི་ན་རྒྱ་ནམ་དམ་སྤྱད་གནད་
- 7 རྩོད་ལྔ་ལྔ་སྒྲུ་ཁྱེ་ཤོང་གི་ལྔ་ཚྭ་
- 8 རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་དུ་ལ་ནམ་ནམ་ཞ་ཞ་རྩེ་ལྔ་།།
- 9 དཀྱུ་རྒྱལ་གཅིག་མེད་ལོ་གཅིག་།།

10 ན་མི་དབབ་པར་གཡུང་རུང་།
 11 རུ་སྐྱུལ་ད་མར་གནང་ངོ།།
 12 བཙུན་པོ་སྐྱུ་དཔོན་སྐྱེ་ཙེ་རབས་
 13 དེ་ཞིང་ཡང་། ལྷ་ལོང་གི་སྐུ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་
 14 འཕེལ་ད་ལས་གཅིག་། འམ་འཕྲིང་།
 15 ན་ནང་ཀོར་ཡན་ཅད་རུ་གཞུག་
 16 ཅིང་ཚལ་བར་རྟག་རུ་མཚེས་པར་
 17 གནང་ངོ། ། ལྷ་ལོང་གི་སྐུ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་
 18 འཕེལ་ད་ལ་རྗེ་ལྷ་ས་གྲི་རྩོ་ཐོག་པའི་
 19 རྣམས་འི་ཙམ་རུ་རྩོ་ཐོག་པར་བཀའ་
 20 བཀུར་ཞིང་བསྟོད་པར་གནང་ངོ། །
 21 ལྷ་ལོང་གི་སྐུ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་གྲིས་། བཙན་པོ།
 22 ཉ་ལྟར་། ལྷོ་བ་མ་རིང་ན་། རོངས་
 23 མིག་གཞན་ཅི་བུང་ཡང་རུང་། སྲིག་།
 24 སྲིད་ལ་མི་དབབ་པར་། བཀའ་ཕྱོད་གྲི་
 25 ཚོགས་ཅི་ལ་བབ་པ་ལས་། བཀའ་ཕྱོད་
 26 ན་གཅིག་གིས་སྐྱུར་ཅིང་བརྒྱུད་བར་
 27 གནང་ངོ། ། ལྷ་ལོང་གི་སྐུ་ཚེ་ཕེལ་ད་ལས་
 28 ལ་ལ་ཞེས་། དབས་ཚད་ན་དབས་ཚད་
 29 གྲི་ཞོལ་ལུལ་དང་། རོར་བུགས་། ལྷ་ར་མི་
 30 བཞེས་པར་། སྐུ་རུ་པོ་གང་ཉེ་བ་སྐྱུལ་ད་
 31 པར་གནངོ། ། ལྷོན་སྐྱུག་སྐྱུ་ཞོང་།
 32 གི་སྐུ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་ཕེལ་ད་། དཀུ་རྒྱལ་གྲི་ཡི་གེའ་
 33 ལག་ན་འཚང་འཚང་བ་ཞེས་དབས་ཚད་
 34 དམ་བཞུན་བབ་ན་ཡང་། དུལ་གྲི་ཡི་གེ་
 35 ལྷ་ར་མི་བཞེས་པར་། ལྷོན་སྐྱུག་སྐྱུ་ཞོང་།
 36 དང་། ལྷ་ཞོང་གི་སྐུ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་གང་ཉེ་བ་གཅིག་

37 དབྱལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཚེན་པོ་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་རྩ་སྤྱུལ་ད་
 38 པར་གནད་དོ།། རྫོན་རྟུག་སྤྱ་ལྷ་ཁོང་གི་
 39 ས་ལྷ་ཁོང་གི་སྤ་ཚོ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་ད་གྱི་ནམས།
 40 ཞང་ལོན་ཡི་གེ་པའི་ཐང་དང་། དམག་སྲུང་རྒྱུར།
 41 གནད་དོ།། སྤྱ་སྤྱུངས་འཕན་ཡུལ་པའི།
 42 རྫོང་དཔོན་རྩ་གཞན་སྤྱ་ཡང་མི་གཞུག་པར་
 43 རྫོན་རྟུག་སྤྱ་ལྷ་ཁོང་གི་ཚེས་པོ་གསལ་སྤྱེལས་།
 44 གྱི་སྤ་ཚོ་རྒྱུད་པེལ་ད་ལས་གང་རྩོ་ཐོག་པའ་།
 45 དམངས་འདྲ་བ་གཅིག། སྤྱ་སྤྱུངས་འཕན་
 46 ཡུལ་པའི་རྫོང་དཔོན་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་རྩ་སྤྱུལ་ད་
 47 པར་གནད་དོ།། དན་ལམ་གསལ་སྤྱེལས་
 48 གྱི་སྤ་ཚོ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་ད། ནམ་ཞར་གྱུང་སྤྱེ་སྤྱ་།
 49 སྤྱུངས་སྤྱ་གནད་བ་ལས། སྤྱེ་ཚོ་སྤྱུ་མི་སྤྱེལ་མི་
 50 བསྐྱུར་བར་གནད་དོ།། ལྷ་ཁོང་གི་སྤ་ཚོ་འ་
 51 རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་ད་གྱི་ལག་ན་ཐན་ཞིང་འཕོག་ཕོག་
 52 ཚོ་ལ་ལས་སྤྱེ་གས་ཉེ་དབང་དོ་ཙམ། ལྷར་མི་བཞེས་
 53 མི་དམི་གཞན་གྱིས་མི་དམོག་ཁོང་ཉ་བཅག་མི་
 54 དགའ་ན་ཉེ་རིང་དང་བཟང་དན་མི་བརྗེ་བར་
 55 གནད་དོ།། ལྷ་ཁོང་གི་སྤ་ཚོ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་ད་ལ་
 56 ལ་ལ་ཞིག་གིས་བུ་ཁོན་གྱི་བག་རྩ་སྤོག་སྤྱིར་ལ་།
 57 དམངས་བར་བྱེད་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ན། བཀའ་ནོན་ལྷ་།
 58 ནས་མཛེད་པར་གནད་དོ།། ལྷ་ཁོང་གི་སྤ་ཚོ་
 59 རྒྱུད་པེལ་ད་གྱིས་སྤོ་བ་མ་རིངས་ན་སྤ་མ་མི་གསྤྱུར་
 60 ལྷན་ཀ་མི་བཙལ་མི་བཀྱོན་བར་གནད་དོ།།
 61 སྤ་ཚོ་འཕེལ་ད་གྱི་ནང་ནས་ལ་ལ་ཞིག། བཙན་པོ་
 62 ཞ་སྤར་སྤོ་བ་རིངས་ཡང་དག་པར་བྱུང་ད་ན་གང་

- 63 ཉེས་པའི་སྒྲོར། བཀའ་བྱོར་མཐོ། ། ལུ་རུ་པོ་གནད་ །
 64 བྱིན་ལ་མི་གདགས་སྲོག་སྲིད་ལ་མི་དབབ་པར་གནད་
 65 རོ། །
 66 །། མདོར་ནལ་ལྷོན་སྐྱུ་སྐྱུ་ཁོང་གི་ས་ལྷ་གོང་
 67 གི་སུ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་ཐེལ་ད་སྲོག་⁸ * * དང་སྲིད་དེ་པར་བྱགས་
 68 གོང་མཛད་དེ་⁹ * * * * *

NOTES ON THE TEXT

1. It will be seen that “pa” and “pha” are used almost indiscriminately, e.g. hphald or hpald, par or phar, hphan or hpan. The “h” preceding “phald” or “pald” is sometimes omitted. The final “da” in gyurd “hphald” and “stsald” is the “*da-drag*”.
2. gtsigs, which is omitted from Bell’s text, is clearly visible through binoculars.
3. ba-hi mdo is also omitted by Bell but is quite clear.
4. yig gru. The final g of yig is effaced. Bell omits “gru” and the word is damaged but I have no doubt that it is correctly reproduced.
5. Bris pa ha. Bell has bris pa-ho ; but there is no sign of a *na-ro* ; and bris pa ha appears also in the inscription from Mtshur phu.
6. nam nam ža žar. Žar is an obvious reconstruction as this phrase is quite common. Cf. also nam žar in line 48.
7. Bell has ño thog pa-hi but no “i” is visible.
8. Not more than two letters are effaced here. I can think of no suitable word.
9. Five or six words are missing.

NORTH INSCRIPTION. TRANSLATION

A summary of the deed concerning the exaltation¹ of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ² is inscribed upon this pillar in large letters.³

King Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan himself⁴ took an oath and decreed that it should be granted forever to the male descendants⁵ of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ, by a great Silver Letter⁶ in perpetuity,⁷ that they should never be degraded.⁸

And he decreed that during each generation of the male descendants of the King, one of the male descendants shall serve in the

King's retinue,⁹ ranking above the private attendants, and that he shall always be provided with food.¹⁰

And he decreed that the male descendants of Zla Goñ shall be honoured by promoting, according to their ability, those who are able to perform the Royal Work.¹¹

And he decreed that Zla Goñ's male descendants, so long as they do not become hostile¹² to the King, whatever other faults they may commit, shall not forfeit their lives or property¹³; and if they should be involved in any grave offence, for one such offence they shall be reprimanded and the blame shall be cast away.

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

And he decreed that whichever of the male descendants of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ holds¹⁴ the letter of exaltation, even if his line be broken or if he should be found guilty of an offence,¹⁵ the great Silver Letter shall not be taken away but shall be given to that one of the male descendants of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ, or of Zla Goñ, who is nearest (to the last holder).¹⁶

And he decreed that the male descendants of Zla Goñ, the father of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ, shall receive the rank of Žaṅ Lon Yi Ge Pa¹⁷ and the command of three hundred soldiers.

And he decreed that the post of Commander of the bodyguard of one thousand which is recruited from the Hphan¹⁸ district shall not be given to anyone else; but that one of the male descendants of Gsas Slebs,²⁰ the grandfather of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ, who is capable and can be a leader of the common people,¹⁹ shall always be appointed Commander of the bodyguard of one thousand from the Hphan district.

