

The  
YAR-LUN  
DYNASTY

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# THE YAR-LUN DYNASTY

*A study with particular regard  
to the contribution by myths and legends  
to the history of Ancient Tibet  
and the origin and nature of its kings*

BY

ERIK HAARH

G.E.C. GAD'S FORLAG  
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*Jørgen Læssøe*  
h.a. dec.

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*Dedicated my teachers*

KAARE GRØNBECH †  
SVEND AAGE PALLIS  
GIUSEPPE TUCCI





## Preface

The present study is submitted to the University of Copenhagen as a dissertation advanced for a doctor's degree to the Faculty of Philosophy. Therefore, as this study was ready for the final typescript in its present form in the spring of 1967, no additions or major changes have been performed since then. The English language has been corrected by Mrs. O. von Vultejus, Mrs. Jill Glenstrup, and Mr. Norman Shine, and judged for the Faculty by Mrs. Ingeborg Nixon.

A special debt of gratitude I owe to my father who has helped me throughout the work, both in the writing of drafts and in the final proof-reading. Also I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mrs. Jill Glenstrup for reading the proofs and for helping me in making the indices.

In many ways I am indebted to my former employers, The Royal Library of Copenhagen, where I was in the lucky position of taking part in the building up of its Asian Collections, especially the Central Asian ones. I wish to extend my special thanks to my colleagues in the Oriental Department of The Royal Library, Mrs. Hertha Kirketerp-Møller, Mr. Ove K. Nordstrand, Mr. Alfred Sørensen, and my dear friend, the late Mr. Leo Buschardt.

Finally, I wish to express my thanks to the staff of the printing house of the Aarhus Stiftsbogtrykkerie for the excellent way in which they have carried this book to its present form.

*Søllerød Park, July 1969.*

ERIK HAARH





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tremble more than once, and at one time made it their tributary—during the same development, however, the Tibetans proved susceptible to the most esoteric forms of Buddhism and afterwards developed it to its highest perfection.

The intrinsic abilities of the Tibetans, which made themselves manifest in their diplomatic, strategic, and cultural achievements during the era of the Yar-luñ kings, were rooted in a native culture and strengthened by a firm tradition, centred in the idea of the divine origin and the sacredness of the Royalty. The Tibetan sources of pre-Buddhist origin, or from the period before the predominance of Buddhism, prove this beyond doubt.

The material and economic power of the central Tibetan state, which enabled its rise to the Great Power of Central Asia, can by no means be measured by the present state of material wealth or poverty of the Tibetan people. The few studies or researches in the field of Tibetan archaeology, which have until now been performed, quite definitely carry the testimony of a much greater extent of the inhabited territory and a much greater population in Tibet in former times, and reliable Chinese sources of the contemporaries, even the T'ang Annals, admit the wealth of the Tibetans.

Furthermore, the Tibetan state or federation of states, which according to the general conception came into existence towards the end of the sixth or in the beginning of the seventh centuries A.D. under the reign of king gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan, was far from being the original, petty state of Central Tibet—on the contrary, it was the establishment of the first, but most important stage of the Tibetan Empire, the union or subjugation of the greater part of all the tribes or nations that by the Tibetans were considered as being of their own blood. The heritage, which king Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po received from his father, gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan, was not the generally imagined petty kingdom, but an empire extending about 2000 kilometres, from the valley of the upper Yang-tzü-chiang in the East to the mountain regions beyond the Lake Manasarowar in the West, touching northwards the territories of the Turkish tribes, and dominating the Himalayan marches of India to the South. Thus we have to revise completely the idea of the territorial status of the Tibetan kingdom at the epoch when Tibetan history, as yet known, takes its beginning.

While the importance of the Chinese cultural influence is undeniable, Buddhism and Buddhist influence have nothing whatever to do with the primary rise of the Tibetan kingdom, nor with its development to an Empire, considering itself equal to that of the Great T'ang.—When, at last, Buddhism got a foothold in Tibet, its influence, however, became the very reason for the fall of the Dynasty and the disintegration of the Yar-luñ Empire. This was not the result of a general mollification or pacification of the Tibetan mentality, but because Buddhism became a destructive agent to the spiritual life and tradition of the Tibetan people. To the Tibetan kings, adhering to Buddhism for the purpose of making their authority independent on the ancient national traditions, which at the same time meant its very basis and its restriction, Buddhism became disastrous, ruining the Dynasty in its own defeat against the last display of strength of the aboriginal traditions.<sup>1</sup>

*The object of the present study.* The serious study of any period of a people's history presupposes the best possible knowledge of the conditions, being political, economic, religious traditions or cultural in general, in which the development in the events of the period in question have their natural root and origin. A study we undertook of Tibetan history during the Yar-luñ kings from the fifth until the middle of the ninth centuries A.D. far from disproved this provision, on the contrary it proved it with remarkable clarity.

Even when a comparatively large number of sources was included in the study, it was found that the total sum of Tibetan contributions to their own history of that time is far from being overwhelming, but with its limits, undoubtedly is far more significant than its immediate appearances might imply.

The study of the material soon revealed that the historical records given by Tibetan authors *presupposed a large field of knowledge of pre-history with its traditions and institutions. This applied quite particularly to the central features represented by the Tibetan king, his constitutional position and religio-political status in general.* This observation led us to a preliminary examination of the myths and legends

or traditions concerning directly or indirectly the Tibetan Monarchy and its Dynasty. Even basing the preliminary study on a limited material, selected somewhat at random, we reached the conclusion that a more thorough, systematic study of more extensive material of mythic or legendary traditions would prove worth while. At any rate such a study proved itself necessary for the understanding and evaluation of the historical events and developments which guided the small Dynasty of the bTsan-po or king in Yar-luñ through the centuries to be a great Central-Asian Empire. It proved itself necessary for the understanding of the very peculiar ways in which Buddhism was introduced into Tibet and for the part Buddhism played in the history and the political pattern of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, and thus of Tibet.

The object of the present paper is limited to *the study of the pedigree of the Yar-luñ Dynasty*, that Dynasty which provided the kings of the Tibetan kingdom and empire from the sixth century until 842 A.D., such as it is presented to us by a number of most ancient sources,—to *the study of mythic or legendary traditions narrowly related to the Dynasty*,—and to *the study of the traditions concerning the death and the tombs of the kings*,—in an endeavour to establish which are the traditions and to what extent the Tibetan legendry may serve as a source to the general history of Tibet and to the history of Ancient Tibetan religion and culture.

*Previous research.* Inevitably these subjects of our study ought to be common to all studies of Tibetan history, but they have seldom been mentioned extensively or critically studied. The traditions of the Tibetans as presented by a few later Tibetan sources are generally the basis on which Western papers on the old Tibetan history founded their accounts, uncritically in most cases. As is generally the case when writing history, Western accounts more or less verbally reproduce few, larger studies, the most important of which we shall mention below. Of critical studies there are exceedingly few edited and all of them are of a very recent date.

The material collected by the Roman Catholic missionaries, such as presented in Antonio de Andrade, *Novo descobrimento de grão Catayo o dos Reynos de Tibet*, Lisboa 1626, were joined for the first time in a comprehensive account of Tibet, the first of its kind, by Antonius Georgius, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, Romae 1762.<sup>2</sup> In this, the first comprehensive European work on Tibet, the history of Tibet according to Tibetan sources is presented, all depending on the tradition called gSañ-ba Chos-lugs, studied in chapter 10 of the present paper.

A century later a synopsis of the research and studies of the following period, carried on especially within Sinology and Mongolistics, was compiled by C. F. Koeppen, *Die lamaistische Hierarchie und Kirche*, Berlin 1859. He collected the material on the old history of Tibet (esp. p. 39–53), depending on the same tradition as Georgius, the gSañ-ba Chos-lugs, with a few attempts to critical discussions of the material. The translation of the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (69) by E. von Schlagintweit, *Die Könige von Tibet*, München 1866, which together with previously published works of other authors formed the basis of his *Buddhism in Tibet*, Leipzig-London 1868, added to our knowledge of the old Tibetan history a large volume of details, but still within the tradition of gSañ-ba Chos-lugs, and without critical collation of more historical traditions.

Chinese sources were brought into Tibetan studies through the translation of the T'ang Annals by S. W. Bushell, *The early history of Tibet from Chinese sources*, London 1879–80 (147), which has recently been partially replaced by the translation of P. Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, Paris 1961 (176).

A more critical attitude and introduction of more Tibetan sources is represented by Sarat Chandra Das in his two works of interest to this paper, *Contributions on the religion, history etc. of Tibet*, JASB Calcutta 1881–82, and *Early history of Tibet*, JASB, Calcutta 1881. But more than critical studies these are collections of material representing the gSañ-ba Chos-lugs and the Bon traditions. Together with personal contributions, these are behind the works of W. W. Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, London 1891 (182) and *The life of Buddha*, London 1907 (183). Yet the history of Ancient Tibet was still based primarily on the gSañ-ba Chos-lugs, but more or less suspiciously accepted. This attitude is unfortunately reproduced in the compilation of L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, London 1895, a work which has seen more reprints and has had a large distribution, being considered the most important source of information on Tibet.

More sources were placed at our disposal through the works of a.o. Charles Bell (*The peoples of Tibet*, Oxford 1928; *Tibet, past and present*, Oxford 1931; *The religion of Tibet*, Oxford 1931), R. Bleichsteiner, *Die Gelbe Kirche*, Wien 1937, M. Hermanns, *Überlieferungen der Tibeter*, Monumenta Serica 13, 1948, and A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Calcutta 1926 (68) and *Die vorbuddhistische Religion Tibets*, Allgemeine Missionszeitung 28, Berlin 1901; the latter author differing from all the others in his effort of placing the ancient Tibetan historical events in Western Tibet instead of Central Tibet.

Yet in no case do we find a comprehensive study, or even attempts at such, regarding the subjects of the present paper. The latest larger compilation representing the same kind of approach to ancient Tibetan history, is G. Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai Lamas*, in the revised edition, Leipzig 1958.

The first genuine approach to a critical and comparative study having relation to this paper, is L. Petech, *A study on the chronicles of Ladakh*, 1939 (177), a critical commentary on the translation and text edition of Francke (68). As Petech was exclusively concerned with the political history of Tibet (*loc.cit.* p. 5), he touches only in few cases some of our subjects, such as the image of the world, the relations between the royal genealogies and cosmology, the groups of the Dynasty, the probability of a reality behind the four kings from lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan to sTag-ri, and the place of Yar-luñ and the Dynasty (*loc.cit.* p. 14–15, 22, 23–29, 30, 31).

The first and still the most prominent scholar having studied and written about subjects under study in the present paper, is Giuseppe Tucci. In his monumental work *Tibetan painted scrolls*, Roma 1949 (193) he entered upon some special subjects of our paper in relation to other subjects, especially in his notes and appendices. In all his later works and papers Tucci again returned to the same or other subjects connected with our paper, such as in *The tombs of the Tibetan kings*, Roma 1950 (195) and *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, Serie Orientale Roma X,1, Roma 1956. His ideas and theories regarding the kings of the Dynasty and their status which are expressed on many occasions in his publications, were then collected in the form of an essay, *The sacral character of the kings of Ancient Tibet*, Roma 1955 (196), repeated in *The mystic character of the king of Ancient Tibet*, Palaeologica V, Osaka 1957. This very interesting and suggestive essay, which has been of great importance for the present study, unfortunately contains very few references to sources. It deals with some of the main subjects under discussion here, such as the development of the world, the funeral rites, cosmology, the descent of the king from a mountain, the divine nature of the king, etc.

An important contribution to our knowledge of the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet is given by H. Hoffmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion*, Mainz 1950 (162). As the main object of this study is Bon, he touches only in a few cases upon subjects studied here.

In the last ten years several works on Tibetan history and culture have been published, but they are almost all without consequence for our present study. One important study based on new materials, especially on the text of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64), is published by R.-A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine*, Paris 1961. He studies subjects of this paper and refers to other publications of his own (189, 190, 191).<sup>3</sup> V. A. Bogoslovskij, *Očerki istorii tibetskogo naroda*, Moskva 1962 (esp. p. 21–35), the only important Russian study on these subjects, does not present new information for our study, but simply refers to the studies of Tucci. The latest study on Tibetan sources from the time of the Dynasty, Chang Kun, *An analysis of the Tun-huang Tibetan annals*, Journal of Oriental Studies 5, Hongkong 1959–60, 122–173, simply lists some of the subjects under study here without comment. T. Wylie, *'O-lde-spu-rgyal and the introduction of Bon to Tibet*, 1963 (200), studies directly the problem of the first king of Tibet, here studied in chapters 3, 5, 6, and 9, but unfortunately based on too limited a number of sources.

*The sources available for the study.* As we are going to learn, the present study—based on a consciously limited material—gives as a result various contributions to our knowledge of the cultural and particularly of the religious history of Tibet in ancient times. The fact that the autochthonous, Tibetan religious history has until recently remained a virgin soil, that considerable material for its exploration is available and has been so for more than a century, ought to be an inspiration and instigation to further studies in this field. Yet, it must be emphasized that the traditional, Tibetan material in this respect cannot be dealt with solely from a historical, rationalistic point of view, because the



traditions of these subjects are far from rationalistic. We are dealing, not with records of ordinary, everyday events, but with devices and devious design of human minds. The Tibetan legends must be regarded, at the same time, by the critical eyes of the historian and with the intimate understanding of religious history. The rationalistic method, which has formerly proved disastrous in the study of cultural traditions elsewhere, discarding everything not suiting the synthesis of a rational system, should be avoided at all costs. These considerations do not apply only to future studies, but to some extent also to the general representation of Tibetan history until now given by Western works. The precedent already created by authors reducing, in fact, important sources of Tibetan history more or less into fairy tales or the ridicule, because of wanting ability or will to understand Tibetan mentality and its particular ways of expression, has thoroughly discredited the reliability of Tibetan sources, so that few attempts have been made to clear up the history of Ancient Tibet by means of Tibetan sources. It is regrettable that historians studying the history of Asia, have obviously been scared of using Tibetan literature because of a false conception of its validity, and therefore recur to non-Tibetan sources for the description of Tibetan history.

When editing Tibetan sources, and especially documents concerning mythic and religious subjects, special precaution should be taken as to the extent of the freedom permissible to the translation. Thus special obstacles are presented by the composition of the texts themselves, as studied in Appendix III, and by problems of language as mentioned below (see p. 26–28). As a general rule it may be considered advisable to omit the translation of any detail of the texts which has the character of a name of any kind, or which appears as a special term, and, at any rate, a translation should in such cases be accompanied by a transcription of the original text. Furthermore, more or less haphazardly varied interpretations of a specific item of Tibetan terminology or phraseology, which can occasionally be found even within small sections of one and the same text, should be avoided until the real value of it can be stated with sufficient certainty. As a whole, a primary, literal and less fluent translation is more preferable to a literally accomplished, but eventually less reliable one. Freedom in the interpretation and the idiomatic choice must necessarily be granted to a certain extent, but facts reveal that too much freedom in this respect or negligence of the just mentioned measures of precaution, have more or less obliterated the specific sense of a text or changed it, at times beyond recognition.<sup>4</sup>

Within Tibetan literature items connected with subjects outside the sphere of Buddhism are rare and so are historical sources, when taken in our sense. Yet we have a comparatively large number of sources at our disposal for studying the subjects of the present paper. This state forces upon us the necessity of limiting the number of sources employed here. In these sources, and by them, we are at present unable to conduct any proper investigation with regard to source criticism. Studies in the history of Tibetan literature are so few and so limited, that on the background of the number of works in Tibetan at present known, they appear as insufficient or worthless. First when studies like the present one are made, establishing a skeleton on which to attach additional material, we obtain means for carrying out textual criticism in our sense. First when we possess this skeleton, we are able to prove or disprove matters connected with the skeleton, or even the established skeleton itself.

As mentioned above we have at our disposal a large number of Tibetan sources for the present study. Information on the subjects studied here are found in many different kinds of works, in a few cases arranged systematically, in most cases occurring only here and there within the sources.

At our disposal we have some primary sources from the time of the Dynasty or from the time immediately following its disintegration. These are listed in the following survey of References and sources under the numbers 1–24 (see p. 20).

By far the largest group of sources is constituted by later texts, including later editions of documents dating from the time of the Dynasty, the so-called *gTer-ma*.<sup>5</sup> Among these the most important ones for our purposes, are the texts classified as *Thañ-yig* or *bKa'i-thañ-yig*, *Yig-tshañ*, *bKa'-chems* (Testaments), *bKa'-gdams* (Instructions), *Žal-gdams* (Advices), and *Lo-rgyus* (Annals).

Among the other kinds of works we may mention historical works such as *Lo-rgyus* (Annals), *Deb-ther* (Chronicles), *rGyal-rabs* (Royal chronicles), *Byuñ-tshul* (Histories), and *Chos-(')byuñ* (Ec-

clesiastic chronicles). Genealogies such as *rGyal-brgyud* (Royal genealogies), *Rabs-rgyud* (Genealogies), *gDun-rabs* (Family genealogies), *'Khrun-rabs* (Birth lists), and *sKyes-rabs* (Jātaka). Biographies, *rNam-(par-)thar(-pa)* and lists of traditional transmission and succession, *brGyud-pa* or *bLa(-ma'i)-brgyud(-pa)*. Eulogies, *sMon-lam* (Prajñāhāna), invocations, *gSol-'debs*, and prophecies, *Luñ-bstan-pa* (Vyākaraṇa). Notes on and descriptions of studies undertaken, such as *gSan-yig* (Notes), *Thob-yig* (Résumés), and *Khrid-yig* (Guides). Topographical descriptions, such as *gNas-yig* or *gNas-bśad* (Topographical descriptions), *dKar-chag(s)* or *mTshan-byañ* (Descriptive lists), and *Lam-yig* (Route guides). Codes of laws and rules, such as *bCa'-yig* (Regulations) and *bKa'-khrims* or *Khrims-yig* (Codes of laws). Works on chronology, *rTsis-yig* (Computation), *sKar-rtsis* (Astronomy and astrology), *bsTan-rtsis* (Chronology of Buddhism), and *Lo-tho* (Almanachs). Tibetan studies in Buddhist theology and ritual handbooks contain important hints, especially those of the following kinds: *sGrub-thabs* (Sādhana), *bsGrub-tshul* (Sādhākāra), *dNos-grub* (Siddhi), *Cho-ga* (Vidhi) such as *gTor-chog* (Balividhi) and *Khrus-chog* (Mṛjāṃvidhi), *mChod-thabs* (Puja), *mChod-gtor-'bul-tshul* (Pujavidhipradānākāra), *gSol-mchod*, *gSol-'debs* (Adhyeṣaṇa), *bSañs-mchod*, *lHa-bsañs*, *sByin-sreg* (Homa), and *mDos-kyi-lag-len*.

Significant details are found in colophons of every kind of Tibetan texts, *Byañ* or *dPe-byañ* (Colophons), *bsGyur-byañ* (Translator's colophons), *Žus-byañ* (Revisor's colophons), *'Bri(-s)byañ(s)* (Calligrapher's colophons), *mDzad-byañ* (Author's or editor's colophons), *Par-byañ* (Printer's colophons), in prefaces, *Kha-byañ*, in postscripts, *rJes-* or *Che-brjod*, and in eulogic postscripts, *sMon (-lam-gyi)-tshig(-pa)*.

*The selection of the sources.* Regarding these sources available for the present study, a major problem has been the limitation of the number of sources employed. We have limited the number of sources to those which contain systematic representations of the subjects under study here, and to sources which elaborate or supplement the systematic representations in a way which supply important new information. A limitation to the number of sources quoted is naturally presented by that number of sources which are available to us. This number is represented by the selection present in Western collections and editions. This selection may be characterized as "haphazard", because we are aware of sources which, if available to us, would have supplied primary material to our study. On the other hand, the available sources in a limited number as employed here, supply us with a basis on which we are able to utilize them fully.

In order to demonstrate the variety and character of the Tibetan sources employed, we have arranged them in groups according to their contents in the list of References and Sources under the numbers 1–140 (see p. 20 ff.).

The Mongolian, Indian, and Chinese sources quoted in the study and listed in References and Sources under the numbers 141–146, 201–212, and 213–229, are only representative items of the main traditions relative to the subjects under discussion. They illustrate the main lines of traditions within the literature they represent. No effort to attain completeness has been attempted on account of the extent of such an enterprise and on account of the secondary importance to the present study.

As manifest from the above examination of the previous research (see p. 13f.), a large part of the Western literature dealing with Tibet and Tibetan culture deals more or less extensively with single or more subjects studied here. But it is also a fact that only very few Western studies are important critical studies on these subjects. Those studies which have any primary importance to our present study are listed in References and Sources under the numbers 147–200 (see p. 24 f.). But only studies quoted more than thrice are listed, the others are mentioned on relevant occasions.<sup>6</sup>

*The present study.* Besides the direct evidence obtained from the following study with regard to the single elements occurring in connection with the origin, development and final (Buddhist) shaping of the legendry, the myths and the religious systems or theories behind the Yar-luñ Dynasty and the death and burial of its kings, *we obtain other, though often indirect, evidence with regard to the basis on which these legendries, myths and theories were founded.*

Through the following study we can establish *the invariability of the main sequences of the myths,*

*legends and traditions regarding the Yar-luñ Dynasty in the time before King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. Moreover we can establish the reliability for historical research of the Tibetan legends and traditions as found in our sources.*

Through all the evidence collected and studied in the following chapters we meet, as always in Tibetan studies, the different, locally determined variations of the main traditions, but more important is the circumstance that *in all contexts are found the same three or aspects or divisions in the legends, the myths and the religious systems or theories*; and what is most important, through this triple aspect or division is obtained *the first indications with regard to the possible, real and historical origin of the Yar-luñ Dynasty*, an aspect about which all Tibetan sources are completely silent, except for the established connection between Yar-luñ and Koñ-po.

These three aspects or divisions are expressed in the three established Tibetan traditions of the origin of the progenitor king of the Yar-luñ Dynasty: the Buddhist tradition of *gSañ-ba Chos-lugs*, the Bon-po tradition of *Grag-s-pa Bon-lugs*, and the pre-Bon tradition of *Yañ-bsañ The'u-rañ-lugs*.

The Buddhist tradition maintaining a descent of the progenitor gÑa'-khri-btsan-po from an Indian dynasty, incorporated the already established and firm pre-Buddhist traditions of the progenitor's descent from a high mountain and his connection with the lHa. lHa, the principal divine celestial exponents of the Bon religion were accepted by the Buddhists by turning their universal importance into an identity with the Indo-Buddhist, rather blurred concept of the deva or gods.

The Bon-po tradition of the progenitor's descent from the celestial lHa was based upon the concept of a tripartite cosmos, Heaven—Earth—Underworld (*gNam—Bar* or *Sa-'Og*), the existence-media of Birds—Meat-Eater—Fishes (*Bya—Śa-zan—Ña*), whose principal exponents were the celestial lHa, the *bTsan* or the principal divine powers upon Earth, and the *kLu* and the *mTshun*, the Dead, of the Underworld. The connection between the king and the lHa is expressed through the title *lHa-sras*, Son of the lHa, the connection with the bTsan is expressed through his royal title of *bTsan-po*, and his connection with the Underworld through the title of *sPu-rgyal*, King of the Dead.

In the Bon-po, tripartite world of existence Bon had introduced separations between gods and man, between man and dead, introducing special funeral rites, establishing an impassable boundary between living, *gson-po*, and dead, *gśin-po*. When introducing these funeral rites and a world of the celestial lHa, Bon-po accepted and incorporated large parts of a former tradition, the pre-Bon-po tradition of Yañ-bsañ The'u-rañ-lugs. Especially known are the Yañ-bsañ concepts about the dead and the dead ancestors. The funeral customs were still according to the pre-Bon concepts, the Bon-po added the rites of closing the tombs and the cutting away of the world of the dead from the living. Bon-po placed the corpses in a tomb upon earth contrary to the pre-Bon custom of burying the corpses in the waters.

The pre-Bon tradition, Yañ-bsañ The'u-rañ-lugs, maintaining the progenitor's descent from the Te or The, was based upon the concept of a dual cosmos, Up-Below (*Ya-yogs*) or Earth-Underworld (*Sa-'Og*), the existence-media of Meat-eaters and Fishes (*Śa* and *Ña*), their principal exponents being the *mi*, human beings, and the *Te*. The Te or The are the principal powers in the *Mu* system of theogony, where the dead in their active forms living among the living beings or Mi, were the Te or The. The cosmos was imagined as a box, *ga'u*, having an upper and a lower part, within which the dual process of creation began with the white and the black light, with *pho* and *mo*, the male and the female principle. This *ga'u* was also compared to a uterus, a *rum*, the place of departure for life and the place of arrival for the dead. In that dual world the dead, *mTshun*, and their active counterparts, *Te* or *The* (in later times *The'u-rañ*), were different from the living, the *mi* or *gSon-po*, by not possessing Lifepower, *bLa*.

The pre-Bon tradition of creation was intimately connected with the idea of the world imagined as a broken egg and with the idea of an origin of all beings from eggs, cosmic eggs or blood-eggs. This tradition was a matriarchal tradition having a cosmic progenitor in the form of a *female genitrix*, in contrast to the patriarchal tradition of the Bon-po, having a cosmic progenitor in the form of a *male genitor*.

Through the maintenance by the pre-Bon tradition and by a majority of the sources, that the progenitor of the Yar-luñ Dynasty was Bya-khri or Bird-Throne, coming from the Realm of the Dead,

sPu-yul, and through the maintenance especially by the Buddhist tradition of the bird-like signs characterizing the progenitor, we believe the motive to be that *the first stage of the Yar-luñ Dynasty is connected with Yar-luñ or that part of the district of Yar-luñ which was under the rule of the Bya or Bird Clan, which presumably had its central seat in the castle of Yum-bu-bla-sgañ*. This first stage corresponds generally to the aspect of the pre-Bon-po tradition, the matriarchal system of the Mu.

*The second stage of the Yar-luñ Dynasty was presumably connected with a collapse of this early Bya Dynasty, caused by the death of the last member of the line, by defeat in warfare, or by some other reason, and the take-over of the power of ruler within the Dynasty by someone coming from the outside.*

*Through this take-over the Yar-luñ Dynasty was connected with the Dynasty of Koñ-po. This way Ña and Ña-khri was introduced in Yar-luñ, Ña-khri being primarily the ruler of Koñ-po.*

This take-over of the power as ruler is *mythically* related in the accounts of the progenitor's descent from above, and is *historically* related through the prehistoric precedence of Fan-ni's taking the rule over Tibetan tribes in the fifth century A.D. Such a take-over of the power of the Yar-luñ Dynasty by a stranger, together with an introduction of the Bon doctrine and the Bon rites maintaining the king's descent from the celestial gods, explains the strange silence prevailing with regard to the name of the special clan or family of the kings of the historical Yar-luñ Dynasty.

This take-over also meant the introduction of the patriarchal system of Bon-po into a previously matriarchal system of pre-Bon or Mu. This is perhaps the explanation of the introduction of the institution of a minister of the king's maternal line, the Žañ-blon. Perhaps the ruler taking over the power of the Yar-luñ Dynasty married a female descendant or the female descendant of the Bya Dynasty.

The male ruler taking over the power of the Bya Dynasty in Yar-luñ may be a direct descendant from the Koñ-po Dynasty, the later Koñ-rje-dkar-po, but he may equally well be either Fan-ni himself or a direct descendant of his.

*The take-over coincided with the established historical beginning of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, especially distinguished by being the focal point for the matriarchal beginning of the Dynasty, marked by the twenty-fourth king of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, King rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan. This corresponds closely to the Chinese tradition, that the twenty-seventh king of the Dynasty, King Khri-rje-thog-btsan, was the first king mentioned after King gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.*

The ninth king of the Dynasty, sPu-de-guñ-rgyal or Bya-khri, marks the prehistoric introduction of that royalty which characterizes the later known Yar-luñ Dynasty. He also marks the introduction of the Bon religion in Yar-luñ and thus represents the ruler taking over the power, but these connections seem rather to be later additions to his capacity of ancestor of the Yar-luñ Dynasty.

*gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is the later expression for the ancestor of the Ña-khri kingdom or Koñ-po, the royalty of which was introduced in Yar-luñ. gÑa'-khri-btsan-po according to the tradition marks the introduction of Bon and the introduction of an all-Tibetan ruler. His connection to both Koñ-po and Yar-luñ is expressed by the title of 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, "the God from 'O-yul in Koñ-po being a King of the Dead," thus referring to Bya-khri coming from the Realm of the Dead, sPu-yul.*

In the Buddhist sources especially, gÑa'-khri-btsan-po takes over the position as progenitor from both 'O-lde-spu-rgyal and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, because of his remote connection through the vocables of his name to those bonds which existed between the king and the world of the dead in the former traditions, bonds which were directly expressed through the vocables of the two other progenitor names. Such a connection between the Tibetan royalty and an idea of the ancestors and the world of the dead, was completely incompatible with the Buddhist teachings, being completely alien and opposed to the Buddhist concept of saṃsāra.

## The sources

The sources for the present study immediately divide themselves into three groups, those from Tibet itself, those from the border-countries to Tibet (Mongolia, China, and India), and those from the rest of the world, in particular studies in Western languages. The selection and the character of the sources has been commented upon above (p. 16), and in connection with the three groups of the sources, it proves to be the best way of arranging the list of sources and the references to them as follows. They have been divided into groups according to their particular language(s) and subjects. Therefore several systems of order are employed in the groups, which reflect the variety of the sources employed.

Only sources quoted more than thrice are listed below. To facilitate references to the sources in the study we employ the Latin numbers placed before the titles of the sources, together with author's name or title of the text.

In the following list of references and sources, the sources are arranged as follows:

*Original old Tibetan documents:* editions of Tibetan documents on paper or wood found in Eastern Turkestan. Arranged according to editor's name.

*Original old Tibetan inscriptions:* editions of still existing inscriptions on stone or metal. Arranged chronologically.

*Texts from the time of the Dynasty in later editions:* later Tibetan editions of documents or other texts dating back to the time of the Yar-luñ Dynasty: Three edicts edited by dPa'-bo gTsong-lag, two letters sent by Buddhist monks, and four texts written at the time of the Dynasty. There follows ten gTer-ma texts arranged chronologically according to their date of edition.

*Tibetan historical works:* original manuscripts and xylographs or modern non-Tibetan editions. Arranged chronologically according to date of composition.

*Index volumes of Kanjur and Tanjur editions:* such index-volumes which contain studies on the history of Buddhism in Tibet. Arranged chronologically according to date of composition.

*rNam-thar, "Biographies":* twelve more or less comprehensive biographical texts.

*Guide-books, calendars:* arranged chronologically.

*Other Tibetan sources:* original Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs or modern non-Tibetan editions: Three texts from the Kanjur arranged according to title, eight texts arranged according to author's name, one modern school-reader, fourteen Buddhist ritual texts arranged according to title, and three Bon-po texts arranged according to title.

*Mongolian sources:* arranged according to title or author's name.

*Translations and works in Western languages:* arranged alphabetically according to author's or translator's name.

*Indian sources in edition or translation:* arranged alphabetically according to title.

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## Problems of translation and language

In addition to all the problems common to any case of translating or transplanting Oriental culture into a Western garb, we have to face the fact that Buddhist ideology during the centuries has submerged or disguised the pre-Buddhist world of ideas in Tibet. In order to reduce the size of this study, discussion of Buddhist terminology is generally omitted, but an understanding of this is a *conditio sine qua non* for this study. Buddhist terms are therefore generally rendered by their Sanskrit equivalents in this study.

To solve linguistic problems in the Tibetan texts we possess a rather large number of dictionaries, word-lists, and grammars.<sup>1</sup> But most of these are of rather limited value for a study such as the present one. They are collected without treating the words with regard to period, place or aspect. The influence of dialects is almost never indicated, a rare exception being the works of R.-A. Stein on the Gesar epic.<sup>2</sup> The common, polite, and very polite words in Tibetan still need intensive study. Sometimes the composite character of these forms is confusing with regard to meaning, especially the composite forms containing *sku*, *bka'*, etc. The value and operative force of the syntactic particles in the texts quoted in this study, are not always following the rules laid down in the grammars accessible to us at present. The works of F. W. Thomas are some of the very few being of any help to this study<sup>3</sup>.

To understand the very special vocabulary characteristic of the subjects treated here, no extensive help can be obtained in the existing literature. The meaning of many terms must be drawn from the context and from an analysis of the single elements constituting the words in their written form, such as prefixes, root, and suffixes. Analyzing these elements we at once meet phenomena never studied extensively before: the interchange of the root-consonants in the script between aspirates and non-aspirates, between voiced and unvoiced (The tonal character especially of Central Tibetan is reflected in this interchange of characters, e.g. ཀ ka → kā; ལ lga → kḷ; ཁ kha → khā; ཀྱ ga → khḷ); the interchange of vowel signs between *a* and *o*, *e* and *i*, *e* and *u*, *i* and *yi*, *e* and *ye*, *yi* and *ye*.

In this connection two kinds of changes in the spelling has to be considered. One is the change of characters, probably based on sound changes during time or between dialects, which conveys no change of meaning, e.g. *la-stsogs* → *la-sogs*; *Tshes-poñ* → *Tshe-spoñ*. The other is the change of characters which conveys a change of meaning. This may be caused by intentional or unintentional attempts of etymology, of etiology, or by attempts to disguise unwanted references. This kind of change occurs often in manuscripts written from dictation or in late Buddhist texts e.g. *sman* → *dman*; *skar* → *dkar*; *dri* → *khri*; etc.

An even greater problem is presented by all words written with a subscribed letter (*ya-*, *ra-*, *la-btags* and *wa-zur*). These letters together with the preceding consonant are either symbols for sounds not present in the Indian mother-alphabet, or are words with root consonants identical with the subscribed letters. In the latter case the preceding consonant is generally one of the prefix-letters employed with the verbal nouns (see below) *g-*, *d-*, *b-*, or one of their assimilated forms, *k-*, *kh-*, *h-*, *t-*, *p-*, *ph-*.

A most difficult part of the written Tibetan language is those changes which occur especially in words employed in a verbal position, i.e. the changes expressed through the prefix and suffix letters, of which the most important are *g-*, *d-*, *b-*, *'-*, and *-s*, *-d*. These letters are frequently taken as indications of temporal aspects, a result of the all-dominating influence of Indian grammar in Tibet. But it is a misleading description of these letters. They indicate various aspects of action inherent in the verbal-active part of the Tibetan verbal nouns. They indicate two kinds of aspects: Durative or Perfect, and Indicative or Conceivability. The combination of the aspects results in the four forms of the Tibetan words in verbal positions, generally characterized as Present, Past, Future, and Imperative.

The question of these letters is too large to discuss in detail here, so we shall only mention what seems to be the complete and thus the ideal system of the words in verbal position and the aspects expressed through the letters, bearing in mind that only a few cases exist of complete paradigms. The four forms are more adequately described as actions in Durative (Present), Concrete (Past), Abstract (Future), and Imperative-Optative (Imperative). As indicated in the following table, *Durative* is a durative action in the indicative, *Concrete* is a perfect action in the indicative, *Abstract* is a durative action which is conceivable, and *Imperative-Optative* is a perfect action which is conceivable.

As indicated in the ideal system of the table below, there occurs a vowel change from Durative to Concrete and an identical change from Durative to Abstract. This is the reason for the frequently occurring merging of the Concrete and Abstract (Past and Future) forms. Finally Imperative-Optative is characterized by another kind of vowel change compared with the Durative.

	Durative action		Perfect action	
Aspect of indicative	DURATIVE	'a - [ aiueo ]	CONCRETE	b - [ aiuaa ]
Aspect of conceivability	ABSTRACT	g - [ aiueo ]	IMPERATIVE - OPTATIVE	aspiration [ aiuo ]
		d - [ aiuaa ]		aspiration [ aiuo ]

- initial consonant(s)
- ▮ final consonant or zero

Table A: The aspects and the ideal system of changes in the verbal nouns.

The suffix letter -d stresses the aspect of Indicative. The suffix letter -s stresses the aspect of perfect action.<sup>4</sup>

Prefix ' indicates Durative<sup>5</sup>, b- Concrete, d- Abstract; Imperative-Optative is indicated by an aspiration of the root consonant. Prefix g- occurs in both Durative and Abstract, these two forms thus being different only with regard to vowel signs and suffix -d. Prefix g- is mainly placed before root consonants where ' and d- cannot be placed.

By employing the prefix letters as shown in the Table A, clashes arise between them and the following initial consonant or root consonant, resulting in a change of these consonants. These changes alone have often been mistaken for verbal paradigms, but they are simply the result of assimilations. Ideally the root consonants are influenced by the prefix letters as shown in the following table, the unchanged root consonants being omitted:

Durative	k kh g	c ch j	t th d	p ph b	ts tsh dz
Concrete	k k k	c/ś c/ś c/ž	t t t	ph ph ph	ts ts ts/z
Abstract	k k g	c c/ś ž	t t d	p p b	ts ts z
Imp.-Opt.	kh kh kh	ch ch ch	th th th	ph ph ph	tsh tsh tsh

The ideal system of changes in the words, employed in a verbal position, developed into eight paradigms in the written form of Tibetan. These paradigms are divided into two main groups, that of verbal nouns of one stem, the largest group, and that of verbal nouns of more stems. In the following the complete paradigms are demonstrated through examples:

Verbal nouns with one stem, eventually with an added -s or -d:

1. *gduñ*(d)                      *gduñ*(s)                      *gduñ*                      *gduñ*(s)





# Transcription

The system for rendering *Tibetan* employed here generally follows those of Jäschke and Das, as shown in the following table of transliteration. The right-turned vowel sign *i* is rendered *ī*. In the quotations from the Tun-huang texts (1) no distinction has been made between these two *i*-signs. The *tsheg* has not been rendered, but the *śad* is rendered by */*. The *gTer-ma'i śad* is rendered by *∴*. In the first word in names and appellatives and in the beginning of a new section, larger sentence or quotation, a capital letter is employed for the radical letter. Hyphens are employed to join words and syllables having a coherence with regard to meaning and function: names, nominal and verbal groups, nouns and particles, etc. Letters below or above the lines and later additions are rendered in italics. Letters omitted in the cursive writing are placed within brackets: ལྷོ slo(b-dp)on.

*Chinese* is transcribed according to the rules of Mathews' Chinese-English dictionary. Revised American edition. Cambridge 1960.

*Mongolian* is transcribed according to the rules of A. Mostaert, Dictionnaire Ordos. Peking 1941-44.

*Kalmuck* is transcribed following the transcribed text of Bodhimör (61) by Jülg.

*Sanskrit* and *Pali* are transcribed according to the generally accepted rules of the Orientalists' Congress of 1896.

The *gSal-byed*:

ཀ ka	ཁ kha	ག ga	ང na
ཅ ca	ཆ cha	ཇ ja	ཉ ña
ཏ ta	ཐ tha	ད da	ན na
པ pa	ཕ pha	བ ba	མ ma
ཚ tsa	ཛ tsha	ང dza	འ wa
ཎ za	ཟ za	འ 'a <sup>6</sup>	ཡ ya <sup>7</sup>
ར ra	ལ la	ཤ śa	ས sa
ཧ ha	ཨ a		

Additional characters for rendering Sanskrit:

ཌ ṭa <sup>8</sup>	ཌྷ ṭha	ཎ ḍa	ཏ ḍha
ཡ śa	ཨ ḥ	མ ṃ	མ ṁ

Vowelsigns:

ཨ i	ཨ u	ཨ e	ཨ o
ཨ ī			

Table B: The transcription of Tibetan.

## Abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviations of English expressions are made according to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 4th edition, Oxford 1951, Appendix I.

Abbreviations of titles of journals, periodicals, or serials are made according to those employed in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, formerly *Far Eastern Quarterly*.

The following symbols are employed:

- \* reconstructed form.
- \*√ reconstructed stem.
- √ stem.
- = correspond(s) to.
- ≡ identical with.
- ∞ related to; married to.
- < derive(s, d) from.
- develop(s, ed) into.

The following abbreviated number references are employed:

- 75.151: Source no. 75, page 151.
- 64.127r: Source no. 64, fol. 127r.
- 220.216A.3r7: Source no. 220, vol. 216A, fol. 3r, line 7.
- 34.E.189r: Source no. 34, vol. E, fol. 189r.
- 69.29–30/79: Source no. 69, p. 29–30 and p. 79.

Numbers employed in connection with kings, queens, princes, and tombs refer to the Tables III and IV.

THE YAR-LUN  
DYNASTY



## The genealogy of the Yar-luñ kings according to the common Tibetan tradition

According to the prevailing Tibetan tradition, the whole lineage of the Yar-luñ kings counts 42 kings from the foundation of the Dynasty until its fall in 842 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Among these forty-two kings we are obliged to distinguish between a *prehistoric line* of 32 kings which, in agreement with common conventionality, will be temporarily regarded as ending with gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan, and a *historic line* of 10 kings, beginning with Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po and ending with gLañ-Dar-ma. While the material for establishing the historic line is available from the great mass of Tibetan historical sources, the prehistoric line has as yet only been known from the more or less complete representation to be found in a comparatively few, generally accessible sources.

### *The prehistoric line*

For carrying out the present work, which is devoted to the study of the prehistoric line and the general tradition connected with it, it has therefore been unavoidably necessary to establish a more solid and extensive basis, by including relevant material which is available only in a single or a few copies, possessed by various European libraries or collections. Where *the representation of the prehistoric line* is particularly concerned, the study has been primarily based on the following Tibetan, Mongolian, and Kalmuck sources:

<i>Reference no.</i>		<i>Specified reference</i>
1	Tun-huang Ms. 249 Paris . . . . .	1.81-2/86-8
34	Mañi-bka'-'bum . . . . .	34.E.187v-188r
37	rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig . . . . .	37.18v-19v
51	Deb-ther-dmar-po . . . . .	51.15v-16r.
57	bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu. . . . .	57.32v-35r
58	rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ . . . . .	58.24r-27v
60	Idem, G. Tucci Ms. B. . . . .	60.61v-68v
61	Bodhimör, Dresden Ms.. . . . .	61.34v-39v
62	Idem, trsl. I. J. Schmidt . . . . .	62.316-22
64	dPa'-bo gTsub-lag . . . . .	64.5r-12r
68	La-dwags rgyal-rabs, ed. A. H. Francke . . . . .	68.28-30/76-82
69	Idem, ed. E. Schlagintweit . . . . .	69.833-39/13r-15v
70	Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama . . . . .	70.11r-13v
75	dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ . . . . .	75.149-50
93	Pakṭa-yā of the lHa-sa Kanjur . . . . .	93.282v-85r
117	Notes to Bu-ston's Chos-'byuñ . . . . .	117.123v
145	Sanang Sečen, ed. I. J. Schmidt . . . . .	145.21-2/29-30

<i>Reference no.</i>		<i>Specified reference</i>
146	Sanang Sečen, Urga Ms. . . . .	146.8r-9v
149	S. Chandra Das . . . . .	149.I.231-33
173	Bu-ston's Chos-'byuñ, trsl. E. Obermiller . . . . .	173.181-83
184	Deb-ther-sñon-po, trsl. G. N. Roerich. . . . .	184.36-7

In the following general discussion of the representation of the prehistoric line, only the reference numbers to these sources are used. In special cases, where data beyond this material, as listed above, have been used, specified references are given. The reference numbers themselves refer to the general list of sources (p. 20-25).

A number of the sources enumerated above are not immediately accessible, because of their scattered, unique or rare occurrence. As, however, their representations of the prehistoric Dynasty contain most important material, either because these representations are particularly complete, or they disagree in various ways with the hitherto generally established concept of the prehistoric line, we are going to present in the following a synopsis of the material concerned. This material has the same general character as that of the commonly known, printed sources on the same subject. It consists in the main of a more or less schematic enumeration of the kings, annotated in various ways or interrupted by insertion of more or less extensive accounts applying to individual kings within the line. In the following synoptic representation, we shall refrain from giving these particular accounts, because they are going to be considered in more relevant connections in the later parts of this work, and we shall therefore now confine ourselves to representing the various lists of kings, accompanied by some details with specific reference to the dynastic line and its division according to Tibetan tradition.

34. *Mañi-bka'-'bum*, E.

1. rJe gÑa'-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	1.	17. lDe-'phrul-nam-gzuñ-btsan . . . . .	17.
2. Mu-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	2.	18. Se-sñol-gnam-lde . . . . .	18.
3. Diñ-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	3.	19. Se-sñol-po-lde . . . . .	19.
4. So-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	4.	20. lDe-sñol-nam . . . . .	20.
5. Me-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	5.	21. lDe-sñol-po . . . . .	21.
6. gDags-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	6.	22. lDe-rgyal-po . . . . .	22.
7. Sribs-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	7.	23. lDe-srin-btsan . . . . .	23.
1.-7.: gNam-la-khri-bdun		16.-23.: Sa-la-lde-brgyad	
8. Gri-gum-btsan-po . . . . .	8.	24. rGyal-po-to-re-loñ-btsan. . . . .	24.
9. Pu-de-guñ-rgyal . . . . .	9.	25. Khri-btsan-nam . . . . .	25.
8.-9.: sTod-kyi-lteñs-gñis		26. Khri-dgra-dpuñ-btsan . . . . .	26.
10. I-śo-legs . . . . .	15.	27. Khri-thog-rje-thog-btsan. . . . .	27.
11. De-śo-legs . . . . .	11.	28. lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan . . . . .	28.
12. Thi-śo-legs. . . . .	12.	24.-28.: bTsan-lña	
13. Gu-ru-legs . . . . .	13.	29. Khri-gñen-gzuñs-btsan . . . . .	29.
14. 'Brom-śor-legs . . . . .	14.	30. 'Brog-gñan-lde-ru. . . . .	30.
15. Śer-legs . . . . .	10?	31. sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs . . . . .	31.
10.-15.: Legs-drug		32. gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan . . . . .	32.
16. Zin-ma-zin-lde . . . . .	16.		

37. *rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig*.

1. rJe-gcig gÑa'-khri-btsan-po bya-ba de:	1.
mGo-nag mi dañ srog-chags rkyen-du byon:	
Dog-la bžugs-nas rgyal-brgyud sras bltams-pa <sup>2</sup> :	

- gNam-la-khri-bdun Sa-la-legs-drug* dañ :  
*Sil-ma-bdun* dañ *Tshigs-la-btsan-lha* :  
 Bod-kyi chos-skyoñ rgyal-po rim-pa bdun :  
*gNam-la-khri-bdun* ji-ltar yin-pa ni :
2. gÑa'-khri sras ni *Mu-khri-btsan-po* yin : 2.
  3. De-yi sras ni *Diñ-khri-btsan-po* yin : 3.
  4. De-yi sras *So-khri-btsan-po* yin : 4.
  5. De-yi sras ni *Mer-khri-btsan-po* yin : 5.
  6. De-yi sras ni *gDags-khri-btsan-po* yin : 6.
  7. De-yi sras ni *sPyi-khri-btsan-po* yin : 7.
- 1.-7. De-ltar *gNam-la-khri-bdun* mtshan-du gsol :  
*Sa-la-legs-drug* rgyal-po'i rgyal-brgyud-la :  
 8. rGyal-po *Gri-gum-btsan-po*'i sras gsum ni : 8.  
*Bya-khri Śa-khri Ña-khri* rnam-pa gsum :  
 rGyal-po Bya-khri Koñ-po'i yul-du gśegs :  
 rGyal-po Ña-khri Ñañ-po'i yul-du gśegs :  
 rGyal-po Śa-khri sPo-bo'i yul-du gśegs :  
 Yab-gcig gśegs-nas rgyal-sras spyan-drañs-pa :  
 9. sPo-bo'i yul-nas *sBu-de-guñ-rgyal* byon :<sup>a</sup> 9.
- 10. sBu-de-guñ-rgyal sras ni *Śo-legs* yin : 10?
- 11. De-yi-sras ni *Li-śo-legs* źes-bya : 11?
- 12. De-yi sras ni '*Broñ-bźi-legs* źes-bya : 14.
- 13. De-yi sras ni *Thi-śo-legs* źes-bya : 12.
- 14. De-yi sras ni *Gu-rum-legs* źes-bya : 13.
- 15. De-yi sras ni *Zan-ma-legs* źes-bya : 16.

10.-15. De-rnams-yi *Legs-drug* bya-ba yin :  
 rGyal-po Zan-ma-legs-kyi sras-la ni :

  16. rGyal-po *lDe-ru-gñan-gźuñ-btsan-du* grags : 17.
  17. De-yi sras ni *sDe-snod-sbas* źes-bya : 20?
  18. De-yi sras ni *sDe-snod-ya* źes grags : 21?
  19. De-yi sras ni *Sor-rno-nam* źes grags : 18.
  20. De-yi sras ni *rGyal-po Se-ste* lags : 22?
  21. De-yi sras ni *sPrin-rgyal-btsan* źes-bya : 23.
  22. De-yi sras ni *sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan* yin : 24.

16.-22. De-dag-rnams ni rgyal-rabs *Sil-ma-bdun* :

  23. sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan sras ni *Khri-nam-btsan* : 25.
  24. De-yi sras ni *Khri-sgra-dpun-bcan*<sup>A</sup> yin : 26.
  25. De-yi sras ni *Khri-thog-rje-btsan* yin : 27.
  26. De-yi sras ni *Tho-tho-gñan-btsan* yin : 28.
  27. De-yi sras ni *Khri-gñan-gzuñs-btsan* : 29.

23.-27. De-rnams mtshan gsol *Tshigs-la-btsan-lha* yin :

  28. De-yi sras ni '*Breñ-gñan-lde-ru* yin : 30.
  29. De-yi sras ni *sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs* yin : 31.
  30. De-yi sras ni *gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan* yin : 32.

