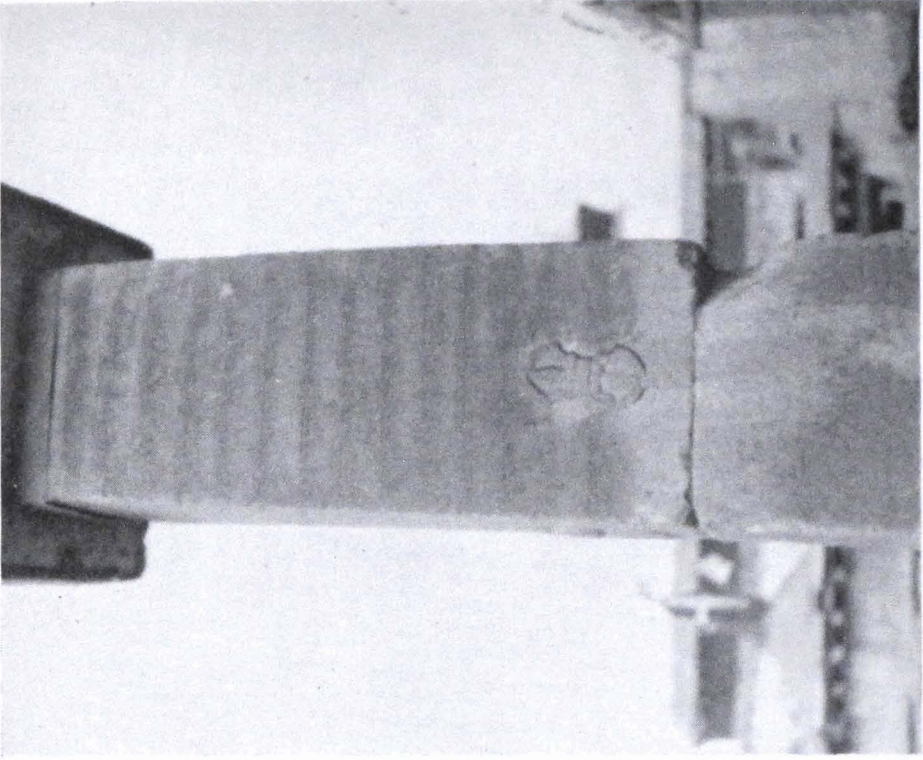


A Tibetan Inscription from  
Rgyal Lha-khañ; and a Note on  
Tibetan Chronology  
from A.D. 841 to A.D. 1042

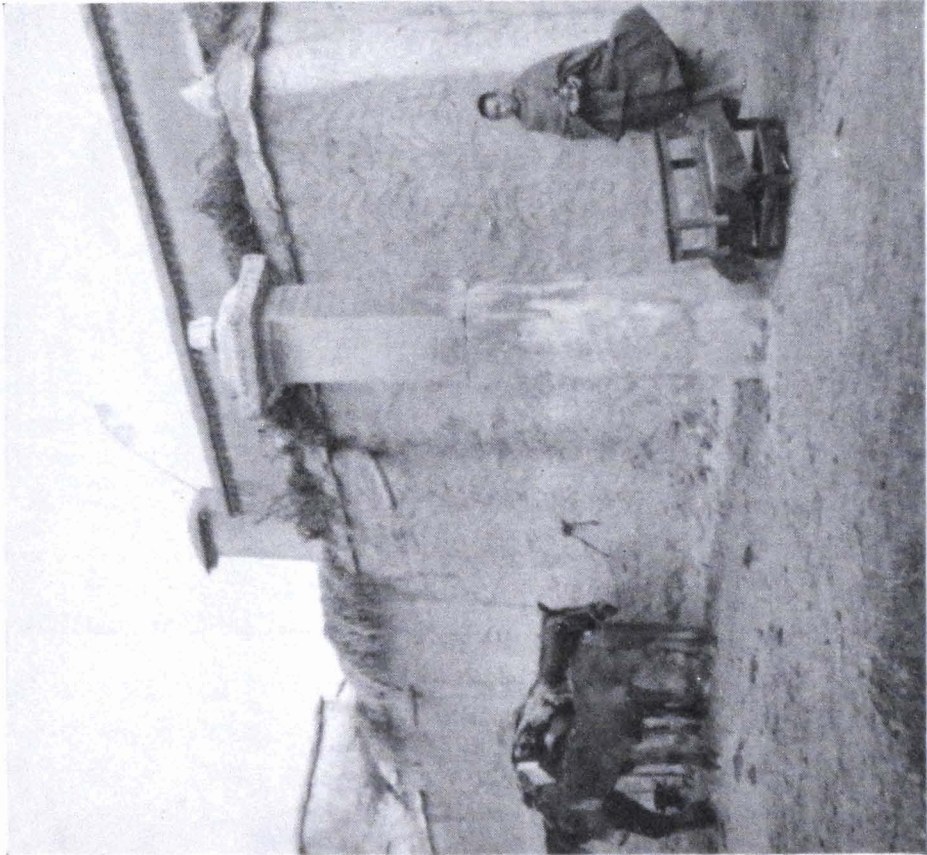
BY

H. E. RICHARDSON

[From the JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, APRIL, 1957.]



East face, upper half.



Rgyal Lha-Khañ. The pillar from the S.E.



East face, lower half.

A TIBETAN INSCRIPTION FROM RGYAL  
LHA-KHAÑ; AND A NOTE ON TIBETAN  
CHRONOLOGY FROM A.D. 841 TO A.D. 1042

BY H. E. RICHARDSON

ACCORDING TO THE *Deb-ther Sñon-po* of Hgos Lo-tsa-ba the *lha-khañ* of Rgyal Lug-lhas in Hphan-po was founded by Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug in A.D. 1012 during the early years of the restoration of Buddhism after its suppression by Glañ-dar-ma. The outline of that revival, known in Tibetan as *Bstan-pa phyi-dar*—the Later Spreading of the Doctrine—is vague and the details scanty and uncertain. From the *Deb-sñon* (*Deb-ther Sñon-po*) it can be gathered that, although in Central Tibet the religion could be practised only in secret, in parts of the kingdom remote from the capital—such as Mña-ris in the west and Khams in the east—there remained communities of Buddhist teachers untouched by the persecution.