And he decreed that the male descendants of Nan Lam Gsas Slebs, on whom the command of the district bodyguard is bestowed forever, shall not suffer removal from or change in their position in the district.²¹

And he decreed that the servants, fields, high pastures, grasslands,²² and the like of Zla Goñ's male descendants, whatever they hold,²³ shall not be resumed by the State, shall not be diminished, and shall not be taken by others; and that even though they themselves should be displeased²⁴ (with the King) their nearness shall not be changed to distance nor good treatment for bad.

And he decreed that, if by secret spite any person should do harm to the life or position of any of the male descendants of Zla Goñ, a corrective order shall be given from above.

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

And he decreed that if any of the male descendants become hostile to the King, and the fact be proved, those who are guilty shall be punished for the offence ²⁵; other relations shall not be involved in proceedings ²⁶ and their life and position shall not be injured.

In short, the descendants of Zla Goñ the father of the Minister Stag Sgra Klu Khoñ considering their life and position ²⁷

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. Dku rgyal = sku rgyal. Bell.
2. Bell has "the circumstances concerning the exaltation". His text did not contain the words "gtsigs ba-hi mdo". This phrase appears in other inscriptions and "gtsigs" appears to mean "a solemn decree", "mdo", "a summary".
3. The words "yig gru" are not in Bell's text. The phrase appears to be the equivalent of "yig hbru", "capital letters"—see Das' *Tibetan Dictionary*, p. 931.
4. Bell notes that *Ža sna* is an honorific for "gyis" "by"; but it is often found in other forms—see line 62 of this inscription—and seems to have an intrinsic meaning. "The King's Grace" might be a suitable translation.
5. Bu tsa rgyud hphald; lit. "to the increasing chain of sons". Bell.
6. A silver letter was not the highest possible award. Dpañ-bo Gtsug Lag mentions letters of turquoise, gold, silver, onyx, and copper as marks of distinction, in that order. The Tun Huang Annals record that Klu Khoñ's superior colleague, *Žañ Rgyal Zigs*, was given a turquoise letter after the campaign of A.D. 762. This makes it the more extraordinary that Klu Khoñ should have been allowed to set up these inscriptions in his own praise.
7. Gyuñ druñ du. "Like the Swastika—an emblem of permanency." Bell.
8. Bell has "Bestowed forever on . . . a great Silver Letter guaranteeing them permanent high position". This gives the sense

without explaining the construction. The “na” following a double “*śad*” in line 9 looks strange at first but there are other instances of such use in these inscriptions, and it seems that the meaning must be “in a great Silver Letter”.

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

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

11. Bell has “Those . . . who are able to serve the King shall render service to the best of their ability, obeying his orders and rendering praise to him”. This does not accord with the construction “*rgyud hphald la . . . bstod par gnañ ño*”. The translation I have given agrees with the opinion of two Tibetan Lamas of Lhasa.

Bkur *žin* might mean “praising”; but it can also mean “lifting up”, and that seems more suitable here.

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

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

13. Bell has “whatever other faults they may commit shall not be punished with forfeiture of life or property; but for them they shall be reprimanded and when they have been reprimanded the blame shall be thrown away”. I find it difficult to be precise about this passage. “*gyod*” according to Das’ dictionary means “repentance” or “a lawsuit”. The addition of *bkaḥ* seems to imply some sort of order. Bell seems to take the word, which he translates as “reprimand”, as the equivalent of “*bkyon*” which appears in lines 34 and 60, and he translates that, too, as “reprimand”. If this identification is correct, such a translation seems too mild for a word which is used in connection with the conviction of *Hbal* and *Lañ*—see south inscription, line 20—and also appears frequently in the Tun Huang documents to describe the disgrace and dismissal of Ministers. *bkaḥ gyod* appears again in line 63 of this inscription and there it relates to the penalty for disloyalty—*glo ba riñs pa*. As it is stated in the passage under examination that no forfeiture of life or position will be incurred so long as the family do not become hostile, it seems that more than a simple

reprimand must be intended there. It seems to me that a distinction is intended between “noñs myig” a mere fault and “bkañ gyod” a more serious offence. Whether a reprimand or an offence is meant, the general meaning seems clear—that for one such occurrence the person concerned would get off lightly. There is a similar passage in the rdo riñ at Žva Lha Khañ.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

21. Bell has “The male descendants . . . shall perpetually be employed in the bodyguard; the appointment shall not be given to another and shall not be changed”. This is rather compendious and does not follow the construction closely. “Sde” is the word for an administrative district as compared with “yul” in lines 41

and 46 above, which is used of a geographical area. I take Sde Cha to mean “ district appointment ”. “ Gudu spo-ha ” means “ setting apart ” and implies dismissal from office.

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

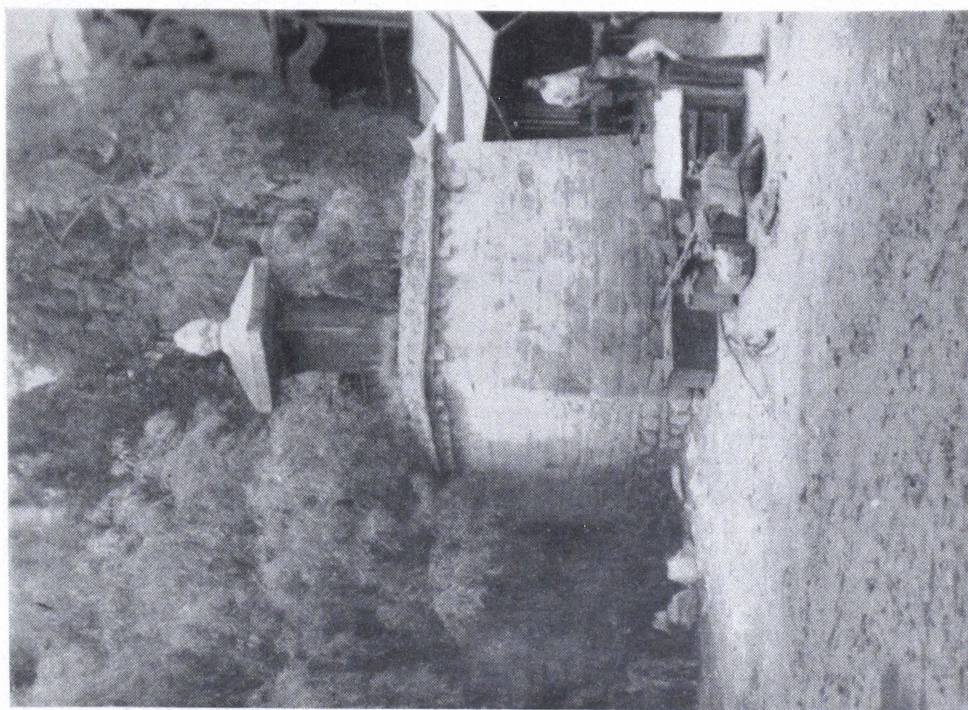
23. Bell translates “ dbaṅ ṅo cog ” as “ the measure of power ”. It means simply “ whatever they hold ”.

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

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

26. Khrin. This word appears also in the inscriptions from Žva Lha Khaṅ and appears to be the equivalent of “ khrims ”.

27. Bell has “ The King considering the lives and positions of the descendants . . . ”; but there is no “ gyi ” after “ rgyud hphald ”, and the descendants therefore seem to be the subject of the sentence—which is incomplete. Five or six words of the last line of the inscription have been effaced, apparently by the backs of people who have sat at the foot of the pillar and leaned against it for many centuries.



GTSUG LAG KHAN RDO-RIN AT LHASA FROM N.E.



THE "DPAH BO BLON CHEN" AT SNE THAN

The Mu Tsung / Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan Treaty of A.D. 821-822 from the Inscription at Lhasa

THE texts at the end of this article are taken from the stone pillar (rdo riñs) which stands a little to the north-west of the main, western, gate of the Lhasa Gtsug Lag Khañ. The broader faces of the pillar are the east and west ; the narrower, the north and south. The pillar measures roughly 11 feet by 2½ feet by 1¼ feet. It tapers slightly toward the top and is surmounted by a small stone canopy with a round stone finial representing a jewel. No pedestal is now visible above ground. The pillar is closely surrounded for more than two-thirds of its height by stone walls which leave just enough space for a man to stand in. The east inscription is in Tibetan only ; the west inscription is bilingual with the Chinese text to the right of the Tibetan ; and those on the north and south are also bilingual with the Tibetan and Chinese written in alternate paragraphs.

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

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

JRAS. for April, 1911, he examined the inscriptions on the west and north faces of the pillar and concluded that they also referred to the Tê Tsung treaty.

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

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

One of the first points which Sir Charles Bell noticed was that the Tibetan king named at the beginning of the east inscription is Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan—not Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan as stated in Dr. Waddell's article. Later, he arranged to have the earth cleared from the lower part of this inscription and found there three clear dates. In these passages, which must have been buried for a long time, it is written that the treaty was ratified in China in the first year of Cañ Keñ ; it was ratified in Tibet in the second year of

Cañ Keñ ; and the stone pillar was set up at Lhasa in the third year of Cañ Keñ. Tibetan years are also given but it is the Chinese dates that can be placed with certainty. Ch'ang K'ing was the regnal title of the first four years of Mu Tsung's reign (Mayers' *Chinese Readers Manual*, p. 382), and the above dates are therefore A.D. 821, 822, and 823.

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

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

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

Although there is no mention, in the portions of the T'ang Annals translated by Dr. Bushell of pillars having been set up at Lhasa and at the Chinese capital in connection with the Tê Tsung treaty, the statement in the later Chinese records that there were such pillars

may be correct. If so, it seems possible that the pillar at Lhasa was deliberately destroyed at a very early date in reply to the destruction by the Chinese of the frontier monument at Ch'ingshui on which the treaty of A.D. 783 was recorded. That is seen from the T'ang Annals to have taken place shortly after the treaty was concluded. At that time the Tibetans were powerful and aggressive and feeling ran high as can be seen from the account in the T'ang Annals of the abortive treaty negotiations at P'ingliang in A.D. 787, where the Tibetans were guilty of treachery in retaliation for alleged breaches of trust by the Chinese. It is also significant that the historical account in the east inscription, which describes the course of relations between Tibet and China before the Mu Tsung treaty, mentions treaties and friendly relations between the two countries in the reigns of Khri Sroñ Brtsan (Sgam Po) and Khri Lde Gtsug Rtsan, and negotiations for a treaty between Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan and the Chinese Emperor but passes over the reign of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan without mentioning the king or the Tê Tsung treaty. Thus it seems that forty years after its conclusion, the Tê Tsung treaty, which had been violated within a few years of its making, was treated as if it had never existed.