51. *Deb-ther dmar-po*.

- |                                    |                                     |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. gÑa'-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 1. | 4. So-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 4.    |
| 2. Mu-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 2.   | 5. Mer-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 5.   |
| 3. Diñ-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 3.  | 6. gDags-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 6. |

7. Srib-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	7.
1.-7. gNam-la-khri-bdun	
8. Gri-khuñ-btsan-po . . . . .	8.
9. sPu-lde-guñ-rgyal . . . . .	9.
8.-9. sTod-kyi-lteñs (lTeñs-gñis)	
10. I-šo-legs . . . . .	10.
11. De-šo-legs . . . . .	11.
12. Thi-šo-legs . . . . .	12.
13. Gu-ru-legs . . . . .	13.
14. 'Brom-že-legs . . . . .	14.
15. I-šo-legs . . . . .	15.
10.-15. Sa-yi-legs-drug (Legs-drug)	
16. Za-nam-zin-lde . . . . .	16.
17. lDe-'phrul-nam-gzuñ-btsan . . . . .	17.
18. Se-nol-nam-lde . . . . .	18.
19. Se-snol-po-lde . . . . .	19.

20. lDe-snol-nam . . . . .	20.
21. lDe-snol-po . . . . .	21.
22. lDe-rgyal-po . . . . .	22.
23. lDe-sprin-btsan . . . . .	23.
16.-23. lDe-brgyad	
24. rGyal-to-re-loñ-btsan . . . . .	24.
25. Khri-btsan-nam . . . . .	25.
26. Khri-sgra-sbuñs-btsan . . . . .	26.
27. Khri-thog-rje-thog-btsan . . . . .	27.
28. lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-btsan . . . . .	28.
24.-28. bTsan-lña	
29. Khri-gñan-bzuñ-btsan . . . . .	29.
30. 'Bro-gñan-lde'u . . . . .	30.
31. sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs . . . . .	31.
29.-31. Bar-gyi-lteñs	
32. gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan . . . . .	32.

58. *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ.*

De-nas Bod rgyal-po'i gduñ-rabs rim-par byon-pa-rnams bśad-par-bya-ste /

De'añ gNam-la-khri-bdun / sTod-kyi-steñ-gñis / Bar-du-legs-drug / Sa-la-sde-brgyad / 'Og-gi-btsan-gsum žes-pa-ltar /

rJe gÑa'-khri-btsan-po-nas / re-re-nas bgrañ-ba'i gduñ-rabs ñi-śu-rtsa-bdun-na / 'Phags-pa Kun-tu-bzañ-po'i sprul-pa lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-śal byon-te / Sañs-rgyas-kyi bstan-pa dbu-brñes-pa yin-no /

Thereafter we shall account for the succession within the royal lineage of *Bod*.

In this connection are: *gNam-la-khri-bdun*, *sTod-kyi-steñ-gñis*, *Bar-du-legs-drug*, *Sa-la-sde-brgyad*, and *'Og-gi-btsan-gsum*.

Counting separately each generation since *rJe gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, then *lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-śal*, the incarnation of *Ārya-Samantabhadra*, came in the 27th (generation), and the Doctrine of Buddha made its beginning.

1. gÑa'-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	1.
2. Mu-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	2.
3. Diñ-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	3.
4. So-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	4.
5. Me-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	5.
6. gDags-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	6.
7. Srib-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	7.
1.-7. gNam-gyi-khri-bdun (Khri-bdun)	
8. Gri-gum-btsan-po . . . . .	8.
9. sPu-de-guñ-rgyal . . . . .	9.
8.-9. sTod-kyi-steñ-gñis	
10. A-šo-legs . . . . .	10.
11. De-šo-legs . . . . .	11.
12. Thi-šo-legs . . . . .	12.
13. Gu-ru-legs . . . . .	13.
14. 'Broñ-zer-legs . . . . .	14.
15. I-šo-legs . . . . .	15.
10.-15. Bar-gyi-legs-drug	

16. Za-nam-zin-te . . . . .	16.
17. lDe-'phrul-rnam-gzuñ-btsan . . . . .	17.
18. Se-bsnol-nam-sde . . . . .	18.
19. lDe-bsnol-nam . . . . .	20.
20. sDe-bsnol-po . . . . .	21.
21. sDe-rgyal-po . . . . .	22.
22. lDe-sprin-btsan . . . . .	23.
16.-22. Sa'i-sde-brgyad	
23. Khri-btsan-nam . . . . .	25.
24. Khri-dgra-dpuñ-btsan . . . . .	26.
25. Khri-de-thog-btsan . . . . .	27.
23.-25. 'Og-gi-btsan-gsum	
26. lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-śal . . . . .	28.
27. Khri-sñan-gzugs-btsan . . . . .	29.
28. 'Broñ-sñan-lde-ru . . . . .	30.
29. sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs . . . . .	31.
30. gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan . . . . .	32.



61. *Bodhimör.*<sup>5</sup>

Tegäd Töbödîn qāni ijôr üye ulam ödö boluḡsan nogödi nomlon üyiledümüi:

Tere čü *Oḡtorguyin dolön širē* kigäd *Dēduki dēdū qoyor*: *Ḷabsarın Ḷurgān sayin* kigäd *GaḶarın nayiman küyisün dorodu gurban berke* kemēkü metü: eḶen *KüḶün širē-tü berke eḶen-ēče* niḶi-cilen toloḡson qāni ijôr üye qorin dolön-du: *Qutuḡtu Samandın-bi-drayin* qubilḡān berke *Tenggeri todori* kemēn: šil qān ödö bolḶi: burqani šaḶini terigü ekileḡsen mün:

1. KüḶün širētü berke eḶen . . . . .	1.	16. Za nam zin lde . . . . .	16.
2. Mükri btsanbo . . . . .	2.	17. lDe 'phrol nam pḶang btsan . . . . .	17.
3. Ding kri btsanbo . . . . .	3.	18. Se snol nam lde . . . . .	18.
4. So kri btsanbo . . . . .	4.	19. lDe snol nam . . . . .	20.
5. Ma kri btsanbo . . . . .	5.	20. lDe snolbo . . . . .	21.
6. gDaḶs kri btsanbo . . . . .	6.	21. lDe rgyalbo . . . . .	22.
7. Sribś kri btsanbo . . . . .	7.	22. lDe sprin btsan (lDe sphrin btsan). . . . .	23.
1.-7. Oḡtorguyin dolö širē (Dolön širē)		16.-22. GaḶarın nayiman küyisün	
8. Grigüm btsanbo . . . . .	8.	23. Kri btsan nam . . . . .	25.
9. sPüde güng rgyal . . . . .	9.	24. Kri dḶri dpüḡ btsan . . . . .	26.
8.-9. Dēduki dēdū qoyor		25. Kri lde toḶ btsan . . . . .	27.
10. Sayin išo . . . . .	10.	23.-25. Dorodu gurban berke	
11. Sayin dešo . . . . .	11.	26. Tenggeri toto ri sñān šal (Tenggeri totori	
12. Sayin tišo . . . . .	12.	ñān šel) . . . . .	28.
13. Sayin güri. . . . .	13.	27. Ḷri sñān bzüḡ btsan . . . . .	29.
14. Sayin krong žer . . . . .	14.	28. gPrang sñān lda ru qān gro sñān lderü	30.
15. Sayin išo . . . . .	15.	29. Kri gñān bzüḡs btsan . . . . .	31.
10.-15. Ḷabsarın Ḷurgān sayin		30. gNam ri srong bčan . . . . .	32.

64. *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag.*

1. gÑā'-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	1.	17. 'Phrul-nam-gzuñ-btsan-lde . . . . .	17.
2. Mu-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	2.	18. Se-snol-nam-lde . . . . .	18.
3. Diñ-khri . . . . .	3.	19. Se-snol-po-lde . . . . .	19.
4. So-khri . . . . .	4.	20. lDe-snol-nam . . . . .	20.
5. Mer-khri . . . . .	5.	21. lDe-snol-po . . . . .	21.
6. bDags-khri . . . . .	6.	22. lDe-rgyal-po . . . . .	22.
7. Sribś-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	7.	23. lDe-sprin-btsan. . . . .	23.
1.-7. gNam-la-khri-bdun		16.-23. rGyal-po-lde-brgyad (lDe-brgyad)	
8. Gri-gum-btsan-po . . . . .	8.	24. To-re-loñ-btsan . . . . .	24.
9. Pu-de-guñ-rgyal . . . . .	9.	25. Khri-btsan-nam . . . . .	25.
8.-9. sTod-kyi-steñś (sTeñś-gñis)		26. Khri-sgra-spuñś-btsan . . . . .	26.
10. I-šo-legś . . . . .	10.	27. (Khri-)Thog-rje-thog-btsan. . . . .	27.
11. De-šo-legś . . . . .	11.	28. Tho-tho-ri-gñān-btsan . . . . .	28.
12. Thi-šo-legś. . . . .	12.	24.-28. bTsan-lña	
13. Goñ-ru-legś . . . . .	13.	29. Khri-gñān-gzuñś-btsan . . . . .	29.
14. 'Broñ-gžer-legś . . . . .	14.	30. 'Bro-gñān-lde-ru . . . . .	30.
15. Šo-legś . . . . .	15.	31. sTag-ri-gñān-gziḡś . . . . .	31.
10.-15. Sa-la-legś-drug (Legś-drug)		32. gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan . . . . .	32.
16. Za-nam-zin-lde . . . . .	16.		

In the material given above, the *numbers before* the royal names are current numbers of the kings within the individual representations, while those *after* the royal names indicate the numbers of the kings concerned in the representation of the Fifth Dalai Lama, which is used in the following as a standard for comparing those of the various sources. The list of kings itself, as given by the Fifth Dalai Lama, is used as an introductory column in Table I, only the original names have in a few cases been slightly modified in accordance with the most frequently occurring forms of names (see Table III). The representation given by the *Pakṭa-yā* of the lHa-sa Kanjur depends entirely on that of the Fifth Dalai Lama, but shows a few irregularities (see Tables I and III).

The representation of the prehistoric line of the Dynasty, which is given by Bu-ston in his Chos-'byuñ (53,173), is most defective. In the Nor-gliñ bsKal-bzañ-pho-brañ edition of Bu-ston's Complete Works, an annotation is given to the name lDe-snoł which applies to the twenty-first king in the list of the Fifth Dalai Lama. This annotation reads (117.Ya.123):

'Od-'khrul-gzuñ-btsan / Se-snoł-lam-bde / Se-snoł-po-lde / lDe-rgyal-lo // lDe-srin-btsan-po lDe-brgyad zer / De-nas rGyal-lde-re-loñ-btsan / Khri-btsan-nam / Khri-sgra-sbuñs-btsan /

It obviously derives from a more complete representation of the Dynasty, and serves to fill out the list originally given by Bu-ston, in the interval between the sixteenth and twenty-seventh king.

57. *bŚad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu.*

The representation of the royal lineage given by this work (see Appendix II) is, in reality, a combination of two essentially different traditions of the prehistoric Dynasty which we shall refer to, in the following, as (57a) and (57b). In the summary given here, elements common to both traditions are not particularly indicated, while details characteristic of either of them are marked by the index-letters a and b.

mÑa'-khri-btsan-po guñ-la gśegs-nas-su / Khri-bdun Bar-gyi-gteñ-gñis dañ / Legs-drug dañ ni sTeñ-brgyad dañ / bTsan-lña gduñ-rab ñi(-ś)u-brgyad /

When *mÑa'-khri-btsan-po* went to Heaven (*guñ*), (there followed) the *Khri-bdun* (b), the *Bar-gyi-gteñ-gñis* (b), the *Legs-drug* (b), the *sTeñ-brgyad* (b), and the *bTsan-lña* (b), twenty-eight generations in all (b).

1. gÑa'-khri-brtsan-po . . . . . 1.	17. rNol-po-sde . . . . . 19?
2. Diñ-khri-brtsan-po . . . . . 3.	18. sDe-rnoł-rnañs . . . . . 20?
3. sDags-khri-brtsan-po . . . . . 6.	19. sDe-snoł-po . . . . . 21.
4. Srib-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 7.	20. bsDi-brgyal-rnañs . . . . . 22?
5a. Bu-khri-brtsan-po . . . . . ?	21. sDe-btsan-rnañs . . . . . ?
6a. Mi-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 5?	22. sDe-bsrin-brtsan . . . . . 23.
7a. Gri-khuñ-gtsan-po . . . . . 8.	14.-22. Chu-la-sde-brgyad (a)
1.-7a. gNañ-kyi-khri-bdun (a)	23a. Srid-sde-grtsan . . . . . ?
7b. Gri-guñ-brtsan-po . . . . . 8.	24a. brTsan-bzuñ-rnañs . . . . . ?
8b. sPu-ti-guñ-brgyal . . . . . 9.	25a. bTsan-brgyal-rnañs . . . . . ?
7b.-8b. Bar-gyi-šteñ-gñis (b)	26a. bTsan-gnon-rnañs . . . . . ?
8a. sPo-ti-guñ-brgyal . . . . . 9.	27. mTho-re-moñ-btsan . . . . . 24?
9. Li-śo-legs . . . . . 10?	28. Khri-sdog-rje-ldog-tsan . . . . . 27.
10. De-śo-legs . . . . . 11.	23a.-28. Legs-kyi-gtsan-lña (a)
11. mGo-ro-legs . . . . . 13.	29. lHa-mtho-ri-sñan-śal (Tho(-th)o-ri-
12. 'Groñ-rtsi-legs . . . . . 14.	sñan-bśal, Tho-ri-sñan-śal) . . . . . 28.
13. Li-śo-legs . . . . . 15?	30. Khri-sñan-gzugs-tshan . . . . . 29.
8a-13. Sa'i-legs-drug (a)	31. 'Broñ-sñan-lde-ru . . . . . 30.
14. Za-nan-zin . . . . . 16.	32. sTag-dgu-rñan-gzigs . . . . . 31.
15. 'Phrul-nañ-bzuñ-btsan-sde . . . . . 17.	33. gNañ-ri-sroñ-btsan . . . . . 32.
16. bSe-snañ-sde . . . . . 18?	

None of the records given by our sources with regard to the royal lineage in prehistoric times, can *a priori* be regarded as the correct one. Nor can we have any immediate idea of the relative correctness of the sources, but must take the question of the relative authority of the sources into consideration, in so far as we possess means for a discrimination in this respect. It might be natural to ascribe a certain priority to the Tun-huang Ms (1), considering that it is probably the oldest source available, but the mere fact that its list of kings contains a smaller number of kings than other sources, disqualifies it as a basis for a general comparison of the sources.

A general comparison of the sources, where the representation of the prehistoric line is concerned, seems however to indicate the existence of *one predominating tradition*, and although this tradition occurs to its full extent only in the minor part of the sources, the preliminary examination shows that the remaining sources *apparently* deviate only in certain details, by incompleteness or by displaced order within the sequence of kings. The apparently basic tradition in its most complete form is given by the Deb-ther-dmar-po (51), dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64), and the Fifth Dalai Lama (70), which in later time were followed by the dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ (75), Chandra Das (149), and the Pakṣa-yā (93).

The representation of the Fifth Dalai Lama, which comprises a complete list of the prehistoric queens, depends on one hand on a particular, but at present otherwise unavailable tradition of the Sa-skya-pa. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag probably consulted it too. On the other hand the Fifth Dalai Lama, in his Chronicle, depends on a number of ancient authorities such as sBa-bzed, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, Deb-ther-dmar-po, Deb-ther-sñon-po, and rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ, and his representation of the royal lineage differs only in an insignificant detail from that given by the much older gTer-ma Mañi-bka'-bum (34). With the exception of a few, also insignificant irregularities, the royal pedigree of the Deb-ther-sñon-po (184) is identical with that of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Though relying in various ways on bSod-nams-grags-pa, the Fifth Dalai Lama does not entirely follow the representation given in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (58). In spite of a particular deviation from the tradition represented by the Fifth Dalai Lama, the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ represents in principle the same tradition.

This tradition, for which we have taken the Fifth Dalai Lama as a special exponent, thus occurs in sources which represent the views of *orthodox Buddhism* and carries a stamp of authority in this regard. Therefore, when we are going to use the representation of the Fifth Dalai Lama as a standard for general comparison in the following study of the royal lineage, we are obliged to regard it as specifically representative of the *authorized Buddhist tradition of the prehistoric royal lineage*, and to make reservations where its actual correspondence to the *ancient or pre-Buddhist traditions*, or to *realities* may be concerned.

For the purpose of getting a more comprehensible view of the representations of the prehistoric line than an immediate comparison of the heterogeneously presented material of the sources permits, we have arranged the various representations schematically within the three divisions A, B, and C of the following Table I.

The numbers and names in the first and second columns of Table I correspond to the adopted standard representation of the Fifth Dalai Lama, while the remaining columns give the sequences of kings according to the various sources indicated by their reference numbers on top of the columns.

The signatures employed in Table I have the following significance:

- + used exclusively in division A, indicates that the king concerned is placed identically by the source in question and by the Fifth Dalai Lama.
  - indicates that the king is missing. For the source 56b a special explanation is given below.
- number indicates whether the sequence given by the source deviates from or corresponds to that of the Fifth Dalai Lama. The *number itself* indicates the number of the king in the standard list, while the *position of the number* indicates the actual position of the king according to the source concerned.

number? indicates that the identification of the name of the king with the corresponding name in the standard list, is uncertain.

? indicates that the name of the king in question does not occur in the standard list, or cannot with reasonable certainty be identified with any of its names or their established variants (see Table III).

———— thick horizontal lines with vertical connecting lines, serve to separate particular groups within the sequence of kings, as indicated by the sources (see below and Chapter 3).

..... dotted lines indicate a separation which appears only indirectly from the sources, by their definition of the preceding and succeeding groups.

Table I: The representations of the prehistoric lineage of the Yar-luñ Dynasty.

No.	Division	A								B					C			
	Source	Mañi-bka'-'bum	Deb-ther-dimar-po	Deb-ther-ston-po	dPa'-bo gTsug-lag	dPag-bsam	Das	Pakta-yā	rGyal-rabs gsal Bodhimör	bSad-mdzod	La-dwags	rGyal-po bka'i	Bu-ston	Bu-ston Notes	Tun-huang	Sanang, Schmidt	Sanang, Urga Ms	bSad-mdzod
	Royal name	34	51	184	64	75	149	93	58, 59, 60 61, 62	57b	68	37	53 173	117	1	145	146	57a
1	gNa'-khri-btsan-po . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	
2	Mu-khri-btsan-po . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	3	2	2	2		2	2	2	3	
3	Diñ-khri-btsan-po . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6	3	3	3		3	?	?	6	
4	So-khri-btsan-po . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7	4	4	4		4	—	?	7	
5	Mer-khri-btsan-po . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	5	5	?		?	?	?	?	
6	gDags-khri-btsan-po . . . .	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	5?	6	6	6		?	?	?	5?	
7	Sribs-khri-btsan-po . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	7	?	??		8	8	8	8	
8	Gri-gum-btsan-po . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8	8	8	9		9	9	9	9	
9	sPu-de-guñ-rgyal . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9	9	9	10		11?	10	10	10?	
10	E-šo-legs . . . .	15	+	+	+	+	+	+	10?	10	10?	15		10?	11	11	11	
11	De-šo-legs . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11	15	11?	11?		13	14	?	13	
12	Thi-šo-legs . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13	11	14	13		14	13	13?	14	
13	Gu-ru-legs . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	14	13	12	14		12	?	?	15?	
14	'Broñ-zi-legs . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	15?	14	13	12		15	17	17	16	
15	I-šo-legs . . . .	10	+	+	+	+	+	+	16	12?	16?	16		16	?	?	17	
16	Za-nam-zin-lde . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17	16	17		17	17	?	?	18?	
17	lDe-'phrul-gnam-gzuñ-btsan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	18?	17	20?		18	18?	—	?	19?	
18	Se-snol-gnam-lde . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	19?	22	21?		19	20?	?	?	20?	
19	Se-snol-po-lde . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	20	20?	18	18		20	19	23	23	21	
20	lDe-snol-nam . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	21	21	19	22		21	22	24	24	22?	
21	lDe-snol-po . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	22	22?	20	23		22	23	25	25	?	
22	lDe-rgyal-po . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	23	?	21	24		23	24	27	27	23	
23	lDe-sprin-btsan . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	25	23	23	25		24	25	28	28	?	
									?								?	
									?								?	
24	rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	26	?	24	26		25	26	29	29	?	
25	Su-khri-btsan-nam . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	27	?	25	27		26	27	31	31	24?	
26	Khri-sgra-dpuñ-btsan . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	28	24?	27	28		28	28	32	32	27	
27	Khri-rje-thog-btsan . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	29	27	28	29		29	29			28	
28	lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan	+	+	+	+	+	+	30	28	29	30		30	30			29	
29	Khri-gñan-gzuñ-btsan . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	31	29	30	31		31	31			30	
30	'Bro-gñan-lde'u . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	32	30	31	32		32	32			31	
31	sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+		30	31	32						32	
32	gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan . . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+		32									

The mutual arrangement of the sources, as it appears from Table I, and their arrangement within three separate divisions of it, have been made with particular regard to the various ways in which the royal lineage is divided into groups by the sources. An especially important criterion in this respect appears from the manner in which the two kings, nos. 8 and 9 in the standard list, are arranged by the sources.

Although the significance of several important features of the comparative Table I emerges only in connection with the following study of various aspects of the general tradition of the prehistoric Dynasty, we may already at present call attention to some more obvious, yet no less important features.

*Division A* of Table I comprises representations in which the *kings nos 8 and 9*, in accordance with the list of the Fifth Dalai Lama, and without interference with the preceding and succeeding sequences of kings in this list, are specifically defined and enlisted as *a separate, second group* of the lineage. With the exception of that of the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ, all these representations agree in *dividing the lineage of the first twenty-eight kings into five separately defined groups of seven, two, six, eight, and five kings respectively*. With the same exception they comprise a total of *thirty-two kings in the prehistoric line*, i.e. before Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. *All the representations comprised by division A may be characterized as representative of the authorized and orthodox Buddhist tradition of the royal lineage.* the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ represents, among these, a particular version of the tradition, as explained in the following.

The representations comprised by *division C* are particularly characterized by their *omission of the second group of the authorized representation. The kings nos. 8 and 9 are included as individual members of the first and third groups of this representation.* In consequence to this, these representations comprise only *four specified groups* which, with regard to their extent and the kings comprised, differ in various ways from the corresponding groups of the authorized tradition. *The representations given in division C may, for reasons to be explained in the following, be characterized as representative of a primary or introductory stage of the development of the Buddhist tradition of the royal lineage.* Where the representation of the Tun-huang Ms (1) is particularly concerned, the position of king no. 9, and the extent of the adjoining group are ambiguously defined. Here we are obviously dealing with a rendering of the older stage of the tradition, influenced to some degree by the later and final formulation of it.

In *division B* we find representations showing a more or less pronounced compromise between the traditions represented by the divisions A and C. Excepting the omission of king no. 26, the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68) apparently represents the authorized Buddhist tradition. It mentions the two kings at their proper places, but it does not define them as a group. Corresponding considerations apply to the representation given by the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37), while Bu-ston goes a step further towards the tradition of division C, by omitting king no. 8, and placing king no. 9 in the same position, as is common in this division. The most illustrative example of a compromise between the two traditions is, however, given by the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu (57). In this work (see above) the author preliminarily mentions a line of twenty-eight kings, who constitute five groups which, in principle and with regard to their number of kings, correspond to the five groups of the authorized representation, division A. In his actual representation of the royal lineage, the two kings nos. 8 and 9 are, however, placed in two different ways with slightly differing spelling of their names. In the main line of his representation, characterized above as 57a, they occur as the last member of the first group of seven kings, and the first member of the second group of six kings (corresponding to the third group of the Fifth Dalai Lama). The representation 57a thus definitely belongs to division C. To the main line, the author now adds a particular group comprising the same two kings, defined analogously to the second group of the authorized representation. The result of this procedure is a new representation of the royal lineage, which we have characterized as 57b. Although it is apparently meant to represent the authorized tradition, it is for various reasons a not too clever compromise, to be included in division B. By using the two kings nos. 8 and 9 to form a separate group, the author obtains a vacant seventh place in his first group, and a surplus king in his original second group, but he still defines the number of kings in these groups as seven and six respectively.

Beside these special features, the two divisions C and B present various features by which they differ

Table II: The prehistoric lineage of the Yar-luñ Dynasty.

1.	gÑa'-khri-btsan-po	~	gNam-mug-mug
2.	Mu-khri-btsan-po	~	Sa-diñ-diñ
3.	Diñ-khri-btsan-po	~	So-tham-tham
4.	So-khri-btsan-po	~	Dog-mer-mer
5.	Mer-khri-btsan-po	~	gDags-kyi-lha-mo dkar-mo
6.	gDags-khri-btsan-po	~	Srib-kyi-lha-mo
7.	Sribs-khri-btsan-po	~	Sa-btsun rluñ-rje
8.	Gri-gum-btsan-po	~	kLu-btsan Mer-lcam
9.	sPu-de-guñ-rgyal	~	Bom-thañ rMañ-mña'
10.	E-šo-legs	~	rMu-lcam bLa-ma-na
11.	De-šo-legs	~	kLu-sman Mer-mo
12.	Thi-šo-legs	~	bTsan-mo Gur-sman
13.	Gu-ru-legs	~	mTsho-sman 'Broñs-ma
14.	'Broñ-ži-legs	~	sMan bu-mo
15.	I-šo-legs	~	rMu-lcam sMad-legs
16.	Za-nam-zin-lde	~	mTsho-sman Khri-dkar
17.	lDe-'phrul-gnam-gzuñ-btsan	~	Se-sñan Mañ-ma
18.	Se-snol-gnam-lde	~	kLu-mo Mer-ma
19.	Se-snol-po-lde	~	'O-ma-ste Mo-tsho
20.	lDe-snol-nam	~	Khri-sman rje-ma
21.	lDe-snol-po	~	Se-btsun gÑan-rje
22.	lDe-rgyal-po	~	sMan-btsun Lug-sgoñ
23.	lDe-sprin-btsan	~	Ñi-btsun Mañ-ma-rje
24.	rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan	~	'O-ma-sde-bza' 'Bri-btsun Byañ-ma
25.	Su-khri-btsan-nam	~	sMan-bza' Khri-dkar
26.	Khri-sgra-dpuñ-btsan	~	sMan-bza' kLu-steñ
27.	Khri-rje-thog-btsan	~	Ru-yoñ-bza' sToñ-rgyal Na-mo-tsho
28.	lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan	~	gNo-za Mañ-po-rje Ji-dgos
29.	Khri-gñan-gzuñ-btsan	~	'Broñ-bza' Mo-dur-yañs-gzer
30.	'Bro-gñan-lde'u	~	mChims-bza' kLu-rgyal ñan-bu-mtsho
31.	sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs	~	'Ol-god-bza' sToñ-btsun 'Gro-dkar
32.	gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan	~	Tshe-spoñ-bza' 'Bri-za Thod-dkar

in common from division A. While the first group in division A is based on a firm, uniform tradition of the royal names, we find various names deriving from other traditions in the two other divisions, especially in C. Moreover, the representations in C and B show a pronounced disarrangement in the sequences of kings, in comparison to A, and, with the exception of 57a and 57b, which even prolong the lineage to a number of thirty-four kings, these representations show a general tendency to shorten the lineage. These occurrences must to a certain extent be ascribed to deficiencies in the sources. On the other hand, the fact that the disarrangement occurs particularly in the two groups corresponding to the third and fourth ones of the authorized representation, together with pronounced discrepancies in the rendering of the royal names, may possibly have some connection with the function of these groups, as described below (see p. 72ff.), and, where the length of the lineage is concerned, we are going to show the existence of differing traditions in this respect (see p. 72ff., 81).

As mentioned above, the Fifth Dalai Lama gives a list of the queens corresponding to the thirty-two kings of the prehistoric lineage, as defined according to the authorized tradition. A similar list is given by dPa'-bo gTsong-lag. This list has been adopted, practically without change, by Chandra Das (149) and the Pakṣa-yā (93), and it can be supplied by more or less sporadic occurrences in other sources, as specified below in Table III.

This list of the queens, together with that of the kings, permits us to give a complete representation of the *genealogy of the prehistoric lineage of the Yar-luñ Dynasty*, within the frames of the authorized Buddhist tradition. This genealogy, to which the same reservations apply as those applying to the lineage of the kings according to this tradition, is presented in the above Table II. Although traces of tra-

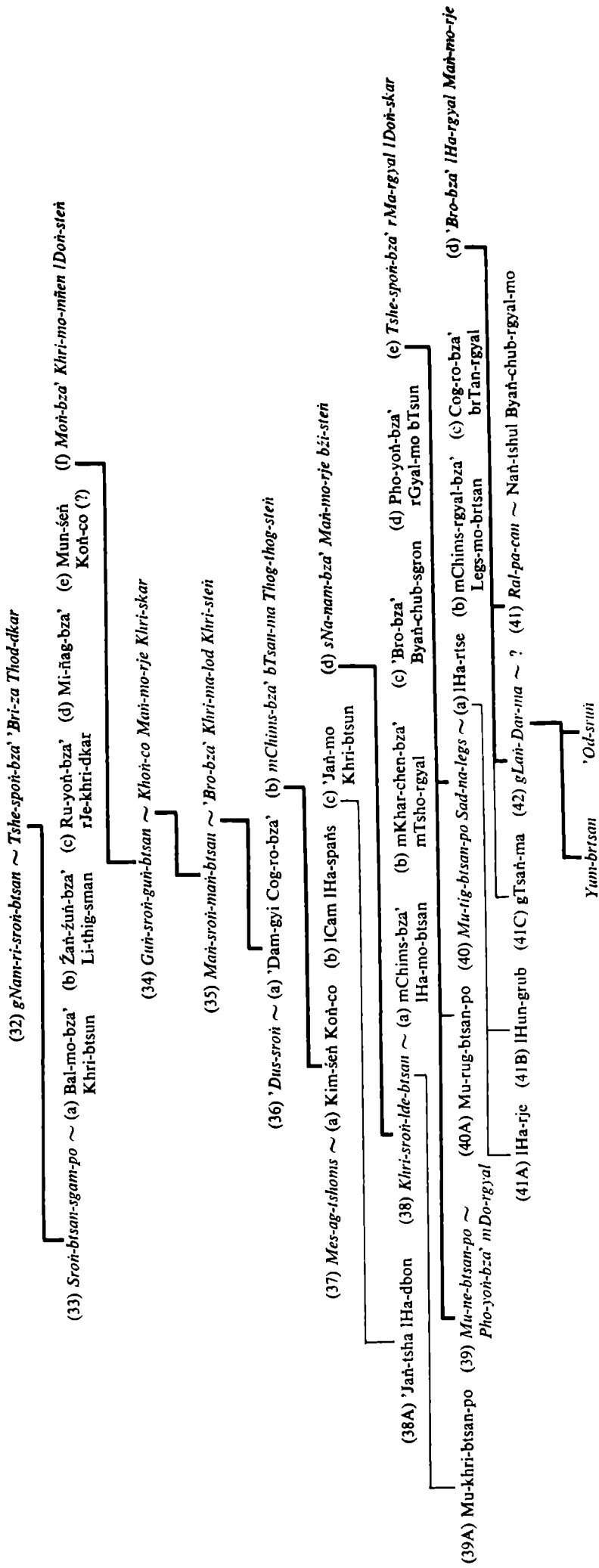


Plate 1: The historic lineage of the Yar-lun Dynasty.

ditions definitely deviating from that of the Fifth Dalai Lama are to be found in the material specified above, and particularly in the bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu and in the Mongolian sources, which are going to be studied in a separate section of this paper, and although we are able to show its inconsistency and artificial structure, we must still recognize *the tradition represented by the Fifth Dalai Lama, and the genealogy of the prehistoric Dynasty appearing from it, as a Tibetan national tradition, established more than a millenium ago and maintained to this day.*

### *The historic line*

Still adopting the general concept that the historical line of the Yar-luñ Dynasty takes its beginning with Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po or his father gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan, we may present our general knowledge of the genealogy of the historical kings by the pedigree given in Plate I, p. 43.

Genealogical tables or representations of the Yar-luñ Dynasty have been presented on earlier occasions by E. Schlagintweit, L. Petech, Liu Li-ch'ien, and B. Aoki<sup>6</sup>, but these are all founded on a very restricted number of sources.

The numbers preceding the names of the male members of the royal family serve as reference numbers for the following Tables III and IV, and for the text in general. Numbers without index letters apply to kings and indicate their position in the succession. Index letters preceding names of female members of the Dynasty refer to the order in which the queens of the single king are arranged in Table IV.

Large index letters following a number indicate a prince of the king carrying the index number in question, in cases where the prince did not succeed as a king.



## The names of the Tibetan kings, queens, and princes

Due to the fact that the names of most of the members of the Dynasty occur in a considerable number of variations, and that various names without mutual resemblance apply to one and the same royal person, especially in the historic line of the Dynasty, certain difficulties arise with regard to the choice of an appropriately representative name for each king or queen, and prince. For this choice we have in many cases no certain criterion, but depend on the relative authority of the source, the frequency of occurrence of the variations, and the degree of completeness of the occurring names.

Moreover, the close resemblance between names or variations of names of different kings, which in several cases exists and repeatedly has resulted in false identification of the kings, makes it desirable to choose among the various names such ones which, with the least possible chance of misinterpretation, may be used in future as references to the individual kings, queens, or princes. In the choice of the names used as standards in the present paper, we have made an attempt in this regard.<sup>1</sup>

For the purpose of a general study of the royal names and as a support for the identification of rarely occurring variations of names we have collected, from a rather varied selection of Tibetan literature, the *material of names* given in the tables III and IV, referring to the *prehistoric* and the *historic line* respectively.

The sequence of the kings follows the representation of the Fifth Dalai Lama. The names of the queens are placed after those of their royal consort. Names of princes are placed after those of their parents.

*Table III*  
*The names of the Tibetan kings, queens, and princes:*  
*The prehistoric line*

1. <i>gÑa'-khri-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	34; 37; 51.15v; 53; 58.24v; 64.5r,6r,6v; 70; 80.4; 90.13; 92.10v; 93; 97.36r; 120.195r; 123.47/67; 149; 157.8v; 184.
<i>gÑa'-khri-btsan</i> . . . . .	40.7r.
<i>gÑa'-khri-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	57.33r.
<i>gÑa'-khri-btsad-po</i> . . . . .	58.24r.
<i>gÑa'-khri</i> . . . . .	37; 57.28r; 110.4v; 123.67.
<i>mÑa'-khri-rtsan-po</i> . . . . .	57.28r.
<i>mÑa'-khri-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	57.28r.
<i>Ña-khri-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	90.7r.
<i>Khri Ñag-khri-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	1
<i>lDe Ñag-khri-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	1
<i>Ña-khyi-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	214.
<i>Khri-btsan-po 'Od-lde</i> . . . . .	70; 184. <sup>2</sup>
<i>Khri-btsan-po 'Od-ldan</i> . . . . .	93. <sup>2</sup>
<i>'Od-lde-spu-rgyal</i> . . . . .	184.648. <sup>3</sup>
<i>'Od-lde-spur-rgyal</i> . . . . .	37. <sup>3</sup>
<i>'Od-lde</i> . . . . .	184.648. <sup>3</sup>
<i>Queen:</i>	
<i>gNam-mug-mug</i> . . . . .	1; 64.6v; 70; 93; 149.
2. <i>Mu-khri-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	1; 34; 37; 51.15v; 58.24v; 64.6v; 68; 70; 75; 80.4; 93; 145; 184.

- dMu-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 53.  
Mug-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 1; 64.6v; 149.  
(5) Bu-khri-brtsan-po . . . . . 57.33r.
- Queen:*  
Sa-diñ-diñ . . . . . 1; 70; 93; 149.  
Dus-diñ-diñ . . . . . 64.6v.
3. Diñ-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 1; 34; 37; 51.15v; 53; 58.24v; 64.6v; 70; 75; 93; 149; 184.  
Diñ-khri-brtsan-po . . . . . 57.33r.  
Deñ-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 80.4.  
Dir-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 68.  
Riñ-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 68 (London Ms.).
- Queen:*  
So-tham-tham . . . . . 1; 64.6v; 70; 93; 149.
4. So-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 1; 34; 37; 51.15v; 53; 58; 64.6v; 68; 70; 75; 80.4; 93; 149; 184.
- Queen:*  
Dog-mer-mer . . . . . 64.6v; 70; 149.  
Don-mer-mer . . . . . 93.
5. Mer-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 37; 51.15v; 64.6v; 70; 75; 80.4; 93; 149; 184.  
Me-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 34; 58.24v; 68.  
Me-khri . . . . . 69.  
De-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 1.  
Ye-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 53.  
(6) Mi-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 57.33r.
- Queen:*  
gDags-kyi-lha-mo dkar-mo . . . . . 70; 93.  
gDags-lha-mo dkar-mo . . . . . 149.  
bDags-lha dkar-mo . . . . . 64.6v.
6. gDags-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 34; 37; 51.15v; 53; 58.24v; 68; 70; 80.4; 93; 149; 184.  
gDags-khri . . . . . 69.  
bDags-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 64.6v.  
(3) sDags-khri-brtsan-po . . . . . 57.33r.
- Queen:*  
Srib-kyi-lha-mo . . . . . 70; 93.  
Srib-lha-mo . . . . . 149.  
Sribs-lha sñon-mo . . . . . 64.6v.
7. Srib-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 34; 51.15v; 64.6v; 68; 75; 80.4; 184.  
Sribs-khri . . . . . 69.  
Srib-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 58.24v; 70; 93; 149.  
(4) Srib-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 57.33r.  
Sri-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 53.  
sPyi-khri-btsan-po . . . . . 37.  
Khri-spe-btsan-po . . . . . 1.  
Khri-sde-btsan-po . . . . . 78. chapter 8.
- Queen:*  
Sa-btsun rluñ-rje . . . . . 70; 93; 149.  
Sa-btsun klu-rje . . . . . 64.7r.
8. Gri-gum-btsan-po . . . . . 34; 37; 40.46v; 56.33r; 58.24v; 59.81; 64.7r; 68; 70; 74.139r-v; 93; 139; 184.  
Gri-gum-brtsan-po . . . . . 57.33r.  
Gri-gum-btsan . . . . . 75.  
Gri-gum . . . . . 64.7r.  
Gri-khuñ-btsan-po . . . . . 51.15v.  
Gri-khuñ-gtsan-po . . . . . 57.33r.  
Dri-gum-btsan-po . . . . . 1; 149; 214.  
Khri-gum-btsan-po . . . . . 80.4  
gNam-lha-gser-thig . . . . . 64.8r.<sup>4</sup>
- Queen:*  
kLu-btsan Mer-lcam . . . . . 70; 149.  
kLu-btsan Mer . . . . . 93.  
kLu-srin Mer-lcam . . . . . 64.7r.

9. *Original name:*
- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Ša-khri . . . . .           | 37.  |
| Ša-khyi . . . . .           | 1; 214.  |
| Ña-khri . . . . .           | 57.33r.  |
| gÑa'-khri bcug-pa . . . . . | 117.123v.  |
| Bya-khri . . . . .          | 51.8r; 53; 58.25v; 59.53-4; 62; 64.16r; 68; 70; 75; 80.5; 93; 117.123v; 149. |
- Regal name:*
- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| sPu-de-guñ-rgyal . . . . .   | 1; 58.25v; 59.53-4; 68; 70; 117.123v; 139; 149; 184. |
| sPu-de-kuñ-rgyal . . . . .   | 75.  |
| sPu-lde-guñ-rgyal . . . . .  | 51.16r.  |
| Pu-de-guñ-rgyal . . . . .    | 34; 64.8r.   |
| sBu-de-guñ-rgyal . . . . .   | 37.  |
| sPo-de-guñ-rgyal . . . . .   | 54.65 (150.1347).                                    |
| sPu-ti-guñ-brgyal . . . . .  | 57.33r.  |
| sPo-ti-guñ-brgyal . . . . .  | 57.33r.  |
| sPu-khri-guñ-rgyal . . . . . | 53.  |
- Queen:*
- |                               |              |
|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Bom-thañ rMañ-mña' . . . . .  | 70; 93; 149. |
| 'Om-thañ sMan-mtsho . . . . . | 64.9r.       |
10. *E-šo-legs* . . . . . 70; 80.5; 93; 149; 184.
- |                        |                                   |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| A-šo-legs . . . . .    | 53; 54.65 (150.1347-9); 58.26r-v. |
| A-ši-legs . . . . .    | 69.                               |
| 'A-šo-legs . . . . .   | 68.                               |
| I-šo-legs . . . . .    | 51.16r; 64.9r.                    |
| O-šo-legs . . . . .    | 75.                               |
| Šo-legs (?) . . . . .  | 1; 37.                            |
| Šer-legs (?) . . . . . | 34.                               |
| Li-šo-legs . . . . .   | 57.33r.                           |
- Queen:*
- |                              |                       |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| rMu-lcam bLa-ma-na . . . . . | 93; 149. <sup>6</sup> |
| rMu-lcam Bra-ma . . . . .    | 64.9r.                |
11. *De-šo-legs* . . . . . 34; 51.16r; 57.33r; 58.26r-v; 64.9r; 68; 70; 75; 80.5; 93; 149; 184.
- |                                |     |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| Tho-šo-legs (?) . . . . .      | 53. |
| Tho-leg-btsan-po (?) . . . . . | 1.  |
| Li-šo-legs (?) . . . . .       | 37. |
- Queen:*
- |                           |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| kLu-sman Mer-mo . . . . . | 70; 93; 149.        |
| kLu-lcam Mer-ma . . . . . | 64.9r. <sup>8</sup> |
12. *Thi-šo-legs* . . . . . 34; 37; 51.16r; 58.26r-v; 64.9r; 70; 75; 149; 184.
- |                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Thi-šo-leg . . . . .          | 1.  |
| Thi-šo-leg btsan-po . . . . . | 1.  |
| Tho-šo-legs (?) . . . . .     | 53. |
| Thoñ-šo-legs (?) . . . . .    | 68. |
| Thañ-šo-legs (?) . . . . .    | 69. |
| Šo-legs (?) . . . . .         | 93. |
- Queen:*
- |                              |              |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| bTsan-mo Gur-sman . . . . .  | 70; 93; 149. |
| mTshan-mo Guñ-sman . . . . . | 64.9r.       |
13. *Gu-ru-legs* . . . . . 34; 51.16r; 53; 58.26r-v; 68; 70; 75; 93; 149; 184.
- |                               |         |
|-------------------------------|---------|
| Gu-rum-legs . . . . .         | 37.     |
| Go-ru-legs btsan-po . . . . . | 1.      |
| mGo-ro-legs . . . . .         | 57.33r. |
| Goñ-ru-legs . . . . .         | 64.9r.  |
- Queen:*
- |                                |          |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| mTsho-sman 'Broñs-ma . . . . . | 93; 149. |
| mTsho-sman 'Broñ-ma . . . . .  | 64.9r.   |
| mTsho-sman 'Praš-ma . . . . .  | 70.      |
14. 'Broñ-zi-legs . . . . . 70; 149; 184.

	'Broñ-ži-legs btsan-po . . . . .	1.
	'Broñ-bži-legs . . . . .	37.
	'Broñ-žiñ-legs . . . . .	75.
	'Broñ-rje-legs . . . . .	53; 68.
	'Broñ-žer-legs . . . . .	58.26v.
	'Broñ-gžer-legs . . . . .	64.9r.
	'Broñ-sel-legs . . . . .	59.
	'Groñ-rtsi-legs . . . . .	57.33r.
	'Brom-že-legs . . . . .	51.16r.
	'Brom-šor-legs . . . . .	34.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	sMan bu-mo . . . . .	70; 149.
	gNam-smān bu-mo . . . . .	64.9r.
15.	I-šo-legs . . . . .	34; 51.16r; 53; 58.26v; 70; 75; 93; 149; 184.
	I-šo-leg . . . . .	1.
	I-šo-leg btsan-po . . . . .	1.
	'I-šo-legs . . . . .	68.
	I-ši-lags . . . . .	69.
	Li-šo-legs . . . . .	57.33r.
	Šo-legs . . . . .	64.9r.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	rMu-lcam sMad-legs . . . . .	70; 93; 149. <sup>7</sup>
	rMu-lcam rMañ-legs . . . . .	64.9r.
16.	Za-nam-zin-lde . . . . .	51.16r; 64.9r; 70; 75; 93; 149.
	Za-nam-zin-te . . . . .	58.26v.
	Za-nam-ži-lde . . . . .	80.5; 184.
	Zwa-gnam-zin-te . . . . .	1.
	rGyal Za-rnam-zin-sde . . . . .	53; 117.123v. <sup>8</sup>
	Za-nam-zin . . . . .	57.33v.
	Zan-ma-legs . . . . .	37.
	Zin-ma-zin-lde . . . . .	34.
	Zin-la-zin-lde . . . . .	68.
	Zin-lde . . . . .	81.2.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	mTsho-smān Khri-dkar . . . . .	64.9r; 70; 93; 149.
17.	lDe-'phrul-gnam-gžuñ-btsan . . . . .	93; 149.
	lDe-'phrul-gnam-gžuñ-btsan . . . . .	69.
	lDe-'phrul-rnam-gžuñ-btsan . . . . .	58.26v.
	lDe-'phrul-nam-gžuñ-btsan . . . . .	34; 51.16r; 70; 75; 184.
	'Phrul-nam-gžuñ-btsan-lde . . . . .	64.9r.
	'Phrul-nañ-bžuñ-btsan-sde . . . . .	57.33v.
	lDe-phrug-gnam-gžuñ-btsan . . . . .	68.
	lDe-pru-bo-gnam-gžuñ-brtsan . . . . .	1.
	lDe-pru-bo-gnam-gžuñ-rtsan . . . . .	1.100/128.
	lDe-ru-gnam-gžuñ-btsan . . . . .	37.
	gNam-gžuñ-brtsan . . . . .	1.
	'Od-'khrul gžuñ-btsan (?). . . . .	117.123v.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	Se-sñan Mañ-ma . . . . .	70; 93; 149.
	Se-gñan Mañ-mo . . . . .	64.9r.
18.	Se-snol-gnam-lde . . . . .	34; 70; 93; 149.
	Se-snol-nam-lde . . . . .	64.9r; 75.
	Se-snol-lam-lde . . . . .	68.
	Se-snol-lam-bde . . . . .	117.123v.
	Se-bsnol-nam-sde . . . . .	58.26v.
	Se-rnol-nam-lde . . . . .	184.
	Se-nol-nam-lde . . . . .	51.16r.
	bSe-snañ-sde . . . . .	57.33v.
	Sor-rno-nam . . . . .	37.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	kLu-mo Mer-ma . . . . .	70; 93; 149.
	kLu-mo Meñ-ma . . . . .	64.9r.

19.	<i>Se-snol-po-lde</i> . . . . .	34; 51.16r; 64.9r; 68; 75; 117.123v; 149.
	<i>Se-snol-ba-lde</i> . . . . .	70.
	<i>Se-snol-so-lde</i> . . . . .	93.
	<i>bSe-rnol-po</i> . . . . .	1.
	<i>bSe'-rnol-po</i> . . . . .	1.
	<i>rNol-po-sde</i> . . . . .	57.33v.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	<i>'O-ma-ste Mo-tsho</i> . . . . .	70; 93. <sup>9</sup>
	<i>'O-za-te Mo-mtsho</i> . . . . .	64.9r. <sup>10</sup>
	<i>Mo-tsho</i> . . . . .	149.
20.	<i>lDe-snol-nam</i> . . . . .	34; 51.16r; 64.9r; 70; 75; 149.
	<i>lDe-snol-gnam</i> . . . . .	53.
	<i>lDe-snol-ma</i> . . . . .	93.
	<i>lDe-bsnol-nam</i> . . . . .	58.26v.
	<i>lDe-rnol-nam</i> . . . . .	184.
	<i>gNam-lde-rnol-nam</i> . . . . .	1.
	<i>lDe-skol-nam</i> . . . . .	117.123v.
	<i>lDe-lam</i> . . . . .	68.
	<i>sDe-rnol-rnañs</i> . . . . .	57.33v.
	<i>sDe-snod-sbas</i> . . . . .	37.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	<i>Khri-sman rje-ma</i> . . . . .	93. <sup>11</sup>
	<i>Khri-sman rje-mo</i> . . . . .	64.9r. <sup>11</sup>
	<i>Khri-sman rje-na</i> . . . . .	70; 149.
21.	<i>lDe-snol-po</i> . . . . .	34; 51.16r; 64.9r; 68; 75; 93; 149.
	<i>lDe-rnol-po</i> . . . . .	70; 184.
	<i>sDe-snol-po</i> . . . . .	57.33v.
	<i>sDe-bsnol-po</i> . . . . .	58.26v.
	<i>lDe-gol (?)</i> . . . . .	1.
	<i>sDe-snod-ya</i> . . . . .	37.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	<i>Se-btsun gÑan-rje</i> . . . . .	70; 93; 149. <sup>12</sup>
	<i>Bri-se-btsun gÑan-mo</i> . . . . .	64.9r. <sup>12</sup>
22.	<i>lDe-rgyal-po</i> . . . . .	1; 34; 51.16r; 64.9r; 70; 75; 93; 117.123v; 149; 184.
	<i>lDe-rgyal-po-btsan</i> . . . . .	68.
	<i>sDe-rgyal-po</i> . . . . .	58.26v.
	<i>bsDi-brgyal-rnañs</i> . . . . .	57.33v.
	<i>rGyal-po Se-ste (?)</i> . . . . .	37.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	<i>sMan-btsun Lug-sgoñ</i> . . . . .	70; 93; 149. <sup>13</sup>
	<i>sMan-btsun Lug-skoñ</i> . . . . .	64.9r.
23.	<i>lDe-sprin-btsan</i> . . . . .	51.16r; 64.9r; 58.26v; 70; 75; 93; 149; 184.
	<i>lDe-srin-btsan</i> . . . . .	34.
	<i>lDe-srin-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	117.123v.
	<i>sDe-bsrin-brtsan</i> . . . . .	57.33v.
	<i>sPrin-btsan-lde</i> . . . . .	68.
	<i>sPrin-rgyal-btsan</i> . . . . .	37.
	<i>Srin-rgyal-btsan</i> . . . . .	145.
	<i>rGyal-srin-btsan</i> . . . . .	1.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	<i>Ñi-btsun Mañ-ma-rje</i> . . . . .	70; 93; 149. <sup>14</sup>
	<i>Ñe-btsun Mañ-ma-rje</i> . . . . .	64.9r.
24.	<i>rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan</i> . . . . .	70; 149; 184.
	<i>rGyal-to-re-loñs-brtsan</i> . . . . .	1.
	<i>rGyal-lde-re-loñ-btsan</i> . . . . .	117.123v.
	<i>rGyal-po to-ri-loñ-btsan</i> . . . . .	75.
	<i>rGyal-po to-re-loñ-btsan</i> . . . . .	34; 51.16r.
	<i>rGyal-po ti-loñ-btsan</i> . . . . .	93.
	<i>rGyal-po stoñ-ri-stoñ-btsan</i> . . . . .	37.
	<i>sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan</i> . . . . .	37.
	<i>mTho-re-moñ-btsan</i> . . . . .	57.33v.