There is one tradition, connected with the name of Rin-chen-bzañ-po, that the *Bstan-pa phyi-dar* began in the West; and the *Ladakh Rgyal-rabs* describes Glañ-dar-ma's descendants, beginning with his son Hhod-sruñs (Hhod-sruñ) whose grandson established several kingly families in West Tibet, as supporters of Buddhism. It was one of this family who later invited the Pandit Atiśa from India. On the other hand, Buddhism in Eastern Tibet is said to have been reinforced and stimulated by the Three Learned Men of Tibet—*Bod-kyi mkhas-pa mi gsum*—who fled from Dbus to A-mdo during the persecution by Glañ-dar-ma. Their first pupil was Blachen-po Dge-ba-gsal who later became a famous teacher and established a line of disciples many of whom took part in restoring religion to Central Tibet. It is said that the Three Learned Men made their way first to Mña-ris before reaching A-mdo. That story may be intended to bridge the claims of the west and those of the east to have started the revival; but it seems most probable that it was the eastern reservoir of Buddhism which in due course provided the first wave of missionaries; and Hgos recounts how teachers from Khams found their way to Central Tibet and gradually succeeded in building many *lha-khañ* in the sixty-four years before the coming of Atiśa—that is to say from about A.D. 978 onwards. Chief among these teachers were Klu-mes Śes-rab-tshul-khrims and Sum-pa Ye-śes-blos-gros who had originally gone, with eight

others, from Dbus and Gtsañ into Khams where they were ordained and whence they later returned to spread the Doctrine in their homeland. One group of the followers of Klu-mes, known as the Four Pillars, included Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug, the founder of Rgyal Lug-lhas. Tradition seeks to link these men of Dbus and Gtsañ backwards with the Three Learned Men through Bla-chen-po and forwards with Atiśa through Sum-pa who is said to have been alive when the Pandita arrived in Tibet. But Hgos Lo-tsa-ba, exceptionally careful for a Tibetan historian, is cautious about accepting these traditions and candidly admits doubts and difficulties about the chronology of the period. From a number of his calculations relating to Chinese history the date when the *Deb-sñon* was written can be fixed as A.D. 1478. Working back from that date Hgos puts the coming of Atiśa in A.D. 1042 which, from other considerations too, is acceptable. On the basis of the Chinese records used by him for the chronology of the first book of his history the date of Glañ-dar-ma's suppression of Buddhism clearly falls in A.D. 841. But when Hgos, in his second book, examines Tibetan traditions about that event and tries to reconcile them with his date for the coming of Atiśa a whole cycle of sixty years seems to go astray so that his later chronology implies that the suppression of Buddhism was in A.D. 901.

This confusion has been examined by Dr. G. Roerich in the introduction to his edition of the *Deb-sñon* (*RASB Monograph Series*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1949). I shall not go over the whole ground again but there are some additional considerations which not only confirm the view that a *rab-byun* of sixty years has slipped out of Hgos' later chronology but also indicate that the consequent compression has affected events of the years A.D. 841 to 901.

As Dr. Roerich says, on the assumption that Bla-chen-po was born in A.D. 892 the date of the Three Learned Men, whose disciple Bla-chen-po was, cannot be earlier than the last quarter of the ninth century (op. cit., p. xvii). This cannot be reconciled with the acceptable date of A.D. 841 for the suppression of Buddhism. The whole point of the story is that the Three Learned Men fled from Glañ-dar-ma's persecution. But it is not necessary to accept the assumption of Hgos' later chronology that Bla-chen-po was born in A.D. 892. According to the *Deb-sñon* (kha. 1, a) he was born a year after the death of the Minister Hbro Stag-snañ Khri-sum-rje whose reincarnation he became. Khri-sum-rje Stag-snañ is readily

identifiable. He figures in the Tun-huang list of Chief Ministers as successor to Dbah Mañ-rje-lha-lod, who was probably the last of Khri Lde-sroñ-brtsan's Chief Ministers (*Documents de Touen-Houang*, Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, Paris, 1940, pp. 102 and 132). He appears in documents from Chinese Turkestan as one of the architects of the treaty between Tibet and China in A.D. 821 (*Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, F. W. Thomas, 1951; part ii, pp. 92-106, and part iii, p. 4). He was probably also a witness to that treaty. In my edition of its text (R.A.S. Prize Publication Fund, vol. xix, 1952, p. 74), I tentatively reconstructed the name of the second Tibetan signatory as Blon-po Rlad Khri-sum-rje Sbeg-lha. On further study I think this should read (Hbro) Žañ Khri-sum-rje Stag-snañ. According to Hgos, Khri-sum-rje was only thirty-five when he died; and that would mean that he won his military and diplomatic laurels when he was between twenty and twenty-five. Professor Demiéville considers that he may have been active so early as A.D. 767-786 (*Le Concile de Lhasa*, Paul Demiéville, Paris, 1952, p. 281), but I do not find this dating conclusive, for the same events which Professor Demiéville relates to A.D. 767-786 appear to be attributed by Dr. S. W. Bushell to the years A.D. 809-819 ("The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources", S. W. Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880). But whatever the date of Khri-sum-rje Stag-snañ's birth, his activities in A.D. 821 make it impossible that he should have died at the age of thirty-five in A.D. 891 as would be implied by the chronology of the second book of the *Deb-sñon*. If the tradition that Bla-chen-po's birth followed soon after Khri-sum-rje's death has any value, it must be assumed that the missing cycle of sixty years has affected Hgos' calculations here and that Bla-chen-po was born in A.D. 832, was ordained by the Three Learned Men some time after A.D. 850, and died in A.D. 915.

In *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. i, p. 83, Professor G. Tucci rejects that proposed dating because of the acceptability of the date A.D. 1042 for the coming of Atiśa and because it is stated in the *Deb-sñon* that Klu-mes and Sum-pa met Bla-chen-po. Sum-pa is also said to have met Atiśa. This implies an impossibly long life for Sum-pa if Bla-chen-po died in A.D. 915; and so, on this view, the dates of Bla-chen-po should be put sixty years later. But it should be noticed that although Hgos mentions the tradition that Klu-mes and Sum-pa met Bla-chen-po (kha 3, a), he does not commit

himself to accepting it. In his last book (ba 10, b) he states that the account he accepts is that of Pa-śi Gnas-brtan ; and that tradition is not one which he specifically attributes to Pa-śi but is clearly assigned to " other writers ".

Some light may be thrown on the matter by collating what Bu-ston and Hgos have to say about it. Bu-ston, in his general account of the period, gives the impression that, at a time when the Three Learned Men were still alive, Bla-chen-po, Klu-mes, and Sum-pa were contemporaries of much the same age, for Klu-mes and Sum-pa asked Bla-chen-po for ordination very soon after his own ordination by the Three Learned Men. Another important figure, Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan, is also named as one of the same group (f. 148a in Obermiller's edition). This has the appearance of a pious fiction. It has already been mentioned that Sum-pa is said to have been alive in A.D. 1042 ; and it will be shown that Klu-mes was alive at least as late as A.D. 1025. There is nowhere any suggestion that Bla-chen-po was anything but a young man when he was ordained but (assuming he was born in A.D. 892 which I do not actually accept), even if he was as much as forty when he was ordained that would mean that Klu-mes and Sum-pa were born about A.D. 915 and so would be respectively 110 and 127 when they died. There are signs in Bu-ston's own work that the tradition is confused, for when he quotes the spiritual lineages of teacher and pupil he finds at least one and, in some cases, two links between Bla-chen-po and Klu-mes. I shall return to that point ; but first it is desirable to see what can be found out about Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan.