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

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

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

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

Dr. Waddell's statement that the spelling "brtsan" or "btsan" is used indiscriminately for the name of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan is incorrect. There is no mention of this king in the east inscription which Dr. Waddell intends by the "Tê Tsung treaty edict"; and in the Potala (Žol) inscriptions "brtsan" is uniformly used

as it is also in the Skar Cuñ inscription which I have published in the *JRASB.* for 1949. “btsan” is the uniform spelling in “btsan po” “king” and does not appear as part of the royal names.

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

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

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

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

Dr. Waddell quotes the name of the last Tibetan signatory recorded on the north face as a witness to the treaty. He gives this from the Tibetan as “The great deputy of the King, Zang Lon Gyal Nam Btsan” and from the Chinese as “Shang Lun Chieh . . .” and he claims that this is the same Shang Chieh Tsan whom the T'ang Annals state to have been the Tibetan minister in charge of the treaty negotiations in A.D. 783. In order to support this view, Dr. Waddell makes the improbable assertion that the last signature was the place of honour. There is no reason to believe this, especially as the list of witnesses starts with “Great Ministers” and is followed by a list of “Ordinary Ministers” in which the name in question is included. The name is, in fact, clearly legible as “Žal ce pa chen po Žal ce-ho chog gi Myañ Blon Rgyal Ñen Legs Rtsan”, who is probably the same as the Myañ Blon Legs Btsan included in the list of officers witnessing an oath to maintain Buddhism taken by Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan's father Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan as recorded

by the Tibetan historian Dpaḥ-bo Gtsug Lag (Gtsug Lag Hpreṅ Ba). This oath and the list of witnesses have every appearance of being copied from ninth century sources and it is improbable that so long a list of names would have survived if it had not come from contemporary records. Dr. Waddell's identification of the last Tibetan signatory on the north face as the great Shang Chieh Tsan is, therefore, unacceptable. The Shang Chieh Tsan of A.D. 783 was probably Žaṅ Rgyal Tshan Lha Snaṅ of Sna Nam, mentioned in the Tun Huang Chronicle.

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

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

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

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

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

(4) Blon Rgyal Bzaṅ Hdus Koṅ, whose name Dpaḥ-bo Gtsug Lag prefixes with the family name of Bran Ka.

(5) Lha Bo Tsan, who appears in the inscription as of the Hbro family but in Dpaḥ-bo Gtsug Lag as Dbah.

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

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

Nor can the names either of the Tibetan envoy to China or the principal envoy at the Lhasa ceremony, as recorded in the T'ang Annals, be clearly traced. The former was Shang Ch'i li tossu, which might be a rendering of *Žaṅ Khri Mdo Gzigs*. A *Žaṅ Mchims Rgyal Mdo Gzigs* appears in Dpaḥ-bo Gtsug Lag's list; and this may also be the fifth name in the inscription. It is badly damaged but there are indications which could read *Žaṅ Rgyal* (? Khri—Waddell has · Li) *Mdo Gzigs*. The name of the Tibetan envoy at

Lhasa is given as Lunnalo, which bears no resemblance to the Chief Minister Dpal Chen-po Yon Tan. Perhaps there was a special envoy for the negotiations. The third name in the inscription is almost completely lost and all that can be seen is “Blon Lo” (perhaps Lho). Dpaḥ-bo Gtsug Lag’s list contains the names of two Lho Blons, of whom the senior was Khri Bzañ Gyu Btsan; and “Blon Lho” is possibly the explanation of the name Lunnalo.

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

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

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

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

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

Tseñ Śu Hvañ can be identified with Ch’ingshui and is seen to be

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By the "book version of the Mu-Tsung treaty" Dr. Waddell refers to the translation from the T'ang Annals by Dr. Bushell, which he quotes in full on pp. 402-403 of his article of 1911. The

first two paragraphs of this version certainly have no resemblance to the contents of the west inscription ; but Dr. Waddell himself has noted that the book versions in Chinese records probably did not purport to reproduce treaties exactly. The opening paragraphs may perhaps be considered as an introduction like the Tibetan preamble in the east inscription.

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

The last two paragraphs are pious and poetical padding.

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

Dr. Bushell's translation of the inscription itself is treated by Dr. Waddell simply as a translation of the Tê Tsung treaty although Dr. Bushell considered it to be the Mu Tsung treaty and supplemented his translation by reference to other Chinese records of that treaty. More cavalier is Dr. Waddell's treatment of the translation by M. Amiot of what he (M. Amiot) states to be the Mu Tsung treaty and which he derived from a Chinese history of the time of K'ang Hsi. Dr. Waddell gives this translation in full at pages 398-401 of his 1911 article, claiming it to be a translation of the Tê Tsung treaty. The translation begins "In the first year of Tchang tsing the Emperor of the T'ang and he (the Emperor of the Tou fan) have sworn to observe exactly everything which is engraved on this stone. The great Emperor Ouen ou Hiao te Houng Ty and the great Emperor of the Fan Chen Chen Tsan pou. . . ."

Dr. Waddell states that the first paragraph is an interpolation by the copyist who wrote the Chinese work and says that it is not existent on the stone. The latter statement is true ; but Dr. Waddell's rejection of the paragraph proceeds from the mistaken certainty that the stone records the Tê Tsung treaty. It seems more probable that the writer at the time of K'ang Hsi knew what he was copying and that it was the Mu Tsung treaty, concluded in

China in the first year of Chang King (Tchang Tsing). Comparison of Dr. Bushell's translation (loc. cit., pp. 536-7) with that of M. Amiot shows a close similarity from which it appears that there were other records of the Mu Tsung treaty than that contained in the body of the T'ang Annals; the two translations also agree closely with the Tibetan version in the west inscription.

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

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

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

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

1. The east inscription, which is dated A.D. 821-823, is a preamble and not a treaty. It is in Tibetan only, and refers to former relations between Tibet and China leading up to the present treaty.

The west inscription contains the bilingual record of an actual treaty.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Little comment is needed on Dr. Waddell's article in the *JRAS.* for 1909, in which he edits the east inscription and describes it as being dated "with irrefutable certainty" as A.D. 783. Arguments based on that misconception need not be met any further. Dr. Waddell's text of the east inscription is incomplete and very inaccurate. Whole passages are reproduced out of their proper order and the division into lines does not follow the arrangement on the rdo riñ. The translation suffers accordingly. His text and translation of the west inscription are rather better. A detailed examination of

the points of difference between Dr. Waddell's versions and those given below would be lengthy and of little advantage and I do not intend to undertake it here. Anyone who is interested can compare the texts and translations in Dr. Waddell's two articles with those that follow.

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

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

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

In these poetical passages the name of Ho Lde Spu Rgyal attracts immediate attention. This divine royal ancestor is mentioned also in the inscription on the pillar at the tomb of Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan at Hphyoñ Rgyas ; and neither there nor here is there mention of

Gñaḥ Khri Btsan Po whom later Tibetan histories, which mostly ignore Ho Lde Spu Rgyal, treat as the founder of the royal race.

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

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

It may be noted that the form “Ñags Khri” is found in a Bon work called “Srid-pa Rgyud Kyis Kha Byañ Chen Mo” in which also there are hints of the identification between Ñags Khri and Ho Lde Spu Rgyal.

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

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

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

In all these stories we are dealing with figures of mythology and probably continue to do so as far down as Khri Thig Brtsan, the

father of Lha Tho Do Sña Brtsan, twenty-sixth in line from Ņag Khri and sixth before Sroñ Brtsan Sgam Po. The Tun Huang Chronicle may mark the arrival of a breath of history here by naming the wife of the king. It seems possible also that the Twelve Principalities may reflect some history and have been transposed by later historians out of their proper time ; for the account of them in the Tun Huang Chronicles contain names which echo those of figures appearing in the time of Sroñ Brtsan Sgam Po and his father.

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

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

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

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

namely Ru Yoñ, Gnoñ, Hoñ God and Moñ, but these do not appear in Dpañ-bo Gtsug Lag's list and are not prominent in Tibetan history.

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

From the inscription on the Žol rdo riñ and from that at Žva Lha Khañ it appears that promotion of ordinary officials to the rank of Žañ Lon, was possible; and the Žva Lha Khañ inscription mentions "Žañ Lon (*sic*) Che Phra". There may therefore be a distinction intended in the different titles appearing in the north inscription, e.g. *Mchims Žañ Brtan Bžer Stag Tsab*, and *Myañ Blon Žañ Rgyal Ñen Legs Rtsan*.

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

¹ But see Tunhuang Chronicle, p. 130. The Prince of the Myañ clan was called "Myañ mañ po rje Žañ Snañ".

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

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

Myañ Tiñ Hdzin was also a distinguished figure about whom

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

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

Emperor Chung Tsung is described in line 26 of the east inscription as Hgvan Śeñ Bhun Śin Bhu Hvañ Te.

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

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

rebel general Chu Tzū. I have therefore taken the passage as referring to Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan's reign. It is a discreet rather than a truthful reflection of the events of that period, or indeed of any period of frontier warfare ; and, however the passage may be interpreted, it is remarkable, as I have indicated above, that there is no specific mention either of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan or of the Tê Tsung treaty.