To-re-loñ-btsan . . . . .	64.9r.
Tho-tho-ri-loñ-btsan . . . . .	68.
<i>Queen:</i>	
'O-ma-sde-bza' 'Bri-btsun Byañ-ma . . . . .	93. <sup>15</sup>
'O-ma-lde-bza' 'Bri-btsun Byañ-ma. . . . .	70.
'O-ma-lde-za Khri-btsun Byañ-ma . . . . .	64.9v.
'Bri-btsun Byañ-ma . . . . .	149.
25. <i>Su-khri-btsan-nam</i> . . . . .	70; 93; 149.
Khri-btsan-nam. . . . .	1.
Khri-btsan-nam . . . . .	34; 51.16r; 58.26v; 64.9v; 75; 117.123v.
Khri-btsan . . . . .	68; 184.
Khri-nam-btsan . . . . .	37.
sDe-btsan-rmaris (?) . . . . .	57.33v.
<i>Queen:</i>	
sMan-bza' Khri-dkar . . . . .	70; 93; 149. <sup>16</sup>
sMan-za Khri-dkar . . . . .	64.9v.
26. <i>Khri-sgra-dpuñ-btsan</i> . . . . .	37; 70; 75; 93.
Khri-sgra-dpuñs-btsan . . . . .	184.
Khri-dgra-dpuñ-btsan . . . . .	34; 58.26v.
Khri-sgra-spuñ-btsan . . . . .	149.
Khri-sgra-spuñs-btsan . . . . .	64.9v.
Khri-sgra-sbuñ-brtsan . . . . .	1.
Khri-sgra-sbuñs-btsan . . . . .	51.16r; 117.123v.
<i>Queen:</i>	
sMan-bza' kLu-steñ . . . . .	70; 93; 149. <sup>16</sup>
sMan-gsum kLu-steñ. . . . .	64.9v.
27. <i>Khri-rje-thog-btsan</i> . . . . .	28.387v; 70; 78. chapter 8.
Khri-thog-rje-btsan . . . . .	37; 93; 149.
Khri-thog-rje-btsun . . . . .	75.
Khri-thog-rje-thog-btsan . . . . .	34; 51.16r; 64.9v; 68; 184.
Khri-sdog-rje-ldog-tsan . . . . .	57.33v.
Khri-thog-brtsan . . . . .	1.
Khri-de-thog-btsan . . . . .	58.26v.
Khri-lde-thog-btsan . . . . .	123.47.
Thog-rje-thog-btsan . . . . .	64.9v.
<i>Queen:</i>	
Ru-yoñ-bza' sToñ-rgyal Na-mo-tsho . . . . .	70; 149. <sup>17</sup>
Ru-yoñ-za' sToñ-rgyal Chan-mo-mtsho . . . . .	93.
Ru-yoñ-za sToñ-rgyal mTsho-ma . . . . .	1.
Ru-yoñ-za sToñ-rgyal Mo-mtsho . . . . .	64.9v.
28. <i>lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan</i> . . . . .	34; 70; 75; 79.3-4; 80.5; 93; 107.8v; 120.IV.195r; 123.67; 149; 184.
lHa-tho-tho-ri'i-gñan-btsan . . . . .	34.
lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-bśal . . . . .	68 (London Ms).
lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-śal . . . . .	58.26v; 97.36r.
lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-śel . . . . .	120.IV.166r.
lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal . . . . .	68.
lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-btsan . . . . .	51.16r.
lHa-tho-tho-ri . . . . .	145.
lHa-tho-do-sñan-brtsan . . . . .	1.
lHa-mtho-ri-sñan-śal . . . . .	57.33v.
Tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan . . . . .	51.11r; 53; 64.9v; 72.
Tho-(th)o-ri-sñan-bśal . . . . .	57.34v.
Tho-tho-ri-sñan-śal . . . . .	64.11r.
Tho-tho-ri-sñan-btsan . . . . .	51.21r.
Tho-tho-ri-sñan . . . . .	51.21r.
Tho-tho-ri . . . . .	64.6r,12r; 72.
Tho-tho-gñan-btsan . . . . .	37.
Tho-tho . . . . .	64.6r.
Tho-ri-sñan-śal . . . . .	37.20r, 41r; 57.34v.
Tho-ri . . . . .	99 (102.628).
gÑan-btsan . . . . .	72; 110.4v.

- Queen:*  
*gNo-za Mañ-po-rje Ji-dgos* . . . . . 1.<sup>18</sup>  
*rNo-za Mañ dGar* . . . . . 64.11r.  
*rNo-za Mañ-po-rje* . . . . . 70: 93.
29. *Khri-gñan-gzuñ-btsan* . . . . . 70; 75; 93; 149.  
*Khri-gñan-gzuñs-btsan* . . . . . 37; 64.11r; 184.  
*Khri-gñan-zuñ-btsan* . . . . . 53.  
*Khri-gñan-bxuñ-btsan* . . . . . 51.16v; 81.3.  
*Khri-gñen-gzuñs-btsan* . . . . . 34.  
*Khri-sñan-gzuñ-btsan* . . . . . 60.68v.  
*Khri-sñan-bzuñ-btsan* . . . . . 68.  
*Khri-sña-zuñ-brtsan* . . . . . 1.  
*Khri-gñan-gzugs-can* . . . . . 120.IV.166r.  
*Khri-sñan-gzugs-btsan* . . . . . 58.27r.  
*Khri-sñan-gzugs-can* . . . . . 99 (102.628).  
*Khri-sñan-gzugs-tshan* . . . . . 57.34v.  
*Khri-gñan* . . . . . 81.2  
*Khri-sñan* . . . . . 68.
- Queen:*  
*'Bro -bza' Mo-dur-ya s-gzer* . . . . . 70; 93.<sup>19</sup>  
*'Bro-za Mo-dur-yañ-bzen* . . . . . 64.11r.  
*'Bro'-za Duñ-pyañ-bzer* . . . . . 1.  
*'Broñ-mo* . . . . . 149.
30. *'Bro-gñan-lde'u* . . . . . 51.16v; 75; 149.  
*'Bro-gñan-lde-ru* . . . . . 53.  
*'Bro-gñañ-lde'u* . . . . . 184.  
*'Bro-mñen-lde-ru* . . . . . 1.  
*'Bro-mñen* . . . . . 1.  
*'Gro-gñan-lde'u* . . . . . 70; 93.  
*'Broñ-gñan-lde-ru* . . . . . 64.11r; 81.2.  
*'Broñ-sñan-lde'u* . . . . . 60.67v.  
*'Broñ-sñan-lde-ru* . . . . . 57.34v; 58.27v; 68.  
*'Broñ-sñan* . . . . . 60.68r.  
*'Brañ-sñan-lde-ru* . . . . . 58.27r.  
*'Groñ-sñan-lde-ru* . . . . . 68.  
*'Brog-gñan-lde-ru* . . . . . 34.  
*'Breñ-gñan-lde-ru* . . . . . 37.
- Queen:*  
*mChims-bza' kLu-rgyal ñan-bu-mtsho* . . . . . 70; 93.<sup>20</sup>  
*mChims-za kLu-rgyal ñan-mo-mtsho* . . . . . 1.  
*mChims-(b)za' kLu-rgyal* . . . . . 60.67v; 64.11r; 149.  
*Khri-ñor snañ-btsun moñ* . . . . . 64.11v.
31. *Original name:*  
*dMus-loñ dkon-pa-bkra* . . . . . 70; 93.  
*dMus-loñ* . . . . . 64.11v.  
*sMus-loñ dkon-pa-bkra* . . . . . 60.67-8.  
*dMu-loñ skyes-pa (?)* . . . . . 37.
- Regal name:*  
*sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs* . . . . . 34; 37; 51.16v; 53; 58.27v; 60.67-8; 64.11v; 68; 70; 75; 81.2; 93; 149;  
184.  
*sTag-bu-sña-gzigs* . . . . . 1.  
*sTag-bu* . . . . . 1.104/136.  
*sTag-dgu-rñan-gzigs* . . . . . 57.35r.  
*rTag-dgu-rtan-gzigs* . . . . . 57.34v.  
*gSum-gu bsñan-gzigs* . . . . . 56.34v.
- Queen:*  
*'Ol-god-bza' sToñ-btsun 'Gro-dkar* . . . . . 93.<sup>21</sup>  
*'Ol-god-za sToñ-tsun 'Bro-ga* . . . . . 1.  
*'Ol-goñ-bza' sToñ-btsun 'Gro-dkar* . . . . . 70.  
*'Ol-goñ sToñ-btsun To-(d)kar* . . . . . 149.  
*sToñ-btsun 'Broñ-dkar* . . . . . 64.11v.

32. <i>Original name:</i>	
Slon-btsan . . . . .	1.105–6/137–39.
Slon-mtshan . . . . .	1.105/136–38.
<i>Regal name:</i>	
Khri-slon-btsan . . . . .	1.101/130, 105/137–8, 110/146.
<i>Honorific names:</i>	
gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan . . . . .	34; 37; 51.16v; 53; 55; 57.34v; 58.27v; 64.11v,13v,47v; 68; 70; 72.19v; 75; 78.chapter 1; 81.2,4; 93; 102.'A.5; 107.9v; 145; 149; 184.
gNam-ri-slon-mtshan . . . . .	1.106/138, 111/147.
gNam-ri-sroñ . . . . .	58.71r.
gNam-ri . . . . .	1.111/148.
Slon-btsan rluñ-nam . . . . .	1.82/88.
<i>Queen:</i>	
Tshe-spoñ-bza' 'Bri-za Thod-dkar . . . . .	29; 70.14r; 93. <sup>88</sup>
Tshe-spoñ-bza' 'Bri-ma Thod-kar . . . . .	107.9v.
Tshe-spoñ-bza' 'Bri-ma Thod-dkar . . . . .	51.16v.
Tshes-poñ-za 'Briñ-ma Thog-dgos . . . . .	1.
Tshe-spoñ-bza' 'Bri Thoñ-dkar . . . . .	149.
'Briñ-gza'-ma Thod-dkar . . . . .	184.46.
'Bri-za Thod-dkar . . . . .	102.'A.5.
'Bri-bza' Thod-dkar . . . . .	64.13v.
'Briñ-za . . . . .	79.

*Table IV*  
*The names of the Tibetan kings, queens, and princes:*  
*The historic line*

33. <i>Original name:</i>	
Sroñ-btsan . . . . .	27; 34.E.189r; 51.9r,17r; 64.6r; 72.16,47; 75.49; 76.18v; 78.chapter 1; 81.3–4; 90.14r.
Sroñ-brtsan . . . . .	1.101/130, 111/147.
Sroñ-btsan rje . . . . .	93.1v; 96.2v.
Sroñ-lde-brtsan . . . . .	1.82/88.
<i>Regal name:</i>	
Khri-sroñ-btsan . . . . .	26; 64.14r.
Khri-sroñ-brtsan . . . . .	1.101/130, 108/143, 110/146, 112/149, 117–18/159– 161; 16; 18.
Khri-sroñ-rtsan . . . . .	1.13/29–30.
Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan . . . . .	53.183; 145.29.
<i>Honorific name:</i>	
Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po . . . . .	28.387r; 34.E.189r; 35; 37.32v,41r,49v; 40.61r; 47; 48; 51.9v,16v; 53.184; 54; 57.34r–35r; 58.81r; 64.12v,14r,68r; 68.31/82; 70.14v; 75.150–53; 77.2v; 79.4; 87.8r; 90.13v; 91.90v; 93.285r; 97.36v; 102.'A.5; 107.9r; 110.4v; 123.68; 184.
Sroñ-brtsan-sgam-po . . . . .	1.111/147, 118/161; 2.18; 92.11r.
bSroñ-brtsan-sgam-po . . . . .	57.56v.
Sroñ-btsan-rgam-po . . . . .	68.31 (London Ms); 78.chapter 1.
Sroñ-btsan-sgams-po . . . . .	57.33v.
sGam-po . . . . .	77.2v; 101.106.
<i>Queens:</i>	
a. Bal-mo-bza' Khri-btsun . . . . .	34.E.80r–v. <sup>88</sup>
Bal-mo-za Khri-btsun . . . . .	57.33v.
Bal-mo Khri-btsun . . . . .	51.16v.
Bal-bza' Khri-btsun . . . . .	80.7
Khri-btsun . . . . .	53.184; 68.31/83; 70.28v; 79.4; 120.IV.195r; 145.33; 184.220.
Bal-po-bza', Bal-mo-bza', Bal-bza' . . . . .	67; 68.31/83; 70.27v; 79.7; 93.287r; 184.46.



	Bal-po'i lHa-gcig Khro-gñer-can-ma	64.14r. <sup>86</sup>
	lHa-gcig Khri-btsun	34.E.197v,273r; 70.17; 75.167; 93.287r; 120.IV.195v.
	'Phags-ma Khro-gñer-can	64.3v. <sup>88</sup>
	Jo-mo Khro-gñer-can	64.1v. <sup>88</sup>
b.	<i>Zaṅ-zuṅ-bza' Li-thig-sman</i>	102.'A.5. <sup>87</sup>
	<i>Zaṅ-zuṅ-bza' Li-thig-dman</i>	64.33v.
	<i>Zaṅ-zuṅ-bza'</i>	62.343; 67; 70.27v–28r; 75.167; 93.287r.
c.	<i>Ru-yoṅ-bza' rJe-khri-dkar</i>	149.I.221. <sup>88</sup>
	Ru-yoṅ-bza' rGyal-mo-btsun	64.33v.
	Ru-yoṅ-bza', Ru-yod-bza'	62.343; 67; 70.27v–28r; 75.167; 93.287r.
d.	<i>Mi-ñag-bza'</i>	62.343. <sup>89</sup>
	Mi-ñag-gi rgyal-po'i bu-mo	64.33v. <sup>89</sup>
e.	<i>Mun-can Koṅ-co</i>	1.16/35. <sup>91</sup>
	Muṅ-can Koṅ-co	1.13/29
	Mun-chaṅ Koṅ-co	1.13/29.
	Mun-šeṅ Koṅ-co	18.
	'Uṅ-šiṅ Kuṅ-ju	149.I.220.
	'Uṅ-šiṅ	59.
	'Um-šiṅ Koṅ-jo	58.95v; 64.14r; 70.23v.
	'Un-šiṅ Koṅ-jo	72.19v.
	'On-šiṅ Koṅ-jo	54(58.95).
	'On-ziṅ Koṅ-jo	75.139.
	Waṅ-ciṅ Koṅ-co	75.168.
	Wun-šiṅ Koṅ-jo	51.9r, 9v, 16v; 102.'A.6; 184.49.
	Wen-cheṅ Kuṅ-cu	76.18v.
	Kuṅ-šeṅ Koṅ-jo	51.9r.
	Koṅ-co	72.
	Koṅ-jo	34.E.274v; 51.9r; 68.31/83; 70.23v; 120.IV.195r.
	Goṅ-jo	120.IV.195r.
	Oṅ-co	53.184–85.
	Kuṅ-cu	79.4
	lHa-gcig Koṅ-jo	34.E.197v,274r; 70.17r; 93.287r. <sup>88</sup>
	lHa-gcig	70.20r.
	Koṅ-jo Srul-glen	184.219.
	mTsho-yi-pad-ma	64.14r.
	Chu'i-naṅ-gi-pad-ma	184.219.
	Chu-naṅ-gi-pad-ma	102.'A.6.
	'Phags-ma sGrol-ma	64.3v. <sup>88</sup>
	Jo-mo sGrol-ma	64.1v. <sup>88</sup>
	rGya-mo-bza' Goṅ-jo.	34.E.80v. <sup>88</sup>
	rGya-mo Goṅ-jo	34.E.215v.
	rGya-bza' kLuṅ-cu	80.7.
	rGya-bza', rGya-za	70.27v; 75.156; 93.287r; 101.
f.	<i>Moṅ-za Khri-mo-mñen lDoṅ-steṅ</i>	1.82/88. <sup>86</sup>
	dMo-bza' Khri-mo-gñan	67.30.
	Moṅ-bza' Khri-lcam	64.33v,46r; 70.28r; 93.287r; 149.I.221. <sup>87</sup>
	Maṅ-bza' Khri-lcam	102.'A.6.
	Moṅ-bza' Khri-btsun	51.17r. <sup>88</sup>
	sTod-luṅ Moṅ Khri-lcam	62.343. <sup>89</sup>
	Moṅ-bza', Moṅ-za, Mod-za	70.28r; 75.167; 93.287r; 107.11r.
34.	<i>Guṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-btsan</i>	37.49v; 47; 51.17r; 53.185; 64.46r; 68.31(London Ms); 184.16,37,49.
	Guṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-rtsan	1.82/88.
	Guṅ-sraṅ-gaṅ-btsan	192.III.II.127.
	Goṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-btsan	57.34v.
	Guṅ-sroṅ	47; 48; 51; 58.71v; 64.47v; 70.30v; 199.189v.
	Guṅ-sruṅ	75.153.
	Chuṅ-sroṅ	100.
	Guṅ-btsan	68.32/84; 75.150; 77.2v.
	Guṅ-ri-guṅ-btsan	58.81r; 60.166v; 62.347; 64.47v; 70.28r; 81.4; 93.287r-v; 102.'A.5; 107.11r; 120.IV.166r; 149.I.221.
	Goṅ-ri-guṅ-btsan	59.
	Guṅ-ri	75.150.

	<i>Queen:</i>	
	<i>Khon-co Mañ-mo-rje Khri-skar</i> . . . . .	1.82/88. <sup>40</sup>
	'A-ža-bza' Kho-'jo Moñ-rje Khri-dkar Ti-šags . . . . .	70.28r; 93.287r-v. <sup>41</sup>
	'A-ža-bza' Moñ-rje Khri-dkar . . . . .	64.47v.
	'A-ža-bza' Mañ-po(mo)-rje . . . . .	47; 67.
	Mañ-mo-rje . . . . .	1.18/38.
	Mañ-pañs . . . . .	1.19-20/38.
35.	<i>Original name:</i>	
	<i>Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan</i> . . . . .	37.49v; 47; 48; 51.9v,17r; 53.185; 58.81v; 59; 64.12v,47v; 68.32/84; 70.28r-30v; 75.150; 93.287r; 102.'A.6; 184.37,49.
	Mañ-slon-mañ-rtsan . . . . .	1.82/88.
	Mañ-srañ-mañ-btsan . . . . .	192.III.II.127.
	Mañ-sroñ-btsan . . . . .	81.4.
	Mañ-sroñ . . . . .	47; 51.9v; 58.81v,95v; 60.189v; 64.69v; 70.30v; 75.153,156; 77.2v; 81.4; 93.288v; 184.46.
	<i>Regal name:</i>	
	Khri-mañ-slon-mañ-rtsan . . . . .	1.13/30.
	Khri-mañ-slon . . . . .	1.15/34.
	<i>Erroneous or dubious names:</i>	
	Mañ-sroñ-guñ-sruñ . . . . .	75.153.
	Guñ-sroñ . . . . .	62.347.
	Goñ-sroñ-po-che-gzuñ-rnams . . . . .	57.35r.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	'Bro-bza' Khri-ma-lod Khri-steñ . . . . .	1.82/88. <sup>42</sup>
	'Bro-bza' Khrim-blod . . . . .	59.122.
	'Bro-bza' Khri-loñ . . . . .	64.69v.
	'Broñ-bza' Khrim-loñ . . . . .	62.
	'Bro-bza' Khra-bo Khrim-loñ . . . . .	70.30v.
	'Bro-khri-chen Khrim-lod . . . . .	47; 67. <sup>43</sup>
	Khri-ma-lod . . . . .	1.21/43.
	Khri-mo-lan . . . . .	1.15/34.
36.	<i>Original name:</i>	
	'Dus-sroñ . . . . .	1.118/161; 64.70; 75.153; 77.2v.
	'Du-sroñ . . . . .	184.50.
	Dur-sroñ . . . . .	47.
	<i>Regal name:</i>	
	Khri-'dus-sroñ . . . . .	1.15/34, 19/41, 112/149, 120/165; 16.14/104.
	Khri-'du-sroñ . . . . .	1.16/36.
	<i>Honorific names:</i>	
	Mañ-po-rje . . . . .	1.120/167. <sup>44</sup>
	'Dus-sroñ Mañ-po-rje . . . . .	1.82/88, 120/166; 51.9v; 59; 64.12v.
	'Dus-sroñ Mañ-rje . . . . .	100.
	'Dur-sroñ Mañ-po-rje . . . . .	54; 59.
	'Du-sroñ Mañ-po-rje . . . . .	184.50.
	Dur-sroñ Mañ-po-rje . . . . .	48.
	kLuñ-nam . . . . .	184.46.
	'Dus-sroñ Mañ-po-rje rLuñ-rnam-po . . . . .	70.30v.
	'Dus-sroñ Mañ-po-rje rLuñ . . . . .	93.288v.
	Dur-sroñ Mañ-po-rje rLuñ-nam . . . . .	47.
	'Phrul-gyi-rgyal-po . . . . .	1.112/149; 60.195v; 64.75r.
	'Phrul-rgyal . . . . .	58.82r; 59.134v; 60.190r; 64.127r; 81.4.
	'Dus-sroñ Mañ-po-rje rLuñ-rnam 'Phrul-gyi-rgyal-po . . . . .	51.17r; 70.30v; 93.288v; 184.37.
	'Dus-sroñ Mañ-rje rLuñ-nam 'Phrul-gyi-rgyal . . . . .	64.70r.
	'Dur-sroñ Mañ-po-rje rLuñ-nam 'Phrul-gyi-rgyal-po . . . . .	58.82r.
	'Du-sroñ Mañ-po-rje bLo-nam 'Phrul-gyi-rgyal-po . . . . .	53.185.
	'Dur-sroñ 'Phrul-gyi-rgyal-po . . . . .	54; 58.95v; 59.
	rLuñ-nam 'Phrul-gyi-rgyal-po . . . . .	28.387r; 37.20v,41r.

*Erroneous or dubious names:*

Guñ-aroñ-'du-rje . . . . .	68.32(London Ms).
'Du-aroñ-'du-rje . . . . .	68.32/85.
Moñ-aroñ mNas-po'i-che gzuñs-rnams . . . . .	57.35r.

*Queens:*

a. 'Dam-gyl Cog-ro-za . . . . .	1/121/165. <sup>46</sup>
b. mChims-za bTsan-ma Thog-ihog-sten . . . . .	1.82/88. <sup>46</sup>
mChims-bza' bTsan-mo rTog-ge . . . . .	70.30v; 93.288v.
mChims-bza' mTshams me-tog . . . . .	47.
mChims-bza' Me-tog . . . . .	59.122.
mChims-bza' bTsan-ma Tog . . . . .	64.70r.
bTsan-ma Thog . . . . .	1.22/46.

37. *Original name:*

rGyal-gtsug-ru . . . . .	1.19/40-1, 21/43.
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*Regal name:*

Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan . . . . .	48; 53.185; 64.70v, 75r; 75.153; 93.290r; 100; 184.40,50.
Khri-lde-gtsug-rtshan . . . . .	1.21/43.
Khri-lde-gtsug-btsan . . . . .	16; 51.10r; 164.132.
Khri-lde-brtsug-brtsan . . . . .	84.
Khri-lde-btsug-brtsan . . . . .	83.
Khri-lde-btsug-btsan . . . . .	37.49v.
Khri-lde'u-btsug-brtan . . . . .	75.114.
Khri-lde-gtsug . . . . .	70.31r.
Khri-gtsug-brtan . . . . .	58.84v.
gTsug-brtan . . . . .	75.153.

*Honorific names:*

Mes-ag-tshoms . . . . .	64.12v,70v; 89.63v; 93.289v.
Mes-ag-tshom . . . . .	57.35r; 75.156; 77.2v; 93.291r; 184.46,105.
Mes-'ag-tshom . . . . .	192.III.II.127.
Ag-tshom-mes . . . . .	28.387r.
Ag-tshoms-me . . . . .	37.20v.
Ag-tshoms . . . . .	37.20v; 64.123r.
Ag-tshom . . . . .	58.93v; 64.123r; 81.5.
'Ags-tshoms . . . . .	60.216v.
Me khri-lde-gtsug-brtan . . . . .	47.
Me khri-lde . . . . .	47.
Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan Mes-ag-tshoms . . . . .	70.30v; 93.288v; 107.11v; 184.37.
Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan Mes-ag-tshom . . . . .	54; 58.82r,95v; 75.154.
Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan Me-yi-ag-tshom . . . . .	81.4-5.
Khri-lde-gtsug-btsan Mes-ak-tshoms . . . . .	51.17r.
Khri-sde-gtsug-sten Mes-ag-tshoms . . . . .	57.35r.
Khri-lde-btsug-brtan Mes-'ag-tshoms . . . . .	68.32/85.
Khri-lde-btsug-brtan Mes-'ag-tshom . . . . .	59.
Khri-sde-brtsug-rtan Me'i-ag-tshom . . . . .	57.57v.
Khri-lde Ag-tshom . . . . .	37.41r.

*Dubious name:*

rGyal-lde khri-btsan-brtan . . . . .	75.170.
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*Queens:*

a. Kim-šen Koñ-co . . . . .	13. <sup>47</sup>
Kim-šiñ Koñ-jo . . . . .	51.10v,17r; 75.150-51; 184.51.
Kyim-šan Koñ-jo . . . . .	64.71v.
Gyim-šan Oñ-co . . . . .	53.186.
Gyim-šiñ Koñ-jo . . . . .	107.12r,13r.
Gyam-šiñ Koñ-jo . . . . .	54; 58.95v.
Gyan-šiñ Koñ-jo . . . . .	59.123v.
Gyim-phya Goñ-ju . . . . .	47.
bTsan-mo Kim-šan Khoñ-co . . . . .	1.20/42. <sup>48</sup>
bTsan-mo Kim-šen Khoñ-co . . . . .	1.25/51.

	Tsim-zin Koñ-jo . . . . .	75.139
	Ma-ša Koñ-co . . . . .	51.10v.
	Koñ-co . . . . .	62.351.
	Koñ-jo . . . . .	51.10v; 64.71v; 70.31; 75.151; 107.12r.
	bTsan-mo Khoñ-co . . . . .	1.26/51.
b.	<i>lCam lHa-spañs</i> (lHas-pañs) . . . . .	1.24-5/48-9. <sup>60</sup>
c.	'Jañ-mo Khri-btsun . . . . .	70.31r; 93.289r. <sup>60</sup>
	lJañ-mo Khri-btsun . . . . .	62.348; 64.70v.
	'Jañ-me Khri-btsun . . . . .	59.123r.
	'Joñs-mo Khri-btsun . . . . .	58.
	'Jañ Khri-btsun . . . . .	149.I.223.
	'Jañ-ma Khri-lcam . . . . .	107.12r.
	Jo-mo Khri-btsun . . . . .	1.26/52. <sup>61</sup>
d.	<i>sNa-nam-za Mañ-mo-rje bŽi-steñ</i> . . . . .	1.82/89. <sup>62</sup>
	sNa-nam-bza' bŽa-steñ . . . . .	58.83.
	sNa-nam-bza' . . . . .	53.186; 64.71v; 93.290.
	rNam-snañ-bza' . . . . .	70.31
	Mañ-mo-rje . . . . .	1.26/51.
38A.	<i>lJañ-tsha lHa-dbon</i> . . . . .	(56.348); 59.123v; 81.5; 93.289r; 184.105.
	lJañ-tsha lHa-dboñ . . . . .	64.70v.
	'Jañ-tsha lHa-dbon . . . . .	51.17r; 107.12r.
	'Jañ-tsha lHa-dpon . . . . .	70.31r; 75.151.
	'Jañ-tsha lHa-dban . . . . .	150.452.
	'Jad-tsha lHa-dpon . . . . .	53.186.
	Jañ-tsha lHa-pon . . . . .	149.I.223.
	Jañ-tsha lHa . . . . .	149.I.223.
	lHas-bon . . . . .	1.25-6/51.
38.	<i>Original name:</i>	
	Sroñ-lde-btsan . . . . .	1.26/51.
	<i>Regal name:</i>	
	<i>Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan</i> . . . . .	14; 25; 26; 27; 28.387r; 29.137r; 47; 48; 51.10v,17r; 53.186; 54; 57.34r; 58.84r,93r, 96r; 64.12v,71v,72r, 123r; 68.32/86; 70.32r,40r; 72; 75.153; 78; 79.5; 87.8v-9r; 90.50r; 93.270v; 107.13r; 123.70; 184.37,51.
	Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan . . . . .	1.56-7/63-4, 82/89, 114/152; 12; 13; 16; 83; 84; 214.
	Khri-sroñ-lde'u-btsan . . . . .	37.19v,49v; 38.6r; 40.7v; 41.119r-v; 42. chapter 54; 60.61v; 69.812; 70.31v,93v,97v; 75.151; 77.2v; 85; 90.14r; 91.86r,90v; 92.11r; 93.290v; 97.36v; 100; 116.19; 120.IV.167r.
	Khri-sroñ-lde-gtsan . . . . .	57.35r.
	Khri-sroñ-lde-rtsan . . . . .	57.57v.
	Khri-sroñ-sde-btsan . . . . .	58.83v; 89.63v.
	Khri-sroñ-sde'u-btsan . . . . .	82.928; 96.3r.
	Khri-sroñ . . . . .	47; 64.126v; 72.19v; 75.49; 78. chapter 1; 81.5; 85.48; 90.14r; 100; 101; 103.19v; 110.4v.
	Khri-sruom-ldem-brtsan . . . . .	2.18; 155.40. <sup>63</sup>
	<i>Honorific name:</i>	
	mÑa'-bdag Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan . . . . .	70.54r,90v; 113.colophon. <sup>64</sup>
	mÑa'-bdag Khri-sroñ-lde'u-btsan . . . . .	37.20v; 98.
	<i>Regal title:</i>	
	gNam-lha-babs-kyi bdag-po Sa-lhun-grub-kyi mña'-bdag	
	'Breñ-mgo-nag-yoñs-kyi rje sPrul-pa'i-rgyal-po	
	Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan . . . . .	64.73v.
	<i>Queens:</i>	
a.	'Chims-bza' lHa-mo-btsan . . . . .	58.85. <sup>65</sup>
	'Chims-bza' lHa-mo-bzañ . . . . .	59.127v.
	mChims-bza'-ma . . . . .	38.3r.
	mChims-bza' . . . . .	102.'A.8.
	lHa-mo-btsan . . . . .	45.

b.	<i>mKhar-chen-bza' mTsho-rgyal</i> . . . . .	38.3r; 59.127v. <sup>64</sup>
	<i>mKhar-chen-bza' 'Tsho-rgyal</i> . . . . .	58.85.
	<i>mKhar-chen-bza'</i> . . . . .	102.'A.8.
c.	<i>'Bro-bza' Byañ-chub-sgron</i> . . . . .	41.119v; 58.85. <sup>67</sup>
	<i>'Bro-bza' Byañ-chub-sgron-ma</i> . . . . .	38.2v.
	<i>'Bro-bza' Byañ-chub-sgron</i> . . . . .	59.127v.
	<i>'Bro-bza' Byañ-chub-ma</i> . . . . .	38.3r.
	<i>'Bro-za Byañ-chub-sman</i> . . . . .	53.189.
	<i>'Bro-bza' Byañ-chub</i> . . . . .	51.17v.
	<i>'Broñ-bza' Byañ-chub-sgron</i> . . . . .	38.illustration.
	<i>'Bro-bza' Khri-rgyal Mañ-mgo-btsun</i> . . . . .	93.294r. <sup>68</sup>
	<i>'Broñ-bza'</i> . . . . .	102.'A.8.
	<i>'Broñ-za</i> . . . . .	85.
	<i>Jo-mo Byañ-chub</i> . . . . .	22. <sup>69</sup>
	<i>Byañ-chub-rje</i> . . . . .	45.
	<i>Khyi-rgyal Mañ-mo-btsan</i> . . . . .	45. <sup>70</sup>
d.	<i>Pho-yoñ-bza' rGyal-mo-btsun</i> . . . . .	51.17v; 58.85. <sup>71</sup>
	<i>Pho-yoñ-za rGyal-mo-btsun</i> . . . . .	53.189.
	<i>Pho-gyoñ rGyal-mo-btsun</i> . . . . .	38.2v-3r.
	<i>Pho-yoñ-bza'</i> . . . . .	38.40v; 59.127v; 85; 93.294r; 102.'A.8.
	<i>Pho-yoñs-bza'</i> . . . . .	64.126r.
e.	<i>Tshe-spoñ-bza' rMa-rgyal mTsho-skar-ma</i> . . . . .	47; 67. <sup>72</sup>
	<i>Tshes-poñ-za rMa-rgyal lDoñ-skar</i> . . . . .	1.82/89.
	<i>Tshe-spoñs-za dMar-rgyal Me-tog-sgröl-ma</i> . . . . .	53.189.
	<i>Tshe-spoñ-bza' dMar-rgyan-ma</i> . . . . .	93.294r.
	<i>Tshe-spoñ-bza' dMar-rgyan</i> . . . . .	38.10v; 41.119v.
	<i>Tshe-spoñ-bza'-ba dMar-rgyan</i> . . . . .	38.13r,14v.
	<i>Tshe-spoñ-bza' Me-tog-sgron</i> . . . . .	45; 58.85; 102.'A.8.
	<i>Tshe-bza' Me-tog-sgron</i> . . . . .	38.3r.
	<i>Tshe-spoñ-bza' Ma-tog-sgröd</i> . . . . .	59.127v.
	<i>sPoñ-bza' Me-tog-sgron</i> . . . . .	64.126r.
	<i>Tshe-spoñ-bza'</i> . . . . .	70.40; 85.
	<i>Ba-dmar-rgyan</i> . . . . .	38.2v,10v.
	<i>dMar-rgyan</i> . . . . .	38.17r.
	<i>Me-sgron</i> . . . . .	64.126v.
	<i>Khams-gsum Me-tog-sgron</i> . . . . .	38.24r.
39A.	<i>Mu-khri-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	47; 51.18r; 64.126r; 69.812; 105.44v.
39.	<i>Mu-ne-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	37.19v,36r-v; 40.64v; 42. chapter 97; 43; 45; 47; 48; 51.11r,18r; 52(193.321); 53.196; 54; 58.93-4,96; 60.216v; 63; 64.123r,126r; 67; 70.40r; 71; 73.13v; 75.175; 81.5; 85.28(184.XX); 107.4v; 120.IV.52; 166.32,44; 184.37,52.
	<i>Mu-ne-brtsan-po</i> . . . . .	83.
	<i>Mu-ne-brtsan</i> . . . . .	1.82/89.
	<i>Mu-ne</i> . . . . .	64.126r; 101; 120.IV.167r.
	<i>Mu-ni-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	12; 57.58r; 62.357; 64.12v; 75.151; 78(85.44); 93.295r-v; 120.IV.195v; 145.47.
	<i>Mu-ni-tsan-po</i> . . . . .	149.I.226-7.
	<i>Mu-na-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	82.928.
	<i>Ma-ne-btsan</i> . . . . .	23.
	<i>Mu-brtsan</i> . . . . .	1.82/89.
	<i>Erroneous names:</i>	
	<i>Mu-khri-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	68.33/88; 70.40r; 71(75.154); 102.'A.8.
	<i>Mu-tig-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	64.123r; 84.
	<i>Mu-thig-rtsan-po</i> . . . . .	57.35r.
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	<i>Pho-yoñ-bza' mDo-rgyal</i> . . . . .	58.93v. <sup>73</sup>
	<i>Ru-yoñ-bza' mDo-rgyal</i> . . . . .	58.93r; 64.126r. <sup>74</sup>
	<i>Ru-yoñ-bza'</i> . . . . .	62.357.
40A.	<i>Mu-rug-btsan-po</i> . . . . .	31; 37.36r-v; 43; 70.40v; 73.12; 93.295r-v; 102.'A.8; 145.47; 149.I.226-7; 166.32; 194.734.
	<i>Mu-rug-brtsan</i> . . . . .	123.

Mu-rub-btsad-po . . . . .	103.19v.
Mu-rub . . . . .	81.5.
Mu-rum-btsan-po . . . . .	37.19v; 82.928.
Mu-ri-sgam-po . . . . .	85.42-43.
Mu-btsan . . . . .	12.
sGam-po . . . . .	85.43 <sup>68</sup>
 <i>Erroneous names:</i>	
Mu-khri-btsan-po . . . . .	90.50r; 120.IV.167r.
Mu-tig-btsan-po . . . . .	45(73.13v); 51.18r; 52(193.321); 58.93v; 59.134r; 64.122v,123r,126r.
Mu-tig-brtsan-po . . . . .	83.
 40. <i>Original name:</i>	
Mu-tig-btsan-po . . . . .	37.21r; 38.5r; 43; 45; 59; 64.123r; 70.41r; 90.14r,24r; 93.295r-96v; 102.'A.8; 103.19v; 149.1.227; 166.44.
Mu-tig . . . . .	64.126r; 120.IV.167r.
 <i>Regal name:</i>	
Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan . . . . .	27; 37.21r; 45; 47; 48; 51.11v,18r; 58.94r; 59.134v; 64.126r,127r-v; 67; 70.40v; 81.5; 90.14v; 93.484r; 97.36v; 100; 184.37,52.
Khri-lde-sroñ-brtsan . . . . .	12; 16; 83; 123.
Khri-sde-sroñ-btsan . . . . .	91.108v.
lDe-sroñ-brtsan . . . . .	1.82/89.
lDe-sroñ . . . . .	123.
Sroñ-btsan . . . . .	70.96r.
 <i>Honorific names:</i>	
Sad-na-legs . . . . .	54; 58.96r; 64.12v,127v; 68.33/89; 75.151,157,175; 81.5; 82.928; 87.8v; 88(64.131); 120.IV.195v.
Sad-na . . . . .	75.153; 101.
(r)Na-legs . . . . .	87.9v.
Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan Sad-na-legs . . . . .	64.131.
Khri-lde-sroñ-brtsan gSad-na-legs . . . . .	84.
Khri-lde-btsan-po Sad-na-legs . . . . .	53.196.
Mu-tig-btsan-po Sad-na-legs . . . . .	70.40v.
Mu-tig-btsan-po Sad-legs . . . . .	71.
mJiñ-yon . . . . .	37.19v; 91.108v.
mJiñ-yon Mu-tig-btsan-po . . . . .	37.19v,21r,41v.
mJiñ-yon Legs-pa'i-blo-gros . . . . .	37.49v.
mJiñ-yon Sad-na-legs . . . . .	37.19v,21r; 90.14v.
'Jiñ-yon Sad-na-legs . . . . .	64.127r.
'Dziñ-yon . . . . .	82.928.
gLañ mJiñ-yon . . . . .	150.256.
Sad-na-legs mJiñ-yon . . . . .	70.41r; 93.484r; 108.26v.
bSad-na-legs 'Jiñ . . . . .	57.35r.
Sad-na-legs 'Jiñ-yon . . . . .	51.18r; 75.151.
Mu-tig-btsan-po Sad-na-legs mJiñ-yon . . . . .	70.40v; 93.295v.
Khri-sde-sroñ-btsan Sad-na-legs 'Jiñ-yon . . . . .	58.93v.
mNa'-bdag Sad-na-legs mJiñ-yon . . . . .	93.484r. <sup>66</sup>
lDeñ-khri . . . . .	58.94r; 59.134v; 64.127r-v,131r; 88(64.131r).
lDiñ-khri . . . . .	84.
 <i>Erroneous name:</i>	
Mu-ri-btsan-po . . . . .	37.21r.
 <i>Queens:</i>	
a. lHa-rtse . . . . .	59.127; 64.131r.
b. mChims-rgyal-bza' Legs-mo-brtsan . . . . .	27. <sup>67</sup>
c. Cog-ro-bza' brTan-rgyal . . . . .	27. <sup>68</sup>
d. 'Bro-za lHa-rgyal Mañ-mo-rje . . . . .	1.82/89. <sup>69</sup>
'Bro-bza' lHa-rgyal Guñ-skar-ma . . . . .	47; 67.
'Bro-bza' Ma-mo lHa-rgyal . . . . .	45.
'Bro-bza' Khri-mo-legs . . . . .	27.

41A.	<i>lHa-rje</i> . . . . .	53.196; 58.94r; 64.131r(70.41r); 68.33/89; 84; 93.296v; 149.I.227.
	lHa-rjes . . . . .	75.151.
	lHun-rje . . . . .	51.18r.
	gNam-sde-lha . . . . .	91.108v.
41B.	<i>lHun-grub</i> . . . . .	51.18r; 58.94r; 64.131r(70.41r); 68.33/89; 75.151; 93.296v; 84; 149.I.227.
	lHun-grub Khri-chen-po . . . . .	53.196.
41C.	<i>gTsañ-ma</i> . . . . .	12; 53.197; 57.35r; 58.94r; 60.224; 64(70.41r-v); 68.33/89; 70.41r,44v; 75.151; 83; 93.296v.
	gTsañ . . . . .	68.33/89; 91.108v.
	Tsañ-ma . . . . .	84; 149.I.227.
	gTsañ-ma . . . . .	51.18r; 64.131r; 97.36v; 107.22r.
	Tsad-ma . . . . .	59.
	rTsad-pa . . . . .	47.
	Khri-gtsañ-ma . . . . .	57.35r.
	Khri-btsañ-ma . . . . .	47.
	mNa'-bdag Khri-gtsañ-ma . . . . .	57.35r. <sup>70</sup>
	lHa-sras gTsañ-ma . . . . .	64.131r.
41AA.	lDeñ-khri . . . . .	58.94r; 64.131r.
41.	<i>Regal name:</i>	
	Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan . . . . .	7.90; 47; 60.64v-65r; 64.132r; 75.123; 164.132,735.
	Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan . . . . .	1.82/89; 2.18; 3.294; 7.78-80,82; 12; 18; 19; 164.130.
	Ñi-gtsug-sde-btsan . . . . .	164.100.
	Kha-li-kha-chu . . . . .	51.11v. <sup>71</sup>
	<i>Honorific names:</i>	
	<i>Ral-pa-can</i> . . . . .	48; 51.18r; 59; 64.131r,134v; 68.33/89; 70.41r; 75.151,157; 78.chapter 1; 83; 84; 89.63v; 91.108v; 93.296v; 97.36v; 149.I.227; 184.37.
	Khri Ral-pa-can . . . . .	74.153r; 87.10v; 95; 123.72.
	Khri Ral . . . . .	57.35r; 64.12v,137r; 66.172; 72; 75.49; 90.24v.
	Khri Ral-rje . . . . .	96.3r.
	Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan Ral-pa-can . . . . .	51.18r; 64.131r.
	Khri-gtsug-lde Ral-pa-can . . . . .	47.
	mNa'-bdag Ral-pa-can . . . . .	54; 58.94r,96r; 60.224r; 89.63v; 120.IV.195v; 184.191. <sup>72</sup>
	mNa'-bdag Khri Ral-pa-can . . . . .	64.135r; 94.Kha.4r; 97.36r.
	mNa'-bdag Khri Ral-can . . . . .	57.35r.
	mNa'-bdag Khri Ral . . . . .	57.35r; 92.11v.
	mNa'-bdag . . . . .	60.65r.
	lNa-bdag Khri Ral . . . . .	57.34r-v. <sup>73</sup>
	<i>Erroneous name:</i>	
	Khri-lde-gtsug . . . . .	91.108v.
	<i>Names of Ral-pa-can, actually referring to Sad-na-legs (40):</i>	
	Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan . . . . .	53.196; 70.44v; 108.21r.
	Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan Ral-pa-can . . . . .	71; 75.151; 91.107r; 148.279 nr. 776 note 3.
	mNa'-bdag Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan Ral-pa-can . . . . .	70.42r; 90.15v; 93.296v; 107.22v. <sup>74</sup>
	<i>Queen:</i>	
	<i>Nañ-tshul Byañ-chub-rgyal-mo</i> . . . . .	108.12r.
	Nañ-tshul-ma . . . . .	53.197.
	Nañ-tshul . . . . .	70.44v.
	dPal-gyi Nañ-tshul-ma . . . . .	184.100.
	Cog-bza' dPal-gyi Nañ-tshul . . . . .	64.131r. <sup>74</sup>
42.	<i>Original name:</i>	
	'U-'i-dum-brtan . . . . .	1.82/89.
	'Bu-'i-dun-brtan . . . . .	104.134.
	'U-dum-btsan . . . . .	102.'A.8.

'Bu-dum-brtsan . . . . .	12.
Mu . . . . .	51.11v.
<i>Honoric names or nicknames:</i>	
Dar-ma . . . . .	51.18r; 53.201; 57.35r; 58.94r; 59; 60.65r; 64.131r (70.41r); 68.33/89; 70.41r; 75.151; 83; 84; 91.108v; 93.296v; 97.36v; 184.47.
Tha-mu . . . . .	184.53. <sup>76</sup>
Dar-ma 'U-dum-btsan . . . . .	107.22r; 184.63.
Dar-ma U-dum-btsan . . . . .	64.136r.
Dar-ma dByig-dur-btsan . . . . .	68.34/90.
Khri Dar-ma 'U-dum-btsan . . . . .	53.196.
Khri Dar-ma U-dum-btsan . . . . .	64.131r,137r.
Khri 'U-dum-btsan Dar-ma . . . . .	184.37.
gLañ . . . . .	110.5r.
gLañ Dar-ma . . . . .	47; 48; 51.18v; 53.199; 60.65r,232r; 64.137r; 68.33/ 89; 100; 110.5r; 120.IV.195r; 123.73; 184.46.
gLañ Dar . . . . .	57.35r; 64.12v; 65.107; 72.19v; 75.157, 175; 110.5r.
gLañ Dar-ma 'U-dum-btsan . . . . .	53.197; 70.44v-45r; 75.151; 92.11v.
gLañ Dar-ma 'U-dum-can . . . . .	93.297v.
<i>Regal name?:</i>	
Khri-dbu('u)-dum-btsan . . . . .	59.134r.

*The Chinese names of the Tibetan kings*

Although Chinese historical sources contain vast material dealing with Tibetan history, the personal names of the Tibetan kings seldom occur. Generally the kings are referred to only as *Tsan-p'u* or *T'u-fan Tsan-p'u*. In those rare cases where the personal names actually occur, the variety of the Tibetan names of the individual kings is reflected in the Chinese equivalents, and in several cases these obviously correspond to names which are still unknown to us through Tibetan sources. Beside the obstacle which a transliteration from Tibetan to Chinese immediately represented to the Chinese authors and the uncertainty which hereby was involved, the just mentioned circumstances in connection with several cases of false identifications made by the Chinese sources was, and is still the source of mistakes.

A general view of the Chinese names of the Yar-luñ kings, as far as they are available or known to us, might therefore be of some practical importance. P. Pelliot, L. Petech, Li Fang-kuei, Wang I, and B. I. Kuznecov<sup>76</sup> have already paid considerable attention to the question of these names and presented a number of them in Chinese characters. None of these authors have attempted to obtain an exhaustive representation of the names of the Tibetan kings in Chinese sources, nor can the following compilation be considered as exhaustive, but it is based on principal, available Chinese sources dealing with Tibetan dynastic history and thus tends towards an exhaustive representation.

The numbers and the names of the kings adopted in Tables III and IV are used as introductory references to the kings in question, and the Chinese names are given in transcription, while the corresponding Chinese characters are to be found separately in Table V.

The names *Hu(-lu)-t'i-hsi-p'u-yeh* ('O-lde-spu-rgyal) and *Tsu-chih-chien* have been omitted, being discussed separately<sup>77</sup>.

1. *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*.

Ya-ch'i-li-tsan-p'u (Table V, Chinese characters no. 1). Source: Chang-so chih-lun (49.231b.15).

27. *Khri-rje-thog-btsan*.

Chia-hsi-tung-mo or Tung-mo (Table V, 2). Source: T'ang-shu (220.216A.3r.7). This and the following six kings (28-33), whose names are given by the T'ang-shu 216A, represent a continuous line within the



Dynasty, and although the names of three of the kings (27, 29, and 31) cannot be identified with known Tibetan names, the correctness of the sequence of these kings seems rather strongly confirmed by the correct positions of the remaining four, identifiable kings. The most probable Tibetan reconstruction of Chia-hsi-tung-mo seems to be rGyal-stoñ-ma.