Bu-ston states that Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan was the teacher of Klu-mes (f. 148b) and a disciple of Bla-chen-po (f. 152b). Hgos has two references to him. In one (kha 3, a) he mentions the account in " other histories " that Grum ordained the Men of Dbus and Gtsañ (Klu-mes, etc.). This is not one of the traditions attributed to Pa-śi Gnas-brtan and is not specifically accepted by Hgos any more than is the tradition that the Men of Dbus and Gtsañ met Bla-chen-po. The other statement is that, at the time of the last T'ang Emperor, Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan was Master of the " Doctrine " in Khams (*bstan-pahi bdag-po byed*). This comes in the first book of the *Deb-sñon* where Hgos' chronology is mainly based on Chinese records and is therefore generally reliable. Coming where it does, with its lack of elaboration and argument, it has for me a convincing appearance. There is no room for an error of sixty years

in the dates of the last T'ang Emperor ; Chao Süan Ti reigned from A.D. 905 to 907. The phrase "*bstan-paḥi bdag-po*" applied to Grum Ye-śes-rgyal mtshan must mean that he was the leading teacher of religion at that time and it is fair to assume that he would then be, at least, of middle age. It follows that if Grum was Bla-chen-po's disciple Bla-chen-po could not have been born so late as A.D. 892. On the view that Bla-chen-po was born in A.D. 832 he would have been over seventy and past much active work by the time that Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan is described as Master of the Doctrine.

With Klu-mes and Sum-pa we reach a period for which Hgos' chronology is consistent although not always complete. From this it appears that Klu-mes, who is always represented as the leading partner, was alive for several years after A.D. 1017 when he approved of the founding of Sol-nag Thaṅ-po-che (kha 6, a) and that Sum-pa, as already mentioned, lived until the coming of Atiśa in A.D. 1042. It seems, therefore, that neither is likely to have been born much before A.D. 950 ; and if Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan was even so young as thirty when he was Master of the Doctrine in A.D. 907, it is improbable that he could have ordained Klu-mes and Sum-pa. One more link seems to be needed in the chain of succession between Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan and Klu-mes.

I have mentioned earlier the spiritual lineages which Bu-ston quotes. With regard to the transmission of the Vinaya he states that Bla-chen-po instructed Grum, and Grum instructed Klu-mes. But he also quotes two other accounts of the transmission of ordination from the time of Mkhan-po Bodhisatva the great Abbot of Bsam-yas in the time of Khri Sroṅ-lde-brtsan. They are as follows : (1) Bodhisatva ; Sba Ratna ; Lha-luṅ Rab-ḥbyor-dbyaṅs ; Bla-chen-po ; Ye-gon Ye-śes-gyuṅ-druṅ ; Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan ; Klu-mes ; and (2) Bodhisatva ; Sba Ratna ; Gyo-dge (one of the Three Learned Men) ; Bla-chen-po ; Sgro Man-ḥju-śri ; Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan ; Klu-mes. Although these lines of succession extend the period between Bla-chen-po and Klu-mes to a reasonable length they still leave the difficulty that Grum is said to have ordained Klu-mes. But there is another history which contains a similar lineage to the last one which I have quoted from Bu-ston with the difference that Sgro Man-ḥju-śri is placed *after* Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan and before Klu-mes. This is the Sba-bžed Žabs-btags-ma which is a repository of Bsam-yas traditions and ostensibly connected with the line of Sba Ratna. It is probable that the chain



of succession descending from Bodhisatva and Sba Ratna would be most accurately preserved in such a work ; and that is the view I accept in the following outline of the chronology of the principal teachers who kept the Doctrine alive in Khams and of those who later led the revival in Central Tibet.

A.D.

Bod-kyi mkhas-pa mi gsum. The Three Learned Men of Tibet . . . . .	c. 800-875
Fled from Dbus <u>841</u>	
Bla-chen-po Dge-ba-gsal . . . . .	b. <u>832</u> , d. <u>915</u>
Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan . . . . .	c. 865-935
Contemporary of last T'ang Emperor <u>905-907</u>	
Sgros Man-hju-śri . . . . .	c. 895-970
Klu-mes Śes-rab-tshul-khrims . . . . .	c. 950-1025
Returned to Central Tibet c. <u>978</u>	
At Bsam-yas <u>986</u>	
Initiated Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug <u>993</u>	
Approved foundation of Thañ-po-che <u>1017</u>	
Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug . . . . .	b. <u>976</u> , d. <u>1060</u>

(Dates underlined are supported by some evidence ; the others are tentative.)

That outline spreads out over 130 years' events which in the later books of the *Deb-sñon* have been compressed into a period of seventy years. The earliest estimate of the length of time between the extinction of the Doctrine and its restoration is that of seventy-eight years attributed to Atiśa's disciple Hbrom-ston-pa who was born at the beginning of the eleventh century—that is to say only about 160 years after the death of Ral-pa-can. This probably influenced Hgos Lo-tsa-ba and, through him, most of the later historians. Nevertheless, I see too many difficulties in the evidence I have mentioned above for Hbrom-ston-pa's estimate to be convincing, and I am inclined to think that there was an error in his calculations or that his meaning has been misinterpreted. Other estimates such as that of 108 years by Nel-pa Pandita (early thirteenth century) and ninety-eight years in the *Rgyal-rabs Gsal-baḥi-me-loñ* (early

sixteenth century) show that the question was open to doubt ; and this lack of agreement among Tibetan historians gives added value to any link that can be found with Chinese history, such as that between the dates of the last T'ang Emperor and Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan.

After that rather long discussion of his antecedents we come back to Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug and to firm chronological ground ; for Hgos clearly establishes Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug's dates by his detailed account covering the whole of the 465 years between the foundation of Rgyal Lug-lhas in A.D. 1012 and the writing of the *Deb-sñon* in 1478. About Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug himself Hgos gives some brief information. He was born in A.D. 976, his father being Sna-nam Jo-sras and his mother Žañ Lcam Sgrol-ma. He was ordained at the age of eighteen by Klu-mes and, soon after, he founded the *gtsug-lag-khañ* of Chag—Dpah-bo-gtsug-lag calls it Ra-chag and Bu-ston, Ra-tshag. I have not yet been able to identify this place. Then in A.D. 1012 he founded Rgyal Lug-lhas. He is said to have visited India ; and he died in A.D. 1060 at the age of eighty-five. The fact that Hgos twice refers to him as Žañ Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug and the names of his father and mother all suggest that he was connected with the Tibetan royal house. Žañ is a title given to members of families from which the kings of Tibet took a queen (G. Tucci, *Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Rome, 1950, pp. 57–61), and the name Jo-sras means, approximately, "Prince." The Sna-nam clan is well known in Tibetan history and members of it appear first in the Tun-huang Chronicles as figures of the legendary past (Bacot, etc., op. cit., pp. 124 and 129). They emerge into historical certainty with Sna-nam Mañ-mo-rje who was the principal queen of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan (A.D. 704–755) and mother of Khri Sroñ-lde-brtsan (A.D. 742–?797). After that several members of the clan are named as ministers and as witnesses to the religious edicts of Khri Sroñ-lde-brtsan and of his son Khri Lde-sroñ-brtsan (A.D. 776–815) (Tucci, *Tombs*, pp. 46 and 54–5 ; Bacot, etc., *Documents*, p. 132) ; and the sixteenth century historian Dpah-bo Gtsug-lag states that Glañ-dar-ma's senior queen was from the Sna-nam clan. Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug's noble descent and royal connections may account for the prosperity of Rgyal Lha-khañ which Hgos describes as exceptionally wealthy.