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

TEXT OF EAST INSCRIPTION ¹

- 1 ༡ ॥ འཇུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་ཞི་གཙུག་ལྷེ་བཙུན་དང །། ལྷ་རྗེ་བུན་བུ་རྟེ་བུ
- 2 ཉིས་རྩུང་རྟེ་གཉིས །། ལབ་སྲིད་གཅིག་རུ་མོལ་རྟེ་མཇལ་རུམ་མཇེད་པའི་
- 3 ² * * * * [ག]ཉིས་ཀྱི་ཚྭ་ཅེ་ལད་བ་དང །། མཇལ་རུམ་མཇེད་པའི་
- 4 [ག]ན་[ཚྭ་ཅེ]མ་རྟེ་རིང་ས་ལ་བྲིས་པའོ །།
- 5 [༡ ॥] འཇུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་འོ་ལྷེ་སྐྱ་རྒྱལ །། [ལྷ]ལྷ་འཇུང་ས་རོད་ཚྭ་ཅེ་ཅར་
- 6 ལྷང་ན[ས་མིའི་རྗེ]རྟོ །། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་མཇེད་པ་ཡང །། གངས་[རི་
- 7 ⁶མ]ཐོན་པོའི་ནི་དབྱུས །། ལྷ་པོ་ཚེན་པོའི་ནི་མགོ །། ལུལ་མཐོ་ས་གཅོང[ང་]
- 8 ⁷[བ་ལ]་གནམ་གྱི་ལྷ་ལས །། ལྷིའི་རྒྱལ་པོར་གཤེགས་ཏེ །། གཙུག་ལག་
- 9 [ཚེན་པོས]་ནི །། [ལྷ]ནད་ཀྱི་སྲིད་བཙུགས །། ཚེས་ཞིམས་བཟང་པོས་ནི །།
- 10 [ཚྭ]ལ⁹ག[ན]ད །། ལུམས་པའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་གྱིས་ནི་ནད་གི་ཚེས¹⁰སྐརད །།
- 11 [དབ་ཐ]བས་མཁས་[ན]¹¹སྟེ །། ལྷིའི་དབ་བུལ་ཏེ །། ལབ་སྲིད་ནི་སྲིད་ཞེང་ཚེ་
- 12 * * * * ནི་སྐར་ཞེང་བཙུན་ * * * * ན * * * * ག་ལྷི་ལྷུང །། ལྷིན་
- 13 [ལྷི་བླ]བས¹³་པའི་གཡང་རྩུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོའི་ཚོ །། དའི་སྲིད །། ལྷོ་སྲིད་གས་
- 14 ལྷི་[མོན]¹⁴་ལྷ་གར་དང །། ལུལ་སྲིད་གས་ཀྱི་ཏེ་བྲིས¹⁵་དང །། ལུང་སྲིད་གས་ཀྱི་རྩ་ལྷ་ཏེ་
- 15 ལྷོལ་ལ་སྲིད་གས་པ །། གཡ་ག * * * * ལྷལ་པོ་སྲིད་[ན] * * * * [ར་ལ]་བ་ཁྱེན་ལྷ * * * *
- 16 འཇུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོའི་དབ་མོག་བཙུན་པོ་དང * * * * * ང་པོ[ང་ནི] །།

17 རྩོམ་ས་མི་གུས་པ་མེད་དེ། བན་རྩལ་དབྱེས་ཤིང་། བ[ཀའ]་སྐྱུལ་[ར་དོ]་རྩོ[ག]་¹⁶

18 ཏན་པ་ཡིན་། །ཤར་རྩོམ་ས་[ན]་རྩུ་འདུག་པ། །མཚོ་ཆེན་* * * * *¹⁷ཉི་[མ]་

19 ཤར་པ་ལོགས་ཀྱི་རྩུལ་པོ་སྟེ། །ལྡོ་བལ་གཞན་དང་མི་འདྲ་[བར]་* * * * * [ག]་

20 ཚོས་བཟང་། །གཙུག་ལག་ཆེ་བས། ། བོད་དང་ཡང་། ། འཕམ་གྱི་སྐྱ * * * * *¹⁸

21 བྱི་དོ་སྟེ། །དང་པོ་རྩུ་རྩེ་ལི་རྩུལ་སར་ལྷགས་ནས། །དེའི་དང་གི་སྤིང་ལོ་[ཉི་བྱ]་¹⁹

22 ཅ་གསུམ་ལོན་། །རྩུལ་རབས་གཅིག་གི་འོག་དུ། །འཕུལ་གྱི་ལྡོ་བཅན་པོ་

23 ཁྱི་སྟོང་²⁰བཅུན་དང་། །རྩུ་རྩེ་ཐེའི་ཚོང་བུན་བུ་ལེང་རུང་ཉེ་གཉིས། །ཆབ་

24 [སྤི]ད་གཅིག་དུ་མོལ་ནས། །ཅང་ཀྱན་གྱི་ལོ་ལ། །ལུན་ཤིང་ཀོང་ཙོ་། །

25 [བཅན]་²¹པོའི་ཁབ་དུ་སྤངས། །ཕྱིས་འཕུལ་གྱི་ལྡོ་བཅན་པོ་ཁྱི་ལྡོ་གཙུག་

26 [བ]ཅན་དང་། །རྩུ་རྩེ་སམ་ལང་ཁའི་འཕྲན་ཤིང་བུན་ཤིན་བུ་རུང་ཉེ་[གཉིས། །]

27 [ཆབ་སྤི]ད་གཅིག་དུ་མོལ་ཉེ། །གཉེན་བཅེས་ནས། །ཀོང་ལྷང་གི་འི་ལོ་[ལ]་

28 [ཀིམ]་ཤིང་²²ཀོང་ཙོ་། །བཅན་པོའི་ཁབ་དུ་སྤངས་ནས། །དཔོན་ལང་དུ་ལྷར་

29 ཉེ་དབྱེས་པ་ལས། །བར་འགའ་མན་རྩལ་གྱི་སོའི་སྟོན་པོས་གནོད་པ་

30 དག་རྩུལ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་། །གཉེན་པའི་ཚབ་གང་དུ་བུ་བ། །ལྷགས་ཐེལ་ཆེན་

31 པོའི་དག་གི་ཆེ། །དམག་སྟོངས་ཀྱིས་མན་ཐོགས་པར་བྱས་པ་དང་། །མན་རྩལ་

32 [བྱ]གས་དོངས་བྱང་དོ་ཚོག་ན། །དབྱེས་སྤྲང་དག་ཀྱང་མ་ཆད་པར་བསྐྱོད་ཉེ། །

33 འདི་ལྟར་ཉེ་ཞིང་གཉེན་པ་ཡིན་ན་། །དཔོན་ལང་གི་རྩལ་ཁོ་ན་ལྟར། །ལྷགས་

34 བྱི་དམ་མབས་པ་ལས། །བཅན་པོ་ཡབ་ལྡོ་འཕུལ་ཁྱི་ལྡོ་སྟོང་བཅུན་གྱི་ལ་

35 ལྡོ་ནས། །སྐམ་དབྱེལ་ཆེན་པོས་དེ། །ཚོས་སྤིང་ཅི་ལ་ཡང་མཁས་ཤིང་གསལ་

36 བུམས་པའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་གྱིས་དེ། །ཕྱི་ནང་མེད་པར། །རྩོམ་བརྒྱད་དུ་ཁམ་སྟེ། །

37 མཐ་བའི་རྩུལ་པོ་ཀྱན་དང་ཡང་མཇལ་ད་ཅིང་འདུམ་པར་མཛད་ན། །རྩུ་དང་ལྡོ་²⁴

38 འིག། །གཉེན་ཅེག་མ། །ལུལ་ཁྱིམ་ཚོས་ཡིན་པས། །ལྡོག་པར་ཆབ་སྤིང་

39 གཅིག་དུ་དབྱེས་ཉེ། །མན་རྩལ་དཔོན་ལང་དགོངས་པ་མཐུན་ནས། །རྩུ་རྩེ་ལེང་

40 [ཤི]ན་བུན་བུ་རུང་ཉེ་དང་། །མཇལ་དུམ་དུ་མོལ་ཉེ། །བཀའ་ཁོན་རྟིང་པ་དེ། །

41 སྐྱུང་སྐྱུང་ཤིང་བསལ་དང །། དབྱེས་པ་གསར་ནི་བསྐྱུང་ཤིང་བསྐྱུང་ནས །། དེ་ཚུན་
 42 ཚད །། བཅན་པོ་དཔོན་ནི་སྐྱུ་ཚེ་གཅིག །། རྒྱ་རྗེ་ལྷན་ནི་གཏུང་རབས་གསུམ་གྱི་
 43 བར་དུ །། བཀའ་ཁིན་གྱི་གཙུགས་ནི་མ་ལུང་། །། དབྱེས་པའི་སྤེལ་བའི་མན་ཚུན་
 44 རྒྱུ་དེ །། རྩ་ཉ་གཅེས་པ་ལས །། བཀའ་སྤྱིན་སྐྱུན་པ་དང །། དཀོར་དོར །།
 45 བཟང་པོས་ནི །། རྒྱན་དུ་འབྱུང་ན །། མཇལ་དུ་མ་གྱི་མདོ་ཚེན་པོ་གཅིགས་
 46 བཅ་བ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡང་མ་གྲུབ །། དཔོན་ལྷན་མོལ་དཔའི་རྗེས་གྲང་ཚད་མ་སྤྱིན་པར་
 47 ལྷགས་དོངས་གྱིས་བཅུལ་ཏེ །། བར་གྱི་གཙུགས་ཉིང་པ་སྤན་ཚེགས་གྱི །།
 48 དོགས་སྤྲིག་གིས །། ལེགས་པ་ཚེན་པོའི་སྐྱུ་དོན །། ལྷི་ལྷིགས་ཤེ་དག་དུ་གྱུར་
 49 ནས །། དག་ཚེས་གྱི་ཐབས་དང །། དམག་བཅུན་པོ་དག་གྲང་མི་དུལ་དུ་མ་
 50 རྒྱུ་སྟེ །། དག་ལྷན་གྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་གྱུར་གྱིས་གྲང །། ཡོང་ཉེ་ལྷན་གཉེན་ལ །།
 51 འབྱུལ་གྱི་ལྟ་བཅན་པོ་ཁྱི་གཙུག་ལྷེ་བཅུན་གྱི་ལ་སྤྱ་ནས །། མཁེན་པ་ནི །།
 52 འབྱུལ་གྱི་ཚུལ་ཆགས །། མཇོང་པ་ནི་ལྷའི་ལྷགས་དང་མཐུན་ཏེ །། བཟུ་²⁵
 53 རྩན་ཚེན་པོས །། ལྷི་ནང་གཉེས་སྤྱོད་མས་ཤིང་། །། དཔུ་ཚོགས་བཅུན །། བཀའ་
 54 ལྷན་གཉེན་ཏེ །། རྒྱ་རྗེ་བུན་བུ་ཉེ་ཉེ་ཉིག་སྲུང་ཏེ་དང་དཔོན་ལྷན་གཉེས །།
 55 འབྱུལ་གྱི་དགོངས་པ་ནི་མཐུན་[ཏེ །། བོད་རྒྱ]འི་ཆབ་སྲིད་ནི་གཅིག་སྟེ །།
 56 བོད་རྒྱ་གཉེས །། རབས་ཁིར་བདེ་སྐྱེད་པའི་མཇལ་དུ་མ་ཚེན་པོ་མཇོང་ནས་
 57 རྒྱ་ལུལ་དུ་ནི །། ཀེང་ཤིའི་ལུལ་ལྷིགས་ཤེགས་སང་མའི་རྒྱུང་དུ །། བོད་ཚེན་
 58 པོའི་ལོའི་མིང་ནི་སྐྱེད་ཉལ་²⁷ལོ་བུན །། རྒྱ་ཚེན་པོའི་ལོའི་མིང་ནི །།
 59 ཅང་ཀེང་ལོ་དང་པོ་ལྷགས་མོ་སྤང་གི་ལོའི་དགུན་སྤྱི་ར་²⁸ཚེས་བཅུ་ལ །།
 60 དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལ་འཛོགས་ན[ས །། རྒྱ་ཡི]ས་གཅིགས་བཟུང་དོ །། བོད་
 61 ལུལ་དུ་ནི །། རོ་བུང་ལྟ་སའི་ཤར་ལྷིགས་²⁹སྤྱོད་ཚུལ་དུ །། བོད་ཚེན་པོའི་
 62 ལོའི་མིང་སྐྱེད་ཉལ་ལོ་བུན །། རྒྱ་ཚེན་པོའི་ལོའི་མིང་ཅང་ཀེང་ལོ་
 63 གཉེས །། རྒྱ་ལོ་སྤྲིག་གི་ལོའི་དབྱར་སྤྱི་འཕྱིང་པོ་ཚེས་ལྷག་ལ །། དཀྱིལ་
 64 འཁོར་ལ་འཛོགས་ཏེ །། བོད་གྱིས་གཅིགས་བཟུང་དོ །། གཅིགས་གྱི་
 65 མདོ་དོ་དོངས་ལ་གྲིས་པ་འདི་ཡང །། བོད་ཚེན་པོའི་ལོའི་མིང་སྐྱེད་ཉལ་