28. *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan*.

Hsia-t'o-to-li-ssü-yen-tsan (Table V, 3). Source: Chang-so chih-lun (49.231b.15–16). This name is a direct transliteration of lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-btsan (see Table III).

T'o-t'u-tu(to) or T'o-t'u (Table V, 4). Source: T'ang-shu (220.216A.3r.7).

29. *Khri-gñan-gzuñ-btsan*.

Ch'i(Chieh)-li-shih-jo or Ch'i(Chieh)-li (Table V, 5). Source: T'ang-shu (220.216A.3r.7–8). A plausible Tibetan reconstruction is hardly possible at present. The transliteration value of the character *jo* is problematic and seems to vary when it is used of Tibetan names. In a number of cases it corresponds to bzer, but in the present case and in the names of the kings nos. 30 and 31 circumstances seem to indicate a correspondence to gñan or sñan. Tentatively we may identify the Chinese name with Khri-sñan.

30. *'Bro-gñan-lde'u*.

P'o-lung(nung)-jo or P'o-lung(nung) (Table V, 6). Source: T'ang-shu (220.216A.3r.8). The characters P'u-lung(nung) immediately correspond to Tibetan 'Broñ, which in Tibetan texts alternates with 'Bro (see Table III) ordinarily rendered as Chinese Mu-lu. We may identify the name with 'Broñ-gñan or 'Broñ-rje.

31. *sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs*.

Chü-su-jo or Chü-su (Table V, 7). Source: T'ang-shu (220.216A.3r.8). The characters permit no plausible reconstruction (see below 32).

32. *gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan*.

Lun-tsan-su or Lun-tsan (Table V, 8). Source: T'ang-shu (220.216A.3r.8–9).

Lun-tsan-shu(shuai)-lung-tsan (Table V, 9). Source: T'ung-tien (224.190.10r.6).

Lun-tsan-so-lung-tsan (Table V, 10). Sources: T'ung-chih (223.3132c.6) and Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2624c.7–8).

The most complete version of the Chinese name of gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan seems to be Lun-tsan-so(su)-lung-tsan, as given by the T'ung-tien, the Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao, and L. Petech (177.168, no.9), corresponding to Tibetan sLoñ-btsan-sroñ-btsan (see Table III). The two Chinese sources just mentioned directly depend on the T'ung-tien, which, however, has as the third character *shu* or *shuai* instead of *su* or *so*. We may here be dealing with the occurrence of an incorrect character, but with the value *shu* the character may, on the other hand, have been used by Tu Yu as the initial consonant *s-* in the same function as commonly *so*, *su*, *ssü*, or *hsi*.

The version Lun-tsan-su given by the T'ang-shu is corrupt, while Lun-tsan is corresponding to Tibetan sLoñ-btsan (see Table III). The final character *su* is the initial consonant *s-* of the following syllable in Tibetan, and the same occurrence seems to be found in the name of the previous king Chü-su, who probably should be named either Chü or Chü su-jo.

### 33. *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.*

Shuang-tsan-ssü-kan-p'u (Table V, 11). Source: Chang-so chih-lun (49.231b.17). The name is a direct transliteration of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

Ch'i-tsung-lung-tsan (Table V, 12). Sources: Chiu T'ang-shu (213.196A.2v.10–3r.1); T'ai-p'ing yü-lan (218.798.2v.2); Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.194.9r.3,6 and 195.7v.7).

Ch'i-tsung-lung-tsan (Table V, 13). Source: Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.194.14r.3,14v.2 and 195.10v.9).

Ch'i-tsung-lung-tsan (Table V, 14). Source: T'ang-shu (220.216A.3r.9).

Ch'i-tsung-lung-tsan (Table V, 15). Source: Kao-tsung shih-lu (225.194.14r.3).

Ch'i-su-nung-tsan (Table V, 16). Sources: T'ung-tien (224.190.10r.10); Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2624c.12).

Ch'i-su-nung-lung-tsan (Table V, 17). Source: T'ung-chih (223.3132c.11).

The various versions corresponding to the characters 12–17 are all to be regarded as transliterations of Tibetan Khri-sroñ-btsan. Depending on authors or other circumstances the difficult syllable *sroñ* was rendered as *tsung-lung*, *su-nung*, *su-nung-lung*, or simply *lung*. The characters *su-nung-lung* seem to be simply an exaggeration, because the text of the T'ung-chih in question directly depends on the T'ung-tien which has *su-nung*.

Ch'i-su-nung (Table V, 18). Source: T'ang-shu (220.216A.3r.9). The Tibetan equivalent is Khri-sroñ.

Su-nung (Table V, 19). Sources: T'ung-tien (224.190.10v.6); Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2624c.18). The name is in this case simply reduced to Sroñ.

Lung-tsan (Table V, 20). Sources: T'ung-tien (224.190.10r.5); T'ang-shu (220.216A.3v.2 ff); T'ung-chih (223.3132c.5–6,12–13).

Lung-tsan (Table V, 21). Sources: Chiu T'ang-shu (213.196A.3r.1 ff); T'ang hui-yao (219.1730.7,9); T'ai-p'ing yü-lan (218.798.2v.2 ff); Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.195.11r.1 and 199.15r.4,16r.8; 225.195.7v.9 and 199.10r.5,10v.11).

Lung-tsan represents Tibetan Sroñ-btsan, the personal name of the king (see Table IV).

### 35. *Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan.*

Ch'i-li-pa-pu (Table V, 22). Source: T'ung-tien (224.190.10v.7).

Ch'i-li-pa-pu (Table V, 23). Source: T'ung-tien (224.190.15v.6).

Ch'i-li-pa-pu (Table V, 24). Source: T'ung-chih (223.3132c.13–14).

Ch'i-li-pa-pu (Table V, 25). Source: Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2624c.18,19).

Ch'i-li-p'i-pu (Table V, 26). Source: Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao 334.17b (Ming edition 1524).

Beyond Ch'i-li signifying Khri, the name Ch'i-li-pa-pu used of Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan cannot be directly explained (See Demiéville, 151.200–01, note). In all the cases it derives from the T'ung-tien, and the deviating form found in the Ming edition is probably due to nothing but the similarity between the characters *pa* and *p'i* (p'ei). Though a contemporary of Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan and his two successors, Tu Yu, the author of the T'ung-tien, was not quite aware of the chronological data of these kings. In the former place quoted above he correctly makes Ch'i-li-pa-pu the grandson of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, but in the latter place he identifies him with the king who died in 704 A.D. and actually was 'Dus-sroñ, the son of Ch'i-li-pa-pu (see below). The Chinese rendering seems to indicate a Tibetan name or title like Khri dPa'-bo, which is not known from available Tibetan sources.

### 36. 'Dus-sroñ.

Ch'i-li-nu-hsi-lung (Table V, 27). Source: T'ung-tien (224.190.15v.7.). This is a direct transcription of Khri-'Dus-sroñ. In the source the name, however, applies to the king installed in 704 A.D., i.e. Mes-ag-tshoms, the son of 'Dus-sroñ.

Ch'i-nu-hsi-lung (Table V, 28). Sources: Chiu T'ang-shu (213.196A.7r.5,8r.10,9r.9); T'ang hui-yao (219.1732.5); T'ang-shu (220.216A.7v.10); T'ung-chih (223.3132c.16); Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.202.21v.9 and 207.20r.7-8; 225.202.14r.5 and 207.13r.7); Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2625a.27).

This name differs only from the previous one with regard to the transcription of Khri, for which the Chinese used either Ch'i or Ch'i-li.

### 37. *Mes-ag-tshoms*.

Ch'i-li-so-tsan (Table V, 29). Sources: Chiu T'ang-shu (213.196A.9r.9-10); Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2625b.12-13).

Ch'i-li-so-tsan (Table V, 30). Source: T'ang-shu (220.216A.11v.4).

Ch'i-li-so-tsan (Table V, 31). Source: Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.207.20r.9; 225.207.13r.8).

This Chinese name corresponds to Khri(-lde)-gtsug-b(r)tsan, the regal name of Mes-ag-tshoms.

Ch'i-ssü-so-tsan and Ch'i-ssü (Table V, 32). Source: T'ang hui-yao (219.1732.7-8). The second character of these names is probably erroneous.

In a number of cases variants of the Chinese names of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan are used of Mes-ag-tshoms for reasons to be explained below.

### 38. *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan*.

Ch'i-li-shuang-t'i-tsan (Table V, 33). Source: Chang-so chih-lun (49.231b.19-20). This is a direct transliteration of the Tibetan name Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan.

Ch'i-li-hsi-lung-na-tsan (Table V, 34). Source: T'ung-tien (224.190.16r.2). In this rendering of Tibetan Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan the occurrence of the character *na* appears rather strange, but Demiéville (151.8 note) has given a plausible phonetic explanation of it.

Ch'i-li-su-lung-lieh-tsan (Table V, 35). Sources: Chiu T'ang-shu (213.196A.19v.6)\*; T'ung-chih (223.3132c.18-19)\*.

Ch'i-li-su-lung-la(lieh)-tsan (Table V, 36). Source: T'ang-shu (220.216A.18v.6)\*.

Ch'i-li-su-lung-lieh-tsan (Table V, 37). Source: Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.217.28r.4)\*.

Ch'i-li-su-lung-lieh-tsan (Table V, 38). Source: Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.217.14r.6)\*.

Ch'i-li-su-lung-la(lieh)tsan (Table V, 39). Source: Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2626b.3-4)\*.

P'o(So)-hsi-lung-lieh-tsan (Table V, 40). Source: Chiu T'ang-shu (213.196A.19v.6-7)\*\*.

So-hsi-lung-la(lieh)-tsan (Table V, 41). Sources: T'ang-shu (220.216A.18v.6)\*\*; Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2626b.4)\*\*.

So-hsi-lung-la(lieh)-tsan (Table V, 42). Source: Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei (222.956.10b).

So-hsi-lung-lieh-tsan (Table V, 43). Source: Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.217.28r.4; 225.217.14r.7)\*\*.

Ch'i-li-tsan (Table V, 44). Sources: Chiu T'ang-shu (213.196B.3v.5-6); Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei (222.956.8v-9r, 980.11r-v); T'ang-shu (220.216B.2v.5, 222A.11v.5); T'ung-chih (223.3132c.19)\*\*; Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.235.17v.5; 225.235.12r.1); Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2627a.2).

It appears that the names of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan represented by the Chinese characters 35-44 lead to three different fundamental forms, viz. Ch'i-li-su-lung-lieh-tsan, So-hsi-lung-lieh-tsan, and Ch'i-li-tsan, which correspond to Tibetan Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, Sroñ-lde-btsan, and Khri-sroñ, all of them actually known from Tibetan sources (see Table IV).

In the version given by the Chiu T'ang-shu (40) the first Chinese character has ordinarily the value *p'o*, while in the present case it definitely is *so*. This interchange of value of the character in question is also known from its occurrences in transcriptions of IHa-sa (Ra-sa) to Lo-so, e.g. in the T'ung-tien (224.190.9v.8) and the Wei-ts'ang t'u-chih (226.190).

Where the identity of the kings carrying the various versions of the name Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan is concerned, a pronounced confusion is prevailing in the Chinese sources, which has even influenced

later Tibetan representations of the dynastic history. A number of the ambiguous sources given above have been marked with asterisks, so that \* indicates that the Chinese name in question according to the text applies to Mes-ag-tshoms, while \*\* indicates that it applies to Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan himself. This occurrence, which is only part of the confusion at hand, is closely connected with the record of the death of Mes-ag-tshoms and the succession of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, which is particularly well-known from the version of the Chiu T'ang-shu 196A.19v.6-7 (see 147.473-74; 176.27).

The identification of the dead king with one of the names of his son and successor occurring in the Chiu T'ang-shu, can only be explained by the fact that the death of Mes-ag-tshoms took place under quite special circumstances, which the Tibetan sources laboriously strived to conceal, and of which the Imperial Court was kept in ignorance. The latter presumption is further substantiated by another aspect of the general confusion with regard to the Chinese records of the data of succession and the identity of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan. While the Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei as an isolated case states that So-hsi-lung-lieh-tsan succeeded in 755 and died in 797, the majority of the Chinese records seem to distinguish, directly or indirectly between two different persons, one named So-hsi-lung-lieh-tsan succeeding about 755, the other named Ch'i-li-tsan dying in 797. As an exception the T'ung-chih mentions Ch'i-li-tsan as the king succeeding in 755, and likewise as an exception the Tzū-chih t'ung-chien names the king who died in 797 Ch'i-li-tsan, while in all other records he remains anonymous. As it appears from the list of the sources above, the name Ch'i-li-tsan occurs, however, comparatively frequently in the records, but in most of the cases it refers to a person who, in or immediately about 780 A.D., was or became king of Tibet.

Immediately after mentioning the 13th year Ta-li (778 A.D.) the T'ang-shu 216B.2v.5 relates that "at this time Ch'i-li-tsan was (or: became) Tsan-p'u". In this record the verbal link *wei* is equivocal, signifying both to be and to become. According to the general usage of the T'ang Annals it signifies, however, under the present text conditions to become, and in this significance it has also been conceived by the Tibetan authors using the Chinese sources. As the period referred to is more precisely the 1st year Chien-chung (780 A.D.) (see Chiu T'ang-shu 196B.3v.5-6), Tibetan authors of great prominence (157.125) in accordance with the Chinese sources maintain that a king died and a new king succeeded in 779 or 780.

While the Chinese sources taken as a whole leave no doubt as to the common identity of Ch'i-lisu-lung-lieh-tsan, So-hsi-lung-lieh-tsan, and Ch'i-li-tsan, the effects of their uncertainty and discrepancies upon Tibetan authors making 780 the year of the death of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, have until now had grave consequences on the study of Tibetan dynastic history.

#### 41. *Ral-pa-can.*

Ch'i-li-lai-pa-shan (Table V, 45). Source: Chang-so chih-lun (49.231b.24). This is a Chinese rendering of Khri Ral-pa-can (see Table IV).

K'a-li-k'a-tsu (Table V, 46). Sources: T'ang-shu (220.216B.11r.9); Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei (222.981.18v); T'ung-chih (223.3132c.19); Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.239.26r.8; 225.239.18r.11). This Chinese name is quoted by the Deb-ther-dmar-po (51.11v), and probably reproduces Khri-gtsug, the beginning of Ral-pa-can's regal name (see Table IV; see also 184.XIX).

Ch'i-li-t'i-tsu-tsan (Table V, 47). The name, which is found in a Tun-huang Ms. in the National Library in Peking (see Demiéville, 151.231-32 note) has been reconstructed as Khri-lde-gtsug-btsan (Mes-ag-tshoms), but refers beyond reasonable doubt to Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan (Ral-pa-can). The metathesis which, in this case, should then occur in the name, is, however, known even in Tibetan sources, e.g. Khri-lde-gtsug for Ral-pa-can in the Index volume of the sDe-dge Kanjur, 1733.<sup>78</sup> On the other hand it must be emphasized that the various, spontaneously occurring transliterations or transcriptions of Tibetan names followed no exact rules, on the contrary they were subjected to various mistakes, dialectic and others, in the oral rendering, and depended on the personal judgement of the writer. Therefore the function of the middle character of the name, t'i, may be questionable.

1	呀 乞 曠 贊 普	25	乞 梨 披 布
2	癩 悉 董 序	26	乞 黎 披 布
3	裕 陀 朶 曠 思 顏 贊	27	乞 梨 琴 悉 籠
4	陀 土 度	28	器 琴 悉 弄
5	捫 利 矢 若	29	棄 隸 縮 贊
6	勃 弄 若	30	棄 隸 縮 贊
7	詎 柔 若	31	弄 隸 縮 贊
8	論 贊 柔	32	棄 肆 縮 贊
9	論 贊 罕 弄 贊	33	乞 曠 雙 提 贊
10	論 贊 宗 弄 贊	34	乞 犁 悉 籠 納 贊
11	雙 贊 思 甘 普	35	乞 梨 蘇 籠 攪 贊
12	弃 宗 弄 讚	36	乞 梨 蘇 籠 臘 贊
13	棄 宗 弄 讚	37	乞 梨 蘇 籠 攪 贊
14	棄 宗 弄 贊	38	乞 梨 蘇 籠 攪 贊
15	器 宗 弄 讚	39	乞 梨 蘇 籠 臘 替
16	弃 蘇 農 贊	40	婆 悉 籠 攪 贊
17	棄 蘇 農 弄 贊	41	罕 悉 籠 臘 贊
18	棄 蘇 農	42	娑 悉 籠 臘 贊
19	蘇 農	43	娑 悉 籠 攪 贊
20	弄 贊	44	乞 立 贊
21	弄 讚	45	乞 曠 侏 巴 瞻
22	乞 梨 披 布	46	可 黎 可 足
23	乞 梨 披 布	47	乞 里 提 足 贊
24	乞 梨 披 布	48	達 磨

Table V: The Chinese names of the Tibetan kings.

#### 42. *gLan Dar-ma*.

Ta-mo (Table V, 48). Sources: T'ang-shu (220.216B.15v.9); T'ung-tien (224.3132c.20). This name represents a transliteration of both the name Dar-ma of the Tibetan king and the Sanskrit term dharma.

With a very few exceptions the names listed above represent transliterations of Tibetan names, which provide literary knowledge of the Tibetan language. Contrary to these classic transliterations of the T'ang and Yüan, the later and modern Chinese rendering of the names is based on a phonetic transcription of the Tibetan pronunciation of the names and thus subject to variations due to dialects. A case of such a transcription is found in the work of Liu Li-ch'ien, Yin-ts'ang fo-chiao-chih (229), based on the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

#### *The significance of the royal names*

The material comprising the names of the Tibetan kings and queens, or the known members of the royal lineage in general, presents various interesting features. Unfortunately an attempt to give in detail an interpretation of the royal names beyond the notes given to the Tables III and IV must at present be regarded as futile. In several cases an interpretation of the single constituents of the royal names is highly problematic, even in their general occurrence in Tibetan texts. At the same time the very fact that we are dealing with constituents of *royal names* makes an interpretation of otherwise well-known vocables just as problematic, because we have little or no means of establishing the particular or sacral significance that may be hidden in the names. On the other hand we are able to give certain leads to a classification of the royal names according to their use and general significance.

In chapter eight, The cosmological and theogonical aspects of the representation of the Dynasty, we shall endeavour to show how the royal names can be referred in groups to certain classes of Tibetan deities. In the present connection, however we shall see how it seems possible to classify the different names attributed to a king according to particular qualities or degrees of dignity expressed by the names. For practical purposes a preliminary attempt to classify the names this way has already been made in the Tables III and IV.

With a few exceptions the material of prehistoric names (Table III) is too sparse to permit any classification in the sense indicated. Moreover, due to the fact that the authorized and individual representations are based on somewhat different traditions, the personal identity of the kings is doubtful in cases where different names apply to one and the same king according to their position in the representation of the Dynasty. Only the names of the historical kings reckoned from gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan present sufficient material for a classification.

The direct evidence of Tibetan records permits us to distinguish primarily between an *original name* and a *regal name*. In some cases the *original name* seems to correspond to our idea of a *first name*, but it may more correctly be defined as the name by which a king was known when still a prince, *before his accession to the throne*. The *regal name* was the name which was adopted by, or given to, him *when he acceded to the throne*.<sup>79</sup> In the following three cases such categories of names are expressly defined by the Tibetan sources:

King	Original name	Regal name
No. 33	Sroñ-btsan	Khri-(lde-)sroñ-btsan
– 37	rGyal-gtsug-ru	Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan
– 38	Sroñ-lde-btsan	Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan

In the case of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po (no. 33) we read in the Mañi-bka'-'bum (34.E.189r):

De-nas yab rgyal-pos ñe'i<sup>80</sup> miñ Sroñ-btsan-du  
gtags-so /

Then he got the name *Sroñ-btsan* from his father  
the king.

/ rGyal-bu der nar-ma son-pa-nas /  
 'jig-rten-las 'das-pa'i bya-ba ñid byed-ciñ blo  
 che-bas / blon-po-rnams-kyis 'o-skol-gyi  
 rgyal-bu 'di-ni śin-tu-thugs-sgam-mo źes-smras-  
 pas / Sroñ-btsan-sgam-por grags-sor /

dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.14r) relates similarly:

/ Khri Sroñ-btsan źes mtshan-du gsol-pa-las /  
 / Yon-tan-kun-ldan śin-tu-thugs-sgam-pas /

/ mTshan yañ Sroñ-btsan-sgam-por chags-par-  
 gyur /

The *rGyal-bu* lived an “unbroken life” down here (i.e. he died a natural death) and performed deeds which were even beyond this world. Because of his great qualities his ministers said: “Our *rGyal-bu* is very clever (*sgam-po*<sup>81</sup>).” Therefore he is known as *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po*.

He gave (him) the name *Khri Sroñ-btsan*, and because he possessed all virtues and a very clever (*sgam-pa*) mind

Originated the name *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po*.

It appears that *Sroñ-btsan* was the *original name* given to him by his father when he was born. *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po*, however, was not his regal name, but an *honorific name* given to him, either in his lifetime as king or posthumously. The traditions may be interpreted both ways. *rGyal-bu*, which generally means prince (son of the king), in this text signifies king and is synonymous to *rGyal-po*, king. The *regal name* of the king was *Khri-(lde-)sroñ-btsan*, as appears from the Tun-huang Mss and from official documents from the time of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, particularly from Sad-na-legs's inscription of dKar-chuñ (16), the Sino-Tibetan peace treaty of 821–22 (18), and *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan*'s second edict (26).

In the case of Mes-ag-tshoms the distinction between his *original name* and his *regal name* is stated by the Tun-huang Annals. In 712 A.D., the year of his accession to the throne the annals relate (1.21/43):

bTsan-po'e mtshan rGyal-gtsug-ru-las /  
 Khri-lde-gtsug-rtsan-du gsold /

From being *rGyal-gtsug-ru* the name of *bTsan-po* was established as *Khri-lde-gtsug-rtsan*.<sup>82</sup>

In the third case, that of *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan*, we find the following records in the annals. In the year 742 A.D. (1.26/51):

bTsan-po Sroñ-lde-brtsan Brag-mar-du'  
 bltam /

*bTsan-po Sroñ-lde-brtsan* was born in *Brag-mar*.

and in 756 A.D. (1.56/63):

bTsan-po'i mtsan Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan-du  
 bond<sup>83</sup> / cab-srid phyag-du-bźes /

*bTsan-po*'s name was given as *Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan*. He took the power of government into his hand.

In all three cases just considered the *regal name* begins with *Khri* signifying *throne*, and in the first and the last cases the *regal name* simply derives from the *original name* by addition of *Khri* as a kind of prefix.

From the fact that we find names beginning with *Khri* applying to all the historical kings with the exception of *Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan* and *Mu-ne-btsan-po*,<sup>84</sup> and that six of a total of eight names beginning with *Khri* are certified by official documents as the official names of the kings in question, we may rather safely infer that the *regal or official name of a king*, given to him when he succeeded to the throne, was formed from his *original name* by addition of the *prefix-name or title Khri* symbolizing the connection between the king and the throne.

When examining all the royal names beginning with *Khri* it appears that a majority of them contain four words or syllables. This applies to both historical and prehistorical kings, thus indicating that a *regal name* was composed of four words or syllables.

An apparently clear contradiction to the rule of prefix Khri seems to appear from the circumstance that the original names of Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan (Mes-ag-tshoms) and Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan (Sad-na-legs) were rGyal-gtsug-ru and Mu-tig-btsan-po respectively, while the fact already mentioned that no names of Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan and Mu-ne-btsan-po beginning with Khri are known from available Tibetan sources presents no proof either way. The absence of the Khri might even in various ways be plausibly explained where these two kings, who very often remain unmentioned by the historical sources, are concerned.

Mes-ag-tshoms and Sad-na-legs, however, have the quality in common, distinguishing them from their historical predecessors, that by birth neither of them was an heir to the throne. It is well-known that Sad-na-legs only succeeded to the throne because his eldest brother Mu-ne-btsan-po had no heir, and his elder brother Mu-rug-btsan-po was unfit for the throne for reasons explained on an earlier occasion (157). Mes-ag-tshoms, on the contrary, has usually been regarded as the born heir to the throne after his father 'Dus-sroñ. But Chinese sources dealing with the Sino-Tibetan relations in the period about 700 A.D., particularly where the question of matrimonial alliance is concerned,<sup>85</sup> give us various pieces of information about the inner circumstances in Tibet, and a report about the inner events in Tibet following the death of 'Dus-sroñ in 704 A.D., addressed to the Empress Wu by Kuo Yüan-chen,<sup>86</sup> incontestably shows that the legitimate heir to the throne in Tibet was born about 698 A.D., but that it was the new-born rGyal-gtsug-ru, born in 704 A.D., who was designated king after severe conflicts about the succession.

The circumstance that these two kings were younger sons sufficiently explains that their regal names were not formed according to the assumed general rule, but the very fact that the general rule was abandoned in these two cases, and that the two kings received *special regal names* similar to those of their predecessors (and successors), inevitably leads to the conclusion that *the regal names*, and consequently *the original names of the born heirs to the throne, were names of a special significance or sacral names, in natural accordance with the sacral character of royalty.*

This conclusion seems perfectly tenable during the whole era of the historical Yar-luñ Dynasty, where the regal names are concerned, while it seems more or less incorrect with regard to the original names of the heirs to the throne from the time of King Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan.

The original names of the sons of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, viz. Mu-khri-btsan-po, Mu-ne-btsan-po, Mu-rug-btsan-po, and Mu-tig-btsan-po, the first two of whom were born as successive heirs to the throne,<sup>87</sup> were hardly sacral names in the former sense. The names of the four sons are particularly characterized by the common occurrence of Mu-, but the real significance of this will probably remain unknown. Dza-ya Pañḍita (1702 A.D.) comments on it in the following way (120.IV.167r):

/ Chos-rgyal Khri-sroñ-lde'u-btsan-gyi sras  
Mu-ne Mu-khri Mu-tig sogs don-gcig-pa<sup>88</sup> de'i  
spy<sup>89</sup> sbrul yin-par bžad-ciñ /

The fundamental significance (*spy*) of the homonymous (link) in (the names of) *Mu-ne*, *Mu-khri*, and *Mu-tig*, the sons of *Chos-rgyal Khri-sroñ-lde'u-btsan*, is *sbrul* (serpent).

So far, this author contributes little to an explanation of the names, but this clearly contradicts the explanation given by some authors that the names of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan's sons derive from Sanskrit, e.g. Mu-ne from muni, a saint, or Mu-tig from muktā, a pearl.

In the case of Ral-pa-can, his original name is unknown to us. Ral-pa-can was an honorific name (see below). As this king, just as his father Sad-na-legs, was a younger son and therefore no born heir to the throne, he also got a special *regal name Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan*. As to the successor and the possible legitimate claimants to the throne after Ral-pa-can the conditions about and within the royal family had reached a state where no conformity with previous rules and traditions might be expected, and the fall of the Yar-luñ Dynasty followed immediately after, as the result of this state.

The sacral institution of the Dynasty, as well as the rules and traditions of names and succession, originated from prehistoric time and had its religious foundation in the pre-Buddhist Bon religion.



The general history of Tibet gives us the first hint of a break in the ancient tradition of succession in Mes-ag-tshoms's accession to the throne instead of the legitimate heir. The most important fact, however, is that Mes-ag-tshoms is the first Tibetan king who with some reason, may be called a Buddhist king, and that from his time the Tibetan kings inclined towards and later officially favoured and recognized Buddhism.

The history of the royal names reflects this change of religious attitude in the royal family and its court, who also had to change its sense of obligation to the ancient pre-Buddhist Bon-po traditions. The historical development shows that the religious schism caused by the adherence of the kings to Buddhism brought forth a more or less pronounced state of compromise between the two religious traditions, both in the official acts of state and in the position of the Dynasty. Even under Ral-pa-can, who was the most fervent Buddhist king, the Bon-po rites of animal sacrifices were upheld in the official acts of state, and the religious status of the king, as founded in the Bon-po tradition, was still recognized, at any rate formally.<sup>90</sup> For this reason the special tradition of the sacral regal names seems to have prevailed until the fall of the Dynasty. On the question of the original names of the heirs to the throne, however, the Buddhist kings apparently neglected the Bon-po traditions, just as they seem to have completely neglected the ancient rules and traditions of succession since the accession of Mes-ag-tshoms.

While the Tibetan sources in general offer little information with regard to the significance of the various royal names, they present an exception in the case of Sad-na-legs. However, a considerable number of Tibetan sources wrongly refer his regal name Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan to his son Ral-pa-can. Bu-ston seems to be originally responsible for this false identification when mentioning Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan as the son of Sad-na-legs. The error has been authorized by the Fifth Dalai Lama who, in his Chronicle (70.40v), simply rejects the name Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan as a name of Sad-na-legs:

Sras chuñ-ba Mu-tig-btsan-po Sad-na-legs  
mJiñ-yon-gyis dguñ-lo bži'i steñ-du rgyal-srid  
bzun / sLob-dpon-gyis chos skal rtsal / rgyal-  
rabs 'ga'-zig-tu rgyal-po 'di'i mtshan-la Khri-lde-  
sroñ-btsan-du 'chad-pa ni sGra-sbyor-bam-gñis-  
pa sogs ma-mthoñ-ba'i skyon-no /

The youngest son *Mu-tig-btsan-po Sad-na-legs mJiñ-yon* took over the royal power when he was four years old. The masters praised the good fortune of the Law. In some chronicles the name of this king is mentioned as *Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan*, but this error is not seen in *Mahāvvyutpatti* and other (works).

Later in his Chronicle the Fifth Dalai Lama identifies Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan with Ral-pa-can, e.g. when mentioning the latter king as mÑa'-bdag Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan Ral-pa-can (70.42r). By this mistake the Fifth Dalai Lama has caused universal confusion as to the names and the identity of the two kings. As a particular, important consequence of this mistake by the Fifth Dalai Lama, the edition of *Mahāvvyutpatti* and the beginning of the great revision of the Tibetan translations of the Buddhist texts, which actually took place during the reign of Sad-na-legs, is generally referred to that of Ral-pa-can both by Tibetan and European authors.<sup>91</sup>

The identity between Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan and Mu-tig-btsan-po Sad-na-legs can be established. Conclusive evidence is given by Sad-na-legs himself, who in his inscription of the pillar of dKar-chuñ (16) and in his edict (27), using his official name Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan, directly mentions his father as Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan and his ancestors in agreement with the royal pedigree.

Moreover, the identity appears from the following, otherwise interesting lines of the gTer-ma rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.21r):

sLob-dpon mtshan-gsol Mu-tig-btsan-po zes :  
Yab-kyis mtshan-gsol Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan zes :  
Nañ-blon mtshan-gsol mJiñ-yon Sad-na-legs :  
rGya-yis mtshan-gsol Mu-ri-btsan-po zes :

The name *Mu-ri-btsan-po* in the last line, which is here quoted from the Potala edition, is incorrect. In the older versions of this particular passage, e.g. in the *sNar-thaṅ Kanjur* (90.14v), we find the correct name *Mu-tig-btsan-po*. The translation of the four lines reads:

- (When) the *Master (Padmasambhava)* addressed (the king) by name,<sup>92</sup> it was *Mu-tig-btsan-po*.  
(When) the *father* addressed (him) by name, it was *Khri-lde-sroṅ-btsan*.  
(When) the *minister of the interior* addressed (him) by name, it was *mJiñ-yon Sad-na-legs*.  
(When the Emperor of) *China* addressed (him) by name, it was *Mu-tig-btsan-po*.

Besides stating the identity of *Khri-lde-sroṅ-btsan*, these lines give us a most important hint as to the use and the value of the various names of this king, and consequently of the royal names in general.

Disregarding the anachronism expressed in the second line, we notice that the *official and regal name Khri-lde-sroṅ-btsan* is used in the highest plane of dignity, corresponding to the record of *Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po* that *his original sacral name was given him by his father*.

The Master (*sLob-dpon*) mentioned in the first line undoubtedly means *Padmasambhava*, who is mentioned in the same text, three lines before our quotation. Here we are again dealing with an anachronism, and we may therefore conceive *sLob-dpon* in its general sense of religious teacher. *The Master and (the Emperor of) China* (the fourth line) *address the king by his original or personal name Mu-tig-btsan-po*. This strange occurrence is due to the circumstance that, in a certain sense, the Tibetan kings in both cases had an inferior rank in comparison to the addresser. In the first case because of the Master's capacity of religious preceptor and high degree of initiation, in the second case in consequence of the traditional relationship of *uncle and nephew* between the Chinese Emperor and the Tibetan king.<sup>93</sup> During the greater part of the reign of *Sad-na-legs* this relationship had a more than formal significance, as Tibet at that time at least according to the *T'ang Annals* actually recognized the suzerainty of China.<sup>94</sup>

The third line tells us that the name *mJiñ-yon Sad-na-legs* was used in the relationship between the *nañ-blon* or minister of the interior and the king, and therefore, no doubt, generally between the king and his court.<sup>95</sup> Correspondingly this name or parts of it are the most frequently occurring names in Tibetan texts. *mJiñ-yon Sad-na-legs*, which consists of two separate names *mJiñ-yon* and *Sad-na-legs*, has an honorific character and refers to certain qualities or capacities distinguishing the king, but here, as in most cases, we are unable to interpret the name. In a play with words the *rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig* (37.19v) gives a kind of interpretation of *Sad-na-legs*, when characterizing the king by the words "*rgyas-par bśad-na legs-pa lña dañ-ldan*," generally *speaking* he had the *five good qualities*.

Referring to the name *Khri-lde-sroṅ-btsan*, F. W. Thomas (9.270) comments on the four lines quoted above in the following way: "Apparently another name of *Mu-tig Btsan-po*, a variant of that of his father *Khri-sroṅ-lde'u-btsan*. In denying this name to *Mu-tig Btsan-po* the *Me-loṅ* (fol. 40b,2) is, it seems, mistaken: the name was dropped, no doubt, upon accession to the throne and adoption of the royal designation *Mu-tig (Pearl) Btsan-po*. *Sad-na-legs* was, of course, a soubriquet".—When characterizing *Sad-na-legs* as a soubriquet and at the same time referring to the play of words just quoted, F. W. Thomas was right in principle, but mistaken in the idea of the chronological priority and the significance of the two other names.

*mJiñ-yon* and *Sad-na-legs* may properly be classified as honorific names, and for all the historical kings, with the exception of *Guñ-sroṅ-guñ-btsan*, *Mañ-sroṅ-mañ-btsan*, and *Mu-ne-btsan-po*, one or more such honorific names are known (see Table IV). *sGam-po* in the name *Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po* makes it an honorific name as stated in the quotation from the *Mañi-bka'-'bum* given above and confirmed by the *Tun-huang Ms 250 Paris* (l. 118/161). *Ral-pa-can* likewise is an honorific name, as appears from the traditions of its origin.

The word *gLañ* found in the name *gLañ-Dar-ma* of the last king of the Dynasty means an ox or a bull ox. The latter part of the name, *Dar-ma*, which is frequently used separately as the name of the king, has occasionally been confounded with the Sanskrit Buddhist term *dharma*. A. H. Francke, e.g., writes (68.91) that "*Glañ-dar-ma* means 'Ox-dharma'". There is no reason, however, to assume any

connection between Dar-ma and dharma, because most probably gLañ-Dar-ma is to be understood in its direct and common sense, viz. a young ox or bull ox. Dar is a Tibetan expression for youth, and dar-ma signifies both youthful and full-grown. dPa'-bo gTsub-lag (64.137r) interprets the name as a nickname in the following note:

Chu-mo-lug-la Khri Dar-ma U-dum-btsan  
'khrunś / ba-lañ-gi śa-tshugs 'dra-ziñ mkhyen-pa  
chuñ-la rgyud gyon-bas 'bañs-rnams-kysis  
gLañ-Dar-ma btags /

In the Water-Female-Sheep year *Khri Dar-ma U-dum-btsan* was born. His body looked like a bull, and because of impudence caused by little wisdom, the subjects called (him) *gLañ (Ox) Dar-ma*.

We are so much more justified in adopting this common meaning of gLañ-Dar-ma, Young Bull, as the name gLañ mJiñ-yon has been used of King Sad-na-legs in an honorific sense. This king, because of his strong body, is said to have been famous as *Ox-mJiñ-yon* (150.256).

Based on the apparently common custom of using honorific names for the kings, the strange circumstance appears that we find no honorific name, in the proper sense of the word, used for one of the most famous kings Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan. In Table IV under the heading of honorific names, we have mentioned mÑa'-bdag Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan. From a certain point of view this expression may be considered an honorific name, but it seems to have been used only posthumously in Buddhist texts. In reality mÑa'-bdag is a title or, in a specific sense, a prerogative of the Tibetan kings in Buddhist times. It signifies "the possessor of mÑa'," where mÑa' is the particular inherent power or essence of the majesty by virtue of divine incarnation and descent.<sup>96</sup> In a more common sense mÑa'-bdag may be conceived as ruler. The title or prerogative of mÑa'-bdag does not occur until the Buddhist era, and it seems to have been introduced by the Buddhists as a substitute for an ancient royal prerogative having a similar significance in the Bon-po conception (see p. 313 f.). It is used of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, Sad-na-legs, and Ral-pa-can, but particularly of the last king.

Just as mÑa'-bdag may be classified only in a modified sense as an honorific name, certain other names, which have been classified as honorific in Table IV, probably ought to be placed separately as *posthumous names* distinguished from the proper honorific names used for the kings when alive. The name gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan, which was given to the king with the regal name Khri-sloñ-btsan (no. 32), is probably posthumous, but his other name rLuñ-nam (Wind-Heaven) much more pronouncedly has this character. Correspondingly the names rLuñ-nam, 'Phrul-rgyal or 'Phrul-gyi-rgyal-po, which are used for 'Dus-sroñ, and lDeñ-khri applying to Sad-na-legs are probably posthumous names.<sup>97</sup>

## The division of the Dynasty into groups

In the preceding parts of our study of the Dynasty a distinction may be adopted between a prehistoric and a historic part of the royal lineage, conforming with the still generally prevailing Western concept of the prehistory and history of Tibet. In the Tibetan tradition from the later time of the Dynasty and onwards, we find a corresponding general distinction between two main parts of the royal lineage, viz. a *pre-Buddhist* and a *Buddhist* one, which does not coincide with the prehistoric and historic lines, the Buddhist part of the Dynasty making its beginning with the prehistoric king lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan. This distinction between two parts of the Dynasty *according to Buddhist tradition* must, however, not be confounded with the general distinction between *pre-Buddhist* and *Buddhist traditions*, since a Buddhist tradition as such did not develop before the time of king Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, in the latter half of the eighth century or, at the earliest, before that of his father Mes-ag-tshoms (see p. 80).

The Tibetan tradition divides the *prehistoric line* up to lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, i.e. the *pre-Buddhist part of the Dynasty*, into a number of variously defined groups of kings. The circumstance that this division of the Dynasty comprises exactly the pre-Buddhist part of it, might lead to the inference that the division itself was part of the Buddhist tradition of the Dynasty as a whole, not only formally as it appears from the Buddhist representation of the Dynasty (see Table I), but also with regard to origin. Although no conclusive evidence can be established, we have reason to believe that the ideas of these groups of kings, which have been used in the Buddhist representation as constituents of the royal lineage, with a single exception, have their origin in pre-Buddhist traditions. In the later parts of this paper we will show that the Buddhist tradition has composed the greater part of its representation of the prehistoric line from various pre-Buddhist traditions. These are more or less clearly represented by the groups. While the composition of the prehistoric line from five groups indicated in Table I and discussed in the following, must be regarded as an occurrence specifically characteristic of the Buddhist tradition, we cannot dismiss the possibility that the very idea of combining a prehistoric or mythic line of the Dynasty of various groups of kings, may have occurred in pre-Buddhist, though not necessarily prehistoric, traditions of the Dynasty. It seems even probable that one or more traditions of this kind have served as paradigm for the Buddhist tradition. A significant feature pointing in this direction is to be found in the circumstance that while the sources representing strictly the orthodox Buddhist tradition (see Table I, division A) use a rather uniform nomenclature of the groups, expressing a logical relation between them, the sources, which in various ways deviate from the orthodox representation, often characterize the groups by names imparting a diverging or quite different significance to them. Just as the deviations in the ways of representing the Dynasty point to divergent traditions, the varying nomenclature of the groups points to different traditions of these groups and their origin and combination.

From Table I it appears that our sources follow *two distinctly different traditions with regard to the number of groups*. The orthodox Buddhist tradition has *five groups*, while a tradition represented by the Tun-huang Ms, Sanang Sečen, and the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (56a) has only *four groups*. Between these two different traditions, a number of sources represent a more or less successful compromise. *The two main traditions differ with regard to the occurrence of the group of two kings (nos. 8 and 9), which forms the second group of the authorized Buddhist tradition*. From the way in which this group is inserted in the tradition of five, or omitted from that of four groups, as shown in connection with Table I (see p. 40),

there results, however, a *difference of two in the total number of prehistoric kings*. In the authorized Buddhist tradition gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan becomes the thirty-second king, while in the tradition of four groups he becomes the thirtieth king. The existence of a special tradition counting only thirty kings in the prehistoric line is so far seen from Table I, but its particular connection with the division C of this table is not immediately obvious, because both Sanang Sečen and the bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu show pronounced anomalies as to the extent of the fourth group (see below).

The existence of two different traditions counting either thirty or thirty-two kings in the prehistoric line, as it is defined by us, must necessarily involve two correspondingly *different traditions of the total number of kings in the Dynasty, counting forty and forty-two kings respectively*. Moreover it must cause a displacement by two places in the position of King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, who indicates the beginning of the Buddhist line of the Dynasty. As these two circumstances most clearly appear from the various ways in which the Buddhist sources define the total Dynasty and its Buddhist part in particular, we prefer to postpone a further discussion of the problem at hand to the following section dealing with the Buddhist part of the Dynasty.

### *The division of the pre-Buddhist part of the Dynasty*

At present we shall confine ourselves to a general discussion of the names and designations which apply to the groups, and the significance which correspondingly seems to have been ascribed to each of them. The names or designations to be found in the total material which has been available for the present study, are given in the following.

#### *The first group*

a.	sTod-gnam-gyi-khri-bdun . . . . .	75.
b.	gNam-gyi-khri-bdun . . . . .	58.24v; 60.62r; 70; 80.4; 92.10v; 93; 107.8v; 123.67; 150.748; 184.
	gNam-kyi-khri-bdun . . . . .	57.33r.
	Ołtorguyin dolōn řirē . . . . .	61.34v.
	Tnyri-yin doluyan siregetü qayan . . . . .	145; 146.
	gNam-la-khri-bdun . . . . .	34.E.187v; 37; 40.7r; 51.15v; 58.24r; 64.6v; 68; 97.36r.
	gNam-la-dri-bdun . . . . .	1.
c.	gNam-khri . . . . .	149.
	Khri-bdun . . . . .	51.15v; 53.182; 57.33r; 81.2.
	Dolōn řirē . . . . .	61.35v.
d.	gNam-skos-lha . . . . .	109.30v.

#### *The second group*

a.	sTod-kyi-lteñs-gñis . . . . .	34.E.187v.
	sTod-kyi-lteñs . . . . .	51.16r.
	sTod-kyi-steñ-gñis . . . . .	58.24r, 26r.
	sTod-kyi-steñs . . . . .	64.9r.
	Dēduki dēdü qoyor . . . . .	61.34v, 38r.
b.	Bar-gyi-lteñs . . . . .	184.
	Bar-du-lteñs-gñis . . . . .	97.36r.
	Bar-gyi-steñ-gñis . . . . .	57.33r; 70; 93; 107.
	Bar-gyi-steñs-gñis . . . . .	123.67.

Bar-gyi-gteñ-gñis . . . . .	57.33r.
lTeñs-gñis . . . . .	51.16r.
sTeñ-gñis . . . . .	81.2.
sTeñs-gñis . . . . .	64.9r.
sTeñ . . . . .	60.65v.
c. Bar-gyi-ldiñ-gñis . . . . .	139.
Bar-gyi-ldiñ . . . . .	75; 149.

*The third group*

a. Sa'i-legs-drug . . . . .	53; 57.33r; 68; 70; 75; 93; 107.8v; 123.67; 184.
Sa-yi-legs-drug . . . . .	51.16r.
Sa'i-legs . . . . .	149.
ƒajar-un jiryuyan sayin qayan . . . . .	145; 146.
Sa-la-legs-drug . . . . .	37; 40.7r; 64.9r; 97.36r.
Sa-le-legs-drug . . . . .	1.
b. Sa-la-dbañ-po . . . . .	109.30v.
c. Bar-gyi-legs-drug . . . . .	58.26r–v.
ƒabsarın jurgān sayin . . . . .	61.34v,38r.
Bar-du-legs-drug . . . . .	58.24r.
d. Legs-drug . . . . .	34.E.187v; 37; 51.16r; 57.33r; 58.26v; 60.66r; 64.9r; 81.2; 92.10v.

*The fourth group*

a. Sa'i-lde-brgyad . . . . .	68.
Sa'i-sde-brgyad . . . . .	58.26v.
ƒajarın nayıman küyisün . . . . .	61.34v,38v.
Sa-la-lde-brgyad . . . . .	34.E.187v; 92.10v.
Sa-la-sde-brgyad . . . . .	58.24r.
b. Bar-gyi-lde-brgyad . . . . .	75; 80.5.
c. Chu-la-sde-brgyad . . . . .	57.33v.
d. Logs-la-lde-brgyad . . . . .	40.7r.
e. sTeñ-brgyad . . . . .	57.33r.
f. lDe-brgyad . . . . .	51.16r; 60.66r; 64.9r; 70; 81.2; 93; 107.8v; 117.123v; 123.67; 184.
g. rGyal-po-lde-brgyad . . . . .	64.9r.
h. Qad-un uruq-i mandayuluyçi doluyan qayan . . . . .	145; 146.
i. Phyi-ma-bdun . . . . .	75.
j. Sil-ma-bdun . . . . .	37; 75.

*The fifth group*

a. Tshigs-la-btsan-lña . . . . .	37.
Tshig-la-btsan-lña . . . . .	40.7r.
Üges-tür erketü doluyan qayan . . . . .	145; 146.
b. sMad-kyi-btsan-lña . . . . .	75.
c. Legs-kyi-gtsan-lña . . . . .	57.33v.

- d. bTsan-lha . . . . . 34; 51.16r; 57.33r; 64.9r; 70; 93; 107.8v; 123.67; (149).
- e. 'Og-gi-btsan-gsum . . . . . 58.24r,26v; 92.10v.  
Dorodu gurban berke . . . . . 61.34v,38v.
- f. bTsan-gsum . . . . . 60.66v.

Excluding the fact that the representation of the groups given by some of the sources is not complete, as immediately appears from Table I, we can make the following general statements with regard to the extent of the single groups within the prehistoric royal lineage.

*The first group* counts seven kings according to all known Tibetan sources, and these seven kings are generally represented by the kings nos. 1–7 of the authorized Buddhist tradition. Our sources show, however, deviations of three different kinds from this general representation. The tradition represented in division C of Table I places king no. 8 of the authorized representation, Gri-gum-btsan-po, as the seventh king of the first group. The individual representations comprised by the divisions B and C of the Table contain names of one or more kings who do not correspond to the authorized tradition. This occurrence is especially pronounced in the Mongolian tradition of Sanang Sečen. In connection with the study of various Mongolian traditions separately dealing with the first group, we will give a comparative representation of all the deviating names (see chapter 4), leading us to various interesting conclusions. Finally a single source, 'Dzam-gliñ Gañs Ti-se'i dkar-chag (109), besides deviating with regard to some of the names, presents a particular division of the first group, and a concept of it which is fundamentally different from that of all the remaining sources (see p. 140 f.).

*The second group*, when occurring, comprises only two kings, nos. 8 and 9. As already hinted above, this group is our problem group. Occurrence or omission of this group indicate the existence of two different traditions of the royal lineage. *The authorized Buddhist tradition and representation of the Dynasty is particularly characterized by the occurrence of the second group*; but the fact that we have representations definitely omitting it, while a considerable number of sources (among them some of the oldest ones, e.g. 1, 37, 40, 53, 56, 68, 92 and 145) do not mention this group in their grouping of the prehistoric line, although they do enumerate the two kings concerned among the kings of the Dynasty, seems to be a preliminary indication that *the second group did not exist, or existed as a separate group, in the original or earlier forms of the general tradition of the Dynasty*. Further examinations will give proof to this suggestion (see p. 138 ff.).

*The third group* comprises six kings according to all our sources. To avoid confusion in the following, we shall still characterize this group comprising the kings named Legs as the third group, although in the tradition represented by division C of Table I it is actually the second group, and thus in general maintain the enumeration of the groups indicated by the authorized tradition or division A of the Table. The two representations 57b and 1 deviate only apparently from the generally established tradition of six kings in the group. Their numbers, five and seven respectively, result from attempts to make a compromise between the two different traditions.

The third group comprises kings nos. 10–15, except in the tradition of only four groups, which omits one of these kings and replaces him by no. 9, *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*. The single occurrence of king no. 16, who is ordinarily the first king of the fourth group, seems to be a further result of the compromise of traditions in the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37).

*The fourth group* counts either eight or seven kings in correspondance with the two different categories of names of the group listed above. We are here undoubtedly dealing with reminiscences of *two different traditions or concepts of the fourth group*. The occurrence of nine kings in the list of the bSad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (57) may be explained in various ways, but none of them is, however, particularly satisfactory.