After some 200 years there may have been a decline in the well-being of the *lha-khañ*, for Hgos records that the office of Abbot fell

vacant in A.D. 1238. Then in A.D. 1240 it suffered a terrible blow when a Mongol force sent by Godan Khan penetrated into Central Tibet and after raiding Rva-sgreñ, descended on Rgyal. The *lha-khañ* was looted and burnt and a number of monks and laymen slaughtered. This disaster must have reduced the prosperity of Rgyal permanently. The *lha-khañ* was later repaired and restored, but on a smaller scale, with funds provided by the Mongol general Dordtanag who is said to have repented of his crime. In A.D. 1253 a new Abbot was appointed and the succession continued without interruption until the time of Hgos Lo-tsa-ba.

When I was at Lhasa I heard that there was an inscribed pillar at Rgyal and I was able to visit the *lha-khañ* in the autumn of 1949. It is situated some twenty-five miles north-west of Lhasa, as the crow flies, in the secluded valley of a small tributary of the Hphan-po Chu. I intended to spend a night there but maps of the area are inadequate; the road turned out to be longer than expected; and I had to halt about eight miles short of Rgyal. A visit on the following day was almost entirely occupied with copying the inscription, which was the main purpose of my journey; and I am therefore unable to give an account of the *lha-khañ* itself beyond saying that it consists of two separate chapels each attended by about sixty *Bkah-gdams-pa* monks. None of the wall-paintings or images appeared to be of particular interest but there were many large bronze *mchod-rten* said to have been brought from India by Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug.

As can be seen from Plates II and III the pillar is badly damaged. It stands in an outer courtyard with its broader sides facing east and west. It was inscribed on the east, west, and south faces but only the east inscription has survived to any extent. The east face is decorated with a double thunderbolt (*rdo-rje*), and the south with an ornament rather like an ace of clubs—perhaps a stylized flower. An iron band, with the appearance of considerable age, runs round the pillar just below the capital, obscuring the first line of the inscription. None of the monks present knew anything about even the legible parts of the inscription and consequently could not suggest what might be hidden under the iron band. Even if there had been time for leisurely negotiations it is unlikely that I could have secured the removal of something that appeared to be so long-established: as it was, I had to be content with what could be seen and the inscription, which I transcribe later, is, therefore,

tantalizingly decapitated. The hidden line seems to have referred to the foundation of the *lha-khañ* and may have given an indication of the age of the inscription.

It is possible that the *rdo-rin* was set up by Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug himself and that the damage it shows was suffered at the Mongol invasion. The wording is compatible with that date perhaps more than any other, speaking as it does of a falling off in the practice of religion and exhorting a return to faith. Moreover the erection of a *rdo-rin* may have been the deliberate continuation by Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug, as a connection of the former royal line, of a custom of the Kingdom of Tibet. There are ten surviving inscribed pillars from the time of the Tibetan kings at Lhasa and elsewhere in Central Tibet but, although I have searched in such foundations of later Buddhism as Rva-sgreñ, Hbri-khuñ, Stag-luñ, Dgañ-lan and in many another *dgon-pa* and *lha-khañ*, I have found no other *rdo-rin* older than Ch'ing times when the Manchu Emperors reintroduced a fondness for inscribed pillars which seems almost to have died out in Tibet after the great days of the Kingdom.

The language and style of the inscription at Rgyal do not throw much light on the question of date. The composition has greater fluency and sophistication than is found in inscriptions of the Tibetan kings; there is no example of the *da-drag* and nothing which can be described as at all archaic except the use of *myi* for *mi*. From this aspect there is nothing against the attribution of A.D. 1012 as a possible date.

The few surviving words of the south inscription provide a cryptic fragment—"Hphan yul kluñ skyes ño mtshar che", "Hphan-yul wonderful river source." It occurred to me that "kluñ skyes" might be part of the original name of the foundation and "Lug-lhas" (the Sheepfold) a later corruption; but this is unlikely because the name Lug-lhas is given by Hgos Lo-tsa-ba who had obviously studied the records of the *lha-khañ* with great care. I was not able to trace a *dkar chag* of Rgyal either at the *lha-khañ* or in Lhasa, nor have I found anything in Tibetan histories to throw light on that fragment of the inscription. In the meantime I can only conjecture that this may have been some simile to the effect that "as many rivers rise in Hphan-yul so may many religious foundations spring from this *lha-khañ*".

The inscription on the east face is as follows:—

(one line hidden by iron band)

btsugs pa (la\*) | spyi deñ sañ gi dussu ni |  
 dge ba la phyogs gcig la dañ | legs  
 pa la gros ḥthun ba ni ñun na | ḥo na yañ dkon  
 mchog gsum la skyabs su gsol baḥi myi  
 rnams kyis ni | lhar sañs rgyas gzuñ | gros  
 phugs chos la | gtad | gtsor lta ba sbyañ | tshig  
 spyod rnal du dbab | ḥtsho ba gtsañ mar sgrub  
 byed dgu chos dañ sbyar | spyi gros gcig du  
 bzlum | sgo gñer so sor blañ | ñan gros dgog  
 du dbyuñ | bden gtam dañ du blañ | ḥdi ltar  
 byas na ḥtshe ḥdi dañ phyi ma gñi gar bde bar  
 ḥgyur byas | tshig                               bcu po ḥdi yal  
 bar ma bor   ñiñ gzuñs  
 su bzuñ na   legs so | |

The remainder of the inscription on this face was apparently about the same length as the preceding text but it is irrecoverably damaged. Only a few phrases can be read—"bsam myi khyab"; "rnam pa kun tu sgrib sbyañ"; "kyi dge ba."