- 66 ལོ་དགུ། རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལོའི་མིང་ཅང་ཀེང་ལོ་གསུམ། རྒྱ་མོ་ཡིས་
- 67 ³⁰ ལྷོ་ལོའི་དབྱར་སྤེལ་ལོ་ཆོས་བརྒྱ་བཞི་ལོ། རྫོང་རིངས་ལ་ཡི་གེ་གྲིས་སོ།།
- 68 རྫོང་རིངས་ལོའི་ལོའི་བའི་སྤྱན་ཡང་། རྒྱའི་མོ་ཉ་ཐབས། ལག་
- 69 ³¹ [ཤིབ] ལང་ཤིང་ཡོང་པ། རྫོང་ཅའི་དང་། ཐབས་ཅན་ཤན་དེ་བུ་ཡོང་པ།
- 70 * * ཀ་ལ་སྤྱོད་གས་པས་བྱས་སོ།། གཅིགས་བྱི་མདོ་རྫོང་རིངས་ལ་གྲིས་པ་ལོའི་
- 71 ³² [དང་ལོ] བ་གཅིག། རྒྱའི་ཡུལ་ཀེང་ཤིང་ཡང་གཙུགས་སོ།།

NOTES ON TEXT OF EAST INSCRIPTION

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

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

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

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

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

6. "Gañs ri mthon po-hi rtsa" appears in the Turkestan documents.

7. "Yul mtho sa gtsaṅ ba-hi gnas" appears in the Turkestan documents.

8. "Gtsug lag ches bas" appears in the Turkestan documents.

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

10. Possibly "tshis". Cf. Das' Dictionary, p. 1282. Bell and Waddell both read "chis". See note 11 on translation.

11. "Dgra thabs mkhas pa-hi" appears in the Turkestan documents.

12. Bell reads "Žan brtsan" and translates "Uncle and Nephew"; but a reference to this relationship between the Tibetan and Chinese kings, which is uniformly described as "Dbon Žaṅ" is premature in connection with Ho Lde Spu Rgyal. There is damage

to the stone above the "ža", and "Žeñ" appears the probable reading.

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

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

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

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

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

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

19. Bell omits; but "rsta gsum" is clear and "ñi sú" is the only possibility.

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

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

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

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

24. Bell and Waddell read "Lha žig".

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

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

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

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

29. Bell reads "Spya". The word is damaged but I am satisfied that it is "Spra".

30. Bell omits “bu”. The phrase “Yos bu lo” appears in Tibetan histories.

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

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

TRANSLATION OF EAST INSCRIPTION ¹

The Divine King of Miracles,² Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan,³ and the Chinese King,⁴ Bhun Bhu He-hu Tig Hvan Te,⁵ having consulted to unite their kingdoms,⁶ inscribed on this stone pillar the nature of the relationship *between Tibet and China*⁷ under the treaty, and the *details* of the terms of the treaty.⁸ The Divine King of Miracles, Ho Lde Spu Rgyal, from the time when this country came into being and the earth emerged,⁹ thereafter *came to be a ruler of men* and became the great king of Tibet. From being a god in Heaven he came to be a king of men in a high country and a pure land, the centre of snowy mountains and the source of great rivers. By *great sciences*¹⁰ he established an enduring kingdom. By excellent religious rule he instituted *good order*. With kindly affection he devoted himself to the affairs of the interior.¹¹ Through knowledge of the arts of war he subdued outer enemies, increased the breadth of his kingdom and *established* its extent and might *firmly* and unchangeably.

After the time of the Great King of the Blessed Swastika,¹² Indian *Mon*¹³ in the south, *the Ta Zig*¹⁴ in the west, Ne Smal¹⁵ and other places of the Dru Gu¹⁶ in the north . . .¹⁷ the king . . . districts . . . and all his *actions* . . . There was no quarter that did not bow to the armed might and . . . power of the Divine King of Miracles. On all sides they happily obeyed whatever he commanded.

In the east is China and the king of the regions where the sun rises *by the shores* of the Ocean; unlike the Nepalese¹⁸ and others in its *practice* of the Excellent Religion and the greatness of its sciences, a rival to Tibet in war and her equal in *pride*.¹⁹ At first when the Chinese King was dwelling in the Li capital,²⁰ when the twenty-third year²¹ of the Great Tan dynasty came, in one generation the Divine King of Miracles, Khri Sroñ Brtsan²² and the Chinese King, The-he Tsoñ²³ Bhun Bu Zeñ Hvan Te

consulted to unite their kingdoms; and in the year of Ceñ Kvan,²⁴ Mun Śeñ Koñ Co²⁵ became the wife of the Tibetan King. Later, the Divine King of Miracles, Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan²⁶ and the Chinese King Sam Lañ Kha-ḥe²⁷ Hgvan Śeñ Bhun Śin Bhū Hvan Te²⁸ consulted to unite their kingdoms and established friendship; and in the year of Keñ Luñ, Kim Śeñ Koñ Co²⁹ became the wife of the Tibetan King. They rejoiced at having become Nephew and Uncle.³⁰ And afterwards for some time, frontier³¹ ministers on both sides took pains to suppress trouble-makers, and being anxious that everything should be done for the sake³² of good relations, they gave military assistance³³ for beneficial purposes. And whatever disagreements there might be, they took care that friendly relations should not be broken. In this way, friendship being close, my father, the Divine King of Miracles, Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan himself, having made a resolution exactly in accordance with the relationship of Nephew and Uncle, being profound in wisdom³⁴ and learned in everything pertaining to religious administration, acting with pure affectionate kindness, protected the eight directions so that there was no difference between the interior and the exterior. And he met with the kings of the four frontiers and arranged treaties. As concerning China,³⁵ there being established friendship and the countries being neighbours, he was pleased moreover to unite the kingdoms. And as Nephew and Uncle agreed in their thoughts, one with the other, he consulted³⁶ concerning a treaty with the Chinese King, Žeñ Śeñ Bhun Bhū Hvan Te.³⁷ Old animosities were purged and cleared away; and with their courts³⁸ continuing the new happy relations, from then onwards, during the lifetime of one Nephew King and for three generations of the Uncle, the Chinese King, there was not even the beginning of animosity. They continued to render respect to one another with pleasure; and, treating envoys with affection, the communication of kind greetings, and rich and valuable presents regularly passed between them. But the details of a treaty were not brought to completion in the form of a ratified agreement. The Nephew and Uncle were prevented by some disagreements³⁹ from concluding the course of their discussions.⁴⁰ On account of some trifling old dissensions of the past, their design for great good later became somewhat slightly changed. But as it was not proper that ways of hostility and cruel wars⁴¹ should not be suppressed,⁴² and as matters had come to a condition that was

neither one of enmity nor of friendship,^{41a} the Divine King of Miracles, Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan himself, for the sake of close friendship in the future, with full understanding, established the sublime⁴³ relationship of affection and, in accordance with the law of God, by great kindness, making the exterior equal with the interior, being powerful in arms and strict in his commands, he together with the Chinese King, Bhun Bhu He-hu Tig Hvan Te, agreed in their sublime thoughts and united the kingdoms of Tibet and China. And when they had made the great treaty by which Tibet and China shall enjoy happiness for ten thousand years, in China near Śeg Sañ Sa⁴⁴ to the west of Keñ Śi,⁴⁵ in the seventh year of Continuous Prosperity⁴⁶ as it is called in Great Tibet—the first year of Cañ Keñ,⁴⁷ the female Iron Ox year as it is called in Great China—on the tenth day of an early winter month, China ascended the altar and ratified the agreement. And in Tibet at the Spra Stod⁴⁸ park to the east of the Palace of Lhasa, in the eighth year of Continuous Prosperity as it is called in Great Tibet—the second year of Cañ Keñ, the male Water Tiger year, as it is called in Great China—on the sixth day of the middle summer month, Tibet ascended the altar and ratified the agreement. And this account of the agreement inscribed on the stone pillar was written on the stone pillar in the ninth year of Continuous Prosperity as it is called in Great Tibet—the third year of Cañ Keñ, the female Water Hare year as it is called in Great China—on the fourteenth day of the middle month of spring. And this inscribed pillar was examined⁴⁹ by the Chinese envoy Do Tse-he⁵⁰ with the rank of Hgu Śi-hu Žañ Śiñ, and by . . . Ka*hu, with the rank of Tsan Śan De Bhu, and others. A *copy* of the account of the solemn agreement inscribed on the stone pillar has been set up also in China at Keñ Śi.