When counting eight members, the group comprises the kings nos. 16–23. In the representations ascribing only seven members to the group, this number is obtained in various ways. The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (58) omits king no. 24. The rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37), in which king no. 16 has already been trans-

ferred to the third group, excludes king no. 19, but includes at the same time king no. 24. The Mongolian tradition of Sanang Sečen (145; 146) possibly uses the same procedure. At any rate it mentions king no. 17 and 24 as first and last kings of this group in correspondance with the rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig.

Regardless whether the second group is represented or is partly or entirely omitted, all the representations counting seven kings in the fourth group have the feature in common, that *their fifth group commences with king no. 25*, instead of no. 24 of the authorized Buddhist representation.

*The total lineage until the fifth group is therefore represented by two extreme traditions, the authorized Buddhist tradition counting 23 kings and what we must call the Mongolian tradition counting only 20 kings.* The difference of three kings derives from the omission of the second group and the reduced number of seven kings in the fourth group. By taking these two fundamental differences in the definition of the groups into account, the greater part of our sources form, in various ways, compromises between the two extreme traditions. Independent, however, of how the compromises have been manipulated, *all the compromising representations show a total number of 22 kings*, thus differing by only one king from the authorized Buddhist tradition.

Admitting the obviously contemporary existence of at least two main traditions, the relative stability of the number of kings compared with the disagreeing representations of the kings and their order within the part of the lineage considered, we may here find the preliminary indication of a feature which proves characteristic of the idea and tradition of the Dynasty. *It appears in general that certain traditions of the number of kings within the whole lineage or particular parts of it are quite firmly established and maintained by the Tibetan sources*, no matter which numbers actually result from their representations in details of the lineage or parts of it.

Moreover, it seems that the frames of the grouping within the line of the first four groups are more precisely defined than those of the fifth group, and consequently of the whole line of five groups. This observation agrees with the fact appearing from the following study, that *the transition from the fourth to the fifth group marks an important point of transition in the general concept of the Dynasty.*

*The fifth group is less clearly defined in itself than the previous groups.* The names of it characterize it as a group of *either seven, five or three kings*, while the actual representations of it comprise *six, five, (four), and three kings*, and show a pronounced disagreement with regard to which kings they refer to this group. Where the number four is concerned, it appears from the representation given by S. Chandra Das (see 149 and Table I) and at present has to be written on this author's own account. Influenced by a particular Buddhist tradition of Happy Generations described below (see p. 81 ff.), Ch. Das has separated King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan from the group of Five bTsan when composing the royal pedigree, while in his descriptive text (149.I.217) he groups him together with his four predecessors as a bTsan.

According to the authorized Buddhist tradition of the Dynasty, the fifth group comprises kings nos. 24–28, thus having King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan (no. 28) as its last member. By this arrangement the authorized representation disagrees, as we shall see (p. 90f.), with another Buddhist idea of the division of the Dynasty, viz. that of a pre-Buddhist and a Buddhist line, which makes lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan the first Buddhist king and separates him from the bTsan, as mentioned above as to the representation of Das. The preceding king Khri-rje-thog-btsan (no. 27) consequently becomes the last bTsan in accordance with the grouping of the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ and the bŚad-mdzodyid-bžin-nor-bu. The latter source enumerates six names in the group characterized by the same source as the Five bTsan. The first four of these names can by no means be identified with names otherwise applying to kings of the Dynasty. Besides, three of these names (nos. 24, 25, and 26 in the sequence of the source) have much less the character of individual names than that of collective or group names. Considering that the bŚad-mdzodyid-bžin-nor-bu by its encyclopædic character opens a vast perspective with regard to traditions otherwise unknown from Tibetan sources, we may possibly be dealing here with a special idea of various groups of bTsan constituting the prehistoric line of the Dynasty. The tradition of Sanang Sečen, which formally counts seven, but actually gives six kings in the group, must undoubtedly be regarded as corrupt, where the fifth group is concerned.

The field with regard to variety in tradition and concept, which opens up already by this brief study



of the extent and arrangement of the groups, becomes even further enlarged by an examination of the various designations used of them. In the presentation of these names or designations, given above p. 73–75, an attempt to arrange them according to basic features of their significance, has been made by a separation in subgroups marked by the letters a, b, c, etc.

The general significance of the names of *the first group*, indicated by a and b, is *The Seven Celestial Thrones*, for which c represents two abbreviated expressions, *The Celestial Thrones* and *The Seven Thrones*.

In these names, just as in the regal names of the kings (see p. 67), Khri may, in later time, be conceived in the same idiomatic sense as our King, but in the original concept of the first, mythic kings, it must undoubtedly be taken in its inherent significance of Throne. The same applies to a number of analogous names, e.g. the names of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons (see chapter 9) and a variety of names to be presented in connection with the discussion of the Mongolian tradition of the first kings (see chapter 4).

Though having the same basic significance, the name sTod-gnam-gyi-khri-bdun, listed under a, distinguishes itself from the names under b by emphasising the idea of High Heaven, sTod-gnam or the supreme part of the upper cosmic sphere, contrary to the less definite, general term Heaven or gNam.

The designation gNam-skos-lha, listed as d, belongs to a special Bon-po tradition (see p. 140), and signifies *The Heavenly Appointed lHa*.

In the names of *the second group* we observe a sharp distinction with regard to cosmic spheres. The names listed as a refer to the Upper Sphere or sTod, while those listed as b and c refer to the Middle or Intermediate Sphere or Bar. Both in a cosmic and in a general sense, Bar has the specific sense of the middle or intermediate stage between the extremes, whether sTod and sMad, gNam and Sa ('Og), or Ya(r) and Yog. Thus the important fact appears that *the kings of the otherwise problematic second group are referred alternatively to the Upper and to the Middle Spheres of the universe*.

Beside the different references to the spheres, the names of the second group are characterized by the terms sTeñ, lTeñs, and lDiñ of the same basic significance. Unfortunately our deficient knowledge of the derivative significance of the Tibetan prefix letters and the range of their mutability does not permit us a precise definition of these mutually related terms. In general sTeñ is synonymous with sTod in the meaning of Upper or Top One, and the names listed under a might therefore be interpreted as *The Two Superior Ones of the Upper Sphere*, or in a corresponding sense, as *The Two Most Exalted Ones*, given by I. J. Schmidt as the interpretation of Dēduki dēdū qoyor. By a similar interpretation the names listed under b may signify *The Two Superior Ones of the Middle Sphere* or various abbreviations of it. The term lDiñ imparts the significance of hovering, and the name Bar-gyi-lDiñ-gñis, listed under c, may therefore be conceived as *The Two Hovering Ones in the Middle Sphere*, in a meaning that does not differ in principle from that expressed by the names under b.

In the same way as those of the second group, the names of *the third group* refer to two different cosmic spheres, and for further reference we observe that in both cases the names used by the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (58) refer to the middle sphere. The names listed under a and b are connected with Sa, the Earth or Lower Spere, whilst those listed under c are connected with Bar, the Middle Sphere. Because of the somewhat different concepts of the three main spheres, Sa indicates the lower of them in a varying sense and extent. Where the names of the third group are concerned, we may safely state from the inferences to be drawn from the origin myths of the Dynasty that Sa signifies Earth in the sense of the Abode of Man.

The common significance of the names under a is therefore *The Six Good Ones on (of the) Earth*, and Sa-la-dbañ-po, *The Masters on Earth*, listed under b expresses in other terms the same significance. The names under c correspondingly signify *The Six Good Ones of the Middle Sphere*, while d indicates the commonly used abbreviation Legs-drug, *The Six Good Ones*.

The names of *the fourth group* present a more complicated picture than those of the previous groups. We are obliged primarily to distinguish between two main categories of names, those listed under a–g and counting *eight kings*, and those listed under h–j and counting only *seven kings*. Within the former

category, the names are fundamentally characterized by the element lDe or sDe. This vocable, which also occurs as an important constituent of royal names, has not been satisfactorily interpreted. As it occurs at several important points during the present study, we are going to make it the subject of a more thorough examination in the following (see p. 218 ff.). On this occasion we shall confine ourselves to stating that it most probably represents a derivative from Te, which signifies the universal deities of an ancient stratum of Tibetan theogony.

The names under a mean *The Eight lDe of (on) the Earth*. In his translation of the Bodhimör, I.J. Schmidt (62.317) interprets the Kalmuck version of the name, Gajarin nayiman küyisün which corresponds to Sa-la-sde-brgyad or Sa'i-sde-brgyad, as *The Eight Navels of the Earth* (Die acht Nabel der Erde). We are here dealing with a Kalmuck misinterpretation of the original Tibetan version identifying lDe or sDe with lTe or lTe-ba, signifying navel.

The Eight lDe are related to the Earth (a), to the Middle Sphere (b), and to the Water (c), which in a cosmic sense may more specifically mean the Underworld ('Og). The name sTeñ-brgyad (e), *The Eight Superior (or Supreme) Ones*, refers to the Upper Sphere. It may also refer to the Middle Sphere (see second group b, p. 77), and the reference to the water in c may be explained from the particular circumstance that the kings of the fourth group are said to have been buried in the water, in the middle of the rivers (see p. 117). Ultimately this explanation connects these kings with the Underworld, too.

While the name lDe-brgyad (f), *The Eight lDe*, is the generally used abbreviation, the name Logsla-lde-brgyad (d) has a significance quite different from the names previously considered. It means *The Eight Separated lDe*, and seems to express an idea similar to that found in names of the latter category (h-j).

The term g used by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag most probably signifies *The Kings, The Eight lDe*, but may have some theogonical significance through the idea of the rGyal-po deities.

The names under h-j give only seven kings. Moreover they differ from the names above by the absence of the element lDe and the references to cosmic spheres.

Phyi-ma-bdun (i) has the basic meaning of *The Seven Outer (or Later) Ones*. The next name, Sil-ma-bdun (j), means *The Seven Separated, Scattered, or Small Ones* (see p. 298 f), thus having a significance identical with that of the Eight Separated lDe and, from a certain point of view, not particularly far from that of Phyi-ma-bdun.

As in the previous groups, we shall refrain from discussing here the Mongol names of the group, and refer to the general discussion of the Mongol tradition (see chapter 4).

*The fifth group* is especially characterized in its various names by the designation of bTsan. This term indicates a most important class of Tibetan deities (or demons), and the particular title of the Tibetan kings bTsan-po derives from this term. The individual names of the kings belonging to the fifth group contain moreover bTsan as a characteristic constituent (see Table III).

The group is connected in two cases with the idea of the cosmic spheres. As sMad-kyi-btsan-lña (b) the kings are in a cosmologic sense designated as *The Five bTsan of the Lower Sphere*, but taken as an isolated occurrence, the name does not necessarily have a cosmic reference; it may simply mean *The Five Lower bTsan*, eventually conceived this way in comparison with the following kings, whose names also generally characterize them as bTsan. In the name 'Og-gi-btsan-gsum, given the group by the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ, there is no doubt left with regard to the cosmic reference. 'Og itself has the sense of lower or below, as sMad, and with regard to the idea of cosmos, it signifies in general the Lower Sphere, but in particular this sphere in the ancient cosmologic sense of the Underworld, the world of the kLu. From the quite distinct and consequential graduation of the cosmic references expressed in its names of the five groups, the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ definitely names the fifth group 'Og-gi-btsan-gsum (e) in the sense of *The Three bTsan of the Underworld*.

In the name Tshig(s)-la-btsan-lña (a) the word Tshig or Tshigs is generally, by Sanang Sečen also, conceived as Word, without any attempt to explain its actual significance in the name, which, indeed, also seems rather difficult. Tshig or Tshigs may, however, possibly be a derivative from tshigs-ma, sediment, corresponding to rtsig-ma, impurity, sediment (163.448,439), and in its fundamental sense

signifying something below, at the bottom, or inferior. Interpreted from this significance, the name Tshig(s)-la-btsan-lña would suggest a meaning fairly similar to that of sMad-kyi- or 'Og-gi-btsan indicating in an immediate sense *The Five Lower (or Inferior) bTsan*.

Legs-kyi-gtsan-lña (c) signifies *The Five Good bTsan*.

While, depending on various traditions, the representations of that part of the royal lineage which precedes the group of the bTsan comprises 23, 22, or 20 kings, the representations of the part of it including all five groups comprise 28, 27, 26, or 25 kings. Sources representing the authorized Buddhist tradition enumerate 28 kings. The list of the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig has 27 kings, and the Mongolian tradition counts 26 kings, while its definition of the five groups leads to a number of 27. Finally the list of the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ contains only 25 kings.

Disregarding the representation given by Sanang Sečen because of its obviously corrupt rendering of the last part of the prehistoric line, we find *three different figures for the total number of kings in the prehistoric line up to Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, viz. 32, 31, and 30*. Corresponding to these numbers King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, who is number 28 of the authorized Buddhist representation, occurs as the 28th, 27th, and 26th king of the lineage.

As the representation of the prehistoric line constituted by the groups in its various versions is based partly on two different traditions with regard to the occurrence of the second group, partly on two traditions differing with regard to the number of kings in the fourth group, counting either eight or seven kings in it, four different, but consecutive numbers of kings in the line might result from these traditions or the possible compromises between them. As, moreover, all sources save Sanang Sečen agree perfectly with regard to one and the same sequence of four kings between lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan and Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, we might expect the whole prehistoric line to be represented by four different numbers of kings, the maximum number being 32. Beside the numbers 32, 31, and 30 mentioned above, we find, however, the number of 33 kings in the prehistoric line as represented by the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (see p. 38 and Table I), instead of the missing, but theoretically possible number of 29. While this source may be compared with the general corpus of traditions where the definition of the groups and the former part of the prehistoric line are concerned, certain inconsistencies in the actual representation of the groups and their individual members hardly permit an immediate comparison where the latter part of the representation, and consequently the total lineage, are concerned. The occurrence of 33 kings in the prehistoric line given by the source in question, is a unique one which at present we can hardly recognize as representative of any genuine tradition, while traditions of the numbers of 32, 31, and 30 kings are further established by the records of the Buddhist division of the Dynasty to be outlined in the following section.

Excepting the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu, where the designations of the bTsan, and a few sources where single names of the kings in the first group are concerned, we state that *all the representations of the prehistoric line, without regard to the number of kings represented, depend on the same general list of kings, and on a common principle with regard to its division into groups*. From this we may draw the general conclusion that *all the representations depend on one and the same basic idea of the prehistoric line*. As the occurrence of three different traditions with regard to the extent of this line, however, remains an incontestable fact, we must distinguish between three different renderings or variants of this basic idea, representing various stages of the development of the general tradition. Immediately considered, the authorized Buddhist representation comprising the largest, and thus apparently most complete, number of kings, viz. 32, might be regarded as the most correct rendering, and possibly as representative of the basic tradition of the prehistoric line. From the following study it will, however, appear that the authorized Buddhist tradition of the royal pedigree, as it is represented by the Fifth Dalai Lama, is the latest stage in the development of the tradition and thus most remote from the basic tradition.

For conventional reasons we have hitherto considered a prehistoric line comprising the kings before Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. When speaking of a basic tradition of the royal lineage, it is, however, more appropriate to follow the Buddhist practise and distinguish between a *pre-Buddhist line* comprising only

that part of the lineage which is defined by the four, or five, groups, and a *Buddhist line* comprising the remaining kings until gLañ-Dar-ma (see p. 72 and the following section).

From the following discussion of the Buddhist division of the Dynasty, we are, however, going to observe that the pre-Buddhist line, though confined to comprising the prehistoric groups, is ambiguously defined with regard to the position of King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan. If, in accordance with the final version of the Buddhist tradition as represented by the Fifth Dalai Lama, we regard this king as the last of the bTsan and consequently as the last king of the line considered, we still have three different variants of the basic idea of the prehistoric kings, the line composed from the groups having 28, 27, or 26 kings, in each case four kings less than the corresponding representation of the prehistoric line as defined by us.

We have no means of deciding as to what time the idea of composing a pre-Buddhist line from groups of kings may be exactly referred, although it obviously seems to derive from some period in early historical time or at the threshold of it. Moreover, we must still take into consideration that while the occurrence of the second group is no original feature (see p. 107.), the varying ways of defining the groups, and quite particularly the two different numbers of kings ascribed to the fourth group, point to quite a number of different ideas with regard to the groups and their composition. The circumstance that the transition between the two main parts of the royal lineage is represented by lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, to whose reign the Buddhists refer the first appearance of the Doctrine in Tibet, might seem to indicate a Buddhist origin of the idea of the groups and their composition. On the other hand the varying definitions of the extent of the last group, that of the bTsan, might indicate that a previous tradition has been interfered with in Buddhist time, for the special purpose of establishing an apparent agreement between an existing tradition of the Dynasty and a particular Buddhist, and particularly Buddhistically founded, concept of the origin of Buddhism and its development in Tibet, which even in historical times only by special means can be brought into agreement with the actual facts (see 196 ff.).

Where the single groups of kings are concerned, it seems beyond any doubt that we are dealing with traditions from pre-Buddhist time, and the cosmological aspects appearing from the groups and their composition (see pp. 77–78 and chapter 8) point in the same direction. The heterogeneous structure of some of the groups, which results from placing together kings of different dynastic lines (see p. 118), shows that the composition of the line is the product of a rather later time, and the obvious intention behind this composition seems to have been that of establishing a long ancestral lineage leading the roots of the Dynasty far back into the past. It seems therefore probable that the idea of establishing this lineage derives from the very desire of a worthy and imposing ancestral tradition, and originates from the earlier part of historical time, when the Tibetan kings developed from insignificant petty rulers to leading figures in the affairs of Central Asia, who, still before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, dared to address the Emperor of China as their equal.

Regardless, however, to which time its origin may be referred, *the line composed from the groups of prehistoric or pre-Buddhist kings has been adopted by the Buddhist tradition* and forms an integral part of the representation of the pedigree of the Yar-luñ kings given by Buddhist authors. Although direct facts concerning the origin and development of the tradition are missing or are extremely scarce, indications to be found by a general study of the Buddhist tradition of the royal lineage and its origin, permit us to distinguish quite clearly between *three different phases or aspects of the development of the Buddhist tradition of the Yar-luñ Dynasty*. This distinction applies both to the line of the groups and the line of the Dynasty as a whole, and to the tradition of the origin of the royal lineage.

These three phases or aspects of tradition, which chronologically correspond to three different periods in the history of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism, represent a gradual development and modification of the tradition, and an adjustment of it to Buddhist concepts, in close correspondance to the gradually increasing power of Buddhism and its increasing influence upon Tibetan tradition in general.

*The first phase* is represented by *Śes-rab-go-cha* who lived at the time of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan when Buddhism was first recognized. He is probably the originator of the Buddhist tradition of the Dynasty in its primary form, for which reason later authors usually refer to him as an authority (see p. 177, 193).

The second phase is represented by lDan-ma-rtse-maṅ who lived at the time of Sad-na-legs,<sup>1</sup> when Buddhism, represented by a strong hierarchy, reached perhaps its greatest influence during the era of the Yar-luṅ kings. By lDan-ma-rtse-maṅ and his contemporaries Tibetan history and tradition were written down under Buddhist auspices, and later Tibetan authors depended to great extent on primary sources resulting from this activity.<sup>2</sup>

The third phase is represented by the authors of orthodox Buddhism, belonging to the time when Buddhism was restored and definitely established in Tibet.<sup>3</sup>

Thus chronologically defined, the three phases formally represent a progressive change in the formulation of the tradition, but versions corresponding to each of the former phases still survived under orthodox Buddhism, and the occurrence of these variously developed versions in later sources represents the main reason for the apparent confusion and contradiction to be found by a comparison of the sources.

Where the tradition of the origin of the royal lineage is concerned, matters become still more complicated by the survival of both a Bon-po and a heretic tradition beside the Buddhist one, as shown in later sections of the paper (see chapter 10), while the tradition of the royal lineage itself and the representation of it seem to have found a final formulation in the version given by the Fifth Dalai Lama (70) and adopted by the Pakṭa-yā in 1934 (93).

#### *The division of the Buddhist part of the Dynasty*

According to Buddhist concept the total lineage of the Yar-luṅ kings comprises a pre-Buddhist part, a Buddhist part, and gLaṅ-Dar-ma. The transition between the pre-Buddhist and the Buddhist parts is marked by King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gṅān-btsan, and, in fact, Buddhist authors only recognize these two parts of the dynastic line, while gLaṅ-Dar-ma, though mentioned in the general representation of the Dynasty, is considered as not belonging to it. This is partly for reasons of obvious prejudices, partly because he was not, or at any rate was not regarded as, a legitimate king.

The kings of the pre-Buddhist line up to King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gṅān-btsan, when Buddhism first came to Tibet according to Buddhist tradition, present little interest from a Buddhist point of view. In the bLon-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig (40.7r) they are adequately characterized as the *Khrims-med-rgyal-po*, The Kings without Law, i.e. Chos-khrims, religious law.

In Buddhist terminology the Buddhist line comprising the kings from lHa-tho-tho-ri-gṅān-btsan until gLaṅ-Dar-ma is called *sKyid-pa'i-gduṅ-rabs*, The Happy Generations, and *the reigns of the fourteen kings of this line are counted in generations and groups of generations in somewhat different ways*.

The Chang-so chih-lun, the Chinese version of the Śes-bya-rab-gsal by 'Phags-pa (49.231b), counts *fourteen*, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (47) *thirteen*, the bŚad-mdzod yid-bṅin-nor-bu (57.33v-35r) both *thirteen* and *twelve and a half*, and the bLon-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig (40.7r) together with the bLa-bzed according to 'Brom-ston (97.36r) *twelve and a half* Happy Generations. This disagreement in the numbers of generations both mutually and with the actual number of kings is explained in various ways.

The Chang-so chih-lun is the only source hitherto found in which the number of generations corresponds to the actual number of kings before gLaṅ-Dar-ma, viz. *fourteen*. The short account of the Tibetan kings to be found in this source, when translated from Chinese, reads as follows (49.231b.14-25):<sup>4</sup>

In the *Hsi-fan* country there was at first a king named *Ya-ch'i-li-tsan-p'u* (gṅa'-khri-btsan-po).

In the *twenty-sixth* generation there was a king by name of *Hsia-t'o-to-li-ssū-yen-tsan* (lHa-tho-tho-ri-sṅān-btsan). At that time the Buddhist Doctrine first appeared.

After a number of *five* generations there was a king by name of *Shuang-tsan-ssū-kan-p'u* (Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po). At that time the *paṅḍita* named *A-ta-t'o* (Ananda?) and the *lo-tsā-ba* named *Tuan-mei-san-po-lo* (Thon-mi Sambho-ṣa) translated the Buddhist Doctrine. Temples were founded in *Hsia-sa* (lHa-sa) and other places. The Doctrine was spread and propagated.

After a number of *five generations* there was a king by name of *Ch'i-li-shuang-t'i-tsan* (*Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan*). This king invited the *mahāpaṇḍita Shan-hai* (*Śāntirakṣita*), the *slob-dpon Lien-hua-sheng* (*Padmasambhava*), and the *paṇḍita Ka-mo-lo-shih-lo* (*Kamalaśīla*). All these accomplished men together with *P'i-lu-che-na-lo-ch'ieh-ta* (*Vairocanarakṣita*), *K'ang-lung-tsun-hu* (*'Khon kLu'i-dbañ-po-bsruñ-ba*), and the other *Sad-mi-mi-bdun* translated the Buddhist Doctrine. More *paṇḍita* together with all the *lo-tsā-ba* made many translations of the Doctrine. When the *San-chung* (the three *Bon*) were forbidden, the Law prospered in the country.

After a number of *three generations* there was a king by name of *Ch'i-li-lai-pa-shan* (*Khri-Ral-pa-can*). This king widened the boundaries. At that time there was *Chi-na-mi-to* (*Jinamitra*) together with *Shih-lien-ta-lo-p'u-t'i* (*Śilendrabodhi*) and other *paṇḍita*.

It appears that the fourteen generations comprise four subdivisions, viz. lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, a group of five kings ending with Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, a group of five kings ending with Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, and a group of three kings ending with Ral-pa-can. This representation disagrees, however, with the representation given by 'Phags-pa in his *Bod-kyi rgyal-rabs* (48),<sup>5</sup> where a group beginning with lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan and ending with Mes-ag-tshoms represents *nine and a half Happy Generations*, and a group beginning with Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan and ending with Ral-pa-can represents *three and a half Very Happy Generations*, making a total of *thirteen generations*.

With regard to this number of Happy Generations 'Phags-pa agrees with Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (47), both explaining that the Kings Guñ-sroñ (no. 34) and Mu-ne-btsan-po (no. 39), only count, either of them, *half a generation*, the former king because he died before his father, the latter king because he was killed after only a short reign. *The real number of fourteen kings was thus reduced to thirteen generations*.

In the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu the twenty-eight kings before lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan are defined as the twenty-eight generations, gduñ-rab ñi(-śu)-brgyad (57.33r), while the fourteen kings from lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan until gLañ-Dar-ma are defined as the *twelve and a half Happy Generations*, bsKyid-pa'i bduñ-rab phyed-bcu(-gsu)m (57.35r). The occurrence of half a generation is explained in the following way (57.35r):

De'i bsras ni Mu-thig-rtsan-po / rGyal-po  
de'i brgyal-srid lo mañ-du ma-zin-par sku-bśeḡs-  
pas phyed-du rtsi-ba yin /

His (i.e. *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan's*) son was *Mu-thig-rtsan-po* (corr.: *Mu-ne-btsan-po*). He is reckoned as a half because he died having reigned only a few years.

The same source gives, however, another representation of the Buddhist line, comprising the following four parts: King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, five generations ending with Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, five generations ending with Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, and two generations ending with Ral-pa-can, making a total of thirteen kings (57.33v-34v). In this representation one king is missing, as Ral-pa-can is the third king after Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan. By regarding Mu-ne-btsan-po as only a half generation, the author obtains a total of *twelve and a half Happy Generations*.

The reservations with regard to the length of the reigns of Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan and Mu-ne-btsan-po, made by 'Phags-pa and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, explain how it is possible to represent fourteen kings as thirteen generations, but it does not immediately appear how the same number of kings can be represented by twelve and a half generations, especially when reservation is made only for the reign of Mu-ne-btsan-po. The tradition of *twelve and a half generations* omits one king, or one generation, but this is due to no misunderstanding in a later time, as might be supposed. 'Brom-ston's reference to the bLa-bzed and the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig, both quoted in the following, points to a very early origin of the tradition, even back to the latest time of the Dynasty or that immediately after.

In his Biography of A-ti-śa, 'Brom-ston (97.36r) gives the following short account of the Dynasty:

Bod-kyi rgyal-po rJe gÑa'-khri-btsan-po  
gnam rim-pa bcu-gsum-gyi steñ-nas gśegs-nas /  
gNam-la-khri-bdun / Bar-du-lteñs-gñis / Sa-la-  
legs-drug / sKyid-pa'i-gduñ-rabs phyed-dañ-bcu  
-gsum soñ-bar bLa-bžed-nas bśad /

Chos byas-pas bde-skyid phun-sum-tshogs-pa  
dañ-ldan-pas sKyid-pa'i-gduñ-rabs-te / De-yañ  
gduñ-rabs hril-pa bcu-gñis mÑa-bdag Khri Ral-  
pa-can sku-tshe thun-pas phyed-du bžag-pa'o /

De-la Kun-tu-bzañ-po'i sprul-pa lHa-tho-  
tho-ri-sñan-śal-gyi sku-riñ-la Bod-du Dam-pa'i-  
chos-kyi dbu-brñes /

De-nas gduñ-rabs lña-nas Thugs-rje-chen-po'i  
sprul-pa rJe Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po'i sku-riñ-la  
Dam-pa'i-chos srol btod /

De-nas gduñ-rabs lña-nas 'Jam-dpal-gyi  
sprul-pa rJe Khri-sroñ-lde'u-btsan-gyi sku-riñ-la  
Dam-pa'i-chos dar-žin rgyas-par-mdzad /

De'i sras Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan-sde / Sad-na-  
legs mJiñ-yon žes grags /

De-la sras gsum / gTsañ-ma Dar-ma /  
Ral-pa-can-no /

Dar-ma-la sras 'Od-sruñ dañ / Yum-brtan  
gñis /

The passage of the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig (40.7r), referred to on several occasions above, reads:

gNam-la-khri-bdun Sa-la-legs-drug dañ :  
Logs-la-lde-brgyad Tshig-la-btsan-lña dañ :

Khrims-med-rgyal-po ñi-śu-rtsa-lña byon :

sKyid-pa'i gduñ-rab phyed-dañ-bcu-gsum-nas :  
De-nas dbu-brñes-pa dañ srol-gtod dañ :

Dar-žin rgyas-par-mdzad-pa'i rgyal-po gsum :

After the king of *Bod*, *rJe gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* had come from the upmost of the thirteen spheres of Heaven, there came the *gNam-la-khri-bdun*, the *Bar-du-lteñs-gñis*, the *Sa-la-legs-drug*, and the *twelve and a half Happy Generations*. (So) it is told according to *bLa-bžed*.<sup>6</sup>

By acting according to the Law they possessed perfect happiness. Therefore they were the *Happy Generations*. But there were only *twelve full generations*, *mÑa'-bdag Khri Ral-pa-can* being reckoned as a half on account of a short lifetime.

As to these the Holy Law took its beginning in Tibet during the lifetime of *lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-śal*, the incarnation of *Samantabhadra*.

Then, *after five generations*, under *rJe Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po*, the incarnation of *Avalokiteśvara*, the life of the Holy Law was secured.

Then, *after five generations*, under *rJe Khri-sroñ-lde'u-btsan*, the incarnation of *Mañjuśrī*, the Holy Law was propagated and spread.

His son was *Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan*, also known as *Sad-na-legs mJiñ-yon*.

He had three sons: *gTsañ-ma*, *Dar-ma*, and *Ral-pa-can*.

*Dar-ma* had two sons: *'Od-sruñ* and *Yum-brtan*.

*gNam-la-khri-bdun*, *Sa-la-legs-drug*, and *Logs-la-lde-brgyad* together with the *Tshig-la-btsan-lña*

Were the *twenty-five Kings without Law*, who came.

Among the *twelve and a half Happy Generations* (Were) *He who made the beginning*, *He who secured the life*, and

*He who caused the spread and the propagation*, those *three kings*.<sup>7</sup>

When compared with the accounts quoted above, the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig gives us the key to the explanation of the various ways of counting the Happy Generations. As said above, one king, or generation, is apparently missing in the tradition of twelve and a half generations. This is actually a fact, where the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig is concerned, because this source represents the *oldest known version of the Happy Generations, dating from the time before, or of, Ral-pa-can*. It only comprises a lineage of thirteen kings, one of whom, Mu-ne-btsan-po, is reckoned as only half a generation. The original version of the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig, the proper gTer-mas which form the basis for the

edition known to us, originates from the time of Sad-na-legs, the father of Ral-pa-can, and therefore this, the fourteenth king was not included in the tradition of twelve and a half generations. Correspondingly this king and the events of his time are missing in the other parts of the edition or collection known as bKa'-thañ sde-lña, which to a large extent is based on sources contemporary to those of the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig.

The age of the tradition of twelve and a half Happy Generations agrees with the fact that 'Brom-ston refers to the bLa-bžed as his source. The author of the bSad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu has apparently adopted the old tradition, counting Mu-ne-btsan-po as a half generation, while 'Brom-ston erroneously replaces this king with Ral-pa-can. Later authors, such as Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan have corrected the tradition in accordance with the actual number of kings, reckoning both Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan and Mu-ne-btsan-po as half generations, thus obtaining a number of thirteen.

dPa'-bo gTzug-lag (64.133v) gives the following interesting explanation in his note text, excluding Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan and counting Mu-ne-btsan-po as a half generation:

lHa-tho-tho-ri-nas rgyal-po 'di'i bar-la  
sKyid-pa'i gduñ-rabs phyed-dañ-bcu-gsum žes  
Mu-ne-btsan-po yun-thuñ-bas phyed-tu byas /  
Mañ-sroñ ma-bgrañs-par de-ltar grags-la /  
Mes-ag-tshoms-nas 'di'i bar-la Śin-tu-skyid-pa'i  
gduñ-rabs lña žes sña-rabs grags-so /

From *lHa-tho-tho-ri* to this king (*Ral-pa-can*) there were the *twelve and a half Happy Generations*. *Mu-ne-btsan-po* is counted as a half because of a short reign. Likewise it is common not to count *Mañ-sroñ(-mañ-btsan)*. From *Mes-ag-tshoms* to this (*Ral-pa-can*) there were the *five Very Happy Generations*. These are the famous generations of yore.

The Deb-ther-dmar-po (51.18v) counts Mu-ne-btsan-po as a half generation and follows the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig by excluding Ral-pa-can:

'Di yan-chad-la sKyid-pa'i gduñ-rabs phyed-  
bcu-gsum dañ / Śin-tu-skyid-pa'i gduñ-rabs  
phyed-lña zer-ro /

Up to him (*Ral-pa-can*) there were *twelve and a half Happy Generations* and *four and a half Very Happy Generations*, (it is) said.

From the comparison of the sources mentioning the Happy Generations, another interesting feature appears, which also indicates that the tradition of twelve and a half generations originates from the time of the Dynasty.

The idea of characterizing the part of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, during which Buddhism came to Tibet and had its first development as Happy Generations, is a natural occurrence regarded from the Buddhist point of view. The idea of sKyid-pa, Happiness, is directly connected to the Dynasty through the unique occurrence of *sKyid-rtag*, the title of reign similar to a Chinese Nien-hao, employed in the East inscription of the gTzug-lag-khañ pillar (40.East 57-58,61-62,65-66) for the seventh, eighth, and ninth years of Ral-pa-can.

But the idea of dividing the Happy Generations into groups, particularly the groups of five generations, calls, however, for an explanation. This is primarily to be found in the general Buddhist tradition of the first appearance of Buddhism in Tibet. The authorized version of it, based on the Fifth Dalai Lama, as found in the Pakṭa-yā (93.284r) says:

Khri-rje-thog-btsan dañ / Ru-yoñ-za sToñ-  
rgyal-chan-mo-mtsho'isras-sudPal dGe-legs Kun-  
tu-'bar-ba'i-bzañ-po'i snañ-ba-can-gyi rnam-  
'phrul / lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan 'khruiñs-te /

As the son of *Khri-rje-thog-btsan* and *Ru-yoñ-za sToñ-rgyal-chan-mo-mtsho* the bright incarnation of *Samantabhadra*, *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan* was born.



rGyal-po 'di'i riñ-la pho-brañ Yum-bu-bla-sgañ-gi yañ-thog-gi-steñ-du sPañ-skoñ Phyag-rgya-pa / gser-gyi mchod-rten / mDo-sde Za-ma-tog-gi sñiñ-po Yi-ge-drug-pa / Tsindha-ma-ñi'i skos-phor rnam mkha'-las babs-te /

gDuñ-rabs lña-nas 'di'i don śes-pa 'byuñ-ba'i luñ-bstan-gyi sgra nam-mkha'-las grags-pas /

During the lifetime of this king there fell from Heaven upon the roof of the castle *Yum-bu-bla-sgañ* the *sPañ-skoñ Phyag-rgya-pa*,<sup>8</sup> a golden stupa, the *Śaṣakṣara* (which is) the *Hṛdaya* of the *Sūtrānta-Karaṇḍa*,<sup>9</sup> and the *Cintāmaṇi skos-phor*.<sup>10</sup>

"After five generations One shall appear who will understand their significance!" These words of prophecy were pronounced from Heaven.

In the historical tradition of the Tibetans this king to come is identified as Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

Although appearing as a legend, this account undoubtedly covers the reality that Buddhist scriptures and sacral objects were brought to Tibet generations before Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, but remained unreadable and unintelligible until his time. As to the historical reality of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, the study of Tibetan pre-history leaves us gradually less reason for doubt. The unvarying representation of the lineage from lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan to Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, the historical or semi-historical records of some of the kings of this part of the lineage, and the references to their tombs, in some cases even with detailed descriptions of their structure and contents, speak in favour of the reality.

One circumstance, however, is strange. Both the account just considered and the various ways of dividing the lineage of the Happy Generations, mentioned above, represent Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po as the fifth generation after lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan in accordance with the prophecy, while, according to the normal Tibetan usage of ordinals, he actually represents the sixth generation. The same applies to the representation of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan as the fifth generation after Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

The Tibetan expressions used, e.g. gduñ-rabs lña-nas, de-nas gduñ-rabs lña-nas, or de-nas gduñ-rabs lña mñas-pas are ambiguous, leaving possibilities open for both including the aforementioned king in the number of generations and excluding him from it. This ambiguity has caused confusion in later time. Thus the Hor chos-byuñ (80.6–8) relates that Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po was the fifth generation after lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan (rgyal-rabs lña-pa), but that Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan was the sixth generation after Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po (rgyal-rabs drug-pa).

The occurrence of the number of *five generations* in the prophecy of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po may be derived from the historical fact that this king together with his successors up to Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, or the latter king with his predecessors after Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, formed a group of five generations representing a particular period in the development of Tibetan Buddhism. The circumstance that the pentad is a fundamental unit in Tantric Buddhism, may, provided that the legend of the prophecy derives from the time of the Dynasty, as is probable, have led to the tradition of an initial period of Tibetan Buddhism also comprising five royal generations counted either *from lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan* or *after* him (see below). This possibility of legendary extrapolation from the historical facts, in an early attempt to establish a pentadic system in the historical development of Tibetan Buddhism, seems to present, at present, the most weighty reason for doubt with regard to the historical reality, if not of King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan as such, then of his connection with the first appearance of Buddhism in Tibet.

If, however, we adopt the tradition of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan as marking the transition from pre-Buddhist to Buddhist time in Tibet, and regard the Buddhist period represented by the Happy Generations from lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan to gLañ-Dar-ma, it forms the primary era of Tibetan Buddhism, and the historical development makes the traditional division of this era into three minor periods quite natural.

In the corresponding dynastic era these three minor periods or three groups of the Happy Generations are determined by the reigns of the four kings: lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, and Ral-pa-can. In the general tradition, as it appears from sources deriving from the later era of Tibetan Buddhism, these three periods are usually marked by the reigns of the last

three of these kings. They are designated quite particularly as the *three Chos-rgyal of Tibet*, the *three Kings of Law*, or the *three Incarnated Kings of Tibet*,<sup>11</sup> *having the third eye, who practised the Law of Mahāyāna* (2.16).

The tradition of the three Chos-rgyal is characterized by the circumstance that the three kings concerned were, each of them, *the last king of one of the groups or subdivisions of the Happy Generations*, and the very fact that the tradition includes Ral-pa-can, shows that the tradition originates from a time later than the Dynasty.

From comparing the record of the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig with later sources the interesting feature appears that it marks the three groups of the Happy Generations by the *first king of each group*, viz. lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, and Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, and characterizes them as those who "made the beginning," "secured the life," and "caused the spread and the propagation," respectively. Ral-pa-can, whom a later time glorified as a paragon of devotion to the Law, is not taken into account for the simple reason that the original sources derive from a time earlier than this king and the end of the Happy Generations.

The immediate inference that the tradition, as existing during the last time of the Dynasty, marked the periods or groups of the Happy Generations with *the kings inaugurating them*, is sustained in other ways.

In the gTer-ma named bTsun-mo bka'i-thañ-yig (38.2r) we read:

gÑa'-khri-btsan-po man-chad-nas :	From <i>gÑa'-khri-btsan-po</i>
sMad-kyi sDe gsum yan-chad-la :	To <i>the third of the later sDe</i>
bTsun-mo bdun-cu-dañ-lña yod :	There were seventy-five queens.
gDuñ-rabs bži-bcu tham-pa thal-lo gsuñs :	It is said that <i>forty full generations</i> elapsed.

In his edition of this gTer-ma (38.118), B. Laufer has completely obliterated the chronological significance of the text. He translated sMad-kyi sDe gsum as "die drei späteren sDe" (the three later sDe), and in a note he referred to a legendary dynasty of six rulers with the family name sDe, apparently thinking somehow of the lDe of the fourth group of the Dynasty.

An indefinite reference to the three kings appears as immediately incompatible with the sense of the text quoted and its otherwise definite data. In reality, the expression sMad-kyi sDe gsum stands for sMad-kyi sDe gsum-pa, the third of the later sDe, signifying Sad-na-legs or Khri-sde(lde)-sroñ-btsan. Correspondingly Mes-dpon gsum, which occurs in the text immediately before this quotation, is interpreted by Laufer in the sense of the three Chos-rgyal, Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan and Ral-pa-can, while it ought to be translated as the third Mes-dpon or the third ancestor(-king), and interpreted as the king Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan. This gTer-ma actually relates of this king and his time, just as it appears from the context of Mes-dpon gsum when translated this way:

Śa-za gdoñ-dmar 'dul-mdzad Mes-dpon gsum :	As to the third ancestor(-king) who disciplined the flesh-eating redfaces,
bTsun-mo bka'i-thañ-yig bstan-par-byā :	The <i>bTsun-mo bka'i-thañ-yig</i> relates of him.

The first and the second Mes-dpon were lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan and Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. The particular metaphor Mes-dpon or ancestor is applied to these two kings together with Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, because they were the ancestors of the three groups of the Happy Generations as conceived in the original tradition.

The metaphor sMad-kyi sDe, the later sDe, signifies the kings Khri-sde(lde)-gtsug-btsan (no. 37), Khri-sroñ-sde(lde)-btsan (no. 38), Khri-sde(lde)-sroñ-btsan (no. 40), and Khri-gtsug-sde(lde)-btsan (no. 41). The bTsun-mo bka'i-thañ-yig mentions the *third of the later sDe*, who was Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan or Sad-na-legs, and identifies him with the *fortieth generation of the Dynasty*, in accordance with the authorized Buddhist representation of the Dynasty. The fact that this gTer-ma presents the Dynasty only to its fortieth king, is in itself an important criterion with regard to the age of its original source.

On the other hand, making Sad-na-legs the fortieth king and consequently lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan the twenty-eighth one, it gives us an equally important criterion for determining the age of the authorized Buddhist representation of the royal lineage (see below).

Beside the two gTer-mas, the Bod-kyi rgyal-rabs of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, though belonging to the later era of Tibetan Buddhism, shows beyond doubt that the Happy Generations were originally divided into groups characterized by their first king.

Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan has a particular division into two groups comprising the whole Buddhist lineage of fourteen kings. *The former group of Happy Generations counts nine and a half generations corresponding to ten kings*, the first of them being lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, the last of them Mes-ag-tshoms (no. 37). *The latter group counts three and a half Very Happy Generations corresponding to the four kings beginning with Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan and ending with Ral-pa-can.*

### *King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan's position in the royal lineage*

From Table I it appears that, with the exception of the undoubtedly corrupt Mongolian tradition, all representations of the royal lineage show the same sequence of kings from lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan to gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan. This means that *there exists an unvarying tradition with regard to the lineage from lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan to the fall of the Dynasty.*

When discussing the groups of the Dynasty, we have seen that with regard to the total extent of the royal lineage there exists at any rate two different traditions (A and B) counting forty-two and forty kings. Moreover, we have seen that the orthodox Buddhist tradition, as authorized by the Fifth Dalai Lama, is the main exponent of the tradition of forty-two kings, while the tradition of only forty kings is represented by important sources such as the Tun-huang Ms., etc.

As the representation of the Buddhist part of the lineage is unvarying, the differences in tradition are to be found in the representations of the pre-Buddhist part of it. We have already seen that the principal difference between the two main-traditions A and B is to be found in the occurrence or omittance of the second group of the Dynasty.

While until now we have based our study of the royal lineage solely upon the direct, more or less complete representations of it, we shall in the following introduce important, additional material stating the extent of the pre-Buddhist part of the lineage, either by the number of generations elapsed from gÑa'-khri-btsan-po to lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan or his father, or by the indication of the number of either of the latter two kings in the lineage.

While lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan represents the twenty-eighth and the twenty-sixth generation according to the traditions A and B, three sources relate differently. The index of the sNar-thañ Tanjur kept in the India Office Library, London (92.11r), the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loñ (162.416), and the Hor chos-byuñ (80.5) relate that *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan was the twenty-seventh king*, thus leading to a total number of forty-one kings in the Dynasty.

In the Tanjur Index, the appearance of the sacred texts upon Yum-bu-bla-mkhar is referred to *the end of the twenty-seventh royal generation, the time of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan*, rgyal-rabs ñi-śu-rtsa-bdun-gyi nthar ... / ... / ... lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan-gyi dus ...

The Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loñ reads:

rGyal-rabs-rnams-su gÑa'-khri-btsan-po-nas  
Khri-rje-thog-btsan bar-gyi rgyal-rabs ñi-śu-rtsa-  
drug-la chab-srid Bon-gyis bskyañs zer-ba tsam-  
las bśad kyañ /

By some sayings it is declared that in the royal lineage the *Chab-srid* was guarded by *Bon*<sup>12</sup> during *twenty-six royal generations* from gÑa'-khri-btsan-po to Khri-rje-thog-btsan.

The Hor chos-byuñ relates:

rGyal-rabs ñer-bdun-pa Kun-tu-bzañ-po'i  
sprul-par grags-pa lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan-gyi  
dus-su Dam-pa'i-chos-kyi dbu-brñes /

In the *twenty-seventh royal generation*, at the time of the incarnation of *Samantabhadra lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan*, the Holy Law took its beginning.

While the interpretation of the quotation from the Tanjur Index may possibly be a subject for doubt, because the expression rgyal-rabs ñi-śu-rtsa-bdun-gyi mthar might be interpreted as "after the twenty-seventh royal generation," the text of the two other sources leaves no doubt that, according to some separate traditions, *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan* was the *twenty-seventh king of the Dynasty*.

The following passages of dPa'-bo gTsub-lag (64.9r) and the Pakṭa-yā (93.284r), dealing with the same subject as the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loñ, quite clearly show the difference between these separate and the authorized Buddhist traditions:

/ bŽi-pa Thog-rje-thog-btsan sku-riñ-la /

During the life-time of the fourth (*bTsan*), *Thog-rje-thog-btsan*,

/ lHa-yi rol-mo gliñ-bu cag-par byuñ /

Appeared the cutting of the reed-pipe, the divine instrument.

/ 'Di-yan gduñ-rabs ñi-śu-rtsa-bdun-du /

Up to him, in *twenty-seven* generations,

/ Chab-srid sGruñ dañ lDe'u Bon-gyis bskyañs /

*Chab-srid* was guarded by *sGruñ*, *lDe'u* (and) *Bon*.

/ De-nas Dam-pa'i-chos-kyi dbu-brñes-pa /

After him the Holy Law took its beginning.

/ rGyal-sras Kun-tu-bzañ-po'i rnam-sprul ni /

The prince, the incarnation of *Samantabhadra*,

/ sPrul-pa'i rgyal-po Tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan /

Was the incarnate king, (*lHa-*)*Tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan*.

De dañ sMan-bza' kLu-steñ-gi sras Khri-thog-rje-btsan-te gduñ-rabs ñer-bdun-gyi riñ Chab-srid sGruñ-lDe'u-Bon-gsum-gyis bskyañs-pa yin /

The son of that (king, *Khri-sgra-dpuñ-btsan*) and *sMan-bza' kLu-steñ* was *Khri-thog-rje-btsan*. During *twenty-seven* generations the *Chab-srid* was guarded by *sGruñ*, *lDe'u*, and *Bon*, these three.

The separate tradition making *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan* the twenty-seventh king of the Dynasty, is at present known only from comparatively late sources, but, in itself, this circumstance permits no judgement as to its real age or reliability. In the same way no priority can immediately, from the age of the sources concerned, be ascribed to either tradition A or B. Only a study of the whole complex of traditions, dealing with the Dynasty and its origin, may finally lead us to a decision in this regard.

As far as we have come in our study up to now, we have pointed out several features of inconsistency in the general representation of the Dynasty. We have made the relative validity of the authorized Buddhist representation, corresponding to tradition A, questionable, in particular because of its second group. From the study of the direct representations of the dynastic lineage, our idea as to the existence of an independent, probably older tradition of the minor number of forty kings in the Dynasty (B), is mainly based on the representations given by the Tun-huang Ms and the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig. The possibility that a mistake or an error of similar nature or common origin might have slipped in, where these two sources are concerned, can for several reasons be discarded. Thus we find that a number of sources expressly state that *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan* was the twenty-sixth generation. We have already quoted the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig, dating from the time of Sad-na-legs, that the number of Kings without the Law was twenty-five, and the statement of the Chang-so chih-lun.

Corresponding statements are made by Bu-ston (173.182), and centuries later by Dza-ya Pañḍi-ta. The latter author writes in his *Thob-yig gsal-ba'i-me-loñ* (120.IV.195r):

De-nas rgyal-rabs űi-űu-rtsa-drug-nas lHa-  
tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan skabs Za-ma-tog bkod-pa  
dPañ-skoñ phyags-rgya-pa sogs byuñ-bas Dam-  
pa'i-chos-kyi dbu-brñes /

Thereafter, from the *twenty-sixth royal generation*, the time of *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan*, when the *Za-ma-tog bkod-pa*, *dPañ-skoñ phyags-rgya-pa*, and other (texts) appeared, the Holy Law took its beginning.<sup>13</sup>

Altogether, the Tibetan sources seem to indicate the existence of *three different traditions of the number of kings in the royal lineage*. In the following they will be referred to as A, B, and C, counting *twenty-seven, twenty-five, and twenty-six kings respectively before lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan* corresponding to the total numbers of *forty-two, forty, and forty-one kings in the Dynasty*. These three traditions seem to be what has survived in Buddhist time. They are partly attempts at a synthesis of the variety of traditions which must once have existed and which still leave numerous vestiges in Tibetan sources. This we have seen from the material serving as the basis of Table I and the study of the division of the pre-Buddhist part of the Dynasty and the study of the prehistoric line.