#### TRANSLATION

. . . was founded. Generally nowadays while there is little whole-hearted pursuit of virtue and little devotion to the good, still, men who in their prayers seek refuge in the Three Jewels should again cling to the Lord Buddha; they should direct their innermost thoughts to religion; they should study the most excellent doctrine; they should subdue their way of speech to a religious quietness; they should perfect their lives in purity, make all their actions conformable to religion, gather together the highest counsel, take upon themselves the guardianship of the door (of religion), cleanse themselves of evil thoughts in abstraction from worldly things and, above all, they should accept the word of truth. If they act in this way they shall win happiness both in this existence and in that to come; and if they do not leave this tenfold commandment to wither away but hold it firmly, it shall be well.

. . . not to be comprehended by thought . . .  
 . . . completely purging all stain of sin . . .  
 . . . . . . . . . . virtue . . . . .

\* There is some damage here. The reading might be "las". The gap in the middle of the last three lines is filled by a rdo-rje in low relief.

## SOUTH INSCRIPTION

(first line hidden by iron band)

hphan | yul kluñ skyes ño mtshar che |

After completing the foregoing article I received a new contribution to the chronology of the period in *A Study of Early Tibetan Chronicles Regarding Discrepancies of Dates and Their Adjustment*, by Dr. Bunkyo Aoki of the University of Tokyo, published by Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, October, 1955. In this detailed and erudite examination of Tibetan chronology from Sroñ-brstan-sgam-po to Atiśa Dr. Aoki comes to the conclusion, at variance from the general view, that Glañ-dar-ma came to the throne in A.D. 841 and reigned until A.D. 901. Dr. Aoki believes that Tibetan historians date the extinction of the Doctrine from the end of that long reign and that difficulties about a discrepancy of sixty years in the *Deb-sñon* and other works are due to the fact that, in the Tibetan system of dating, the years A.D. 841 and 901 have the same name—*Lcag-mo-bya*, Iron Female Bird.

Key points in the argument are that the “tsan-pu” whose death is recorded in the Old T’ang History (*Chiu T’ang Shu*) under the year A.D. 842 was Ral-pa-can not Glañ-dar-ma; that Glañ-dar-ma’s son Hod-sruñs was born, according to Bu-ston, in A.D. 845, therefore the father cannot have died in A.D. 842; and that Bu-ston’s account shows that Glañ-dar-ma came to the throne as a child and that his assassination took place “after a long time”.

A full examination of that theory is beyond the scope of this note but it is necessary to comment on some of the important points where it differs from the view I have put forward above.

To start with the death of Ral-pa-can: there are two traditions in Tibetan history. The first book of the *Deb-sñon*, relying on Chinese Annals, and other histories which follow that authority put Ral-pa-can’s death in A.D. 836 and the persecution of the Doctrine in the Iron Bird year A.D. 841. But many other Tibetan histories from Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan of Sa-skya (A.D. 1147 to 1216) down to Sum-pa Mkhan-po in the eighteenth century put Ral-pa-can’s death, Glañ-dar-ma’s accession, and the persecution of the Doctrine all in the same Iron Bird year with Glañ-dar-ma’s death in the following year—generally taken to be A.D. 841 and 842 respectively.

A valuable part of Dr. Aoki’s argument is his examination of the original Chinese sources for Tibetan chronology of this period. He

shows that the Old T'ang History records the report in the twelfth month of a year which is the equivalent of A.D. 842 of the death of a Tibetan "tsan-pu" whose name is not given. In the collated version of the T'ang History published in the eighteenth century this entry is placed where it appears to relate to Glañ-dar-ma because the death of Ral-pa-can is mentioned in the New T'ang History (*Hsin T'ang Shu*)—but not in the Old—apparently occurring in the year A.D. 836. Dr. Aoki shows that Chinese historians were in disagreement and that there were doubts about this point so early as A.D. 1086, for the *Tzŭ-ch'ih T'ung-chien* specifically denies that the Tibetan king who died in A.D. 842 was Ral-pa-can and states that he was Glañ-dar-ma. Dr. Aoki rejects that opinion for several reasons, of which the most effective, to my mind, is the statement that the Old T'ang History links the name of the "tsan-pu" whose death was reported in A.D. 842 with the king who concluded the treaty between Tibet and China in A.D. 821. This point could with advantage have been made at greater length for, if it is correct, there can be no doubt that the reference is to Ral-pa-can. Dr. Aoki considers that A.D. 842 almost corresponds with the date A.D. 841 found in Bu-ston's history and he takes A.D. 841 for the death of Ral-pa-can as a fixed point in his chronology.

My own inclination has been to accept that date largely because of the attribution to Ral-pa-can, in the New T'ang History, of a reign of "about thirty years"; and because the weight of Tibetan tradition favours an Iron Bird year. Dr. Aoki warns against the use of statements in the New T'ang History without the greatest caution; but he accepts that estimate of the length of Ral-pa-can's reign. Nevertheless, it seems to be a point where further argument is possible and if the estimate of a thirty years' reign could be seriously called in question, the claims of A.D. 836 (*Deb-sñon*) or 838 (*Tzŭ ch'ih T'ung-chien*) for the death of Ral-pa-can would deserve favourable consideration.

Thus far it is not difficult to agree with Dr. Aoki but it is less easy to follow him in his thesis of a sixty years' reign by Glañ-dar-ma. Apart from the calculation backwards from the dates of Bla-chen-po, which he takes to be A.D. 892–975, Dr. Aoki relies principally on Bu-ston's account and particularly on the statements that Glañ-dar-ma was young when he came to the throne; that when he grew up (*nar soñ nas*) he showed an anti-religious spirit and continued the persecution of Buddhism which his ministers had already

begun ; and that his assassination took place “ a long time after ” he came of age (*riñ žig na*). Dr. Aoki also considers that Bu-ston shows that the persecution continued even after Glañ-dar-ma's death and that is why later historians took the date of his death as the year of the extinction of the Doctrine (*Bstan-pa bsnubs*).

It is true there are indications in Bu-ston's history that Glañ-dar-ma reigned for more than a year ; but there are also great inconsistencies with the tradition contained in most other Tibetan histories. First, with regard to Glañ-dar-ma's age at his accession. Although Bu-ston does not state categorically that Glañ-dar-ma was Ral-pa-can's brother, he does not ascribe any other relationship to him ; and it is the tradition in all other Tibetan histories that they were brothers—with differences of opinion which was the elder. The oldest Tibetan source, the Tun-huang Chronicle (which Dr. Aoki does not appear to take into consideration in any part of his work) states that the two were brothers and suggests, but not conclusively, that Glañ-dar-ma (Huhi-dum-brtan) was the younger. It is also generally agreed that the father of these two, Khri Lde-sroñ-brtsan, died in A.D. 815 (which I accept) or in 817 at the latest. That would make Glañ-dar-ma at least twenty-five on his accession and in that case Bu-ston's statement that “ he came of age ” later would be meaningless. Dr. Aoki does not inquire into Glañ-dar-ma's paternity nor does he try to establish exactly how old he was on his accession ; but he accepts from Bu-ston (perhaps without a full enough examination) the year A.D. 845 as that in which a son, Hod-sruñs, was born to Glañ-dar-ma who could, therefore, on Dr. Aoki's theory, hardly have been less than thirteen in A.D. 841. It follows that the story that Glañ-dar-ma was a “ juvenile ” at his accession cannot be accepted without calling in question the well-attested tradition that Khri Lde-sroñ-brtsan was Glañ-dar-ma's father and that he died in A.D. 815 (817).