NOTES ON TRANSLATION OF EAST INSCRIPTION

1. The lines have been numbered here and in the west inscription to facilitate reference. Italics show reconstruction of damaged passages.

2. Hphrul Gyi Lha Btsan-po. See note 5 on Sañs Rgyas Dgon-pa inscription. *JRASB.* for 1949.

3. Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan, Ral-pa-cen, reigned from 816 ? to 841 ? Waddell wrongly reads “ Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan ”.

4. It would be possible to differentiate between “ Btsan-po ”

and "Rgya Rje" by translating the latter as "the Chinese Sovereign, or Ruler", but it seems unnecessary to do so.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17. "Gya" is unintelligible owing to the damaged passage that follows. It might stand for "ya" or there may have been reference to the Gyag drug or Gya drug, an old name for some divisions of Tibet.

18. Tsha Sprul Rinpoche thinks that “Lho Bal” here stands for “Lho Pa”—i.e. “savages”—and that the passage means that, unlike the Lho Pa, the Chinese were followers of Buddhism. But “Lho Bal” is regularly used for Nepal in the Tun Huang Annals and I take the passage to mean that the Chinese differed from the Nepalese in their practice of Buddhism and in their sciences.

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

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

21. A.D. 640.

22. Sroñ Brtsan Sgam Po. Reigned from A.D. ? 620 to 650.

23. A.D. 627–648.

24. The regnal period of T'ai Tsung.

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

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

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

28. ? Shên Lung era, A.D. 705–707.

29. In spite of Tibetan tradition, this Princess, Chinch'eng, an adopted daughter of the Emperor, was not the mother of Khri Sroñ Lde Brtsan, for the Tun Huang Annals show that she died three years before his birth. The tradition that she was betrothed to Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan's son, the Prince of Ljañ, but had to marry the king in his old age because the Prince died, is also shown to be

wrong, for Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan was only six when the Princess reached Tibet in A.D. 710. From the T'ang Annals it appears that negotiations for the marriage began in about 706 and this is supported by the reference above to the Shên Lung period. It appears that a decision was reached in the Keñ Luñ (King Lung) period—707-710.

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

31. "So" according to Tsha Sprul Rinpoche is the equivalent of "so mtshams" "frontier", not "each" as translated by Bell. Cf. Padma Bkañ Thañ, f. 119 rev. "Phyi yi so bsruñs".

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

33. Bell translates "stoñs" as "a thousand", mistaking it for "stoñ".

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

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

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

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

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

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

40. My advisers agree that this sentence means that the kings were not able to conclude their negotiations. "brtsal" seems to mean "were prevented" rather than "were assiduous". The sentence might, however, be translated as "being careful on account of some disagreements not to break off the course of the negotiations", but the grammar in that case would be loose. It seems

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

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

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

42. The meaning of "rñul" is doubtful here as in line 29.

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

44. Bell reads "Śeg Na-hi Sa".

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

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

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

48. The Spra Stod park is not identifiable.

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

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

TEXT OF WEST INSCRIPTION

- 1 ༄ || བོད་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་
- 2 འཕུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་དང་།
- 3 རྒྱའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་རྒྱ་རྗེ་ལྷ་ཏེ།
- 4 དབོན་ལྷ་གཉིས། ། ལབ་སྟེན་

5 གཅིག་རུ་མོལ་ནས། མཇལ་རུམ་
 6 ཚེན་པོ་མཇོང་དེ་གཅིག་ས་བཅས་
 7 ཡ། ཉམ་ཉམ་ཡང་མི་འགྱུར་བ[ར།]¹
 8 ལྡ་མི་ཀུན་[བྱི]སྟོ་ཤེས་ཤིང་དཔང་བྱ[ས]³
 9 ཏེ⁴། ཚེ་ཚེ་[འི་མི་རབས་ཀྱི་གཏམ་བ]རྗོ[ར]⁵
 10 རུ་ཡོད་པའི་[བྱིར།⁶ ། གཅིག་ས་]
 11 ཀྱི་མདོ་རྟོ་རིངས་[ལ་ཐིས་པའོ]⁷
 12 ༄། འཇུལ་བྱི་[ལྡ་བཙན་པོ་ཐི་གཙུག་]
 13 ལྡེ་བཙན་བྱི་[ཉ་ལྡ་ནས། ། རྒྱ་རྗེ་]
 14 ལྡན་བྱ་དེའི་ཏེ་[ག་རྒྱང་ཏེ་དང་། ། དཔོན་]
 15 ཉང་གཉིས། ། [སྐམ་དཀྱལ་ཚེན་པོས]⁸
 16 རི། ། [འཇུལ་ལྡན་ལྡལ་བྱི་]ལེགས་
 17 ཉེས་ཅི་[ཡང་བསྐྱུང་སྟེ། །] ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཚེན་
 18 པོས་ཤི། ། བཀའ་རྟོན་བྱིས་དགའ་པ་
 19 ལ་བྱི་ནང་མེད་པས། ། ། མང་པོ་ཀུན་བདེ་
 20 རྒྱུད་པར་བྱ་བ་ལ་ནི་དགོངས་པ་གཅིག།
 21 ལྡན་རིང་པོར་ལེགས་པའི་དོན་ཚེན་པོ་
 22 ལ་ནི་བཀའ་རྟོན་མ་ལྡན་ཏེ། ། གཉེན་
 23 རྒྱུང་པའི་སྟེང་ལྡ་[ནི་དང་ལྡའི]¹⁰ལྡིམ་ཚོས་
 24 དཀྱེས་པའི་ཚུལ་[སྐར་རུ]¹⁰བ་ཚིག་པར་
 25 མོལ་ནས། ། མཇལ་རུམ་ཚེན་པོའོ་
 26 མཇོང་དེ། ། པོད་བྱ་གཉིས། ། ད་ལྟར་
 27 ལྡ་མངའ་བའི་ལྡལ་དང་མཚོམས་སྐྱུང་
 28 ཉིང། ། དེའི་ཤར་ལྡོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ནི་
 29 རྒྱ་ཚེན་པོའི་ལྡལ། ། ལུལ་ལྡོགས་ཐམས་
 30 ཅད་ནི་ཡང་ཐག་པར་བོད་ཚེན་པོའི

31 ལུལ་ཏེ། ། དེ་ལས་པན་ཚུན་དགའ་མི་
 32 འཐབ། ། དམག་མི་དྲང། ལུལ་མི་
 33 མནམ། ། ཡིད་མ་ཆེས་པ་དེག་ཡོད་
 34 ན། ། མི་བབྱང་ཞིང་གཏམ་དེས་ཏེ། །
 35 བཟངས་ནས་ཕྱིར་གཏང་ངོ། །
 36 ད་ཆབ་སྲིད་གཅིག་ཅིང། ། མཇལ་
 37 ཅུམ་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་ལྟར་མཛོད་པས། །
 38 དཔོན་ཞང་དབྱེས་པའི་བཀའ་སྲིན་
 39 ལྟན་པས་ཀྱང་འདུལ་དགོས་ཏེ། །
 40 པན་ཚུན་གྱི་མོ་ཉ་འདོད་བ་ཡང། ། ལམ་
 41 ལྟེང་པར་བྱུང་ནས། ། ལྷ་ལྷགས་བཞིན་
 42 ། ། མོད་རྒྱ་གཉིས་གྱི་བར། ། ཚང་ཀུན་
 43 ཡོག་ཏུ་ཉ་བཟེས་ལ། ། ལྷེ་ལྷང་ཆེག་ཏུ་
 44 རྒྱ་དང་སྤར་བ་མན་ཅད་ནི་རྒྱས་སུ་ཏུར་
 45 བ། ། ཚང་ལྷ་ཏུན་ཏུ་མོད་དང་སྤར་བ་
 46 ཡན་ཅད་ནི་མོད་ཀྱིས་སུ་ཏུར་བ་སྟེ། །
 47 དཔོན་ཞང་ཉེ་ཞིང་གཉེན་པའི་རྩལ་བཞིན་
 48 ཏུ། ། མི་ལྷ་དང་བཀྱར་སྟེའི་ལྷགས་
 49 ཡོད་པར་སྐྱར་ཏེ། ། ལུལ་གཉིས་གྱི་
 50 བར་ན་ཏུར་རྣལ་ནི་མི་སྟངས། ། མོ་ལྷར་
 51 ཏུ་སྤང་བ་དང་དགའི་མིང་ནི་མི་གས་སྟེ་
 52 ས་མཚོམས་སྤང་བའི་མི་ཡན་ཅད་
 53 ཀྱང་དོགས་ཤིང་འཛིགས་པ་ཆེད་པར་
 54 ས་ས་མལ་མལ་ན་པག་བརྒྱད་སྟེ། ། བདེ་
 55 བར་འཁོད་ཅིང། ། ལྷོད་པའི་བཀའ་དོན་
 56 ནི་རབས་ཁྱིའི་བར་ཏུ་མོབ། ། ལྟན་པའི་
 57 ལྷ་སྟར་ནི་གཉི་ལྷས་སྟེམས་སོ་ཚོག་ཏུ་
 58 ལབ་སྟེ། ། མོད་མོད་ལུལ་ན་སྐྱེད།