The idea of grouping the prehistoric kings is in itself a special way of counting them. We might therefore expect some correspondence between the numbers of kings, resulting from counting by groups, and the numbers resulting from direct counting and representing the traditions A, B, or C. As a matter of fact, only a limited number of our sources permit a direct comparison, and beyond these cases we must resort to a *quasi* statistical comparison. Moreover, we observe the peculiar circumstance within one and the same source, that the numbers resulting from counting by groups disagree with the numbers appearing from the direct representation of the lineage. The general reason for this occurrence which ordinarily would lead to a certain disqualification of the material concerned, is to be found in the special nature of the Tibetan sources, as explained above (p. 14 ff.).

In the Mañi-bka'-'bum, the oldest known source which gives a complete representation of both ways of counting (see Table I), we find a *perfect correspondence between the authorized tradition (A) of twenty-eight kings including lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan and the enumeration of five groups of seven, two, six, eight, and five kings respectively, giving a total number of twenty-eight*.

Several sources (1; 37; 40; 53; 68; 70; 92; 93; 145) omit the second group of the Dynasty when representing it by groups, even if they list the corresponding kings in their general enumeration of kings. With regard to the tradition of groups, these sources may provisionally be considered representative of tradition B. The oldest known complete version seems to be found in the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig (see quotation p. 83):

*gNam-la-khri-bdun, Sa-la-legs-drug, and  
Logs-la-lde-brgyad together with the Tshig-la-btsan-lña  
Were the twenty-five Kings without Law, who came.*

This text shows an apparent inconsistency. The groups give a total of *twenty-six* kings, while there are only *twenty-five* Kings without Law mentioned. This is due to the simple fact that *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan* was the fifth and last member of the group of five bTsan, but at the same time was also the first king of the Happy Generations. The same consideration applies to the authorized tradition, named tradition A, as it most clearly appears from Table I.

From the same table it appears that at least two sources, the bŚad-mdzod yid-bñin-nor-bu and the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ place *lHa-tho-tho-ri* after the group of the bTsan, and thus after the groups of the pre-Buddhist Dynasty. As both sources define the group of the bTsan otherwise than the remaining sources, this occurrence may possibly be ascribed to *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan's* position as the first king of the Happy Generations, which separates him from the preceding part of the Dynasty. At any rate, this explanation agrees with the main distinction between *twenty-eight* generations before, and the Happy Generations beginning with this king, made by the bŚad-mdzod yid-bñin-nor-bu.

As mentioned above, the tradition C, which counts lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan the twenty-seventh king of the Dynasty, is represented by a few, comparatively late sources. But it is unequivocally formulated by the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ, two or three centuries earlier (58.24r):

gNam-la-khri-bdun / sTod-kyi-steñ-gñis /  
Bar-du-legs-drug / Sa-la-sde-brgyad / 'Og-gi-  
btsan-gsum zes-pa ltar /

rJe gÑa'-khri-btsad-po-nas / re-re-nas bgrañ-  
ba'i gduñ-rabs ñi-śu-rtsa-bdun-na / 'Phags-pa  
Kun-tu-bzañ-po'i sprul-pa lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-  
śal byon-te / Sañs-rgyas-kyi bstan-pa dbu-brñes-  
pa yin-no /

(There were) *gNam-la-khri-bdun*, *sTod-kyi-  
steñ-gñis*, *Bar-du-legs-drug*, *Sa-la-sde-bryad*, and  
*'Og-gi-btsan-gsum*.

From *rJe gÑa'-khri-btsad-po*, when counting each (king), *lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-śal*, the incarnation of *Ārya-Samantabhadra*, came in the *twenty-seventh generation*. This was the beginning of Buddha's Doctrine.

The number of kings comprised by the five groups, twenty-six, agrees perfectly with the position of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan as the twenty-seventh king. But the whole representation given above disagrees with the representation of the royal lineage, which follows immediately after the quotation given above. In this representation (see Table I), lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan is the *twenty-sixth* king, because the fourth group, characterized in the above quotation as the *eight* sDe on Earth, Sa-la-sde-brgyad, only comprises *seven* kings.

The representations of the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ contain features characteristic of all three traditions A, B, and C. The number of groups, *five*, and consequently the occurrence of the second group, correspond to tradition A. The position of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan as the *twenty-sixth* king of the actually represented lineage corresponds to tradition B. His position as the *twenty-seventh* king and the number of *twenty-six* kings preceding him, as appearing from the quotation above, correspond to tradition C.

The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ is a most important source of ancient Tibetan history, partly because it is mainly a compilation based on several ancient sources, partly because, at first or second hand, it has been a most frequently used source for Western studies of Tibetan history. In his representation of the Dynasty, the compiler and author bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan has apparently made a compromise from various traditions. For this reason we must take certain reservations with regard to its details, including the names of the groups of the Dynasty.

A similar compromise seems to appear from the Tun-huang Ms. In principle this source represents tradition B, as expressly stated by the words (1.81–82/87):

gNam-la-dri-bdun / Sa-la-legs-drug bśos-na /

The *gNam-la-dri-bdun* begat the *Sa-la-legs-drug*,

which completely excludes the second group. In the enumeration of the individual kings, the two kings, who form this group, nevertheless occur, *Gri-gum-btsan-po* (no. 8) as the last member of the first group and *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal* as the first member of the third group. To make this arrangement possible and still maintain a number of twenty-five kings before lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan in accordance with the older tradition, the Tun-huang Ms. leaves out two kings, nos. 7 and 21 of the authorized lineage, just as the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ leaves out nos. 19 and 24.

It thus appears that the representations of the extent of the Dynasty and the grouping of its prehistoric kings, as given by the greater part of the Tibetan sources, depend on either of *two different, but well-defined, traditions*, A and B.

*Tradition A has a total number of forty-two kings in the Dynasty, counting lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan the twenty-eighth king of the lineage, and counting five prehistoric groups of seven, two, six, eight, and five kings, respectively.*

*Tradition B has a total number of forty kings in the Dynasty, counting lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan the twenty-sixth king of the lineage, and counting four prehistoric groups of seven, six, eight, and five kings, respectively.*

*The fundamental difference between the traditions A and B is to be found in the occurrence of the second group of two kings in the former tradition. As we shall see in the following, the occurrence and the significance of this group represent a central problem in the whole discussion of the origin and extent of the Dynasty.*

*Moreover, the existence of a third tradition, named C, has been shown, but it remains a question whether we are actually dealing with a genuine tradition. The possibility exists that it merely represents the compromise appearing from the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ, on which a few later sources may be dependent.*

*On the other hand the undeniable existence of a separate tradition counting seven kings in the fourth group, instead of the normal eight kings, immediately leads to a separate tradition of forty-one kings, having lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan as the twenty-seventh king, and counting five prehistoric groups of seven, two, six, seven, and five kings respectively.*

*As we have stated above, the age of the sources gives us no definite means of estimating the relative ages of the traditions or their relative priority. The circumstance that tradition B, without the second group, is represented by some of the oldest sources available, seems to indicate a higher age of this tradition in comparison with tradition A. But at the same time we must observe that the bTsun-mo bka'i-thañ-yig represents tradition A, although the part of its text quoted above undoubtedly derives from the same time as the sources of tradition B. This circumstance merely serves to show that both traditions were in existence already during the last period of the Dynasty.*

*The actual priority of age, which is to be ascribed to tradition B, can only be established by a study of the whole mass of traditions concerning the Dynasty and its origin in particular.<sup>14</sup>*

## The Mongol tradition of the Tibetan kings

In a later part of this paper we shall study the Buddhist tradition according to which the Tibetan kings are the descendants of one of the Indian dynasties of the Śākya. As the Mongol qayans and the Emperors of the Yüan Dynasty pretended likewise to be the descendants of Mahāsamadhi, who was considered the progenitor of the Śākya, *the Mongolian chronicles, in their genealogies of the qayans, established the relationship to the Śākya by inserting the Tibetan Yar-luñ kings as an intermediary lineage between the Śākya and the Mongol rulers, letting the latter appear as the offspring of a son of Gri-gum-btsan-po.*<sup>1</sup>

For this reason some of the Mongolian chronicles give rather detailed information regarding the lineage of the Yar-luñ kings. It appears that the tradition or traditions, which served as the basis for this information, fundamentally deviate at certain points from the general Tibetan tradition. The Mongolian sources used in the following study are restricted to a few, but representative ones, because a comprehensive and large research of all available Mongolian sources is a special study in itself and is beyond the scope of the present work. The Mongolian sources comprise various editions of the chronicle Altan tobči (141; 142; 143), the Chinese version Mêng-ku shih hsi-p'u of a related Mongol chronicle (215), the Boyda Činggis Qayan-u čidig (144), and the Mongol chronicle of Sanang Sečen in the Urga Ms edition (146) and the edition of I. J. Schmidt (145).

Usually the Mongolian sources are only interested in the pedigree of the Tibetan kings as far as Gri-gum-btsan-po and his ancestors are concerned. But Sanang Sečen gives a list, though incomplete, of the whole Dynasty, even mentioning the different groups. In concordance with several Tibetan sources he leaves out the second group of the Dynasty, but he goes one step further by directly including Gri-gum-btsan-po in the first group, thus only being in agreement with a few of the known Tibetan versions.

### *The first group of the Dynasty*

Sanang Sečen names the first group of the Tibetan Dynasty Tnyri-yin doluyan siregetü qayan, The Seven Kings of the Celestial Thrones, and thus follows the common Tibetan nomenclature. The members of this group who, at any rate formally, are most completely represented in the Altan tobči in the version edited by C. R. Bawden are (143.36/112–13):

1. Küjügün sandali-tu qayan
2. Erkin doluyan kümün sandali-tu qayan  
Var.: 142 correctly omits Erkin doluyan, see below.
3. Kii Jarbu sibayun sandali-tu qayan  
Var.: 142 Kiya.  
141 omits this king.
4. Ayitulqa arbai sandali-tu qayan  
Var.: 142 Ayitalqa.
5. Küri külüg Ʒal bolur sandali-tu qayan  
Var.: 141 omits this king.
6. Kün subin morin sandali-tu qayan  
Var.: 141 Küwe.
7. Dalai sübin altan sandali-tu qayan.



The Chinese source Měng-ku shih hsi-p'u (215.3r; 143.21–3) enumerates the names of these kings in the following transcriptions from Mongolian:

1. K'u-chun san-ta-li-t'u han
2. A-êrh-ch'in san-ta-li-t'u han
3. Ch'ia cha-êrh-pu hsi-pa-kun san-ta-li-t'u han
4. Ai-t'u-êrh-pu a-êrh-pai san-ta-li-t'u han
5. K'u-li k'u-lu-k'e ko-êrh po-lo-êrh san-ta-li-t'u han
6. Kun su-pin mo-lin san-ta-li-t'u han
7. Ta-lai su-pin a-êrh-tan san-ta-li-t'u han.

While the versions of the Altan tobči, the Chinese one, and the Boyda Činggis Qayan-u čidig agree quite closely with regard to these names, the chronicle of Sanang Sečen presents various peculiarities. The names as they occur in the Urga Ms (146.8r–v) accompanied, in parentheses, by the variants from the edition of Schmidt (145.22/23), read:

1. Seger sandali-tu qayan tügel ejen
2. Muhi (Muhri) bzangbo (bčanbo) tügel qayan kümün siregetü
3. Dahi (Dahri) bzangbo (bčanbo) kiya jarbu sibayun siregetü
4. Kūri külüg ɣal bolur siregetü  
Var.: 145 omits this king.
5. Nihi (Nihri) bzangbo (bčanbo) ai-tulya arbai siregetü
6. Sbeti (Sbiti) bzangbo (bčanbo) gün sübin (sobin, söbin, sübin?) morin siregetü
7. Rigum bzangbo (bčanbo) dalai sübin aču altan siregetü.

In the Urga Ms the following Tibetan glosses have been added to the Mongolian names of the kings:

1. No gloss.
2. Mu-khri-bzañ-po.
3. Ta-khri-bzañ-po Bya (or: Gya, sKya)-ser-po.
4. No gloss.
5. Ńi-khri-bzañ-po.
6. sPe-khri-bzañ-po.
7. Ri-gum-bzañ-po.

Although these glosses are of a rather late date and appear somewhat suspect because of the use of bzañ-po instead of btsan-po, they undoubtedly depend on ancient sources. We are probably dealing with Tibetan reconstructions of Mongolian names, which originally have been derived from Tibetan texts. If so the gloss Bya, Gya or sKya-ser-po should be a Tibetan equivalent to the uninterpretable Mongolian Kiya (or Giya) jarbu (or jarbo, yarbo, yarbu, yerbö, yerbü, jerbö, jerbü). Still, the gloss unfortunately does not bring us further towards a reliable interpretation.

Comparing the list of Sanang Sečen with those of the Altan tobči and related sources, we observe that kings nos. 4 and 5 occur in adverse order. The very lists of names, however, show that *the Mongolian tradition of the kings of the first group, and the conception of them, are essentially different from the general Tibetan tradition*. Apart from the formal difference that Sanang Sečen uses siregetü, Khri or Throne, as the royal name, while the other sources use sandali-tu qayan, Khri-btsan-po, they agree with regard to the general significance of the names. These may be interpreted in the following ways:

1. The Neck-Throne King (141; 142; 143; 144)<sup>a</sup>  
The Neck-Throne King, the Accomplished Ruler (145; 146)

2. The Seven Supreme Kings on the Throne of Man (141; 143; 144)

The King on the Throne of Man (142)

The Occurrence of "The Seven Supreme Kings" in the name of the second king is apparently due to an erroneous combination of the name of the whole group (*erkin doluyan qayan*) with the personal name of the king, which seems to be correctly given in 142. The Chinese source (215) presents further confusion in this respect.

Mu-khri-btsan-po, The Accomplished Ruler, (King of) The Throne of Man (145; 146)

3. Kiya (Kii) Jarbu (?), The King on the Bird-Throne (142; 143; 144)

Ta-khri-btsan-po, Kiya Jarbu (?), (King of) The Bird-Throne (145; 146)

Ta-khri-btsan-po, Bya(?) -ser-po (The Yellow Bird?) (146. gloss).

4. The Main Pole of the Tent, The King on the Barley-Throne (141; 142; 143; 144)

Ñi-khri-btsan-po, The Main Pole of the Tent, (The King of) The Barley-Throne (145; 146: no. 5)

5. The Brown Horse, The King on the Fire-Jewel-Throne (142; 143; 144)

The Brown Horse, (The King of) The Fire-Jewel-Throne (146: no. 4)

6. He Who Is Expanded in the Deep, The King on the Horse-Throne (141; 142; 143; 144)

sPe-khri-btsan-po, He Who Is Expanded in the Deep, (The King of) The Horse-Throne (145; 146)

7. He Who Is Expanded in the Ocean, The King on the Golden Throne (141; 142; 143; 144)

Gri(Dri)-gum-btsan-po, He Who Is Expanded in the Ocean, (The King of) The Golden Throne (145; 146).

We are here dealing with ideas and allusions, to which the Tibetan sources present no parallels, and at present we possess no means of interpreting such allegories as "The Main Pole of the Tent", although in this special case we might see a reference to the ancient Tibetan cosmology, representing the Universe as a tent (see p. 141). The appellatives connected with Throne, Khri, however, have a more easily conceivable significance, and may prove useful to us, primarily in a comparative study.

From the compilation of the names of the Tibetan kings, we have already seen that certain Tibetan sources contain names which deviate or are completely different from those given by the majority of sources. Thus, for the fifth king of the Dynasty, usually named Mer-khri-btsan-po, we find the deviating forms Ye-, De-, or Me-khri-btsan-po, and for the seventh king, Sribts-khri-btsan-po, forms such as sPyi-khri- or Khri-spe-btsan-po. Ordinarily we should regard these few deviating forms as arbitrary occurrences of no significance, but a more thorough study shows that these deviations are found in sources which in other respects also deviate from the majority. They therefore seem to indicate the existence of one or more traditions differing from the authorized one in respects other than those described in the preceding chapter. We know at least that a separate Tibetan tradition does exist besides the authorized and related traditions. It is preserved in the 'Dzam-gliñ Gañs Ti-se'i dkar-chag (see p. 140), but as it is fundamentally incompatible with the authorized tradition, we have postponed the study of it to a more adequate occasion, later in this paper (p. 140 ff.).

At present we shall only try by means of a comparison of the appellations combined with Khri to discern whether the Mongolian tradition may be considered as dependent on the separate tradition mentioned. In the following table a view of these appellations is given, the different positions of Gri-gum-btsan-po being at the same time indicated.

1. gÑa'	lDe Ñag	gÑa'	gÑa'	(gÑa')	(gÑa')	gÑa'
2. Mu	Mug	Mu	dMu	Mu	(Mi)	Thin
3. Diñ	Diñ	Diñ	Diñ	Ta	(Bya)	Mi
4. So	So	So	So	—	?	So
5. Mer	De	Mer	Ye	Ñi	(Me?)	Bya
6. gDags	Khri-spe	gDags	gDags	sPe	(rTa)	lDe
7. Sribts	(Dri-gum)	sPyi	Sri	(Ri-gum)	(gSer)	(Gri-gum)
8. (Gri-gum)		(Gri-gum)	—			
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII

The columns indicate the following sources:

- I. The authorized representation of the Dynasty (Table I).
- II. The Tun-huang Ms 249 Paris (Table I; Table III).
- III. rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig (37; Table I; p. 34–35).
- IV. Bu-ston's Chronicle (Table I; p. 38; Table III).
- V. Sanang Sečen (p. 93).
- VI. All the Mongolian sources (p. 92–93). The Mongolian appellatives have been rendered into Tibetan equivalents.
- VII. 'Dzam-gliṅ Gaṅs Ti-se'i dkar-chag (109).

We may further add Me-khri, applied by some sources (34; 62; 68; 69) to the fifth king, and Khri-spe, used for the sixth king by the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loṅ (78).

A Tibetan equivalent to Mongolian arbai (column VI, no. 4) cannot be given, because there are too many alternatives.

If we examine the table of the names, the most remarkable feature is still *the position of Gri-gum-btsan-po*. Both in the Mongolian versions, the Bon-po version of the 'Dzam-gliṅ Gaṅs Ti-se'i dkar-chag, and in the Tun-huang Ms, he is placed as the seventh king, belonging to the first group of the Dynasty, in direct contradiction to the authorized tradition. From various facts, occurring in the course of the following study, it appears that we are dealing with a particular stage in the development of the tradition of the first kings.

We further observe on one side an unmistakable relationship between the Mongolian and the Bon-po traditions, indicated by the names Mi-khri and Bya-khri, on the other side a relationship between the traditions of Sanang Sečen, the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loṅ, and those Tibetan sources that deviate from the authorized representation, indicated by the common occurrence of a king named sPe(sPi)-khri, Khri-spe, or sPyi-khri as the immediate predecessor of Gri-gum-btsan-po.

With regard to the fifth king, the material permits no conclusion beyond the statement that the names of this king seem to connect him particularly with the idea of Fire, me.<sup>9</sup>

The issue of a study of the above table of names may be summarized in the following items:

1: According to two different traditions Gri-gum-btsan-po either belongs to the Seven Celestial Thrones or he is their first successor.

2: The Mongolian tradition shows some formal relationship to both the authorized Buddhist and the Bon-po traditions.

3: The deviating Tibetan traditions in certain details show a relationship to the Mongolian tradition. It should be observed that the various features deviating from the authorized Buddhist tradition are to be found especially with regard to the three last kings of the group.

Besides the question of formal similarity or difference between these traditions, the question of the fundamental conception of the mutual position of the kings contained in these traditions presents itself. In this regard we may provisionally state that while the authorized tradition definitely aims to represent the kings as *a descending lineage of kings of divine nature*, originating from a primary divine ancestor, the Bon-po tradition of 'Dzam-gliṅ etc. *represents no genealogy*. It presents seven kings who all descended from Heaven, having a similar divine nature, but being locally defined by their descent upon different sacred mountains. In the Mongolian tradition, the seven kings serve the direct purpose of representing *a royal lineage, but the conception of them, revealed by the names of their thrones, indicates no genealogical connection between them*. On the contrary, the Mongolian tradition presents an analogy to the just mentioned Bon-po tradition.

Having enumerated the first seven kings of Tibet, the Altan tobči continues (143.36/113):

tegün-ü köbegün aqa inu Boroču. ded inu Sibayuči. oduqan inu Börte činoa buyu. Öbere Jayura-ban mayulaltuju. Börte činoa umara jüg Tenggis dalai getüljü jad-un yajar-a ireged. Ere ügei Ğooa maral nere-tü ökin-i abču. jad-un yajar-tur nutuylan sayuju. mongyol omoy-tan bolba. Tegün-ü köbegün Batai čayan....

Of his (*Dalai sübin altan sandali-tu qayan's*) sons the eldest was *Boroču*, the second *Sibayuči*, and the youngest *Börte činoa*. As they quarrelled amongst themselves, *Börte činoa* crossed over the *Tenggis Sea* in the direction of the north, and came to the land of the people. Taking a girl called *Ğooa maral*, who had no husband, he settled in the land of the people, and became of (joined) the Mongol clan. His son was *Batai čayan*....

Immediately after mentioning *Dalai sübin altan sandali-tu qayan*, the edition of Altan tobči Nova given in *Scripta Mongolica I* (142.6; see 143.36) inserts:

Töbed-ün eng terigün Küjügün sandali-tu qayan-ača saluysan Dalai sübin altan sandali-tu qayan-u köbegün anu yurban buyu (Aqa inu Boroču ... etc. as above).

*Dalai sübin altan sandali-tu qayan* descending from *Küjügün sandali-tu qayan*, the very first of the Tibetan (kings), had three sons.

Correspondingly, the *Mêng-ku shih hsi-p'u* (215.3v; see 143.23) tells that:

The king (*Ta-lai su-pin* etc.) had three sons. The eldest was called *Po-lo-ch'u*; the next was called *Shih-pao-ch'i*; the third was called *Po-êrh-t'ê ch'i-no*. *Po-êrh-t'ê ch'i-no* left his two elder brothers and crossed over the Northern Sea *T'êng-chi-ssü* and came to the land of *Chê-t'ê*. He chose a place where there was good grass and water and settled there. The people of *Chê-t'ê* asked whence he came. When they learned that he was a descendant of King *Ma-ha-sa-ma-ti*, and that all his ancestors were kings of Tibet, they all arranged to set him up as king. He took as wife *Kua ma-la-êrh*, and had a son *Ba-t'ai ch'a-han*.

Twice Sanang Sečen speaks of three sons of *Gri-gum-btsan-po*, once in relation to the Tibetan and once in relation to the Mongolian history. In the former case (145.24/25; 146.8v) he tells how *Gri-gum-btsan-po* was killed and succeeded by his minister *Lo-ñam*, so that the three sons of the king had to flee. The eldest son *Sibayuči* fled to *Nengbo* (*Ñaň-po*), the second son *Boroču* fled to *Sboo-bo* (*sPo-bo*), and the youngest son *Börte činoa* fled to *Rgongbo* (*rKoň-po*). Later the second son *Boroču* became king of Tibet, and took the name *Sbudi gungrial* (*sPu-de-guň-rgyal*; *Urga Ms* gloss: *sPo-ti-guň-rgyal*).

In his later narrative *Sanang Sečen* (145.56/57) mentions the sons in the order *Boroču*, *Sibayuči*, and *Börte činoa*, corresponding to that of the other Mongolian versions. *Börte čino-a*, however, did not trust the people of *rKoň-po*. He married a girl named *Ğoa maral*, crossed the *Tenggis Sea*, and travelled northwards to the great Water of *Baiyal* and the mountain *Burqan qaldun*, where he became ruler of the people because of his descent from *Mahāsamadhi* and the Tibetan kings.

The *Hor chos-byuň* (80.10) gives a similar account:

De-ltar 'phros sñon soň-nas rgyal-po *Khri-gum-btsan-po'i* sras tha-chuň *Ña-khri'am* *Sog-skad-du* *Por-ta-ze-ba* zes-pa-des *rKoň-po'i* *yul-nas* *btsun-mo* *Gwāo ma-ral* zes-pa blaňs-pa *de khrid-nas* *Sog-yul-du* byon-te *Pā'i-gal*

To continue what has been told above,<sup>4</sup> the youngest son of *Khri-gum-btsan-po* was *Ña-khri*, who in Mongolian was called *Por-ta ze-ba*. He took as queen *Gwāo ma-ral*, and brought her from the country of *rKoň-po* to the country of

žes-pa'i chu 'gram-gyi ri-bo Por-han gal-two-na  
 žes-par 'byor-ba-la Der-pe-te žes-pa'i mi-sde  
 gnas-pa de-dag-gis de-la rgyu-mtshan dris-pa-  
 na / ...

*Sog* (Mongolia), (where) they came to the moun-  
 tain *Por-han gal-two-na*, at the bank of the  
*Pā'i-gal Water*. Here the inhabitants called  
*Der-pe-te* asked him about his prerogatives  
*(rgyu-mtshan)*. ...

The Tibetan sources mention only exceptionally the Mongolian legend of the descent of the Mongol Emperors from the son of Gri-gum-btsan-po. The Deb-ther-sñon-po (184.56) refers to the History of the Yüan Dynasty told by Dzam-bha-la Ti-śri-mgon and rendered by Kun-dga'-rdo-rje in the Deb-ther-dmar-po (51.14r). He begins the account of the Mongol lineage, Hor-gyi rgyal-rabs, this way: Dañ-por gNam-gyi bu sBor-tha-che / De'i bu Ba-da-chi-gan / ..., First the Son of Heaven, *sBor-tha-che*. His son was *Ba-da-chi-gan*.

The identity between Ņa-khri and Börte čino-a maintained in the Hor chos-byuñ, can only be accepted with some reservation. As it will appear from the general discussion of the story of the three brothers in chapter 9, the question of their identity according to Tibetan sources is not quite so simple. Moreover, the Mongolian conception of their legendary or mythical nature does not seem to coincide completely with the Tibetan conception, nor is such a complete coincidence *a priori* to be expected. From a Mongolian point of view it seems to have been a question of combining, as far as possible, the Tibetan tradition of one of the two available brothers with the ancient Mongolian ancestor legends. As a matter of fact, the originators of the Mongolian ancestor legend chose the brother who was connected with rKoñ-po, for reasons we cannot know. We may, however, for the sake of future studies in general point out that the Tibetan legends give us several indications that in the origin legends of the Tibetan Dynasty particular importance has once been ascribed to Koñ-po. The name of the ancestor of the Mongol Qayans, Börte čino-a, signifies The Blue-Grey Wolf, while the name of the wife, Ғооа maral, signifies The Fallow-Deer. It quite clearly appears from the Mongolian legends that these zoomorphously conceived ancestors derive specifically from the ancient ancestor legends of the Mongols.<sup>5</sup>

### *The third group of the Dynasty*

In the Chronicle of Sanang Sečen this group is called Ғаҗар-un jiryuyan sayin qayan, corresponding to Tibetan Sa-la-legs-drug, The Six Good Kings on Earth. It comprises the following members:

sBudi gungrial	(sPo-ti-guñ-rgyal)
Asoleg	(A-śo-legs)
Desoleg	(Te-śo-legs)
Brončileg	( ? -legs)
Gurumleg	(Go- ? -legs)
Silmaleg	(Sil-ma-legs).

The Tibetan glosses to the Urga Ms, part of which are illegible, are here given in parentheses.

As said above, Sanang Sečen has no group corresponding to the second group of the authorized Buddhist tradition. The two kings in this group, Gri-gum-btsan-po and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, were placed by him as the last member of the first group and the first member of the ordinary third group, respectively. The six kings mentioned above correspond to six of the seven kings nos. 9–15. One of these, either no. 11 or no. 12, is omitted to make room for sPu-de-guñ-rgyal.

The last of the six kings is named Sil-ma-legs. Possibly this name represents no king, but is the result of a confounding with the name of the next group, which is called Sil-ma-bdun (see p. 74, 78).

### *The fourth group of the Dynasty*

Sanang Sečen calls this group, which is the third one according to his version, Qad-un uruq-i mandayuluyči doluyan qayan, The Seven Kings from Whom the Royal Lineage Developed,<sup>6</sup> or as interpreted by Schmidt, Die Ausbreiter des Fürstenstammes. Characterizing the group this way, Sanang Sečen differs in two respects from the Tibetan sources. These usually count *eight* instead of *seven* kings in the group, and call it The Eight lDe or The Eight lDe on Earth (see p. 74, 75–76, 77–78).

The rGyal-po bka'i-thaŋ-yig calls it Sil-ma-bdun. This means the Seven Scattered, Separated, or Small Ones (see p. 78) and presents some similarity in appearance to the Mongolian name.

The kings of this group are according to the edition of Schmidt and the Urga Ms with its glosses (in parentheses):

Lderü gnyimsung	Lderü gnamčung	(lDe-ru-gnam-sgam)
Ldesp'el	Ldesbel	(lDes-pal)
Lderewi-e	Lderewi-e	(lDe- ? )
Serednem		
Suu-a	Seüreg (?)	(Sre- ? )
Srin rgyal bčan	Sbringyal	(sPrin-rgyal)
Sdongri sdongbčan	Sdonggri sdongmčan	(sToŋ- ? -stoŋ-mtshan).

The edition of Schmidt contains all seven kings, while the fourth one is missing in the Urga Ms.

The first king is identical with king no. 17 in the authorized Buddhist lineage. The rGyal-po bka'i-thaŋ-yig almost identically names him lDe-ru-gnam-gzuŋ-btsan. The next four kings cannot be identified for certain among the kings nos. 18–22, while the last two kings correspond to nos. 23 and 24. The latter of them, sToŋ-ri-stoŋ-btsan, belongs to the fifth group of the authorized Buddhist tradition, while on the other side the first king of the fourth group, no. 16, has been omitted. This arrangement of the fourth group corresponds perfectly to that of the rGyal-po bka'i-thaŋ-yig, where this group too contains no more than seven members.

### *The fifth group of the Dynasty*

This group is named Üges-tür erketü doluyan qayan, The Seven Kings with the Power of Words. We have seen, p. 78, that the Tibetan sources name these kings the bTsan, specifying this term in various ways. In two cases these specifications formally correspond to the sense of the Mongolian name. Thus the rGyal-po bka'i-thaŋ-yig and the bLon-po bka'i-thaŋ-yig use the name Tshig(s)-la-btsan-lña, The Five bTsan of the Words. As various interpretations of the sense of “Words” may be imagined, none of which can be properly substantiated, and on the other hand Tshig(s) may be interpreted in another sense, as remarked above, p. 78, we shall at present prefer to let the question of interpretation remain pending.

As to the number of kings belonging to this group, we have seen that the Tibetan sources do not agree, counting either three, four, or five kings. Sanang Sečen exceeds these numbers by counting seven kings. In the same way his list of the kings exceeds the Tibetan frame of the group and shows a selection of kings which corresponds fairly to their prominence in the Tibetan traditions. His group comprises:

Ldenem bčan	Grinamčan	(Khri-nam-mtshan)
Togtitog bčan	Togri togčan	(Thog-khri-thog-mtshan)
Lhatotori	Lhato tori	(lHa-tho-tho-ri)
Gdagnan srongbčan	Grignen gčugs bčang	(Krig-ñan-gzugs-bzaŋ)
Sadanari sñašig	Sdagri san gčig	(sTag-ri-srun-gzigs)
Gnamri srong bčan	Gamri srongbzang	(Gam-ri-sroŋ-bzaŋ).

The actual number of kings thus only amounts to six, while the names of the group indicate seven kings. These six kings correspond to kings nos. 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, and 32 of the authorized Buddhist list (see Table I).

## The Dynasty and its relation to the prehistoric, religious and cultural development

Beside the cosmologic and theogonic features described above, the representation of the Dynasty and especially its division into groups reflects various important features of the religious and cultural development in Tibet, both in prehistoric and in historical time. In the present study we shall deal mainly with the prehistoric side of the matter, and in the following we shall see that the groups of the Dynasty, or rather certain individual kings belonging to them, represent different stages in the religious and cultural development.

As an introduction we shall quote the fifteenth chapter of the rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig (37.40v-41r), entitled bŽugs-kyi sku-mkhar ji-ltar brtsigs-pa, *How the personal residential castles were built*:

rJe-gcig gŃa'-khri-btsan-po'i sku-riṅ-la :  
Yul-la sna-ba Yar-kluṅs-sog-kha-ru :

In his lifetime the ruler, *gŃa'-khri-btsan-po*,  
In *Yar-kluṅs-sog-kha*, the oldest among countries,

mKhar-la sna-ba Śam-po-dgu-brtsegs brtsigs :

Built *Śam-po-dgu-brtsegs*, the oldest among castles.

rGyal-po Gri-gum-btsan-po'i sku-riṅ-la :  
Yar-mo sna-bžir snaṅ-ba'i śar-phyogs-su :

In his lifetime King *Gri-gum-btsan-po*,  
In the bright *eastern* part of the four parts of *Yar-mo*,

Pho-braṅ sku-mkhar Khra-daṅ-bya-ra brtsigs :  
rGyal-po sPu-de-guṅ-rgyal sku-riṅ-la :  
Yar-mo sna-bžir snaṅ-ba'i nub-phyogs-su :

Built the residential castle *Khra-daṅ-bya-ra*.  
In his lifetime King *sPu-de-guṅ-rgyal*,  
In the bright *western* part of the four parts of *Yar-mo*,

Pho-braṅ sku-mkhar Khri-brtsigs-'bum-gdugs  
brtsigs :

Built the residential castle *Khri-brtsigs'-bum-gdugs*.

rGyal-po sToṅ-ri-stoṅ-btsan sku-riṅ-la :  
Pho-braṅ sku-mkhar 'Phyi-ṅa-stag-rtse ni :  
Ba-dmar 'o-mas sa-rnams sbaṅs-te brtsigs :

In his lifetime King *sToṅ-ri-stoṅ-btsan*  
Built the residential castle *'Phyi-ṅa-stag-rtse*  
From earth kneaded with the milk from a red cow.<sup>1</sup>

rGyal-po Tho-ri-sṅan-žal sku-riṅ-la :  
Yar-mo sna-bžir snaṅ-ba'i lho phyogs-su :

In his lifetime King *Tho-ri-sṅan-žal*,  
In the bright *southern* part of the four parts of *Yar-mo*,

Pho-braṅ sku-mkhar Yum-bu-bla-mkhar  
brtsigs :

Built the residential castle *Yum-bu-bla-mkhar*.

Chos-rgyal Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po'i sku-riṅ-la :

In his lifetime King of the Law, *Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po*,

sKu-mkhar lHa-sa dMar-po-ri-yi steṅ :  
dGu-brgya-go-dgu rtse daṅ stoṅ-du brtsigs :

Built upon *lHa-sa dMar-po-ri* a personal castle,  
Which together with the nine hundred and ninety-nine peaks makes one thousand.

rLuṅ-nam 'Phrul-gyi-rgyal-po'i sku-riṅ-la :  
Yar-mo sna-bžir mda'-yi byaṅ-phyogs-su :

In his lifetime *rLuṅ-nam 'Phrul-gyi-rgyal-po*,  
In the *northern* part of the valley of the four parts of *Yar-mo*,

Pho-braṅ sku-mkhar Zo-thaṅ-ri-la brtsigs :

Built the residential castle upon *Zo-thaṅ-ri*.

This chapter further mentions the castles built by Mes-ag-tshoms, Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, and Sad-na-legs, but these records are obvious additions to an older tradition. Even the part of the chapter quoted above shows distinct signs of re-editing and interference with the original version. The tradition of the castles does not quite agree with various other records in this regard, but its main importance in the present connection is to be found partly in the fact that it is closely connected from the very beginning of the Dynasty with the country of Yar-luñ and the valley of Yar-mo.<sup>2</sup> It thus defines the Dynasty as a *Yar-luñ Dynasty*. Its main importance is partly to be found in its enumeration of *five prehistoric kings, who in various ways prove to mark important epochs in the traditions of prehistoric Tibet*.

These five kings, viz. gÑa'-khri-btsan-po (no. 1), Gri-gum-btsan-po (no. 8), sPu-de-guñ-rgyal (no. 9), sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan better known as rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan (no. 24), and Tho-ri-sñan-sal better known as lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan (no. 28), mark the beginning and the end of that part of the Dynasty which comprises the five groups, as well as the transitions between the first and second, the second and the third, and the fourth and fifth groups of the general representation of the royal lineage. We here immediately observe two important facts, on one hand that both kings of the second group are represented while, on the other hand, the transition from the third to the fourth group is not marked at all. In the following we shall see that we are here dealing with no accidental circumstances.

In the account of the Buddhist division of the Dynasty we have seen that the Buddhist tradition simply dismisses the prehistoric kings before lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, i.e. the kings comprised by the five groups, as the Kings without Law, while the later kings are defined as The Happy Generations. In the same way as the whole period of these Happy Generations in the Buddhist representation is divided into minor periods marked with three of the four kings lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, and Ral-pa-can, the occurrence of *the various forms of religion prevailing in Tibet in prehistoric time are marked by the prehistoric kings mentioned above*. The tradition which connects these kings with the religious development appears from a number of generally short notices in various Tibetan sources, and in certain cases several other features of the ancient history of culture are included. This applies to the following passage in the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.19v-20r), which intends to relate when Buddhism and Swastika Bon appeared:

Dam-pa'i-chos dañ g'Yuñ-druñ Bon byuñ-dus :	The time when Buddhism and Swastika <i>Bon</i> appeared:
rJe-gcig gÑa'-khri-btsan-po'i sku-riñ-la :	In the lifetime of the ruler <i>gÑa'-khri-btsan-po</i> ,
lHa-yi chos-lugs sGruñ dan lDe'u byuñ. :	<i>lHa-yi chos-lugs</i> , <i>sGruñ</i> and <i>lDe'u</i> came into existence. <sup>3</sup>
rGyal-po Gri-gum-btsan-po'i sku-riñ-la :	In the lifetime of King <i>Gri-gum-btsan-po</i> ,
Ta-zig 'A-ža Bon-po gdan-drañs-nas :	<i>Bon-po</i> were invited from <i>Ta-zig</i> and <i>'A-ža</i> .
rDo-nag thom do lhu dañ sdum-du sbral :	(They) brought the black stone(s) and the dipper, these two, together with pieces of meat.
Śi lpags skya me'i bla-gži 'breñ-du 'dra :	The greyish-white skin of the corpse was like the exalted abode of the fire.
gSon-gyi lha mchod gśin-gyi 'dre 'dul byuñ :	The offerings to the <i>lHa</i> of the living and the taming of the <i>'Dre</i> of the dead came into existence. <sup>5</sup>
bTsan-po sPu-de-guñ-rgyal sku-riñ-la :	In the lifetime of King <i>sPu-de-guñ-rgyal</i> ,
Yab-sras goñ-mdzad lHa-bu sMon-gsum-du :	Father and son acted (as stated) above; in <i>lHa-bu sMon-gsum</i>
Thabs-kyi zañ-blon-dag kyañ da-nas byuñ :	Arose from now the skilled <i>Žañ-blon</i> . <sup>4</sup>
rGyal-po sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan sku-riñ-la :	In the lifetime of King <i>sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan</i> ,
rMa-gza' kLu-gza' gñis kyañ da-nas blañs :	(The king) took forthwith queens from <i>rMa</i> and <i>kLu</i> , these two.



'Bañs dañ sku yañ de-nas gñen-du gyur :

dMu-thag chad-nas bañ-so sa-la btab :

Yar 'khums dMu-thag lHa-zam gšegs bžud  
mdzad :

Tho-ri-sñan-śal rgyal-po'i sku-riñ-la :

Dam-pa-chos-kyi dbu-tsam-brñes gyur-te :

From that (time) subjects and *sku* (kings) be-  
came related.

After the *dMu-thag* had been cut, tombs were  
made on Earth.

Previously, when they died, they made their de-  
parture by *dMu-thag*, the Bridge of *lHa*.

In the lifetime of *Tho-ri-sñan-śal*, the King,  
The Holy Law took its very first beginning.

The various items of this text will be discussed in the following. Some of them need rather extensive  
comment, for which reason an interpretation has been omitted on this occasion.

The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ relates (60.64v):

Bon-gyi lo-rgyus-las / rJe gñNa'-khri-btsan-po'i  
dus Bon dar / rgyal-po Gri-gum-btsan-pos Bon  
snubs / rGyal-po sPu-de-guñ-rgyal-gyi dus-su  
Bon dar / rgyal-po Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan-gyi dus-su  
snubs /

According to the *Bon* annals the *Bon*(-reli-  
gion) spread at the time of *gñNa'-khri-btsan-po*,  
(but) was suppressed by King *Gri-gum-btsan-po*.  
At the time of King *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal* the *Bon*  
spread (again), (but) at the time of King *Khri-  
sroñ-lde-btsan* it was suppressed.

From the same source (60.64r; 58.25v) we also learn that:

rGyal-po blon 'di-gñis-kyi dus-su g'Yuñ-druñ  
Bon byuñ-ste / sTon-pa gšen-rab-Mi-bo bya-ba  
sTag-gzig 'Ol-mo-luñ-riñs-susku-'khruñs/Khams  
chen-po brgyad la-sogs-pa Bon-po'i chos thams-  
cad / Žañ-žuñ-gi yul-nas bsgyur-te / dar-žiñ  
rgyas-par mdzad //

At the time of the king and the minister, these  
two (i.e. *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal* and *Ru-las-skyes*) the  
Swastika *Bon* appeared. The teacher called *gšen-  
rab-Mi-bo* was born at 'Ol-mo-luñ-riñs in *sTag-  
gzig*. He caused the propagation of the Eight  
Great Parts and all the other teachings of the *Bon*  
from the country of *Žañ-žuñ*.

In the Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicle (70.11v–12r) and the Pakṭa-yā (93.283r–v) we read:

Yab-kyi riñ-la Žañ-žuñ dañ / Bru-śa'i gšen-gyi  
Dur-bon byuñ-žiñ / Sras-kyi riñ-la sku-mkhar  
Phyiñ (Pakṭ.:ñā)-stag-rtse brtsigs / sGruñ dañ  
lDe'u(Pakṭ.:sDe'u)gNam-bon gšen-po che(Pakṭ.:  
chen-po) byuñ /

In the lifetime of the father (*Gri-gum-btsan-  
po*) the *Dur-bon* of the *gšen* from *Žañ-žuñ* and  
*Bru-śa* appeared. During the lifetime of the son  
(*sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*) the residential castle *Phyiñ-  
ñā-stag-rtse* was built, and the great *gNam-bon  
gšen-po*, *sGruñ* and *lDe'u*, appeared.

In the main text of dPa'-bo gTsong-lag (64.7r), referring to the time of Gri-gum-btsan-po, we read:

/ De-tshe rGya-gar-yul dañ sTag -gzig mtshams /

/ Gurṇa-wa-tra ces-bya'i yul-khams-nas /

/ Mu-stegs Bon-po 'A-ža žes-pa byuñ /

/ gNam-la 'phur-žiñ kha-nas mñon-śes smra /

/ Śiñ-la 'breñ 'gra rdo-la lhu-gzug<sup>8</sup> 'dral /

At that time, from the frontier of India and *sTag-  
gzig*,

From the country called *Gurṇavatra*

Appeared the Heretic *Bon-po* called 'A-ža.

He flew to Heaven and told fore-knowledge  
from the mouth.

On wood he skinned the hide; on stone he rip-  
ped open the quartered parts.

/ rTag-du śa-chañ-gis ni 'Dre mchod byed /

/ De-la rgyal-pos bla-mchod bkur-sti mdzad /  
/ g'Yu'i g'Yuñ-druñ dpa'-ba'i stag-slag dañ /

/ 'giñ-ba'i' ral-khas bstod-ciñ mña'-thañ spar /

/ Khu deñ nu-bas che śes a-yar bos /

/ Mu-stegs lTa-log-bon-gyi byin-rlabs chuñs /

Always he performed offerings of meat and beer to the 'Dre.

The king respectfully offered him *bLa-mchod*. With the Turquoise Swastika and the tiger fur-coat of bravery,

With ornaments of distinction he praised (him); he elevated *mÑa'-thañ*.

The suckling (*nu-ba*) now perceived the *Khu* (paternal uncle) as big (and) called (him) *A-ya*.

The blessings of the Heretic *lTa-log-Bon* declined.

Referring to Sribś-khri-btsan-po, the father of Gri-gum-btsan-po, Bu-ston remarks in his Chronicle (53.123r-v):

De'i sras Sri-khri-btsan-po dañ bdun-la Khri-bdun zer-ziñ tha-ma de'i riñ-la rDol-bon dar-ro /

Together with his son *Sri-khri-btsan-po*, they were seven. They were called *Khri-bdun*. During the time of the last one the *rDol-bon* spread.

La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.29/71) relates of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal:

rGyal-po 'di'i dus-su Yuñ-druñ Bon byuñ-ño /

At the time of this king the Swastika *Bon* appeared.

Some of the comparatively late sources give us important information as to this spread of the Bon religion. Thus Chos-kyi-ñi-ma writes in the eighth chapter of his *Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loñ* (162.292):

Bod-du dar-ba'i Bon-la / 'Jol-bon / 'Khyar-bon / bsGyur-bon gsum-las / Dañ-po ni / gÑa'-khri-btsan-po-nas rgyal-rabs drug-pa Khri-sde-btsan-po'i dus-su dBus-'am Śoñ-' On bya-bar rus-gśen yin-pa'i byis-pa lo bcu-gsum lon-pa cig 'dres lo bcu-gsum-gyi bar-du Bod-khams thams-cad-du khrid-nas lo ñi-śu-rtsa-drug-la mi'i nañ-du chud-pa-la / Mi-ma-yin-gyi nus-pas / yul-'di dañ 'di lta-bu-na lHa 'Dre 'di dañ 'di lta-bu yod-pas phan gnod 'di dañ 'di lta-bu byed / De-la gsol-mchod dañ / ya-stag gton-lugs 'di-'dra byas-pas phan zer-ba sna-tshogs śes-pa byuñ / rGyal-rabs-rnams-su gÑa'-khri-btsan-po-nas Khri-rje-thog-btsan bar-gyi rgyal-rabs ñi-śu-rtsa-drug-la chab-srid Bon-gyis bskyañs zer-ba tsam-las bśad kyañ / Bod-yul-du Bon dar-ba'i thog-ma 'di-nas byuñ-bar mñon / 'On-kyañ de-dus-kyi Bon-rnams-la mar 'Dre Srin gnon-pa dañ / yar rgan-gyi lHa mchod-pa dañ / bar khyim-gyi thab 'don-pa gsum-tsam-las / Bon-lugs-kyi lta-ba sogs-kyi tha-sñad ma-byuñ-bas Chos-'byuñ dañ rGyal-rabs 'ga'-zig-tu Gri-gum-btsan-po'i riñ-nas Bon

As to the *Bon* that spread in Tibet, there were three (stages): 'Jol-bon, 'Khyar-bon, and *bsGyur-bon*. (Regarding) the first of them: At the time of *Khri-sde-btsan-po*, the sixth royal generation after *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, a child (was born) in a shaman family (*rus-gśen*) in what is called 'On in *dBus* or *Śoñ*. Thirteen years old he was brought all over Tibet by the 'Dre in a period of thirteen years. In his twenty-sixth (year) he was placed among men. With the abilities of a *Mi-ma-yin* he knew such as: in such and such a place there is such and such a *lHa-'dre* who causes such and such benefit and evil. If you make such a kind of prayer, offering, and *Ya-stag*, he will be beneficent. In *Royal Genealogies (rGyal-rabs)* it is related that during the twenty-six royal generations from *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* to *Khri-rje-thog-btsan*, the *Chab-srid* was guarded by *Bon*. So it is generally told, but it is a fact that from that time (of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*) the first propagation of *Bon* occurred in Tibet. As such disciplines of the *Bon* doctrine as those three

dar-bar bśad-do / De-la rGyu'i-bon Chab-nag  
ces kyañ grags-so /

three of subduing the 'Dre (and) *Srin* of the Underworld, of sacrificing to the venerable *IHa* of the Upper World, and of digging out the household hearth in the Middle World, did not exist for the *Bon* adherents of that time, it is told in some *Chos-'byuñ* and *rGyal-rabs* that *Bon* was (only) propagated from the time of *Gri-gum-btsan-po*. This is also known as the *rGyu'i-bon of the Black Water*.<sup>8</sup>

A continuation of this text, dealing with the introduction of the second stage of *Bon*, the 'Khyar-bon, is given in the following (p. 113).

In connection with his mentioning the appearance of *gNam-bon* during the time of *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* (64.8v-9r) presents three verse-lines of his main text, each of them followed by a very important commentary:

/ *gNam-bon gSen-po-che dañ Bon-gzuñ byuñ /*

/ *gSen-yul Bon-mo-luñ-riñ zes zer-ba dBus-kyi 'On-du rus-gsen-gyi byis-pa bon-bu'i-rna-bacan byuñ-ba lo bcu-gñis lon-tshe 'Dres khrid-nas lo bcu-gñis-su mi khyur ma-tshud / Lo bcu-gñis 'das-nas log-byuñ-tshe yul-'di-na 'Dre-'di yod dañ 'di-ltar mchod thams-cad śes-pa cig byuñ-nas bon-bu'i-rna-ba sgrib-pa'i phyir Bal-thod bcis-ste 'Dre mchod-pa'i rDol-bon dar-ziñ gZan-yañ 'Bras-bu'i-bon rigs-lña g'Yuñ-druñ bla-med-kyi-theg ces 'bras-bu bde-'gro mtho-ris thob-par 'dod-pa dañ / rGyu'i-bon rigs-bzi skad-pa sNañ-gsen Bal-thod-can-gyis Phywa g'Yañ 'gugs mi-nor rgyas-par-byed / 'Phrul-gsen Bal-mtshon-can-gyis Yas dañ mDos gtoñ 'gal rkyen sel / Cha-gsen Ju-thig-can-gyis legs-ñes ston zag bcas-kyi mñon-śes 'chad / Dur-gsen mTshon-cha-can-gyis gson-gsin-gyi-rtsis-byed / Thams-cad rña-gsañ-gi sgra 'khrol / 'Jim-pa'i śa-ba nam-mkha'-la 'gro-ba dañ / rña-la žon-nas 'gro-ba sogs zag bcas-kyi rdzu-' phrul mañ-po yod skad /*

/ *mDo-sde 'byuñ-ba'i ltas-su sGruñ-rnams dar /*

/ *Ro-lañs gSer-sgrub-kyi sgruñ dañ / Ma-sañs-kyi sgruñ dañ / mChil-pa'i sgruñ sogs ñam-bśad dañ /*

*gNam-bon*, the great *gSen-po*, and the *Bon*-texts appeared.