If Glañ-dar-ma was at least twenty-five when he came to the throne he would have been at least eighty-five if he had lived until A.D. 901 (even if he had been thirteen, that would have made him seventy-three in A.D. 901) and it is hard to believe that so long a reign could fail to make an indelible impression on tradition or that the great age of the assassinated king would be omitted from stories of that memorable deed.

There are further difficulties in Dr. Aoki's interpretation of Bu-ston's meaning. It is clearly stated that persecution of the



Doctrine began immediately on the death of Ral-pa-can and that crimes against religion, such as the closing of temples and the killing of monks took place at that time. It is true that, after his account of the assassination of Glañ-dar-ma, Bu-ston goes on to say that Pandits and *lo-tsa-ba* were banished or killed and the Doctrine was abolished (*bstan-pa med-par byas so*). But two of the *lo-tsa-ba* whom he names—Ñañ Tiñ-ñe-ḥdzin-bzañ-po and Rma Rin-chen-mchog—were active in the reign of Khri Lde-sron-brtsan (805–815) and could not have survived until A.D. 901. It seems, therefore, that this passage is a “flash back” inspired by the mention of the religious books which Lha-luñ Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje, the killer of Glañ-dar-ma, took with him on his flight, or else that the assassination of the king took place a great deal earlier than A.D. 901.

I find it hard to believe that the period of some fifty years after Glañ-dar-ma “came of age” during which, on Dr. Aoki’s theory Lha-luñ Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje was born, educated, ordained and spent some time in meditation, could be covered by the phrase “*rin žig na*”, which can also mean no more than “after some time”. It also seems incongruous, if so early as A.D. 841–5 monasteries were closed, monks unfrocked or killed, translating work interrupted and so on, that later historians should date the extinction of the Doctrine from so late as A.D. 901, the year in which the oppressor was removed. I do not think Bu-ston intended to give that impression.

The story of the Three Learned Men raises similar difficulties. Dr. Aoki does not inquire into their history before their flight from Central Tibet; but it is necessary for his theory that this should not have taken place before A.D. 901 because Bla-chen-po, whose dates Dr. Aoki treats as unalterably fixed at A.D. 892 to 975, was their first disciple. I have already argued that those dates are not acceptable and should be put back sixty years. I may recall the tradition of a link between the death of Khri-sum-rje Stag-snañ and the birth of Bla-chen-po and also the statement in the *Deb-sñon* that Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan was active at the time of the last T’ang Emperor (A.D. 905–7). If Grum was Bla-chen-po’s disciple, Bla-chen-po could not have been born so late as A.D. 892.

Other problems arise from an attempt to reconcile Dr. Aoki’s theory with the account of events after A.D. 842 given in the com-

bined version of the T'ang History as translated by Dr. S. W. Bushell (op. cit., pp. 523-6). In the extracts quoted the passage underlined is from the Old History, the rest from the New.

"In the 2nd year of Huich'ang (842) the tsanp'u died . . .  
 He had no sons and Ch'ilihu, a son of Shangyenli the elder brother of his wife whose name was Lin (Chin) was made tsanp'u. He was only three years old." Then follows an account of the refusal of the Chief Minister Chiehtuna to do homage ; for which he was killed ; and of rivalry between the Ministers Shangk'ungje and Shangyüssülo. The former issued a proclamation that the "brothers of the ministers have killed the Tsanp'u" for which deed he called for vengeance. He then came into conflict with the Minister Shangpipi. The account relates that "within three years the people, in consequence of the illegal election of the tsanp'u, were all in a state of revolt ; Shangk'ungje arrogated the title of Chief Minister and attacked Shangpipi".

That account covers the years A.D. 842 to 849, for the next dated entry from the Old History relates to A.D. 849 and mentions Shangk'ungje as making overtures to the Chinese.

It will be recollected that Dr. Aoki takes the entry about the death of the "tsanp'u" to relate to Ral-pa-can ; and there are several parts of the story outlined above which could with some plausibility be related to that time rather than to events on the death of Glan-dar-ma ; e.g. "the king had no sons", and the statement that the late king was killed by the "brothers of the ministers" ; and the name Ch'ilihu might stand for Khri Hu (-dum-brtan). But if Dr. Aoki takes the passage in that sense, he would have to jettison or explain away the earlier reference in the New History to Ral-pa-can being succeeded on his death by his dissolute younger brother "Tamo". This would mean discarding the weight of Tibetan tradition and the authority of the Tun-huang Chronicle ; it would also mean that the events recorded in the T'ang History down to A.D. 875 would be incidents of Glan-dar-ma's reign and must be brought into some relation to Tibetan traditions about the persecution of the Doctrine. But it seems that Dr. Aoki is not prepared to do that for he conjectures that the story in the T'ang History about events after A.D. 842 is an erroneous interpretation of the Tibetan tradition which relates that Glan-dar-ma was succeeded by his infant son Hod-sruis. He does not try to explain how that tradition arose or how it is to be reconciled with his

own theory that Hod-sruñs came to the throne at the age of fifty-six on Glañ-dar-ma's death in A.D. 901.

There is a still greater problem why, if the passage relates to events on Glañ-dar-ma's death, it should appear in a chronological sequence in the T'ang History where it conflicts completely with Dr. Aoki's theory. The story cannot simply be treated as misplaced and transferred forward sixty years for it is woven into a consistent account of the rivalry between the ministers which can be placed in the middle years of the ninth century. Professor Demiéville (op. cit., pp. 25, 27), quoting from Ssu-ma Kuang, identifies Shangpipi as a member of the Hbro clan who was made a minister by Ral-pa-can at the age of over forty. He disappears from the T'ang History (at least under that name or his personal name, Tsan sin ya) about A.D. 849-50. His rival, Shangk'ungje, may be the Dbas Blon Khrom-bžer who witnessed the Edict of Khri Lde-sroñ brtsan. As he survived until A.D. 866 he would have been young at the time of the Edict but there is some support for the identification in the *Chos-byuñ* of Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag Hphreñ-ba (A.D. 1564) which gives an account of the struggle after the death of Glañ-dar-ma and names "Dbañs Kho-bžer" and "Hbro Sbas" as two of the principals. The story as a whole seems sufficiently well authenticated for it to be impossible to detach the part dealing with the succession and transfer it to sixty years later.