- 59 རྩ་རྩ་ཡུལ་ན་སྐྱིད་པའི་སྤྲིད་ཆེན་པོ་
60 སྤྱད་ནས་གཅིག་ས་བཅས་པ་འདི། །
61 བམ་ཉར་མི་འགྱུར་བར། །དཀོན་མཆོག་
62 གསུམ་དང། །འཕགས་པའི་རྣམས་དང་
63 གཉི་ལྷ་དང་གཟ་སྐྱར་ལ་ཡང་དཔང་རུ་
64 ར་སོལ་ཏེ། །ཐ་ཚོག་གི་རྣམས་པས་ཀྱང་
65 བཤད། །སྤོག་ཆགས་བསད་དེ་མནའ་
66 ཡང་བོད་ནས། །གཅིག་ས་བཅས་སོ།
67 གཅིག་ས་འདི་བཞིན་རུ་མ་བྱས་སམ།¹¹
68 བཤེག་ན། །བོད་རྩ་གཉིས་གང་གིས་ལྟར་ཉེས་
69 པ་ལ་སྤྲིག་ཅིང། །ལན་རུ་དཀྱ་སྐྱུ་ཅི་བྱས་ཀྱང་
70 གཅིག་ས་བཤེག་པ་ལ་མ་གཏོགས་སོ། །
71 འདི་ལྟར་བོད་རྩ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་སློན་གྱིས་ཉལ་
72 གྱིས་བཤགས་མནའ་བོད་ཏེ། །གཅིག་ས་
73 རྩ་ཡི་གེ་ཞིབ་མོར་བྲིས་པས། །རྩལ་པོ་ཆེན་
74 པོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དེ་ལྷག་རྩས་བཏབ། །སློན་པོ་
75 གཅིག་ས་འཛོན་པ་ལ་གཏོགས་པ་རྣམས་
76 རྩ་དེ་ལག་ཡིག་རུ་བྲིས་ཏེ། །གཅིག་ས་ཀྱི་
77 ཡི་གེ་ཡང་སོ་སོའི་བྲག་སྤལ་¹³རུ་བཞག་གོ།

NOTES ON TEXT OF WEST INSCRIPTION

1. There is one damaged letter which must be "ra".
2. The remains of what appears to be a "gi gu" are visible and there is space for two letters.
3. In Bushell's estampage this looks like "lta"; but the letter is damaged. There is no "tshag" after "bya" and as the word which follows is "te" the reading "byas" is inevitable.
4. Lines 9 to 17 are badly damaged and the reconstructions which follow are mainly based on the translations from Chinese sources by Amiot and Bushell.

5. The Chinese versions have “ in order that all posterity may be instructed in accordance with what has been made between them ” (Amiot) ; and “ in order that all ages and generations may resound in praise ” (Bushell). “ myi rabs kyi gtam brjod ” appears in the prayers at the founding of the frontier Lha Khañ (Thomas, loc. cit., p. 74). Waddell reads “ brjod ” ; and “ rjo ” is still clearly visible on the stone. My reconstruction is perhaps one letter too long and the “ hi ” in “ tshe-hi ” might possibly be omitted.

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

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

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

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

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

11. Bell reads “ bžin dum byas sam ” but it is clearly “ bžin du ma byas ”.

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

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

TRANSLATION OF WEST INSCRIPTION ¹

The great King of Tibet, the Divine King of Miracles, and the great King of China, the Chinese Ruler, Hvañ Te, the Nephew and Uncle,² consulted together to unite their kingdoms ; and they made a great treaty and ratified the agreement.

So that it may never be changed,³ Gods and men,⁴ who know all, stand witness. And *in order to inform all posterity of what has been*

done, an account ⁵ of the *agreement has been engraved* on a stone pillar.

The Divine King of Miracles, *Khri Gtsug* ⁶ Lde Brtsan and the *Chinese King*, Ḅhun Ḅhu He-̣hu Tig *Hvañ Te*, *Nephew* and Uncle, *with far reaching wisdom*, guarding against anything that may harm the good of their countries at present or in the future, with great compassion, covering all with their benevolence and making no difference between inner and outer,⁷ with the one desire that all their acts may be for the peace and good of the many, and agreeing in their counsels for the high purpose of securing lasting good, have consulted to establish again the former ancient friendship and mutual respect and the happy condition of rejoicing in *the old* neighbourly relationship, and they have made this great treaty.

Tibet and China shall keep the frontiers of which they now ⁸ hold possession. All to the east is the country of Great China. All to the west is assuredly the country of Great Tibet. Henceforth, on either side, there shall be no enmity, no making of war and no seizure of territory.⁹ Should there be any suspicious person, he shall be arrested ¹⁰; his business shall be inquired into and he shall be escorted back.¹¹

Now that they have united their kingdoms and made this great treaty, as it is necessary to communicate ¹² friendly messages concerning the happy relations between Nephew and Uncle, envoys shall again be sent by the old route ¹³; and, according to the former custom, horses shall be changed at Tsañ Kun Yog, the boundary between Tibet and China. At Stse Žuñ Cheg the Chinese are met; from there onwards China shall provide facilities. At Tseñ Śu Hvañ the Tibetans are met; from there onwards Tibet shall provide facilities.¹⁴ They ¹⁵ shall be treated in a manner of honour and respect according to the custom of affectionate regard between Uncle and Nephew. Between the two countries no smoke or dust shall be seen. There shall be no sudden alarms and the very name of enemy shall not be spoken. From the frontier guards upwards, all shall stretch out at ease, their land being their land and their bed their bed,¹⁶ so that there shall be no anxiety nor fear. They shall live in peace and win the blessing of happiness for ten thousand years. The sound of praise shall cover all places reached by the sun and moon.

Having established this great period in which Tibet shall be happy in the land of Tibet and China shall be happy in the land of China

and in order that the solemn agreement now made shall never be changed, the Three Precious Ones, the assembly of Saints,¹⁷ the Sun and Moon, Planets and Stars have been invoked as witnesses. The solemn words have been uttered ; animals have been sacrificed ; the oath has been taken ; and the agreement has been ratified. If the parties do not act in accordance with this agreement¹⁸ or if they violate it, whichever, be it Tibet or China, first commits an offence to damage it, any stratagem or guile undertaken in retaliation shall not be considered a breach of the agreement.¹⁹

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

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION OF THE WEST INSCRIPTION

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

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

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

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

5. Or “ summary ”, cf. “ mdor na ”, “ in short ”.

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

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

8. Or “ which they hitherto hold ”.

9. Tsha Sprul Rinpoche thinks “ Yul myi mnam ” is the equivalent of “ yul myi rnam, men of the country ”, but it appears a clear parallel to “ dgrar myi hthab, dmag myi drañ ” which precede it. Both Amiot and Bushell have “ there shall be no encroachment of each other’s territory ” ; and I take “ mnam ” to be connected with “ snom, bsnam ” to seize or take.

10. "Myi" must here be "the man", not a negative. The Chinese versions have "he shall be arrested".

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

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

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

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

15. i.e. the envoys.

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

17. "Hphags pa" by itself is a designation of the Buddha. "Hphags pa rnam" covers the deities and Bodhisattvas such as Sphyan ras gzigs.

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

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

TEXT OF NORTH INSCRIPTION ¹

- 1 ༄ || བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་སློན་པོ་ཆེ་སྣ་མཇལ་
 རུམ་གྱི་གཅིག་ལ་འཇིག་པ་ལ་གཏོགས་
 པའི་ཐབས་དང་མྱིང་རུས་ལ །།
- 2 ༄ || བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་ཆབ་སྲིད་གྱི་སློན་པོ་ཆེན་
 [པོ]་བཀའ་ལ་གཏོགས་པའི་ཐབས་དང་མྱིང་
 རུས་[།།]
- 3 ༄ || བཀའ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་གཏོགས་ཏེ་མྱི་དང་

[གཉི]²སྐ་ལ་དབང་ཉིང་ཆབ་སྲིད་འཇིག་[པ]་

[ལ]³སྲོན་ཆེན་པོ་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོན་[དན]⁴||

4 [༦ ||] * * [སྲོན་ད]⁵མག་གོ་ཚོག་གི་[སྲོན་སྲ]⁶ད་མི་སྲུམ་རྗེ་

[སྲིག་ལྟ]⁶||

5 [༦ ||] * * སྲོན་ཆེན་པོ་སྲོན་ལྟོ་ * * * * *

6 [༦ ||] སྲུང་སྲོན་[ཆེན]་པོ་ན་དམག * * * * *

* * * བཟང [||]

7 [༦ ||] ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་སྲོན་[པོ]་ཆེན་པོ་[ཉང]་ལྷ[ལ་མི]་

[མདོ་གཟིགས]⁷||

8 [༦ ||] ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་སྲོན་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་སྲོན་[མཚིམས]་

[ཉང་ལྷལ་བཅན་པ]⁸[ཉེ]⁸[ར]⁸||

9 [༦ ||] ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་སྲོན་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཉང་མི་[བཅན]⁹་

ཁོང་ནི་སྟངས་||

10 [༦ ||] ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་སྲོན་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཉང་མི་བཞེད་

ལྟ་མཐོངས་||

11 [༦ ||] ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་སྲོན་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་སྲོན་ལྷལ་བཟང་

འདུས་ཤིངས་||

12 [༦ ||] བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་སྲོན་པོ་ཕལ་གྱི་ཐབས་དང་

མིང་རྒྱས་||

13 [༦ ||] ཉང་སྲོན་མཚིམས་ཉང་ལྷལ་བཞེད་ཁོང་ནི་

བཅུན་||

14 [༦ ||] ལྷོ་སྲོན་བཀའ་ལ་གཏོགས་པ་ཚོག་རྩ་

སྲོན་བཅན་བཞེད་ལྟོ་གོངས་||

15 [༦ ||] ལྷུམ་ལྷོ་པ་མཚིམས་ཉང་བཅན་བཞེད་སྟག་

ཚབ་||

16 [༦ ||] མངན་པོན་ཁབ་སོའོ་ཚོག་གི་སྲུང་འབལ་སྲོན་

སྲུང་བཟང་ལྷུས་རྒྱ་||

- 17 ། ། བཀའི་ རྩིན་སློན་ལྷན་ཀ་སློན་སྐྱུག་བཞེར་རྟམ་
ཀེན །
- 18 ། ། ཅེས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་རྒྱལ་སློན་སྐྱུག་
ཟེགས་ལྷན་ཀོལ །
- 19 ། ། ལྷི་སློན་ལམོ་ཞང་སྲུ་བཟང་ལྷ་པོ་བཙུན །
- 20 ། ། ལལ་ཅེ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ལལ་ཅེའོ་ཚོག་གི་
* * ། ལྷང་སློན་རྒྱལ་ལྷན་ལེགས་ཅན །¹¹ ¹²

NOTES ON TEXT OF NORTH INSCRIPTION

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

2. There is space for two letters which makes the reading “gñi” more probable than “gi”.

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

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

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

6. The name is reconstructed from Dpah-bo Gtsug Lag’s list.

7. As in note 6.

8. The name is reconstructed from the Chinese text.

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

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

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

Tibetan as *dan kyog*, repeated here to mark the end of the inscription.