The country of *Bon* is said to be *Bon-mo-luñ-riñ*. At 'On in *dBus* appeared a child "having donkey ears" in a shaman family. When he was twelve years old, he was brought (around) by 'Dre and in twelve years he was separated from and did not mingle with men. When twelve years had passed and the moment of return arrived, he was one who knew all about the 'Dre in this place and how to sacrifice. To cover the donkey ears he bound the *Bal-thod* and propagated the *rDol-bon* of sacrificing to the 'Dre. Further, there are the five classes of 'Bras-bu'i-bon, called The Vehicle of the Supreme Swastika, which aim at attaining the Heaven of 'Bras-bu-bde-'gro, and the talk about the four classes of *rGyu'i-bon*: the *sNañ-gsen* having a *Bal-thod*, who unerringly spreads the summons to *Phywa* and *g'Yañ*; the 'Phrul-gsen having the *Bal-mtshon*, who purify by sending and carrying(?) *Yas* and *mDos*; the *Cha-gsen* having *Ju-thig*, who teach about good and bad and explain by a foreknowledge capable of distinguishing impurity; the *Dur-gsen* having the *mTshon-cha*, who compute the prognostics of life and death. All (of them) beat the *rNa-gsañ* (kettle-drum). By clay-stags they go to Heaven and riding a drum, they go. There are such and many other miracles capable of distinguishing impurity.<sup>9</sup> (This is) told.

As an omen of the appearance of *Sūtras*, *sGruñ* (tales) were propagated.

The Tale of *Ro-lañs gSer-sgrub*, the Tale of *Ma-sañs*, and the Tale of *mChil-pa* etc. were told.

/ mÑon-pa'i-sde-snod 'byuñ-ltas lDe'u spyod /

/ Srañ-la them-gñer lba-pa che ci yin / Por-mgo mgo-can skyed-ciñ rgyags ci yin zes 'dri-ba sogs-ste Bon sGruñ lDe'u gsum-gyi tshul lHa-sa'i gduñ-rnams-la bris-nas yod skad /

In the dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ (75.150), Sum-pa mKhan-po gives the following resumé of the religious development in Tibet during the prehistoric parts of the Dynasty:

Bod-kyi rgyal-po sña-ba gÑa'-khri-btsan-po 'dis pho-brañ Yum-bu-gla-sgañ bzuñ-ziñ de-dus Sum-pa'i-bon byuñ-la / De-nas de'i bu-brgyud rim-par-byuñ-ba ni de'i sras Mu-khri-btsan-po dañ de-bžin-du Diñ-khri dañ So-khri dañ Mer-khri dañ Srib-khri-btsan-po-ste sTod-gnam-gyi-khri-bdun-ste phyi-ma'i dus 'Jol-bon byuñ /

Srib-khri'i sras Gri-gum-btsan dus Žaň-žuiñ dañ Bru-ša'i Dur-bon dar-ziñ . . . /

Gri-gum-gyi sras spun-gsum-gyi Bya-khri-'am sPu-de-guñ-rgyal dus sGruñ lDe'u gNam-bon gšen-po che byuñ . . .

De-nas rgyal-po To-ri-loñ-btsan dañ Khri-btsan-nam dañ Khri-sgra-dpuñ-btsan dañ Khri-thog-rje-btsan-te 'di yan-chad-du rGyal-bstan ma-dar Bon-sGruñ-lDe'u-gsum-la gus /

If we gather all the information regarding the religious development, which is to be found in the quotations above, the result does not appear particularly promising. Nevertheless it gives us some most significant indications concerning the correspondence between the various stages of development of the pre-Buddhist religion and those of the Dynasty. It primarily appears, as mentioned above, that the epochs in the development of the religion are marked by those kings who indicate the transition points between the groups of the Dynasty, viz. gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, the last king of the first group in the form of either Srib-khri-btsan-po or Khri-sde-btsan-po, Gri-gum-btsan-po, sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, and lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan or his father Khri-thog-rje-btsan.

Realizing the fact that a systematic representation of the Bon-religion did not exist until Buddhist times, when in the eighth century it was created as a counter measure against Buddhism,<sup>11</sup> we might naturally expect that the Bon religion was connected with the Dynasty from its very beginning, i.e. with gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. Moreover, we might expect or suspect that the Buddhist representation of the Dynasty and its groups had served the Bon-po authors as a basis for their own representation of the various phases of the development of the Bon religion. From the following it seems, however, that *the division of the Dynasty into groups is a secondary occurrence based on a primary idea or knowledge of different stages or facies in the development of ancient Tibetan religion and culture.*

In three of the above quotations the origin or appearance of Bon is connected with the time of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, and in one of the quotations it is particularly stated that it was the Bon of Sum-pa.

As an omen of the appearance of *Abhidharmapiṭaka*, *lDe'u* were enacted.

There are questions like: "What is the great threshold-keeper *lBa-pa* in the village street? What is a *Por-mgo* born with a head and jumping out?" The systems of *Bon*, *sGruñ*, and *lDe'u*, these three are kept, written down, among the families of *lHa-sa*.<sup>10</sup> (This is) told.

The oldest king of *Bod gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* took residence (at) the castle *Yum-bu-gla-sgañ*. At that time the *Bon* of *Sum-pa* appeared. Then his descendants appearing successively were: his son *Mu-khri-btsan-po* and then *Diñ-khri*, *So-khri*, *Mer-khri*, and *Srib-khri-btsan-po*, the *sTod-gnam-gyi-khri-bdun*. During the time of the last of them *'Jol-bon* appeared.

At the time of *Gri-gum-btsan*, the son of *Srib-khri*, the *Dur-bon* from *Žaň-žuiñ* and *Bru-ša* spread. . . .

At the time of *Bya-khri* or *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, one of the three brothers who were sons of *Gri-gum*, the great *gNam-bon gšen-po*, *sGruñ* and *lDe'u*, appeared.

Then (came) the kings *To-ri-loñ-btsan*, *Khri-btsan-nam*, *Khri-sgra-dpuñ-btsan*, and *Khri-thog-rje-btsan*, and until the last of them the Teachings of Buddha did not spread, but *Bon*, *sGruñ*, and *lDe'u*, these three, were honoured.

To this statement of Sum-pa mKhan-po we may add the following ones from the Deb-ther-dmar-po (52.15v), dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.6v), a note in the Chronicle of Bu-ston (53.123r), and the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.11r), repeated by the Pakṭa-yā (93.282v):

De-las thabs-su sku-mkhar 'Un-bu-bla-sgañ  
brtsigs / mTshe-mi-gśen-gyis sMu-rgyal-gyi Bon  
bsgyur / Sum-pa'i Bon-po A-yoñs-rgyal-ba btul-  
lo /

/ mTshan-du gÑa'-khri-btsan-po ces-byar grags /

/ sKu-mkhar thog-ma Yum-bu-bla-rgaṅ mdzad /

/ Sum-pa'i Bon-po O-yoñ-rgyal-ba btul /

sKu-mkhar Yum-bu-bla-sgañ brtsigs-pas  
mTsho-mi-gśin-gyis dBu-rgyal-gyis Bon bsgyur  
zer / Sum-pa'i Bon-po A-yoñs-rgyal-ba btul-lo /

rJe-'dis pho-brañ Yum-bu-bla-sgañ brtsigs /  
'Tshe-mi-gśen-gyi dMu-rgyal-gyis Bon bsgyur.<sup>12</sup>

In these quotations we meet some confusion with regard to the use of the so-called genitive and instrumental particles, these being employed differently in connection with 'Tshe-mi-gśen and dMu-rgyal. When comparing the phrases we arrive at the result that 'Tshe-mi-gśen propagated the Bon of dMu-rgyal. 'Tshe-mi-gśen we find again under the name of Tshe-mi-bon, one of the men who met gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, when this king descended from Heaven via the holy mountain to Tibet, in the following passage from dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.6v):

/ lHa-ri Rol-po bTsan-thañ-sgo-bźir byon /

/ De-tshe Bod-mi skal-ldan 'ga'-yis mthoñ /

/ bTsan-pa lHo dañ gÑags / bTsun-pa Khyud  
dañ sNubs / gÑan-pa Se dañ sPo-ste yab-'bañs  
rus-drug dañ lHa-bo-lha-sras / Se-bon rMa-bon  
/ Cog-la-bon / Žañ-žuñ-bon / Tshe-mi-bon sogs  
śes-pa-can bcu-gñis-kyis mjal /

These statements thus at any rate formally remain the only definite records of the religion connected with the time of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. The rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig, quoted p. 100, anticipates the development by referring to the origin of the Swastika Bon, and we are inclined to believe that the general references of the Bon religion to the first beginning of the Dynasty, simply serve to maintain the existence of a primary form of Bon. This is a natural consequence of the established Bon-po tradition that the first king originated from the Bon-po gods. This is directly hinted at when the sources define the Bon religion as that of dMu-rgyal (see p. 269).

Some sources, such as Bu-ston's Chronicle, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, and the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loñ, give a more precise description of this former religion by characterizing it as the first stage of Bon, the

Then at that time, (gÑa'-khri-btsan-po) built the residential castle 'Un-bu-bla-sgañ. mTshe-mi-gśen propagated the Bon of sMu-rgyal. He subdued the Bon-po from Sum-pa, A-yoñs-rgyal-ba. (Deb-ther-dmar-po.)

He is famous under the name of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.

He constructed the residential castle Yum-bu-bla-rgaṅ.

He subdued the Bon-po from Sum-pa, O-yoñ-rgyal-ba. (dPa'-bo gTsug-lag.)

(gÑa'-khri-btsan-po) built the residential castle Yum-bu-bla-sgañ and mTsho-mi-gśin propagated the Bon of dBu-rgyal, it is said. He subdued the Bon-po from Sum-pa, A-yoñs-rgyal-ba. (Bu-ston, Note.)

This ruler (gÑa'-khri-btsan-po) built the castle Yum-bu-bla-sgañ. Bon was propagated by 'Tshe-mi-gśen-gyi dMu-rgyal. (The Fifth Dalai Lama and Pakṭa-yā.)

(gÑa'-khri-btsan-po) came to lHa-ri Rol-po (and) bTsan-thañ-sgo-bźi.

At that time (he) was seen by some blessed Tibetans.

The bTsan-pa of lHo and gÑags, the bTsun-pa of Khyud and sNubs, the gÑan-pa of Se and sPo, (all) the six Yab-'bañs-rus, and lHa-bo-lha-sras, Se-bon, rMa-bon, Cog-la-bon, Žañ-žuñ-bon, together with Tshe-mi-bon, all these twelve wise men met (him).

*rDol-bon*, or *'Jol-bon*, *primary* or *original Bon*.<sup>13</sup> They refer it not to the time of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, but to that of Srib-s-khri-btsan-po or Khri-sde-btsan-po, depending on the adopted tradition. This *primary Bon* seems to represent the idea of *the aboriginal religion prevailing in Central Tibet until the time symbolized by Gri-gum-btsan-po*. Under this king the religion was suppressed according to the bLon-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig (40.46v, see below) and the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ (see above).

While the era symbolized by Gri-gum-btsan-po meant the ruin of the older form of religion, the *death of Gri-gum-btsan-po* symbolizes the *terminus a quo* for the development of what is later defined or characterized as the Bon religion. A new religion with new rites and a new spiritual content was, in fact, introduced in Central Tibet from its western neighbour regions, particularly from Žaṅ-žun and Bru-ša (see quotations pp. 100–104).<sup>14</sup> The introduction and further development of this new form of religion, which the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loṅ characterizes as *the second stage of Bon*, the 'Khyar-bon or *erroneous* or *deviating Bon*, and by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag is called *ITa-log-bon* or *irrational Bon*, reflects a *fundamental change in culture and religious concept, which has a close connection with the institution and status of Tibetan royalty*. This we shall see from the following study and from the interpretation of the myths of Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons.

The Fifth Dalai Lama and Sum-pa mKhan-po use the designation Dur-bon, *Bon of the Tombs*, of the new religion. This designation derives from the circumstance that the funeral rites were an aspect of the 'Khyar-bon, to which a primordial importance was ascribed, as appears from the description of the introduction of 'Khyar-bon, given by the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loṅ (see p. 113).

While *the third stage of Bon* according to the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loṅ, the *bsGyur-bon* or *changed* or *transformed Bon*, belongs in the main to historical time, our sources relate in particular to the *g'Yuñ-druñ Bon* or *Swastika Bon*. This is said to have come into existence at the time of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, contemporarily with the appearance of gŚen-rab-Mi-bo. We are here dealing with certain inconsistencies with regard to the designations used by the authors to indicate the various forms or stages of the Bon, but we may characterize the *g'Yuñ-druñ Bon* in general as a further developed form of the 'Khyar-bon, representing that form of religion which prevailed during the Dynasty until the appearance of Buddhism.

The principal exponents of the *g'Yuñ-druñ Bon* are the gNam-bon gśen-po, sGruñ and lDe'u, who are also said to have appeared at the time of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal. Through these exponents of the sacerdotal class, of which four kinds of shaman or gśen are described above, the idea of the Swastika Bon, and consequently the idea of the Bon-religion in general, is most intimately connected with the idea of the Tibetan royalty. This connection is most distinctly expressed in the variously occurring formulas that, until the appearance of Buddhism under lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, the *Chab-srid*, the *integral idea of the royal authority*, was guarded, protected, or even exercised by the *Bon*, *sGruñ*, and *lDe'u*, or by the *gNam-bon gśen-po*, *sGruñ* and *lDe'u*.

In the quotation above from the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loṅ, we have already observed the statement that during the twenty-six royal generations from gÑa'-khri-btsan-po to Khri-rje-thog-btsan, the father of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, *the Chab-srid was protected by Bon*. In his Chronicle (53.123v), Bu-ston relates with regard to the reign of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan:

Dam-pa'i-chos-kyi dbu-brñes-śiñ / de yan-  
chad ni Chab-srid Bon-gyis bskyaṅs-so /

The Holy Law took its beginning, while until  
then the *Chab-srid* had been protected by *Bon*.

The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ (60.64v), when accounting for the nine categories (rigs) of Bon, and enumerating their particular means and purposes, ends this part of its account with the statement:

Chab-srid ni sGruñ lDe'u sgyur-ro /

The *Chab-srid* was controlled (steered or dominated) by *sGruñ* (and) *lDe'u*.

H. Hoffmann (162.299) interpreted this final phrase in a more general significance: "und die sGruñ und lDe'u haben die Leitung," thus connecting it in general with the performance of the rites connected

with the nine categories of Bon. Apart from the inference, to which the material being presented here may lead us, we may hardly recognize an interpretation of Chab-srid in the general sense of *Leitung*. The term *Chab-srid* appears as a most firmly established specific term signifying *one of the four fundamental prerogatives of the King, his royal authority when performing his acts of government or exercising the sovereign power of the realm*.<sup>15</sup>

The Fifth Dalai Lama mentions the relationship between Chab-srid and Bon on two occasions. In his Chronicle (70.12v), which is quoted in the Pakṭa-yā (93.284r), he writes:

De dañ sMan-bza' kLu-sten-gi sras Khri-  
thog-rje-btsan-te gDuñ-rabs ñer-bdun-gyi riñ  
Chab-srid sGruñ-lDe'u-Bon-gsum-gyis bskyañs-  
pa yin /

His (i.e. *Khri-sgra-dpuñ-btsan's*) and *sMan-bza' kLu-sten's* son was *Khri-thog-rje-btsan*. During the time of twenty-seven generations, the *Chab-srid* was protected by *sGruñ, lDe'u*, and *Bon*, those three.

The same is told in the quotation above from dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (see p. 88). In another work (115.5v-6r) the Fifth Dalai Lama writes:

De-nas rgyal-rabs ñi-śu-rtsa-lñar lHa 'Dre  
rañ-gis bsabs-pa'i snañ gśen-pas lHa mchod-  
byas-nas rim-gro sogs-kyis Chab-srid Bon-sGruñ-  
gis bskyañs-par grags /

Then, for twenty-five royal generations shone the light of the teachings of *lHa-'Dre* themselves. The shamans (*gśen*) made sacrifices to the *lHa*. By religious services etc. the *Chab-srid* was guarded by *Bon* (and?) *sGruñ*. (This is) told.

The disagreement with regard to the numbers of royal generations, whose Chab-srid were favoured with the protection of Bon, is due to the fact that the Fifth Dalai Lama incongruously depends on mutually disagreeing traditions with regard to the number of kings before *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan*.

The Pakṭa-yā (93.289v-290r) renders a poem glorifying the royal lineage up to King Mes-ag-tshoms, and in this we read:

/ Chos-kyi-rgyal-po gÑa'-khri-btsan-po-yis /  
/ rGyal-khrims gser-gyi gña'-śiñ thog-mar sbyin /  
  
/ sGruñ Bon lDe'u mtshan-gyi thun-gsum mthar /  
  
/ rGyal-bstan ñi-ma'i sna-ltas byuñ sñon-skyes /

The King of the Law, *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*  
Gave, as the first one, the golden yoke of the  
royal laws.<sup>16</sup>  
After the three (night)watches of the *sGruñ, Bon*,  
and *lDe'u*,  
Came *sÑon-skyes* as a foreboding of the sun of  
Buddha's Teachings.

The last line refers to *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan*, who is conceived as *sÑon-skyes*, the *first-born* of the Happy Generations, and at the same time as *He who is born before*, as the incarnation of *Saman-tabhadra*.

When having the description of the royal lineage as their main topic, the Buddhist sources thus identify the period covered by the whole former part of the Dynasty from *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* to *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan* with the era of the *gNam-bon gśen-po*, the *sGruñ* and the *lDe'u*. When independent of the particular Buddhist way of dividing the Dynasty, the sources in general state that these *gśen-po* came into existence at the time of *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*. This once more shows what appears throughout this study, that *the independent tradition considers sPu-de-guñ-rgyal the ancestor and first king of the Dynasty, while the specific Buddhist tradition forcibly lengthens the royal lineage backwards in time by combining different traditions of origin*.

The close connection which our sources establish between the Dynasty and the Bon religion until the appearance of Buddhism, is something more than a mere formal occurrence caused by contemporary

existence. It presents a reality of deep significance with regard to the status of the ancient Tibetan kings, and the mutual position of the secular and the religious power.

The religious power of the g'Yuñ-druñ Bon was represented by a sacerdotal class or priesthood, the members of which performed the various functions prescribed by the corpus of rites comprised by all the different categories or vehicles of the Bon religion.

Within the sacerdotal class or the hierarchy of the Bon-po, the shamans or gśen-po, or at any rate certain classes of them, possessed the highest rank and influence. For this reason the sources mention the gNam-bon gśen-po chen-po, the Great Shamans of the Heaven-Bon, as the special exponents or representatives for the religion or the religious power, where the relation to the king or the Chab-srid is concerned. Moreover, the sources repeatedly mention two categories of these shamans, the sGruñ and the lDe'u. Some doubt with regard to this interpretation, which makes gNam-bon gśen-po a common designation of sGruñ and lDe'u, may perhaps arise, because certain sources among the above quotations expressly mention three categories, Bon, sGruñ, and lDe'u. From the material at hand it seems quite definite that we are dealing with only two specified ranks or categories within the sacerdotal class, as it appears directly from some of the sources quoted above. Bon seems to represent merely the idea of the Bon-religion or the Bon-po, Bon adherents, in general, as expressed by Buxton.

Among the sources at our disposal dPa'bo gTsong-lag in the quotation above is the only one explaining the expressions sGruñ and lDe'u. Through the examples given in his note text it appears that sGruñ is some kind of a legend, having something in common with the Vetāla stories, and that lDe'u is some kind of enigma. As shown by R.-A. Stein (191.426-33 and 433-37) we think these expressions indicate the Bon-po sacerdotes transmitting the sGruñ, legends and sagas, and the lDe'u, enigmas, connected with the Dynasty and the Tibetan people.

It is a significant circumstance that the tradition limits the era during which the Bon-po shamans exercised their protective or leading influence upon the royalty to the time of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, when Buddhism is said to have appeared in Tibet for the first time. This agrees so far with the fact that the records from historical or semi-historical time hardly reveal any significant traces of the shaman institution or its relation to the kings. They show only the existence of a Bon-po hierarchy supporting, or being supported by, certain factions within the feudal clan nobility, whose restricting bonds upon the royal sovereignty the later kings endeavoured to escape by favouring, and finally adopting, Buddhism.

Some important features illustrating the original position of the Bon-po hierarchy in relation to the Tibetan king, have been presented by G. Tucci in his paper on "The sacral character of the kings of Ancient Tibet" (196). Partly depending on an otherwise inaccessible source, the author states that the integral royal power of the ancient Tibetan monarchy was exercised by a *trinity*, The Three Great Ones, constituted by *the king*, *the head shaman* or gśen-gñan, and *the minister*. Figuratively the king resided on the throne, having the head shaman on his right and the minister on his left side.

As lHa-sras, Son of lHa, the person of the king represented the continually reborn essence of the divine ancestor, who was reincarnated in each king at the age of maturity, thirteen years, and remained incarnated in him until his eldest son reached the same age of maturity and ascended the throne as the consecutive link of the ancestral reincarnation. This procedure of succession applied, however, also to both the shaman and the minister, so that a new trinity of power was instituted at the accession of each king.

In the concept of the ancient Tibetan royalty, the king was therefore only a central figure, a sacred symbol within the limited space of time when the divine ancestor was incarnated in him, while the active power of government lay in the hands of the shaman and the minister, who represented the Bon-po hierarchy and the clan nobility.

*The shaman institution*, which according to tradition came into existence under King sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, therefore, identically with the lineage of kings, represented the idea of the Tibetan Dynasty.

When studying the myths of Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons in chapter 9, we shall see that the tra-



dition maintains that *the first Tibetan minister was the minister of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, and that the institution of the Žañ-blon originated from this first minister* (see p. 165 ff.).

The traditions represented by the material on which the present study is based thus definitely shows that both of the two parties, the shaman and the minister, who together with the king constituted the trinity of power, came into existence at the time of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal. As this trinity, according to Tucci, represents in a wider sense the idea of the Tibetan monarchy, the tradition obviously regards *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal as the founder and first king of this monarchy which is characterized by the constitutional trinity, or of the dynasty which developed into the Yar-luñ Dynasty of historical time.*<sup>17</sup>

From sometime before the beginning of historical time, and especially during the latter part of the historical period of the Dynasty, the power and influence of the Bon-po hierarchy gradually decreased. A corresponding development seems to have taken place where the power of the feudal clan nobility as a whole is concerned, while the personal power of the king increased and apparently reached a state of almost absolute sovereignty under Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan. The Bon-religion was banished and Buddhism was recognized, but about half a century later the Bon religion and the Bon-po party succeeded in temporarily seizing the power. The inner political and religious fight and the mental defects of the last kings led, however, to the fall of the Dynasty in 842 A.D.

In this final development the Bon-po naturally saw the righteous retribution against the royal lineage for forsaking the ancestral religion, and Tucci (196.203) is inclined to see a corresponding retribution in the mythic account of the killing of Gri-gum-btsan-po, when writing:

During his reign the conflict between the royal majesty and the *mt'u*, the magic power of the priestly caste, broke out in all its violence; Gri gum, "the knife king," intends to free the king from his inefficient sacral character and restore him to real power. He is the symbol of a fracture in the current of ideas: his is no longer "a celestial throne," he no longer belongs to the series of kings who on death ascended again to heaven. . . .

The slaying of Gri gum by his minister marks not only the struggle between the royal and the sacerdotal power, but something deeper yet; . . . . .

To avoid introducing at present too many, not immediately relevant details we have extracted here only the passages directly concerning the problem at hand, while a more complete quotation will be given at a later occasion.

From a detailed study of the mythic complex connected with Gri-gum-btsan-po in chapter 9 we shall see that Gri-gum-btsan-po, or the time symbolized by this king, marks a turning point in the religious and cultural history of Tibet, and that the king himself "is a symbol of a fracture in the current of ideas," in perfect agreement with the principal points of view expressed by Tucci in his essay.

Where the particular interpretation of the myth is concerned, none of the versions of the myth available to us seem, however, to induce the idea that a struggle between the royal and the sacerdotal power was the motive behind the killing of Gri-gum-btsan-po. All the essential features of the myth can be explained from other motives in spite of the complexity of the myth. Provided that a conflict between the royal and the sacerdotal powers lay behind the slaying of the king, then the essential importance is not to be ascribed to the fact that he was killed, but to the fact that he was reduced from a divine to a mortal being, and that his descendance became mortal because the thread that connected him with Heaven was cut before his death. Regarded in the opposite way, this transition from divinity to mortality might quite naturally have been introduced in the general tradition of the Dynasty in view of the actually human nature of the kings. The myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's killing, with any plausible motive for the killing, might, as an etiological myth, simply have served the purpose of explaining the transition.

In our considerations we have, however, hitherto presupposed that Gri-gum-btsan-po represents an integral link of the royal lineage, so that any important event connected with this king may be of consequence to the general idea of the Dynasty and its development. If so, the transition to mortality and the

cutting of the thread connecting the kings with Heaven, represent the essential features of the myth, and an integral part of the concept of the ancient part of the Dynasty. If not, we shall have to consider the problem in quite a different way.

As is partly shown above and partly outlined in the following, the various traditions disagree with regard to the position of Gri-gum-btsan-po. It clearly appears that he does not belong to the original concept of the Dynasty, but has been introduced into the second group of the later Buddhist representation of the Dynasty to establish a connecting link between two different traditions. He appears in two different forms, one having a stamp of reality, the other being a mere symbol, where the latter form may have developed from the former one. In the myth of his fight and death, he serves as the symbol of a king who fails and is deprived of his divine or sacral status, and of his life. It seems to be by virtue of this myth that Gri-gum-btsan-po has been introduced into the Buddhist tradition of the royal lineage, because only a small modification made it convenient for the purpose.

Therefore the transition to mortality and the cutting of the thread at the death of Gri-gum-btsan-po cannot be regarded as belonging to the original concept of the Dynasty, and these events permit no conclusions as to the relation between the royal and the sacerdotal power during the development of the Dynasty. As well as the motive for them, these events can only be judged from the very myth to which they originally belonged, and in the original myth the motive was the *king's insanity* (see p. 330).

Nevertheless G. Tucci, when considering Gri-gum-btsan-po and his fate as a crisis in pre-history, which closely resembles that occurring in historical time, may be right. Not the myths or legends attached to the name of Gri-gum-btsan-po, but a few, direct and indirect indications to be found in Tibetan sources, make it possible, and even probable, *that a crisis may have set in before the time comprised by the Dynasty according to the original tradition, and been symbolized by the name of Gri-gum-btsan-po, the reminiscence of a once existing king.* The direct indications of a possible crisis are to be found, partly in the account of the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ quoted, that the Bon-religion was suppressed under Gri-gum-btsan-po, partly in the following words of the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig in its rather disparate accounts of the Bon-religion (40.46v):

rGyal-po Gri-gum-btsan-po'i riñ-la nub :	At the time of <i>Gri-gum-btsan-po</i> ( <i>Bon</i> ) declined.
rGyal-po'i Chab-srid de-nas nams-pa lags :	Since then the king's authority ( <i>Chab-srid</i> ) was impaired.

The indirect indication may be found in the fact, which in various ways is firmly established by the tradition, that a new form of religion was introduced at or after the death of Gri-gum-btsan-po.

Direct or indirect, these indications are, however, merely indications and nothing more.

Beside the political one, the religious development following the ancient line of the Dynasty naturally also had a spiritual and cultural aspect, which we shall find reflected in the general idea and tradition of the ancient part of the Dynasty. As mentioned above in accordance with the points of view expressed by G. Tucci, Gri-gum-btsan-po or the period symbolized by him, means a turning point in the religious and cultural life of the ancient Tibetans. The sources at our disposal give us sufficient information to obtain an impression of the change of religious ideology which took place, and of some of its consequences. Furthermore, the sources show us that this change of ideology forms *the spiritual background for that monarchy which, according to tradition, took its beginning with sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, and in historical time was represented by the Yar-luñ kings.*

The main material from which, independent of traditions specifically centred on the idea of the Dynasty, we may show the general nature and significance of the change in religious ideology, is to be found in the sources describing the occurrence and nature of the earlier stages of the Bon-religion.

Especially important is the following passage from the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loñ (162.415):

De yañ Žañ-žuñ-gi yul-gyi 'Ol-mo-luñ-riñ-du gŚen-rab-Mi-bo che bya-ba byuñ / De 'ga'-žig-	He, who was called the great <i>gŚen-rab-Mi-bo</i> , appeared at 'Ol-mo-luñ-riñ in the country of
--	--

gis Sañs-rgyas-kyi rnam-'phrul yin zer-ziñ / bDag-  
cag-gi sTon-pa dañ-dus-mtshuñs-su byuñ zes  
kyañ zer / Bai-dūr-dkar-po-las Žañ-žuñ-yul-na  
Bon 'dul-bar / dgoñs-te gŠen-rab-Mi-bor sprul /  
Bon-gyi mdzad-pa-bcu-gñis bskyañs / Theg-pa  
rim-pa-dgu-ru gsuñs / gSon-po-rnams-kyi lha  
sgo-phye / gŠin-po-rnams-kyi dur sgo-bcad /  
'Gro-rnams g'Yuñ-druñ-lam-la bkod /

*Žañ-žuñ.* By some he is said to be an incarnation of Buddha. He is also said to have appeared at the same time as our Teacher. According to the *Bai-dūrya-dkar-po*<sup>18</sup> he meditated on subduing the *Bon* in the country of *Žañ-žuñ*, and incarnated (himself) as *gŠen-rab-Mi-bo*. He vindicated the Twelve Acts of *Bon*. He expounded the nine successive vehicles. *He opened the door to the lHa of all the Living, he shut the door to the Tombs of all the Dead, and led the Living along the Path of the Swastika.*

Here the essence of that new religion which was introduced at the death of Gri-gum-btsan-po or at the time of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, is given in three pregnant phrases: *To open the door to the lHa of the Living, to shut the door to the Tombs of the Dead, and to lead the Living along the Path of the Swastika.*

This 'Khyar-bon or initial stage of the g'Yuñ-druñ Bon, is mentioned by the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ and called Dur-bon, Grave-Bon, because it comprised an important category of rites dealt with by the Dur-gšen, Grave-shamans. The passage relates (60.64v):

Dur-gšen mtshon-cha-can-gyis / gSon-gyi  
bgegs sel / gŠin-gyi dur 'debs / Chuñ-gi Sri gnon /  
gNam-gyi rgyu-skar lta / Sa'i 'Dre brduñ-ba  
yin-no /

The *Dur-gšen* possessing weapon (*mtshon-cha*) removed the obstacles to the Living, made tombs (*dur*) for the Dead, subdued the *Chuñ-gi Sri* (see below), observed the celestial constellations, (and) crushed the 'Dre of the Earth.

The fundamental idea of the new religion totally changes the position of Man, or the Living, in existence. By closing the doors of the tombs *it cuts the bond that ties him to the World of the Defunct*, and by opening the door to the lHa *it ties a new bond connecting him with the World of the Gods. It replaces the superiority of the chthonic powers with that of the celestial ones.*

It is the object of the various categories of Bon, as seen in the quotation from dPa'-bo gTsug-lag p. 103, to teach the ways and means to realize this change, and the task of the Bon-po priesthood, above all the shamans or gšen-po, is to exercise these ways and means to subdue, tame, or exorcise the chthonic world of the dead in its manifold manifestations, and to teach and show the path of the Swastika to the gods.

The change of religion which took place was in principle a transition from, in the absence of better expressions, an "animistic" to a "theistic" religion or, perhaps more correctly, an introduction of a special form of "Theism" in opposition to a prevailing "Animism". By this process the Bon-religion placed Man in the medium position between the animistic aspect of an Underworld and the gods of an Upper or Celestial World. This is clearly indicated by the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loñ when saying, as quoted p. 103, that the three disciplines particularly characterizing the Bon doctrine propagated since the time of Gri-gum-btsan-po, were those of

*subduing the 'Dre and Srin of the Underworld (mar), sacrificing to the venerable lHa of the Upper World (yar), and digging out the household hearth in the Middle World (bar).*

The Bon-religion did not replace the "animistic" world with a world of gods. On the contrary, the Bon founded its very religious and sacerdotal power on the collateral existence of both of these worlds, and on its maintained power and ability to influence the relations of Man to these two worlds.

Before the introduction of the doctrine of the g'Yuñ-druñ Bon, the Tibetan, in his religious concept of the existence, found himself living in a world animated by the manifestations of the defunct, always

dreading the hovering menace of those powers from the tombs and the realm of death who, when occasionally referred to are named the Demons or the Powers of the Earth, Sa'i 'Dre or Sa-dog.

In their closest and most immediate form, these powers were represented by the individually known defunct, the relatives or the ancestors. In a general and collective sense, these roaming manifestations from the tombs of the dead were the *mtshun*, the ancestral spirits (see p. 226). A primary and predominant object of the Bon-po was therefore also that of closing the door to the tombs of all the dead. The Dur-gśen served this purpose by a special ritual treatment of the corpses, and by the funeral ceremonies and rites in general, as it is shortly formulated by the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (see p. 111): (they) made tombs for the Dead.

To the Tibetans, the spirits of the dead were the perpetrators of all sorts of hinderances and obstacles to the daily life and existence of the living. From the idea of these obstacles, bgegs, the imagination of the Tibetans had created a demon world of innumerable personified evils or obstacles, the bGegs. A further object of the Dur-gśen was therefore to remove or suppress all these obstacles and evils to the living.

We have so far been dealing here only with a fairly commonly known aspect of "animism," the concept of a world animated by the ancestral spirits. Contemporarily we have, however, to deal with further developed or generalized aspects of this "animism" ultimately founded in the idea of the defunct, but represented by the concept of particular classes of telluric or chthonic demons, the Sa'i-'Dre or simply 'Dre who, together with the lHa, formed the total world of *Gods and Demons* as expressed by the later, general term *lHa-'Dre*.

It was equally the object of the Dur-gśen to beat these demons of the Earth, as it was the general object of the Bon-religion to exorcise, suppress, or tame any demon noxious to mankind. The sources quoted above mention two classes of particularly important demons who terrified Man, and who are still dreaded. The Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loñ mentions as a particular object of the Bon that of subduing the Srin-demons of the Underworld, and we shall see that the Srin (Srin-po and Srin-mo) play an extraordinary role in the ancient Tibetan ideas of the nature and origin of Man, and of the pre-human rulers of Tibet, who violently opposed the appearance of both gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and gŚen-rab-Mi-bo.

The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ mentions the Sri, and in particular the Chuñ-gi Sri, demons who were most dangerous to children. The idea of the Sri is still most vivid among the Tibetans, and the chthonic nature of these demons still clearly appears, as pointed out by H. Hoffmann (162.161). Although at present we do not possess sufficient evidence to sustain any definite conclusion, we may be inclined to assume that the Sri, the Srin, and the Srid are etymologically connected<sup>19</sup> and in reality represent various phases in the development of one and the same fundamental idea of the manifestations of the defunct. In close connection with the present theme, and in a further sense with the question of the relation between the Tibetan king and the bTsan, we have, moreover, reasons to assume that principal groups of demons or deities, as they are represented by the later systematical concept, viz. the kLu, the rMu, the bTsan, and the gÑan, in themselves represent a further developed, generalized and modified idea of the originally chthonic powers of the ancient strata of religious concept. Their occurrence in the underworld, or as Sa-bdag or gŽi-bdag of the earth or middle world, and the particular status of the Tibetan kings as bTsan-po are facts highly significant in this respect.

By providing means and rites to exorcise and subdue the demon world, *the Bon-religion and the Bon-pos gave Man opportunity and means to escape the evil powers of the earth, to save himself from the terrifying menace of the tombs and the realm of death*, and in so providing, the Bon-po hierarchy had its main assets and the foundation of its power. At the same time *the Bon religion introduced Man to a new world, that of the celestial gods, the lHa*, and it may be regarded as a fundamental feature of this religion that *it made the idea of Heaven a religious reality in the Tibetan concept of world and existence*. Placed between an inferior world of demons and a superior world of gods, the Tibetan became deeply dependent on those who were able to avert the evils of the inferior and invoke the favours of the superior world, the priesthood of the Bon and above all the gŚen-po or shamans. In this intermediary position of the Bon sacerdos, which characterizes Bon as a kind of shaman religion, we shall find the basic idea

of the sacral status of the Tibetan king who, though appearing as a man and a Ruler of Men, mi'i-rje, was on one side a divine being, an incarnation of lHa, on the other side the master or equal, ultimately the supreme exponent, of the chthonic powers.

The traditions describe the introduction of the g'Yuñ-druñ Bon as an event taking place within rather narrow confines of time. This may be right as far as we consider the formal introduction of a new religious doctrine, the establishment of a new sacerdotal class, and the foundation of a dynasty ascribing its particular status to principles of this new doctrine. These events may, however, be regarded only as symptomatic of a development which took its course over a long time before and after them. When we mentioned above that the change of religious ideas which took place meant a transition to "theism," we were obliged to make due reservations. The idea of deities, which characterizes this "theism" of the lHa, can be traced to ancient strata of Tibetan religious concepts, but the vestiges of them lead us to times, localities, and layers of population which cannot be either separated or defined. The fact which, however, remains and characterizes the introduction of the Bon religion, is that this religion with its ideas of the celestial lHa introduced a "theistic" concept, which prevailed in the later religious development and the systematic representations of the religion, and gave it its particular stamp.

Regardless of how the traditions define the time element in itself, the primary importance is to be found in the fact that *the traditions state the change of religion as contemporaneous with the foundation of the Dynasty by sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*. The fundamental idea of the religious or sacral status of those kings who constituted the Yar-luñ Dynasty is inseparably connected with the fundamental idea of the Bon religion, as presented by our sources. Therefore, *the occurrence or introduction of the doctrine characterized as the g'Yuñ-druñ Bon was the condition for establishing a royalty of that particular nature, which the Yar-luñ Dynasty presents to us.*

While in most cases it is related that the Bon religion, variously defined as shown above, was introduced at the death of Gri-gum-btsan-po or during the reign of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, a more explicit and most significant record is given by the Grub-mtha' sel-gyi-me-loñ in its description of the introduction of *the second stage of Bon*, the 'Khyar-bon (162.416):

gÑis-pa 'Khyar-bon ni / rGyal-po Gri-gum-  
btsan-po'i gri-bśid Bod-kyi Bon-po-rnams-kyis  
byed ma-śes-nas / Kha-che dañ / 'Bru-śa dañ /  
Zañ-žuñ gsum-nas Bon-po gsum gri-bśid-la bos-  
pa-la /

gCig-gis dGe-god Khyuñ dañ / Me-lha  
bsgrubs-pa-la brten-nas / rña-żon-nas nam-  
mkha'-la 'gro-ba dañ / gter-kha len-pa / bya-  
sgros lcags gcod-pa sogs-kyi nus-pa ston /

gCig-gis Ju-tig dañ / lHa-bka' dañ / sog-dmar  
la-sogs-pa mo-btab-nas legs-ñes gtan-la-'bebs /

gCig-gis gśin-po 'dul-ba dañ / gri 'dul-ba  
la-sogs-pa bśid-kyi bye-brag-rnams śes /

De-gsum ma-byuñ phan-chad-du Bon-la lta-  
ba 'di yin bya-ba med / De phyin-chad-nas Bon-  
gyi lta-ba cig kyañ buzuñ-ste / . . .

The second (stage was) the 'Khyar-bon: Be-  
cause the *Bon-pos* of Tibet did not know how to  
perform the *Gri-bśid* of king *Gri-gum-btsan-po*,  
three *Bon-pos* were called in from *Kashmir*,  
'*Bru-śa*, and *Zañ-žuñ* to (perform) the *Gri-bśid*.

One of them, depending on propitiating the  
*dGe-god*, *Khyuñ*, and *Me-lha*,<sup>20</sup> showed (his)  
ability to go to Heaven mounted on a drum, to  
get hold of hidden treasures,<sup>21</sup> to cut iron by  
means of a birds feather, etc.

One of them was able to distinguish between  
good and evil by casting lots, the *Ju-tig*,<sup>22</sup> *lHa-  
bka*,<sup>23</sup> red shoulderblades,<sup>24</sup> etc.

One of them knew the different kinds of  
*bśid*, such as *subduing the dead*, *subduing* (by  
*means of*) *the knife* (*gri*), etc.

Until those three appeared, one could not  
say "This is the doctrine of *Bon*!" but after them  
a doctrine of *Bon* was established.

This record distinctly presents the ignorance of the Tibetans with regard to the performance of funeral rites at the burial of Gri-gum-btsan-po as the motive for introducing the Bon religion. First of all this record shows that the essential importance, which was to be ascribed to the g'Yuñ-druñ

Bon and its introduction, is to be found in the very question of the *funeral customs and rites* and a radical change of them, which corresponds to the profound difference in the concepts of the relations between living and dead, before and after the appearance of the new religion. It is therefore quite natural that some sources mention this new religion particularly as Dur-bon, *Bon of the Tombs*, Grave-Bon.

Realizing in advance that, when speaking of funeral customs and rites, we are limited by the nature of our sources to consider only the royal funerals, we may interpret the tradition which connects the introduction of special funeral rites with the burial of Gri-gum-btsan-po, from different points of view.

If we adopt the Buddhist representation making Gri-gum-btsan-po the first king who suffered death as a mortal being, leaving for the first time a royal corpse, then the ignorance with regard to performances of a royal funeral appears as a natural motive for the introduction of special funeral rites. We may in this connection call attention to the remark of the Fifth Dalai Lama (see below) that *the tomb of Gri-gum-btsan-po was the first of tombs*, bañ-so'i thog-ma yin.

If, however, we consider the whole complex of myths concerning Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons, in which the question of the king's burial is a central, and perhaps *the* central feature, as we are going to see in chapter 9, we shall learn that the role of Gri-gum-btsan-po is reduced to that of merely serving as the symbol of that king of yore, at whose burial the new funeral rites of the Bon were performed for the first time. We shall even find that the king in this symbolic character serves as the central figure in an *etiological myth of the profound change of the burial customs, which actually took place collaterally with the introduction of the new religious ideology*.

The way in which the corpses are disposed of, and the character of the tombs and of the funeral customs and rites are characteristic, at times even fundamental, features of a people's culture or of certain stages of it, and we find no exception where the Tibetans are concerned. The Tibetan authors and chroniclers seem themselves to have realized the cultural significance of the burial customs, when they preserved the traditions of where the tombs of the kings belonging to the various groups of the Dynasty were placed, or where their corpses were disposed of. The information in this regard, thus made available to us, gives us certain indications as to the validity of the general representation of the Dynasty, and the realities behind it.

In his work on *The tombs of the Tibetan kings* (195), G. Tucci translates the account of the Lama Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje, given in the eighteenth century in his work *gTam-tshigs rgya-mtsho* (81). Where the ancient tradition is concerned, this author is depending on a work hitherto unidentified, the so-called *dKar-chag* written by a *bLon-po-chen-po mGar*. The account of Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje (195.2) reads:

/ We read in the *dKar-chag* written by the great minister of *mGar*: / as regards the disposal of the body of the seven Khri, they were / disposed of in heaven; the divine bodies, leaving no corpse, melted / away like a rainbow.

This account of the kings of the first group of the Dynasty appears as pure myth. Nevertheless, certain versions of it involve more tangible features worth considering. For the sake of convenience we shall, however, postpone the study of them until after the discussion of the material concerning the following groups of the Dynasty.

The text continues with regard to the second group:

The tombs of the two *sTeñ* were placed in a / pitcher with a lucky scarf. / As to the inspector of the work, he was *Las skyes*. /

This account disagrees with other accounts as mentioned by G. Tucci in his notes. Here, as is usually the case, the discordance of the traditions shows that the second group is the weakest link in the representation of the Dynasty. The traditions differ in various ways, primarily by referring either to the

group in general, as in the case above, or separately to the two kings of the group, Gri-gum-btsan-po and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal.

The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ, in the sDe-dge edition (58.26r), relates that the tombs of these two kings were made in *g'ya'* and *'pañ*, while the B-manuscript of it relates (60.65v), in accordance with the Deb-ther-dmar-po (51.16r), dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.9r), the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.12r) and the Pakṣa-yā (93.283v), that the tombs were made in *g'ya'* and *rdza*. *g'Ya'*, *'pañ* (*spañ*), and *rdza* are terms signifying special geological formations or facies of the physical geography of Tibet, to be explained below. The matter, however, becomes more complicated by the circumstance that both the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (58.25v; 60.63v) and the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.11v) together with the Pakṣa-yā (93.283r) relate in advance that Gri-gum-btsan-po's tomb was built in *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*, a burial place in which the tombs of much later kings are located (see below). The accounts read:

Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ-du yab-kyi bañ-so brtsig /                      The tomb of the father (*Gri-gum-btsan-po*)  
was built in *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*,  
and

'Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ-du bañ-so brtsigs-te                      His tomb was built in *'Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*;  
bañ-so'i thog-ma yin-ziñ /                      it was the first of tombs.

dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.8r) as the only source relates the following note which connects the tomb with Yar-luñ:

Bon Tshe-Co-gñis-kyis gri-brtul yañ ma-thul-                      The two *Bon-pos*, *Tshe(-mi-bon)* and *Co(g-la-*  
nas Pa-ra'i bu sKyi-rgyal Mañ-po-rjes gri-sri                      *bon)*,<sup>26</sup> were not able to subdue by performing  
brtul-ste spu Yar-luñs-su spyan-drañs skad /                      the *Gri-brtul*, but *sKyi-rgyal Mañ-po-rje*, the son  
of *Pa-ra*, subdued by *Gri-sri* and conducted the  
corpse (*spu*) to *Yar-luñs*. (This is) told.

In these accounts of the location of the tombs, we are obviously dealing with two quite different traditions. That referring the tombs in general to *g'ya'* and *'pañ* (*spañ*) or *rdza* seems to be closely connected with the artificial introduction of the second group by the composition of the Buddhist representation of the Dynasty, while that referring the tomb to *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ* in *Yar-luñ* derives from the particular tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons. This origin is indicated by the immediate context of all the sources, referring to the particular myth describing the fate of Gri-gum-btsan-po's corpse (see chapters 9, 14, and 15). The son Ru-las-skyes, who in the three sources takes care of his father's burial, is the mysteriously conceived or born son of Gri-gum-btsan-po, whose nature is explained below (chapter 9). The "inspector" Las-skyes, who is mentioned in the account of Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje, is identical with this mysterious being, either in the form of Ru-las-skyes or, more probably, in the form of Ñar-la-skyes.

Above, Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje thus accounts for the way of disposing of the king's corpse which is quite different from those described in the other sources. This circumstance finally leads us to a particularly important feature connected with the burial of the two kings, who formally constitute the second group. The account of Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje, or actually that of bLon-po-chen-po mGar, depends directly on the special myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's corpse, given in chapter 9, but the author generalizes from events which exclusively apply to Gri-gum-btsan-po. According to this myth, which we shall study in detail later on, the corpse of Gri-gum-btsan-po was at first put into a copper vessel, which thereafter was cast into the middle of a river. Here the corpse was taken into the possession of a water demoness, a kLu-mo. Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje refers to this part of the myth. Unfortunately his original text is not at our disposal, but we have reason to believe that the words, which G. Tucci translated as "in a pitcher with a lucky scarf," in the Tibetan text read approximately "zañs-kyi kha-btags-na," which signifies "in a closed copper vessel" in accordance with the statement of the myth.<sup>26</sup>

While Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje depends only on *the former part of the myth*, which accounts for *the burial of the king's corpse in the river*, the sources otherwise quoted above depend only on *the latter part of the myth*, which accounts for *the final burial of the corpse in a tomb*. According to this latter part of the myth, *the water demoness demands a substitute sacrifice, glud, for giving up the corpse to the sons of the king, but to obtain this substitute sacrifice of a quite strange nature they are bound by oath to observe that, whenever in future a bTsan-po or king dies, certain particularly specified rites are to be performed, and these rites prove to belong to the Bon-po ceremonial at the royal funerals. Having recovered the corpse of the king, the sons built a tomb and performed the ritual treatment and burial of the corpse.*

The myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's corpse thus evidently reveals a most significant change in the ancient Tibetan burial customs, not only concerning the royal funerals, but also where funerals in general are concerned, as we shall see, and the myth serves as an etiology for this change.