I do not think Dr. Aoki faces the problems raised by the New T'ang History and, although he warns against using statements there without great circumspection, those problems cannot be entirely ignored. I do not intend to complicate the matter any further by attempting to develop the consequences of the several solutions which appear to be open to Dr. Aoki or by putting forward, at present, any more assumptions on which a speculative rewriting of the history of the period could be constructed. I believe that, although details of the chronology worked out by Tibetan historians for the interval between Ral-pa-can and Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug may be largely artificial, Tibetan traditions, beneath the layer of religious embroidery, reflect the general course of events. And, although I cannot accept Dr. Aoki's enterprising theory that Glañ-dar-ma's reign lasted for sixty years, I think there is still room for discussion whether it began in A.D. 836 (*Deb-sñon*) or 838 (*Tzű-ch'ih T'ung-chien*): or whether it began in A.D. 841 and continued for more than one year. For example, Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag

gives the following chronology for *Glañ-dar-ma* : born in *Chu-mo-lug* three years before *Ral-pa-can* (A.D. 803) ; succeeded aged 39 in *Lcag-mo-bya* (A.D. 841) ; died aged 44 in *Me-stag* (A.D. 846). His son *Hod-sruñs* born in the following year *Me-yos* (A.D. 847) ; *Hod-sruñs* died in *Śin-sbrul* (A.D. 885) at the age of 39 ; his son *Dpal-hkhor-btsan* born in *Śin-bya* (A.D. 865) and died aged 31 in A.D. 895. This may be no more than an attempt by a thoughtful historian to work out a plausible succession of events but *Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag*'s history contains some demonstrably ancient material and he quotes from such old sources as the *Bsam-yas Dkar-chag* and from the *Lo-rgyus Chen-mo* of *Khu-ston-brston-hgrus* (A.D. 1011-1075). I cannot attempt here to examine the differences and points of agreement between that chronology of *Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag* and those of other Tibetan historians and of the T'ang Histories but I shall conclude with some general observations on the period after *Ral-pa-can*'s death based on the traditional view that *Glañ-dar-ma*'s reign was short.

Through Chinese eyes Tibetan affairs at that time appear largely as a struggle between rival ministers ; and Tibetan histories also retain the memory of those struggles although it is partly obscured by the attention devoted to the fortunes of the two princes who competed for the throne. There is a tendency among Tibetan historians to treat *Hod-sruñs* as the legitimate and effective successor perhaps because he was believed to be either himself a Buddhist or at least the forebear of a line of kings who had much to do with the restoration of Buddhism. But from the mass of varying comments in different histories a good deal more can be disentangled. It is clear that *Yum-brtan* was actually the successful claimant. He is sometimes spoken of as *Khri* (the Enthroned)-*Lde Yum-brtan* whereas *Hod-sruñs* is never given a higher title than *Mñah-bdag*—the Ruler. *Yum-brtan* and his supporters seem to have retained *Lhasa* and as some Tibetan historians say they eventually " deprived *Hod-sruñs* of his share of the kingdom ". All Tibetan histories recount the story of *Yum-brtan*'s adoption and the T'ang History shows that the information reaching China was that the Tibetan throne had been occupied by an adopted infant under the regency of his aunt, the widow of the late king. But there are occasional signs of uncertainty whether that was the whole truth. *Grag-pa-rgyal-mtshan* speaks of both *Yum-brtan* and *Hod-sruñs* as " sons " of *Glañ-dar-ma* and *Bu-ston* calls the descendants of *Yum-brtan*

“the senior line”. Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag sums it up with judicial dryness in his comment that “doubts cast on the legitimacy of Yum-brtan were probably the work of the faction which supported Hod-sruñs”. It may be that the strength of Hod-sruñs’ party lay nearer to the Chinese frontier and it was their version that found its way into Chinese history.

The queen who established the child king Ch’ilihu on the throne was a member of the Mchims clan, according to Professor Demiéville (op. cit., p. 26); but the Chinese character he quotes does not appear to be the same as that used for “Mchims” in the treaty inscription of A.D. 821 at Lhasa and I wonder whether it may not be a representation of “Chen (mo)” —the Senior Queen—a phrase which appears frequently in Tibetan accounts of these events. The only direct statement in Tibetan histories about the origin of Glañ-dar-ma’s queens that I know is by Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag who says that the senior was from the Sna-nam clan and the junior from Tshe-spoñs (p. 139). There may be some indication in the name of the Chief Minister Chiehtuna who was killed because he protested against the enthronement of Ch’ilihu. I suggest he may be the Žañ Mchims *Rgyal-stoñ sña* Smon btsan who was a witness to Khri Lde-sroñ brtsan’s Edict. That would imply that the Mchims clan impugned the legitimacy of Yum-brtan and were therefore more favourably disposed to Hod-sruñs. It may also be remarked that Hod-sruñs was born in the Yar-luñ valley, which was Tshe-spoñ country, and that a reliable *Gnas-yig* or guidebook to monasteries attributes to Hod-sruñs’ son Dpal-ḥkhor-btsan the foundation of Bya-sa Lha-khañ at the mouth of the Yar-luñ valley. That area, according to Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag and the Tun Huang Annals, appears to have been Mchims country. This suggests friendship between Hod-sruñs’ line and the Mchims clan.

The most forceful participant in the events after Glañ-dar-ma’s death was the Minister Shangk’ungje. I have already mentioned that he may have belonged to the Dbañs clan. That would not give him the right to be called Žañ nor do Tibetan histories refer to him by that title; and in some Chinese records, too, he is called *Lunkungje-* (Lun = Blon : Minister). Perhaps he was related to the Tshe-spoñs clan into which, by Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag’s version, Hod-sruñs was born and which was entitled to be called Žañ. At all events, Shangk’ungje clearly considered that he had the right to an important place and he went into action swiftly and vigorously,

declaring Yum-brtan's election illegal, arrogating the title of Chief Minister and attacking all possible rivals. But it does not follow that he was acting as Hod-sruñs' champion. In fact, he was obviously out for his own interests and by A.D. 849 was claiming the title of "Tsan-pu" for himself. By the same token it does not necessarily follow that Shangpipi, who fought Yum-brtan's enemy, was himself Yum-brtan's friend. The scene of these battles and manœuvres was in the eastern provinces, far from Central Tibet; each general seems to have been out for himself and quite early in the campaign Shangpipi offered an alliance to Shangk'ungje, whether for or against Yum-brtan it is not clear, but the proposal came to nothing. From some hints it would seem that the Hbro clan, to which Shangpipi belonged, had closer links with Hod-sruñs, for both the Hbro family and the descendants of Hod-sruñs' younger grandson Bkra-śis Rtsegs-dpal eventually found themselves settled in upper Gtsañ; and by the account of the *Ladakh Rgyal-rabs*, the elder grandson Skyid-lde Ñi-ma-mgon when he fled to West Tibet, was offered as his queen a Hbro lady—Hbro-za Hkhor-skyoñ. But that name might be a mistake for Hbru-śal—"of Gilgit"; and there is also a story that Ñi-ma-mgon was given wives by the Cog-ro and Pa-tshab clans.