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

TRANSLATION OF THE TIBETAN TEXT OF THE NORTH INSCRIPTION ¹

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

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

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

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

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

6. The Great Guñ Blon, *General* . . . *Lha Bzañ*.

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

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

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

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

11. The Great Minister of the Kingdom, Minister Rgyal Bzañ *Hdus Koñ*.

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

13. Minister of the Interior Mchims *Žaṅ Rgyal Bžer Khod Ne Brtsan*.

14. Minister of the Exterior, privy to the King's commands, Cog Ro Blon ⁵ Btsan Bžer Lho Goñ.

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

16. On behalf of the Palace Officials,⁷ the senior Mñan Pon ⁸ *Hbal Blon Klu Bzañ Myes Rma*.

17. The Minister for announcing orders,⁹ Bran Ka Blon Stag Bžer Hab Ken.

18. The Great Astrologer¹⁰ Rñegs Blon Stag Zigs Rgan Kol.

19. The Minister of the Exterior, Hbro Žaṅ Glu Bzaṅ Lha Bo Brstan.

20. On behalf of the Judges,¹¹ the Great Judge Myaṅ Blon Rgyal N̄en Legs Tsan.

NOTES ON TRANSLATION OF NORTH INSCRIPTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. Mñan pon. From the modern meaning, “curse,” Waddell

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

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

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

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

TEXT OF SOUTH INSCRIPTION ¹

- 1 ༄ || ལྷ་ཆེན་པོའི་སློན་པོ་ཆེ་སྲུང་མཇལ་རུམ་གྱི་
 གཙུག་ལག་སྲོལ་འཇུག་པ་ལ་གཏོགས་པའི་གྲགས་
- [ལྷ་ཆེན་པོའི་སློན་པོ་ཆེ་སྲུང་མཇལ་རུམ་གྱི་]
- 2 [༄ || ལྷ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཆབ་སྲིད་གྱི་སློན་པོ་ [ཆེན་པོ་] .
 [གཙུག་ལག་སྲོལ་འཇུག་པ་ལ་གཏོགས་པའི་གྲགས་རང་ཕྱིང་] .
 [ལྷ་ཆེན་པོའི་]

3 [ལྷ ||] * * རེ་མུ་ནི་ཕྱེ་མུ་ * * * * ག *
* * [བཀའ]་ཚེན་པོ་ལ་གོ་གས་པ་
* * ||

4 [ལྷ || * * རེ་མུ་ནི་ཕྱེ་མུ་] * * * * * *
[བཀའ]་ཚེན་པོ་ལ་ [གོ་གས་པ] * *

5 [ལྷ || ལྷ་ཕྱེ་མུ་རེ་མུ་ནི་ཕྱེ་མུ་] * * * * [མ] བས་
[ཡོ] ར་པ་བཀའ་ཚེན་པོ་ལ་གོ་གས་ [ཡ] * * མ ||

6 ལྷ || ལྷ་ཕྱེ་མུ་རེ་མུ་ནི་ཕྱེ་མུ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ * * * མལས་
ཡོ་ལ་བཀའ་ཚེན་པོ་ལ་གོ་གས་ [ཡ] * * *
ལྷ ||

7 ལྷ || * * ལག་ [རེ་མུ] * * ལོ་ * * [མལས]་ཡོ་ལ་
[ཡ]་བཀའ་ཚེན་པོ་ལ་གོ་གས་པ་ * * * * ར ||

8 ལྷ || ལྷ་ཚེན་པོ་ལ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་
[ལྷ] ||

9 ལྷ || ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་
[མལ] མ་ཡོ་ལ་ལྷ་ལྷ ||

10 [ལྷ ||] * * ལག་ལང་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་
[ཡ]་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ ||

11 [ལྷ ||] * * ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་
* * ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ ||

12 [ལྷ] || ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་
མལས་ཡོ་ལ་ལྷ་ལྷ ||

13 ལྷ || ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་
[མལས]་ཡོ་ལ་ལྷ་ལྷ ||

14 ལྷ || ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་
[ལྷ]་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་
[ཡ]་ལྷ་ལྷ ||

- 15 [༡] || ཐ[འི་ཙང]་དའི་ཕུ་ལེའི་ཕོ་ནང་ཕུ་ཀྱམ་ * * *
 [ཐབས]་ཡོང་པ || ཐའི་ཕུ ||
- 16 ༡ || * ང་གི་དེའི་ཕུ་ནི་ཉུ་ཀེང་ཅེ་ཉུ་ཕུན་ཀྱམ་འཕུ་[ཤི]་
 དའི་ཕུ་ཐབས་ཡོང་པ་ལི་ཉུ་གོང་ཅག ||
- 17 ༡ || འགོན་ཚང་ཀྱང་ལོག་དའི་ ཉུ་ཀམ་ཀུ་ཉུ་ཀོང་ཕོ་
 * ཀྱམ་ཙ་ཀམ * འི་དའི་ཙང་ཀྱན་གྱི་ཐབས་ཡོང་
 པ་ཀྱག་ཚུང ||
- 18 [༡] || རྩ་ཅང་དའི་[ཐའི་ཤ་དའི་ཕུ] * ང་ཀྱམ་འཕུ་ཤི་ར *
 * * ཀྱམ * [ཙ་པ] || ལུ་འཕྱན་ཚང ||
- 19 [༡] || རྩ་ལགལ་དའི་ཕུ་ནང་ཕུ་རྩ་ལི་ * ང་ལྷང་ཀྱམ་འ *
 ལྷང་ཤིང་གི་ཐབས་ཡོང་པ་ལེ་ཉུ་ཤི་ལུ ||
- 20 ༡ || ཙིང་ནི * དེ * ལྷང་ཀེང་ནང་ཕུ་ཀྱག་ལོག་
 * རི * * * * * ཙང་ * * [དའི་ཕུ] * * * [ཐབས]་
 ཡོང་པ་ལི * * *
- 21 [༡] || རྩ་ཅང་[དའི་ཕུ]་ནིང * * * * ང * * *
 * * ཀོ་ * ཀྱམ

TRANSLATION OF SOUTH INSCRIPTION

1. The ranks, names and lineage of the Ministers of Great China, greater and lesser, privy to the execution of the solemn agreement of the treaty.
2. The ranks, names and lineage of the Great Ministers of Great China, privy to the King's commands.
3. . . Da-he Pu Ži-hu Cuñ Hva privy to the King's great commands.
4. . . Da-he Pu Ži-hu Cuñ privy to the King's great commands.
5. With the rank of Śi Chuñ Da-he Pu Ži-hu Chuñ privy to the King's great commands : Pha.
6. With the rank of Chuñ Dha-hi Phu Ži-hu Žan Śu Ho Bho Žha privy to the King's great commands: Lhañ.

7. With the rank of . . Hgi Da-he Pu . . Bho . . . privy to the King's great commands.

8. The ranks, names and lineage of the ordinary ministers of Great China.

9. With the rank of Kim Tsha Kvan Log Da-he Pu Žaň Šu Dza Bho *Ga Li-ha* : Han Ka-hu.

10. With the rank of . . Hgi Laň Hgu Ši Cuň Šin : Hga-hu Šin Žu.

11. With the rank of . i Cuň Da-he Pu Ghem Le-hu Žaň Šu Tsa Bog Ya . . Žaň Šu : Li Kha-ha.

12. With the rank of Hgin Tshen Kvaň Log Da-he Phhu Ho Po Žaň Šu . . : Yaň Au Liň.

13. With the rank of Thoň Gi Da-he Phu Šhi-hu Lhe-hi Bho Žaň Šu . . : Hbu-hi Ži-hu.

14. With the rank of Hgin Tseň Kvag Log Da-he Pu Ken Ke-hu Šhu Tsa Bog Ya Kyam Tha-hi Šaň Keň : Ca hu Tsoň Žu.

15. With the rank of Tha-hi Coň Da-he Phu Le-hi Bho Žaň Šu Kyam . . . : Bha-hi Bu.

16. With the rank of . eň Gi Da-he Phu Ži-hu Keň Ce-hu Yun Kyam Hgu Ši Da-he Phu : Le-hu Goň Cag.

17. With the rank of Hgin Tsheň Kvoň Log Da-he Phu Kem Khe-hu Koň Bho . Kyam Tsa Kim . . hi Da-hi Caň Kun : Kvag Chuň.

18. The Dza-hu Ceň Da-he *Pu-hi Ša De-hi* . . n Kyam Hgu Ši D. . . Kyam Tsa : La-hu Hkvan Cheň.

19. With the rank of *Dza-hu Hgal* Da-hi Pu Žaň Su Dza Ši . . n. Žuň Kyam H . Žuň Šin : Le-hu Ši La-hu.

20. With the rank of Ciň Ži . . n . e Cuň Keň Žaň Šu Kvag Log. Zi can . . *Da-he Phu* . . . : Li

21. The *Dza-hu* Ceň *Da-he Phu Žeň* u n : Ko . . *Kyam*

NOTES ON SOUTH INSCRIPTION

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

For lack of reference books I have not attempted to render the Chinese titles into English but I am told that "Žaň Šu" and "Da He Pu", which appear frequently, stand for Chief Minister and Assistant Minister respectively. I give the few instances where

the Chinese text, as rendered by Min Wang, is nearly complete in order to show Tibetan transliterations of Chinese as spoken in T'ang times. The numbers refer to the paragraphs of the text.

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

(Lhasa, 1949-1950.)

ADDENDUM

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

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