I do not want to attach too great importance to those suggested associations because it is probably misleading to interpret the struggle of the rival ministers in terms of loyalty to this or that claimant to the throne. The prestige of the Tibetan royal house must have been at very low ebb by the time of Glañ-dar-ma. His father, Khri Lde-sroñ-brtsan, seems to have been one of the few Tibetan kings to escape a violent death but his brother and immediate predecessor had been murdered by some of his nobles and Glañ-dar-ma himself, whatever Tibetan religious tradition may say, was believed by Chinese historians to have fallen victim to the prevailing spirit of faction which the kings were no longer able to control. The swift disintegration of the royal house after Glañ-dar-ma's death and the partition of Tibet among the contending nobles are evidence that no one of importance was greatly interested in the cause of either Hod-sruñs or Yum-brtan. And these signs of the weakness of the royal power are further arguments against the probability that any Tibetan king at that time would have been able to reign for so long as sixty years.

It is no great surprise that the T'ang History gives no hint that the

disorders in Tibet were in any way connected with religion ; but that does not of itself rule out the Tibetan tradition, for Chinese records are silent also about the religious differences at the time of Khri Sroñ-lde-brtsan of which there is good evidence. But it is probable that the troubles of Buddhism in Glañ-dar-ma's reign were a smaller matter than they are made out to be by the Tibetan historians.

It may be significant that in Tibetan accounts of Glañ-dar-ma's persecution little is said about the *Bon* who figure so prominently in the story of the suppression of Buddhism in Khri Sroñ-lde-brtsan's time. There is something strange about the name Glañ-dar-ma, which does not appear in the oldest Tibetan records. Perhaps there is a pointer in the *Ladakh Rgyal-rabs* which recounts that four heretic Brahmans (*mu-stegs-kyi bram-ze*), disturbed at the progress of Buddhism in Tibet, reincarnated as demons in Glañ-dar-ma and his ministers. Could it be that H<sub>u</sub>hi-dum-brtan was not a *Bon* revivalist but a convert to Saivite Hinduism and that his name Glañ-dar-ma—" Bull " Darma—refers to the bull Nandi ? Research into Nepalese history of the period might throw some light on the matter.

There is a tradition in some Tibetan histories that H<sub>u</sub>hi-dum-brtan began his reign piously ; and confirmation that he was, for a time, acceptable to Buddhists may be seen in a prayer for " Btsan-po Lha-sras H<sub>u</sub>hi-dum-brtan " in the documents from Tun-huang (*Invénaire des Documents de Touen-Houang*, Marcelle Lalou, vol. i, no. 134 ; Paris, 1939). There is also a fragmentary prayer mentioning " Lha-sras H<sub>o</sub>d-sruñs btsan yum " (H<sub>o</sub>d-sruñs, son of Heaven, the King and his Mother), which indicates that H<sub>o</sub>d-sruñs was young when his father died and that Buddhists in the eastern part of the Tibetan Empire looked on him as their king.

Whatever were the causes of dissension in Tibet and whatever the fortunes of the rival claimants, it is clear from Chinese records and Tibetan traditions that the might of the kingdom gradually vanished and territories on the border of China, formerly subject to Lhasa, fell away. According to the T'ang History trouble began within three years of the accession of Ch'ilihu and by A.D. 849 the Chinese were able to celebrate the deliverance of much of their frontier from Tibetan domination. Between A.D. 849 and 867 general after general surrendered or transferred his allegiance, and that of his troops, to the Chinese. Eventually Shang<sub>k</sub>'ungje, the

last thorn in the Chinese side, was defeated and killed in A.D. 866. From that time, Ssü-ma Kuang considers, Tibetan power ceased to exist.

The T'ang dynasty, too, was near its end and by A.D. 873 "Imperial orders were unable to reach the frontier generals". Perhaps the *Deb-sñon* intends to refer to that period when it gives the date A.D. 860 for the ending of relations between Tibet and China (ka 25, b). That year is the first of the reign of Ghi Dzuñ (I Tsung) while A.D. 873 is the last. The reference may be to the reign as a whole rather than to any one year in it. This was the end of relations between the Kingdom of Tibet and the T'ang dynasty which had lasted almost the same time; and, according to Ma Tuan-lin, by A.D. 928 there was no one in China who could read a letter in Tibetan. But some sort of local Tibetan states on the borders of China were, not long after, in relations with the Chou dynasty and communications between the two—and later with the Sung—from A.D. 953 to 1201 are recorded by W. W. Rockhill in "Tibet from Chinese Sources" (*JRAS.*, April, 1891, pp. 195-6).

Nepal, too, took its chance to shake off Tibetan overlordship and the beginning of the Nepal Samvat in A.D. 880 may mark the restoration of Nepalese independence.

In Tibet itself the main struggle took place in the eastern districts and while it was in progress, the divided Tibetan royal house seems to have maintained an enfeebled existence for some time, Yum-brtan and his line in Lhasa, Hphan-po, and part of Gtsañ; Hod-sruñs in Yar-luñ and in parts of Mdo-med. But there was a constant succession of troubles. Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag (p. 140) describes a rebellion which broke out in Central Tibet "when Yum-brtan and Hod-sruñs were 23"—viz. in A.D. 869—that is to say after the defeat of Shangk'ungje in Khams. Some eight years after that the tombs of the kings are said to have been divided up among the ministers and looted. A similar story is told by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan who seems to put the events rather later, after the death of Dpal-hkhor-btsan and perhaps about A.D. 923 by his calculations. But Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan does not mention the story which appears in the *Deb-sñon* (ka 19, a, and 23, a) that Dpal-hkhor-btsan was killed by his subjects—apparently by the Gñags clan in Yar-luñ. After his death his son Skyid-lde Ñi-ma-mgon could no longer keep his end up and fled to Western Tibet, where his family founded the kingdoms of Ladakh, Mar-yul, Spu-hrañs, and Žaņžuñ



or Gu-ge. From this it may appear that the removal of Shang-k'ungje from the scene allowed Yum-brtan to get the better of Hod-sruñs; but, as I have already suggested, it is more likely that these effete descendants of Sroñ-brtsan-sgam-po were of little account in the strife between the nobles. If the victory went to Yum-brtan it did not profit him greatly, for his line diminished rapidly into small local lordships not to compare with the kingdoms established in the west by Hod-sruñs' descendants; and the greater part of Tibet was parcelled out into a number of independent seignories held by the families of ministers and nobles. Dpal-bo Gtsug-lag (p. 140) gives a list of these divisions with the names of the families which established themselves in each and he piously attributes the whole arrangement to the benign intervention of the spirit of Bran-ka Dpal-gyi-yon-tan, Ral-pa-can's murdered monk-councillor, which restored the country to some sort of order and paved the way for the restoration of the Doctrine.