Considering the particular relation which the tradition establishes between the various locations of the tombs and the groups of the Dynasty, it means that *a change from disposing of the corpses in the water or rivers to burying them in tombs took place immediately before, or at, the traditional foundation of the Dynasty by sPu-de-guñ-rgyal.*

As to the following groups comprised by this Dynasty, Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje relates:

The tombs of the six Legs (i.e. the third group) were built between slate and meadows, / the tombs of the eight lDe (i.e. the fourth group) were built in the middle of the rivers / and looked like snow fallen upon a lake. /

With the exception of the naturalistic description of the latter tombs, this account agrees perfectly with those given by other sources in the following general formulation:

Sa'i-legs-drug-ste bañ-so g'ya' spañ mtshams-su btab: 51.16r; 58.26v; 60.66r; 64.9r; 70.12r; 93.283v, and  
lDe-brgyad-de bañ-so chu-bo'i gzuñ-la btab: 51.16r; 58.26v; 60.66r; 64.9r; 70.12r; 93.283v.

Before commenting on these accounts, we would prefer to introduce the material concerning the following part of the prehistoric line of the Dynasty.

Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje relates nothing in particular of the fifth group, the bTsan, but gives the following individual items of information:

Under Zin lde (i.e. king no. 16) the tombs were built in the country itself (where the king lived); / this was the place, where rulers and subjects fought each other. / As to the name of the country it was Dar po thañ in 'Phyiñ (i.e. 'Phyiñ-yul Dar(-po)-thañ); / whether there is a tomb or not it looks like a protruding mound. /

The tomb of Khri gñan (i.e. king no. 29) was built in Don mkhar mda'; / whether (the tomb) exists or not it looks like a protruding mound. /

The tomb of 'Broñ gñan lde ru (i.e. king no. 30) was built in Žañ mda'; in the tomb / the king and three living subjects were hidden; this is known as / the mound where the living men have been killed. /

The (tomb of) sTag ri gñan gzigs (i.e. king no. 31) was built in Don mkhar mda'; / as to its place, it was to the right of the tomb of Khri gñan; / it was said that this tomb was erected according to the system of the rMu. /

The tomb of gNam ri sroñ btsan (i.e. king no 32) was built in Don mkhar mda'. / It is said to be the Srog mkhar (life-castle) built by 'Phrul skyes. / As to its place, it was to the left (of the tomb of) Khri gñan bzuñ btsan. / As to its name, it is called Guñ ri sog pa legs. /

The burial place of the kings of the fifth group is defined differently by the sources, just as the group itself is defined in different ways (see p. 76). The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (58.26v; 60.66v), in which



the group comprises only three kings, relates that their tombs were made *on the top of the white glacier mountains*, bañ-so gañs-dkar-rtse-la btab. The Fifth Dalai Lama (70.12v) and the Pakṭa-yā (93.284v) relate that the tombs of the Five bTsan, bTsan-lāa (kings nos. 24–28), were made in *Phyiñ-luñ Dar-thañ*. dPa'-bo gTug-lag (64.9r) only mentions '*Phyiñ-yul*'.

While dPa'-bo gTug-lag, the Fifth Dalai Lama, and the Pakṭa-yā include lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan (no. 28) in the bTsan-lāa, the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ mentions his tomb separately. In the sDe-gde edition (58.27r) it says that it was built *in his own country*, bañ-so rañ-gi yul-du btab, but in the B-manuscript (60.67r) that it was built *in Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*.

The tomb of Khri-gñan-gzuñ-btsan (no. 29) is referred to *Don-mkhar-mda'* (64.11r; 70.13r; 93.284v) or *Don-'khor-mda'* (58.27r; 60.67v), in accordance with Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje.

The tomb of 'Bro-gñan-lde'u (no. 30) is located either in *Žañ-mda'* (64.11v; 58.27v; 60.68r) in accordance with the account of Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje, or in *Žiñ-mda'* (70.13r; 93.285r).

Similarly the tomb of sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs (no. 31) is located in *Don-mkhar-mda'* (64.11v; 70.13v; 93.285r) or *Don-'khor-mda'* (58.27v; 60.68v), and that of gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan at the same place, *Don-mkhar-mda'* (58.27v; 70.13v; 93.285r).

From this material it appears primarily that there exists a firm tradition with regard to the location of the tombs of the kings following lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan (no. 28), placing them within the narrow confines of an area of a few square miles about the central castle of the Yar-luñ kings, the Phyiñ-ba sTag-rtse. This castle was built on a height or ridge upon the mountain slopes on the left bank of the Dar-mo River, an affluent to the left side of the Yar-mo River. *Žañ-mda'* or *Žiñ-mda'* is situated on the left bank of Dar-mo, immediately above Phyiñ-ba sTag-rtse, while *Don-mkhar-mda'* is situated on the right bank, opposite Phyiñ-ba sTag-rtse, at the foot of the former castle *Don-mkhar*. The area containing the tombs of the historical kings (see chapter 16) is situated in its immediate vicinity. *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*, the river plain of Dar-mo, comprises the whole area in question, and the location of the tombs in *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ* is therefore less definite.

Where the kings of the third, fourth, and fifth groups up to King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan are concerned, the accounts of their tombs and the location of these show a pronounced inconsistency. This inconsistency is partly due to the different provenance of the accounts, but it mainly appears as a result of the inconsistency of the very representation of the Dynasty.

Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje mentions separately that under Zin-lde, i.e. Za-nam-zin-lde (no. 16), the tombs were built in the country itself, or rather, *in his own country*, which was Dar-po-thañ in '*Phyiñ*', i.e. *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*. Thus he applies almost literally the same terms which in other sources apply to lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan. According to the authorized representation of the Dynasty, Zin-lde is, however, the first king of the fourth group, the Eight lDe, whose tombs all the sources agree in locating in the middle of the rivers. This circumstance immediately eliminates this king as a member of the fourth group, and apparently indicates that he actually belonged to a considerably younger epoch of the Dynasty.

If we consider the various locations of the tombs, which collectively are ascribed to groups of the Dynasty by the orthodox Buddhist tradition represented by the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ and the Fifth Dalai Lama, we find the most pronounced inconsistency. These locations are:

- Second group: *g'ya'* and *rdza*.
- Third group: between *g'ya'* and *span*.
- Fourth group: *chu-bo'i gzuñ*, in the middle of the rivers.
- Fifth group: *gañs-dkar-rtse*, the top of the white glacier mountains, or *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*.

*g'Ya'* signifies the bare mountain ranges or facies below the glaciers, *gañs*, consisting of the solid formations of folded, stratified mountain. It is generally, but somewhat misleadingly, interpreted as slate-mountains. Below *g'ya'* we find *rdza* or *brag*, the mountain slopes, still without vegetation but

consisting of loose material, pieces of rock and disintegration deposits from the high mountains, scree. Further below we come to *span*, the zone of alpine vegetation, the mountain pastures above the timber line.

From this follows that the Tibetans, according to the Buddhist tradition, should successively have changed the location of their royal tombs or burial places from the high mountains below the glaciers to the bare slopes beneath, then to the rivers, then again either to the glacier tops or to *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*, the valley of the Dar-mo River, and, at any rate, finally to this place. Such a development seems hardly probable in itself.

Various traditions, in a way that under the given conditions are definite, state as we have seen that the period immediately preceding the foundation of the Dynasty by *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, the period generally symbolized by the second group, is marked by a fundamental change of religious ideology, which is intimately connected with a change in burial customs from burying in the rivers to burying in tombs on the earth. The natural inference would be that these tombs were located in the river valleys and not in the high mountains. Several circumstances support this inference, e. g. the locality of the tomb of *Gri-gum-btsan-po* as a mound piled up like a tent with its upper part like *Gyañ-to* (see p. 381) would hardly be in *g'ya'* or *rdza*, but on the river plain, *mdo* or *thañ*, or the foothills of the river valley, *mda'*. Moreover, the traditions locate the tombs of the kings, and also that of *Zin-lde*, in the river plain of Dar-mo, in *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*. These accounts, even when taken merely at their face value, show, in connection with the accounts of the later prehistorical and the historical tombs, that the Tibetan tradition refers the burial places of the whole Dynasty to the river valley of River *Dar-mo* (*Dar-po-thañ*), in the country of *Phyiñ* (*Phyiñ-yul*), later called '*Phyoñs-rgyas*, below the castle of *Phyiñ-ba sTag-rtse* (see chapter 16).

Consequently no allowance remains for such extreme changes in burial localities as those indicated above, from between *g'ya'* and *span* to the middle of the rivers, or even the tops of the white glacier mountains. From the accounts of the burial places, *the third and fourth groups of the representation of the Dynasty cannot belong to the Dynasty which we regard as that of the Yar-luñ kings, and characterized by the particular constitutional and religious status of its members which according to tradition was inaugurated under sPu-de-guñ-rgyal.*

Still other significant features point to an elimination of these two groups. Totally disregarding the account of the three *bTsan*, the '*Og-gi-btsan-gsum*, the two groups in question show a remarkable heterogeneity with regard to the names of their kings, not only mutually, but also within the single groups. Compared with those of the later kings, the royal names in these groups appear strangely alien, with the exception of a few, especially *Za-nam-zin-lde* and his successor, with whom historical or quasi-historical accounts are connected. We are therefore inclined to explain the third and fourth groups as links introduced in the representation for the purpose of lengthening the Dynasty backwards into an indefinite past, sufficiently remote to combine it with the tradition of the celestial *Khri* (see p. 100). Furthermore the sequences of kings in these two groups seem to have been combined with the idea of some few prehistorical kings, such as '*Broñ-ži-legs* or *Za-nam-zin-lde* and his successor.

This assumption implies, however, by no means that the two particular sequences of kings in question are mere inventions, or are merely fictitious. We even have reason to believe that they reflect real dynastic lines, *only these lines form no part of the real Yar-luñ Dynasty.* In the same sense the accounts of the burial places may represent realities in relation to these dynastic lines.

Speaking of the burial places ascribed to the third and fourth groups, we may still call attention to a special feature which is, perhaps, not quite accidental. The transition from the fourth group of the Eight *lDe* to the fifth group of the Five *bTsan* means a change of burial places from the middle of the rivers to the earth of *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*, identical with the change which took place at the founding of the Dynasty in the mythic tradition of *Gri-gum-btsan-po* and *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*. This occurrence makes us take up the matter of the first group, the Celestial *Khri*, which we postponed above.

The Tun-huang Ms. 249 Paris, which seems to be our oldest source in this respect, relates of the Celestial *Khri* (1.81/87):

'Di yan-chad 'dra'-ste / sras chibs-la thub-na /  
yab dguñ-du gśegs-so /

Up to this (king, *Khri-spe-btsan-po*, no. 7)  
it was so, that when the son was able to mount  
a horse, the father went to Heaven.

dPa'-bo gTzug-lag (64.6v–7r) gives the following relation:

/ Āin-bzin sar byon mtshan-bzin mkha'-la gśegs /  
/ Sras-kyis chibs-kha thub-par gyur-pa-na /  
/ rMu-thag-la 'jus-na mkhar gśegs-so skad /  
/ lHa-la ro-med 'ja'-tshon-ltar yal-bas /  
/ Groñs-kyi bañ-so gnam-la btab ces grags /

Like day they came to Earth; like night they  
went to Heaven.  
When the sons were able to master the bridle  
They seized the *rMu-thag* and went to Heaven,  
it is said.  
As there is no corpse for a *lHa*, they vanished  
like a rainbow.  
The tombs of the deceased ones are said to be  
placed in Heaven.

In the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (58.24v; 60.62r) we read:

Sras-rnams-kyi rim-pa-bzin chibs-kha thub-  
cha-na / yab-rnams rim-pa-bzin-du rMu-thag-la  
byas-nas / nam-mkha' 'dza' yal-ba-bzin 'gro yañ  
zer / Khri-bdun bañ-so nam-mkha'i dbyiñs-la  
btab / lHa-yi lus-la ro-med 'dza'-ltar yal / ces-so /

When the sons successively were able to  
master the bridle, their fathers successively went  
away by the *rMu-thag*, and they were said to dis-  
appear like a rainbow vanishing into Heaven.  
The tombs of the *Khri-bdun* were made in the  
regions of Heaven. "There is no corpse of the  
*lHa*; they vanish like a rainbow," so it is said.

The La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.29/78) relates:

Žes de-dag-la dbu-la 'Od-kyi-lha-dag yod-  
pas / dguñ-lo mañ-du bžugs-śiñ / Sras 'og-ma  
mchibs(phyibs)-kha thub-tsa-na / yab goñ-ma-  
rnams nam-mkha'-la 'ja' yal-ba (ltar) bde-bar  
gśegs-so //

Thus, for those who had the '*Od-kyi-lha*'<sup>27</sup>  
their first, there were many years (of life) (see  
p. 267). When the succeeding son was able to  
master the bridle, the preceding father went away,  
happily vanishing like a rainbow into Heaven.

The Fifth Dalai Lama (70.11v) and the Pakṭa-yā (93.283r) account:

'Di-rnams rMu-thag-la byas-nas nam-mkha'-  
la yal-bas bañ-so med-par grags-śiñ / gNam-gyi  
Khri-bdun-no /

These went away by the *rMu-thag* and van-  
ished into Heaven. Therefore they are known to  
be without tombs. They were the *Seven Celestial  
Khri*.

Beyond the concept of the *rMu-thag*, the thread which connected these divine kings with Heaven (see p. 331), and the question of the maturity age of the son and successor, to be further outlined below (see p. 333 f.), these accounts as they occur in the descriptions of the former part of the Dynasty might be regarded as pure fiction without special significance.

The same idea of disappearing into Heaven without leaving a corpse occurs, however, in connection with a much later part of the Dynasty, and significantly in connection with one of those prehistorical kings who marks the epochs in the development of the Dynasty, mentioned above (see p. 100). The rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.19v–20r; see the Tibetan text p. 100–101) relates:

In the lifetime of King *sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan*,  
 (The king) took forthwith queens from *rMa* and *kLu*, these two.  
 From that (time) subjects and *sku* (kings) became related.  
 After the *dMu-thag* had been cut, tombs were made on Earth.  
 Previously, when they died, they made their departure by *dMu-thag*, the Bridge of *IHa*.

Having described the group of the Eight *lDe* and their immediate successor named *Ti-loñ-btsan*, i.e. *sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan* or *rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan* (no. 24), the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.12r) and the *Pakṭa-yā* (93.283v–284r) correspondingly relate:

'Di yan-chad-kyi rgyal-po-rnams lHa-kLu'i  
 bu-mo 'ba'-zig btsun-mor bsten-pas yum-rnams  
 groñs-pa'i tshe pur ma-byuñ-ñiñ / 'Di man-nas  
 'bañs dañ gñen bsres te /

All these kings kept as queens daughters of  
*IHa* or *kLu*. Therefore no corpses appeared when  
 the mothers (of kings) died. Since those (the  
 kings) mingled relatives and subjects.

In connection with the same king the *Deb-ther-dmar-po* (51.16r) has the following note:

De-nas rGyal-to-re-loñ-btsan / 'Di yan-chad-  
 la ma lHa-mo kLu-mo yin / 'Di man-chad 'bañs  
 dañ gñen bsres /

Then (came) *rGyal-to-re-loñ-btsan*. Until him  
 the mothers were *lHa-mo* and *kLu-mo*. After him  
 relatives mingled with subjects.

*dPa'-bo gTsub-lag* (64.9r–v) supplies the following information in connection with the same king:

'Di-yan yum-rnams lHa-mo kLu-mo yin /  
 / bTsun-mo'i rten dog-la mi-'tsher źes spur mi-  
 yoñ skad /

Until him the mothers were *lHa-mo* or *kLu-mo*.

The basic (quality) of the queens is told not  
 to be noxious to the *Dog* (the powers of the Earth),  
 and no corpse came.

De-phyir lHa-sras lDe-sras-par grags /  
 / 'Bañs dañ gñen bsres man-chad lDe-sras bźag /

Thereafter *lHa-sras* were known as *lDe-sras*.  
 After relatives and subjects mingled, they were  
 called *lDe-sras*.

/ De-yi dod-du lHa-sras bTsan-po zer /

As a substitute, *lHa-sras* was called *bTsan-po*.

Comparing these accounts of the queens with those of the kings of the first group, we may primarily regard them as *a matriarchal and a partriarchal version of the same basic idea*. If we regard the myth of the cut *dMu-thag* and the future existence of a royal corpse as significant of a transition from a pure mythic to a prehistoric or legendary part of the representation of the Dynasty, where the kings are concerned, then this point of transition is *removed from the second to the beginning of the fifth group in the accounts of the queens*. This occurrence presents a perfect analogue to the transition from burial in water to burial on the earth, occurring in both the second and the beginning of the fifth groups. These circumstances may lead to the further conclusion, that *the patriarchal version of the cutting of rMu-thag marks the mythic-prehistoric beginning of the Yar-luñ Dynasty*, while *the matriarchal version marks the real prehistoric beginning of the Dynasty*. Thus we must again eliminate the third and fourth groups from the real Dynasty.

In fact, the total corpus of Tibetan traditions of the Dynasty thus indicates *three different termini a quo for the beginning of the Dynasty*. The first one is marked by *gñNa'-khri-btsan-po* of the authorized Buddhist and, with certain reservations, the Bon-po traditions, and indicates *the pure mythic beginning*. The second one is marked by *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, and indicates *the mythic or legendary concept of the prehistoric beginning*. The third one is marked by *To-ri-loñ-btsan* or *sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan*, and indicates *the real prehistoric beginning of the Dynasty*.

These three *termini* are quite characteristically indicated by the traditions of the building of *Phyiñ-ba sTag-rtse*. This castle was the *palladium* of the *Yar-luñ* Dynasty and its kings, as it clearly appears from

both traditions and historical evidence. The fact that it was regarded as the personal castle of the first king made it a sacred place, and its location elevated above the tombs of all the kings is significant in this regard. The traditions ascribe the foundation and building of *Phyiñ-ba sTag-rtse* to three different kings, in fact to *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* (e.g. the *La-dwags rgyal-rabs*, 68.29/77), to *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal* (e.g. the *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ*, 58.25v) and to *sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan* (the *rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig*, 47.30v).

In the following section of this paper we shall see that the main conclusions, here preliminarily drawn from the accounts of the location of the royal tombs and from the immediate inferences with regard to the burial customs, may be supported in various other ways.

Considering the *general cultural development* during the prehistoric era of the Dynasty, we find that the tradition to a certain extent connects this development with the progression of the Dynasty. As will be shown later on, there even exists a tradition of different periods before the Dynasty which are characterized by particular improvements of culture (see chapter 13). Where the time of the Dynasty itself is concerned, the *La-dwags rgyal-rabs* is especially informative with regard to culture or cultural achievements, trying to describe a progressive evolution. Unfortunately the available translations by E. Schlagintweit (69), and A. H. Francke and F. W. Thomas (68) are at certain points rather misleading.

The *La-dwags rgyal-rabs* (68.29/77; 69.833–35/fol. 13a–b) gives an extensive record of the achievements accomplished under the reign of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, especially as to the military and the general inner administration of the country. But this record applies to a much younger epoch in historical time. We are dealing here with an occurrence characteristic of certain traditions or records from the later historical part of the Dynasty, to be further outlined below, viz. the custom of identifying the achievements of the actual historical king with achievements of the ancestor, which results from the idea of the identity between the ancestor and his incarnation in the individual king of the Dynasty.

The source gives, however, the following accounts relevant to our present theme. The quotations derive from the edition of A. H. Francke (68), but the variants occurring in the manuscript used by E. Schlagintweit (69), or in the manuscript of the British Museum (L Ms) used additionally by Francke, are given in parentheses.

Regarding *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal* we read (68.29–30/79; 69.835–36/fol. 14a–b):

Sribs-khri-btsan-po'i sras Gri-gum-btsan-po /  
De'i sras Śa-khri Ña-khri Bya-khri gsum / Bya-  
khri-la sPu-de-guñ-rgyal-du mtshan gsol-nas /  
Yul Yar-kluñs(luñs)-kyi sku-mkhar chen-mor  
bžugs-nas / rGyal-po 'di'i dus-su Yuñ-druñ-gi  
Bon byuñ-ño /  
gŽan-yañ žiñ bsrags(bsregs)-pa'i sñiñ-po sol  
(gsol)-ba /  
Ko-ba žu-ba'i sñiñ-po-la spyin(sprin) byuñ /  
lCags-rdo zañs-rdo dñul-rdo gsum rñed-nas /  
Sol(gsol)-bas rdo-gsum žus(žu)-nas dñul-zañs-  
lcags-gsum ston /  
Śiñ-la bug-pa phud(phug)-nas śol dañ gña'-śiñ  
bcos /  
mThun-gñis gña'-ru sdebs-nas thañ-rnams žiñ-du  
rmos /  
rGya-mtsho yur-la drañs-nas chu-la zam-po  
'dzugs //  
De la(las)-sogs-pa'i las-thabs mañ-po(du) byuñ /

The son of *Sribs-khri-btsan-po* was *Gri-gum-btsan-po*. His sons were *Śa-khri*, *Ña-khri*, and *Bya-khri*, these three. To *Bya-khri* was given the name of *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*. He lived in the great personal castle of *Yar-kluñs*. At the time of this king the *g'Yuñ-druñ Bon* appeared. Furthermore, as the result of charring wood, charcoal, As the result of dissolving hides, glue came into existence. Iron-ore, copper-ore, and silver-ore, these three were discovered. By smelting the three ores with charcoal, they brought forth silver, copper, and iron, these three. By drilling and punching wood, ploughs and yokes were formed. By fastening two equal (oxen) to the yoke, all the plains were ploughed to cultivable fields. The lakes were led into irrigation canals, and bridges were thrown across the rivers. These and many other devices were brought forth.

Referring to the period of Gri-gum-btsan-po and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, the Deb-ther-dmar-po shortly remarks (51.16r), that

Žiñ 'debs-pa dañ / gser dñul bzu-ba /  
zam-pa la-sogs-pa byuñ /

Ploughing of fields, smelting of gold and silver, and bridges, etc. appeared.<sup>28</sup>

dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.8v), in connection with sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, gives the following account:

/ mDzañs-pa'i las-su śiñ bsregs sol-ba byuñ /

The acts of skill (were): charring wood, charcoal appeared;

/ De-yis rdo bzu gser dñul zañs lcags phyuñ /

Smelting ore with that, gold, silver, copper, and iron were extracted;

/ Śiñ-la mig-phug gśol dañ gñā'-śiñ byas /

By drilling holes in wood, ploughs and yokes were made;

/ Sa-gzi brkos-nas phu-chu yur-du drañs /

Having dug into the ground, water of the upper valley was led into irrigation canals;

/ rMon-pa dor bsdebs spañ thañ žiñ-du rmos /

By fastening a pair of plough-oxen meadows and plains were ploughed into cultivable fields;

/ brGal-bas mi-thar chu-la zam-pa btsugs /

Not being able to pass, bridges were thrown across the river;

/ rMos-pa'i-lo-tog thog-mar 'di-nas byuñ /

Harvest (as the result) of ploughing first appeared from this time.

Taken at their utmost significance, these accounts describe, in reality, the development from a neolithic hunter-culture or nomadic culture into an organized agricultural society of the metal age.

The La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.30/80; 69.836/fol.14b) continues by mentioning the third group of the Dynasty, and in the incomplete list of names of the kings it adds the following note to the son of I-śo-legs, whose name is missing in the text:

rGyal-po 'dis ('di'i) pho-brañ Phyi-dbañ  
sTag-rtse brtsigs / Pho-brañ sku-mkhar rtsigs-  
pa'i sñā-śogs<sup>29</sup> de yin-no / De'i sras De-śo-legs /  
'Di'i riñ-la glu dañ bro dar /

By this king the palace *Phyi-dbañ sTag-rtse* (i.e. *Phyiñ-ba*) was built. It was the very first of personal residential castles to be built. His son was *De-śo-legs*. In his time song and dance spread.

Referring to I-śo-legs, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.9r) remarks:

/ mDzañs-pa'i las-su žiñ-la dor-kha brtsis /

The acts of skill (were): for fields to count by pairs of draught animals;

/ 'Brog-la thul rtsis phu-chu yur-du drañs /

Among nomads to count by hides of animals; water of the upper valley was led into irrigation canals;

/ mDa'-ru chu ma rmo-ba 'di-nas dar /

To till by irrigation in the river-plains spread from this (time).

Apart from the accounts of the tombs, it is unique that any comment is given on the kings of this group. While we are obliged to take the account of the spreading of song and dance for what it is worth, only stating that these two are items in the Bon ritual, the account of the castle *Phyiñ-ba sTag-rtse* obviously occurs here by a mistake. The insertion of this account clearly interrupts an original account of the Six Legs. The ways of counting in draught animals among farmers and in hides among nomads are not mentioned elsewhere. The introduction of irrigation is already connected with sPu-de-guñ-rgyal

(see above), but the difference seems to be that under sPu-de-guñ-rgyal that system was introduced which employs water from a higher place than that under cultivation, while under I-šo-legs irrigation with water from the same level as the fields was introduced.

Having enumerated the Eight lDe, the fourth group, the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.30/80–81; 69.837/ fol.14b–15a) relates:

De'i sras Tho-tho-ri-loñ-btsan źes-bya-ste / Yab yan-chad (L Ms. ma-chad) yum lHa-mo dañ  
kLu-mo yin-no (yino) / 'Di man-chad 'bañs dañ gñen sras-de (te) Tho-tho-ri-loñ-btsan-gyi  
sMa-tsha kLu-rgyal źes-pa'i sras Khri-btsan /

This account of the change in nature of the queens, btsun-mo, which took place at the time of rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan or sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan (no. 24), and corresponding versions have caused confusion to both modern interpreters and ancient Tibetan authors. The text, as given above, means:

His (i.e. *sPrin-btsan-lde's*) son was called *Tho-tho-ri-loñ-btsan*. Until his father the mothers (L Ms: After his father the mothers no more) were *lHa-mo* and *kLu-mo*. Thereafter (the kings) were sons of subjects and relatives. The son of *Tho-tho-ri-loñ-btsan* and *sMa-tsha kLu-rgyal* was called *Khri-btsan*.

This change of queens is related by other sources quoted above p. 120, but in a somewhat corrupt form. What is actually meant is that the queens *before the era of the bTsan*, i.e. before the fifth group, were taken among the *lHa-mo* and *kLu-mo*, and therefore were divine beings. The first bTsan (king no. 24) and all his successors, however, took their queens among their human subjects or relatives.

The generally confusing element in all these accounts is the name of the first human queen, the queen of rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan. The Fifth Dalai Lama names her 'O-ma-lde(sde)-bza' 'Bri-btsun-byañ-ma, thus characterizing her as a princess from 'O-ma-sde. The La-dwags rgyal-rabs, however, names her sMa-tsha kLu-rgyal, where the latter part, kLu-rgyal, by no means needs involve a divine nature. The former part of the name, sMa-tsha, is undoubtedly a corrupt or misunderstood rendering of rMa-za or rMa-bza', the queen from rMa. The original name rMa-bza' kLu-rgyal might therefore account for the circumstance that the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (see pp. 100, 120) narrates that sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan "forthwith took queens from *rMa* and *kLu*, these two," in spite of the fact that his father was the last king who took divine queens, not from rMa and kLu, but from lHa and kLu. The explanation of two different names of the queen does not necessarily present particular obstacles. The validity of the tradition of the prehistoric queens, which depends on one single source, is in itself somewhat problematic. Besides, we have reason to believe that the king generally listed as no. 24 represents in reality two different personalities, a rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan and a sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan. The Fifth Dalai Lama, whose list of the kings is otherwise most explicit, is remarkably vague on this point, naming the king in question merely Ti-loñ-btsan.

The reason for taking up the question of the divine and the human queens once more in the present connection is the circumstance that both Schlagintweit and Francke (Thomas) interpret the text concerned in a way that leads to an otherwise unknown characteristic of the kings following rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan. Schlagintweit moreover completely misunderstands the text, and translates:

Der Sohn von diesen war Tho-tho-ri-long-btsan; der Vater war von oberhalb (d.i. ein übernatürliches Wesen), die Mutter eine Nāgā-Göttin; da er (vom Vater her) der Sohn eines Gegners der Menschen war, erhielt er den Namen Macha-nāgarāja.

Francke comes much closer to the real meaning of the text, yet he does not escape the idea of the Nāgarāja, King of the Nāgas:

His son was called Tho-tho-ri-loñ-btsan. Down to his father the mothers were Lha-mos (goddesses) and Klu-mos (Nāgis). From him onwards, as they were offspring of subjects and relatives, the descendants of Tho-tho-ri-loñ-btsan were called Klu-rgyal (Nāga-rāja).

The La-dwags rgyal-rabs continues:

Khri-btsan / 'Di'i riñ-la srañ (bsrañ) (L Ms: bsruñs) dañ ldem dañ / de'i sras . . .

which has been interpreted in the following ways: by Schlagintweit:

Unter seinem Sohne Khri-btsan war Schutz und Gerechtigkeit. Sein Sohn . . . ,

and by Francke:

Khri-btsan. During his lifetime roads (?) and bridges (were constructed). His son . . . .

It is obviously the expression *srañ (bsrañ, bsruñs) dañ ldem* which causes the trouble and is interpreted in such divergent ways. The word *srañ* with variants is an erroneous rendering of *sgruñ*, while *ldem* is a variant of *lde'u*. The correct and normal formulation of the expression should therefore be *'Di'i riñ-la sgruñ dañ lDe'u*, and the translation:

*Khri-btsan* (no. 27). During his lifetime there were (or: appeared) *sgruñ* and *lDe'u*; and his son. . . .

This passage thus alludes to the Bon-po priesthood still predominating under this king (see p. 108), and gives no information as to the general, social or cultural affairs.

A little further in the text, the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.30/81; 69.838/fol.15b) accounts for the son of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan:

De'i sras Khri-sñan-bzuñ-btsan (L Ms: Khri-sñan) / De'i riñ-la (riñ) 'Brog skyoñ-ba<sup>30</sup> dañ / žiñ-gi thul sdebs<sup>31</sup> dañ /

mTsho-la star-ka<sup>32</sup> byas-nas / yur(yul)-bar drañ-ba dañ /  
Phu-chu rdziñ-du skyil-nas / mtshan-chu ñin-la drañ

la-sogs de'i-dus-du byuñ-ño /

His son was *Khri-sñan-bzuñ-btsan (Khri-sñan)*. During his lifetime, 'Brog was made use of for tending cattle (or: the 'Brog were made to tend cattle), and the arable land (*žiñ*) was tamed and tilled, and

Flood-gates were made at the lakes and (their water) led into irrigation canals.

The water of the upper valleys was gathered in ponds, and the water from the night was led at day.

Such and other things appeared at that time.

In various respects this account has a close resemblance to what is said above of the time of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, and we are probably dealing with one and the same tradition applied to these two kings, who represent the initial stage of the organized Tibetan society, the former one in a more mythic, the latter one in a more realistic concept.

'Brog and *žiñ* signify two distinctly different parts of the soil. 'Brog comprises those parts of the country which are usually unfit for agriculture but usable as pastures for the herds. 'Brog, 'Brog-pa, therefore also signifies the Tibetans living a more or less vagrant life, half nomads, as distinct from the agricultural Tibetans, Žiñ-pa, having permanent residences in the arable areas, Žiñ. The present passage quite clearly distinguishes between these two kinds of landscape with the different kinds of livelihood of their inhabitants. Whether, in the present case, 'Brog is to be interpreted in the sense of the landscape or in that of its inhabitants, may be disputed, but the actual meaning of the passage seems to be that a more organized and differentiated society was established among the Tibetan peoples, identical with the later distinction between the nomads or half-nomads and the farmers or townspeople, 'Brog-sde and Groñ-sde (123.66).



Finally we shall quote the record given by the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.30/82; 69.838/fol.15b) about the king no. 31. sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs, who was the grandfather of King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po:

... sTag-ri-sñan-gzigs / rGyal-po 'di'i riñ-la  
mdzo dañ dre'u sre-ba / Nor-gyi rin-thañ gcod-  
pa / Ri'i-rtswa-ba (la) chun-po bya-ba sogs byuñ-  
ño /

... sTag-ri-sñan-gzigs. During his lifetime  
crossing of *mDzo* and *Dre'u* came up.<sup>23</sup> The value  
of things was fixed. Bunches (sheaves or shocks?)  
of the mountain-grass were made. Such and other  
things appeared.

dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.11v) describes the achievements under sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs in the following way:

/ 'Di-dus Khri-ñor-snañ-btsun-moñ-gi bus /  
/ Bre Phul Srañ bcos 'Bru Mar tshad-kyis bcal /

At this time the son of *Khri-ñor-snañ-btsun-moñ*  
Established the measures of '*Bre*, *Phul*, and *Srañ*.  
He (fixed) the weighing standards for grain and  
butter.

/ dGa'-gñis tshoñ-byas mthun-gñis-la luñ bsdebs /

For reciprocal satisfaction he introduced trade.  
For reciprocal harmony he joined the valleys  
together.

/ De-goñ Bod-na tshoñ dañ bre-srañ med /

Before him there was no trade or standards of  
measures and weights in Tibet.

These quotations, few as they are, seem to indicate the existence of at least *two different traditions with regard to the cultural development among the Tibetans in prehistoric time*. One connecting all the fundamental achievements with gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. Another which seems to represent a progressive development of the cultural achievements, connecting them with sPu-de-guñ-rgyal (no. 9), eventually together with Gri-gum-btsan-po (no. 8), with I-šo-legs (no. 15) or his son (no. 16, *Za-nam-zin-lde*), with Khri-gñan-gzuñ-btsan (no. 29), and with sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs (no. 31).

The first tradition connects all achievements with gÑa'-khri-btsan-po in his capacity of primogenitor of the Dynasty, in the same way as Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po in sources like the *Mañi-bka''-bum* is presented as introducing almost the same achievements, in his capacity of the first historical Buddhist king.

The other tradition connects the introduction of the different achievements with the second group of the Dynasty, which represents the founding of the Dynasty, and with the transition between the Five bTsan and the following kings, represented by Khri-gñan-gzuñ-btsan, the son of King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, the kings representing the transition from the pre-Buddhist to the Buddhist part of the Yar-luñ Dynasty.

sTag-ri-stoñ-btsan, king no. 31, is obviously included because he is the historically known organizer of the first state built up around and by the Yar-luñ kings. I-šo-legs or his son, who marks the transition between the third and the fourth groups of the Dynasty, being connected with these achievements, seems to indicate that these two groups, as already seen above, represent traces of other, former dynasties. The two kings may represent the same ideas as Gri-gum-btsan-po and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal are representing in the Yar-luñ Dynasty.

## The mythic, the prehistoric, and the historic lines in the representation of the Dynasty

Various opinions may be advanced as to where the transition from the *mythic* part of the Dynasty to the real though *prehistoric* part of it, and from this to the *historic* part, is to be found. Before the edition of the ancient documents from the caves of Tun-huang, King gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan or his son Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po were generally considered the first historical kings, and lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan the first king to whose real existence some probability might be ascribed.

Although the studies of the traditions of the Tibetan Dynasty have usually been most superficial, an opinion developed which summarily characterized the representation of the Dynasty before Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po or his immediate predecessors as *mythic* in the somewhat misleading sense of *fictione*. It hardly recognized the existence of any historical or genuine dynastic tradition among the Tibetans dating from a time much older than the presumed beginning of historical time in the sixth to seventh centuries. Recent studies have led to less categorical points of view in this regard, but the question of myth or reality in the representation of the Yar-luñ Dynasty still remains open.

When lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan was regarded as the first king who possibly did not belong to the realm of myths, the principal argument in favour of his historical reality was the persistent maintenance of the Buddhist tradition that Buddhism came to Tibet for the first time during his reign. The Buddhist tradition of the Happy Generations since lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan is, however, in itself no historical proof of the existence of the predecessors of gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan until lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, but certain material, which is at our disposal at present, seems to establish the actual existence of these kings and even of some of the predecessors of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan.

A question which automatically presents itself in this connection is that of the general reliability of the Tibetan sources and their records, where the events before the beginning of the seventh century are concerned. We must still consider these records as being based on an oral tradition, as writing, according to Tibetan tradition, was not introduced until the time of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.<sup>1</sup> But it has not as yet been proved beyond doubt that no written tradition existed previous to that time.

The existence of a firm oral tradition of great extent and importance is manifest from the abundance of epics and epic fragments of ancient character found in Tibetan literature and dealing with prehistoric events and concepts. This epic tradition forms the connecting link between the oral and the written tradition and constitutes, in fact, to a large extent the basis of that Tibetan literature on which we are dependent. At the same time it forces us to a radical change of opinion with regard to the cultural background on which the Tibetan Dynasty came into existence and the Tibetan Empire developed.

Although the validity of any oral tradition is usually a function of the time elapsed since the actual happening of the events, the general immutability of the oral tradition, especially in its epic form, is a commonly known phenomenon. This is particularly the case when the tradition is connected with fundamental, social or religious institutions. Moreover, the length of the period between Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po and lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan or some of his predecessors may easily be over-estimated as may be illustrated by a purely statistical consideration. The total period of reign of the nine kings from Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po to gLañ-Dar-ma, reckoned from about 600 A.D. till 841 A.D., corresponds to an average period of hardly twenty-seven years of reign for each king. Using this average value for an extrapolation, we find that the reign of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan should have begun approximately 135 years, or that of rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan approximately 240 years before the accession of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

We even have good reason to believe that we are overrating the length of time in these estimates, as the rule of accession at the age of thirteen years was probably much more rigorously observed in ancient times.<sup>9</sup>

Several indications with regard to the extent of historical reality in the traditional royal lineage are to be found in Chinese and Tibetan sources. The T'ang-shu (220.216A.2r) in its general description of Tibet and the Tibetans mentions six predecessors of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po up to Khri-rje-thog-btsan (see p. 60–62). The same king is named as an ancestor of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan in the letter of Buddaguhya to the latter king (28.387v).

The second part of the Tun-huang Ms 250 Paris (1.100–02/128–32) contains a list of the generations of Tibetan prime ministers (bLon-chen bgyis-pa'i rabs), beginning at the time of lDe-pru-bo-gnam-gzuñ-rtsan (no. 17) and continuing until about 800 A.D.<sup>9</sup> As far as the time from gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan or his father sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs is concerned the document is perfectly reliable, apart from incompleteness, when compared with the general historical records of this time, and as a whole it has an appearance of reality in its essential features. In this document the eighth minister before the famous minister of gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan and his son, the Žañ sNañ Mañ-po-rje of Myañ, can be referred to the time of 'Bro-gñan-lde'u (no. 30) by means of special references in the Ms, but the number of ministers preceding him, amounting only to six, is scarcely adequate to the corresponding number of kings, viz. thirteen if we accept the authorized tradition. Incompleteness of the list of ministers must be taken into account; on the other hand, the possibility seems indicated that lDe-pru-bo-gnam-gzuñ-rtsan should in reality be placed much closer to historical time.

The descriptions of the tombs of the Tibetan kings, and the references to their location give us important information (see pp. 114–118 and chapter 16). It appears that quite specific traditions exist as to the tombs of the kings from lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan onwards, all of them placed within certain localities in Yar-luñ, while it is generally told that the preceding groups of kings were buried in different facies of the Tibetan country. On the other hand certain isolated records of the tombs of prehistoric kings before lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan seem to contradict this. First of all the tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po expressly maintains that the tomb of this king in Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ was the first tomb. Moreover it is told that King Za-nam-zin-lde had a tomb built "in the country itself" (see p. 116 and 117).

Before attempting to explain these contradictory records, we shall proceed to discuss another aspect of the Dynasty which shows similar contradictions.

The names of the kings and queens may possibly in themselves present some criterion of the reality of their bearer. Though evidence obtained this way cannot be conclusive, it may prove contributory in connection with other evidence. By an immediate inspection of the names of the kings, those of the kings of the fifth group and their successors up to gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan have a much more pronounced cast of reality and resemblance to the names of the historical kings than the names occurring in the previous groups. Correspondingly the names of the queens from lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan to gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan (nos. 28–31) have a distinct cast of reality, which is underlined by the references to actual clans or clan-dynasties. In the fifth group two of the queens, nos. 24 and 27, have names of the same character, while the queens nos. 25 and 26 have names of a more, at any rate formally, mythical character, like the names of the preceding queens.

This change in the character of the names of the queens takes place from the beginning of the fifth group of the Dynasty, simultaneous with the change of the nature of the queens as seen above (p. 120 and 123). sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan or rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan, no. 24 of the Dynasty, is the first king of the fifth group and his queen is the first one who has a name founded in reality viz. 'O-ma-sde-bza' 'Bri-btsun Byañ-ma.

Most of the names of the preceding twenty-three queens can be referred to a few classes of Tibetan goddesses. The first four queens seem to belong to a particular class of goddess located in the upper middle sphere, the next two queens are characterized as lHa-mo. Seven queens (nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20, 22) are directly mentioned as sMan, while four other queens (nos. 8, 10, 15, 18), named as rMu-lcam, Mer-lcam, and kLu-mo, also belong to the class of sMan-goddesses. In this connection we may add

that the two queens with mythical names in the fifth group (nos. 25 and 26) belong to the same class. The remaining six queens (nos. 7, 9, 17, 19, 21, 23) cannot be exactly classified.

In the third and fourth groups the majority of names of the kings within each group have a characteristic similarity. Moreover they are characterized by a common occurrence of the elements Legs and lDe or Se. Judging from analogous occurrences elsewhere we should be tempted to regard the two groups as mere rigmaroles composed for the purpose of establishing a sufficiently imposing lineage of royal ancestors of the later Tibetan kings. Two circumstances, however, make such an assumption untenable. In certain Tun-huang Mss, information from which a list of Tibetan principalities and their rulers or petty kings, rGyal-phran (see p. 240 ff.), has been systematically collected by M. Lalou, is to be found. One of these local kings carries the name rNol-nam, which is identical with variants of the name of the king no. 20 in the fourth group of the Dynasty. The element rNol or sNol, judging from the names of some of the other rGyal-phran, may not only be part of a personal name, but a designation of a local dynasty. Moreover, the element Se or bSe, which occurs in the names of some of the kings of the same group, and even twice in those of the queens, is identical with the name of one of the great Tibetan clans and its progenitor deity.

We must therefore take into due consideration the possibility that both the third and the second groups represent real dynastic lines, as suggested before. But if so, the question remains, whether these lines actually belonged to and constituted the continual lineage of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, as it is represented by the general tradition, or whether they represent independent dynastic lines somehow connected with the kings of Yar-luñ and their actual lineage.

When analyzing the names occurring in the third and fourth groups, we find yet another strange circumstance. In both groups, but particularly in the fourth one, we observe that two or three of the kings carry names which are quite different in appearance from those of the remaining kings. In the third group this applies, though less pronouncedly, to the kings Gu-ru-legs (no. 13) and 'Broñ-zi-legs (no. 14), who together with Thi-šo-legs (no. 12) seem to form an isolated line, judging from the matronymical elements of their names. Besides, the occurrence of the clan name 'Broñ(s) is remarkable. In the fourth group our consideration applies to the kings Za-nam-zin-lde (no. 16) and lDe-'phrul-gnam-gzuñ-btsan (no. 17) who, with regard to the character of their names, distinguish themselves quite distinctly from the remaining six kings.

For both of these kings we find reminiscences of historical traditions. Za-nam-zin-lde is the king mentioned in the dKar-chag of bLon-chen mGar, in the quotation concerning his tomb given above. lDe-'phrul-gnam-gzuñ-btsan is mentioned as the first king in the list of prime ministers by the Tun-huang Ms 250 Paris, as described above.

Regarding as a whole the various kinds of evidence appearing from the list of the prime ministers, the traditions of the tombs and burial places, the significance and differences in character of the royal names, and the material in the preceding chapter, we should be justified to some degree of probability in assuming that:

*the first and second groups, regarded as groups, belong to the myth, while some of the individual kings, viz. gNa'-khri-btsan-po, Gri-gum-btsan-po, and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal may have some background in reality;*

*the third and fourth groups have been composed by introducing independent dynastic lines and connecting them with a few of the prehistoric kings of the Yar-luñ lineage, either for the apparent purpose of prolonging the main line of the royal pedigree, or simply as a mere outcome of the most common practice of Tibetan authors to combine analogous or somehow related traditions in greater, apparently integral units;*

*the few assumably real kings of the Dynasty such as Za-nam-zin-lde and lDe-'phrul-gnam-gzuñ-btsan belong to an era much closer to historical time than appearing from the general representation of the Dynasty, so that:*

*the beginning of the prehistoric, but real, line may be found a few generations before the fifth group of the bTsan, and:*

*the time of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan or his immediate successors may be regarded as the dawn of historical time in Tibet.*

## The beginning of the Dynasty in Tibetan chronology

On several occasions above we have avoided the problem of the chronological aspects connected with the Dynasty and especially the beginning of the Dynasty, which by the general tradition is marked by *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*. As a chronological study of all the data concerning all the individual kings of the Dynasty is outside the scope of our study,<sup>1</sup> we shall consider only the dates of the prehistoric kings. Our main interest in connection with the beginning of the Dynasty is whether the Tibetans themselves have ascribed the advent of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* to any particular date.

In Tibetan historical and chronological literature we very seldom find chronological data regarding the prehistoric or pre-Buddhist part of the Dynasty. Therefore, we will not give a comprehensive view of the sources, but confine ourselves to reproducing examples representing the main trends in the Tibetan attempts at dating the beginning of the Dynasty.

There are three ways in which chronological indications are given by the Tibetan sources. One by counting from the *Buddhanirvāṇa*; another by counting the years until the births of *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan* and *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po*; a third by counting the years until a later date, usually the date when the computation of the work in question has been composed. Of these ways of dating that of the *Buddhanirvāṇa* is the most complex one, the problems of which have been discussed by A. Macdonald (169.62 ff.).

Quoting the *lHa-sa'i bka'-tshigs chen-mo, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* (64.6r) tells that:

*gÑa'-khri-btsan-po-nas Tho-tho-ri'i-bar lo  
lña-brgya soñ / Tho-thos brgya-dañ-ñi-śu thub /  
De-nas Sroñ-btsan-gyi-bar-gyi bži-la brgya-dañ-  
bcu-gcig soñ-bar bśad-pas /*

From *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* until (*lHa-*)*tho-tho-ri(-gñan-btsan)* five hundred years passed. *Tho-tho* managed one hundred and twenty years. Under the four (kings) from him to *Sroñ-btsan (-sgam-po)* one hundred and eleven years passed.

Later in his chronicle *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* (64.12r) expresses his own view when saying:

*/ De-ltar Bod-rje gÑa'-khri-btsan-po-nas /  
/ Thog-ma'i gduñ-rabs ñi-śu-rtsa-bdun-la /  
/ Mi-lo drug-brgya-dañ-ni-drug-bcu soñ /  
/ De-nas Tho-tho-ri sogs gduñ-rabs-lñar /  
/ Lo ni brgya-dañ-lña-bcu lon-no źes /  
/ bKa'-tshigs la-sogs yig-rñiñ du-mar bśad /*

Thus, from *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* the Ruler of Tibet,  
During the first twenty-seven generations,  
Six hundred and sixty human years passed.  
During the five generations of *Tho-tho-ri* etc.,  
then  
One hundred and fifty years elapsed. So  
It is told in many old texts, such as *bKa'-tshigs*.

The *Deb-ther-dmar-po* (51.21r) relates:

*gÑa'-khri-btsan-po-nas Tho-tho-ri-sñan-  
btsan bar-la lo drug-brgya-drug-cu / Tho-tho-ri-  
sñan-nas Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po 'khruñs-pa yan-la*

From *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* to (*lHa-*)*tho-tho-ri-sñan-btsan* six hundred and sixty years (passed).  
From *Tho-tho-ri-sñan* to the birth of *Sroñ-btsan-*

lo brgya-dañ-lña-bcu / De-nas me-pho-khyi-la  
Byañ-ji sTon-pas rGyal-rabs dPag-bsam-ljon-śiñ  
brtsams-pa yan-la lo dgu-brgya-ñi-śu-rtsa-gsum /  
De-nas lo drug-cu-rtsa-gcig me-pho-khyi-la  
rGyal-rabs 'di bris-pa yan-chad / gÑa'-khri-btsan-  
po mar-bcad-la lo stoñ-dañ-bdun-brgya-dgu-  
bcu-rtsa-bži soñ 'dug-go /

A note in small letters to the Chronicle of Bu-ston (53.131v) reproduces almost literally this information of the Deb-ther-dmar-po:

rGyal-po gÑa'-khri-btsan-po-nas Tho-tho-ri-  
sñan-śal-gyi bar-la lo drug-brgya-drug-cu / De-  
nas Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po 'khrus-pa'i bar-la  
brgya-lña-bcu / De-nas Byañ-gi sTon-pas rGyal-  
rabs dPag-bsam-ljon-śiñ brtsams-pa yan-la lo  
dgu-brgya-dañ-ñi-śu-rtsa-gsum / De-nas me-pho-  
khyi yan-la Deb-ther-dmar-po brtsams-pa yan-  
chad-la stoñ-bdun-brgya-go-bži soñ / De-nas  
Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa Ye-śes-mtshos lcags-pho-  
'brug man-la brtsis-pas stoñ-brgyad-brgya-dgu-  
bcu-go-drug soñ 'dug gsuñs-so /

*sgam-po* one hundred and fifty years (passed). Then until the year of Fire-Male-Dog, when *Byañ-ji sTon-pa* composed the historical work *rGyal-rabs dPag-bsam-ljon-śiñ*, nine hundred and twenty-three years (passed). Then until the year of Fire-Male-Dog when this historical work was written sixty-one years (passed). Starting with *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-four years have passed.

From King *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* to *Tho-tho-ri-sñan-śal* six hundred and sixty years (passed). Then until the birth of *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po* one hundred and fifty (years passed). Then until the year when *Byañ-gi sTon-pa* composed the historical work *rGyal-rabs dPag-bsam-ljon-śiñ* nine hundred and twenty-three years (passed). Then until (the year of) Fire-Male-Dog when *Deb-ther-dmar-po* was composed one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-four years passed. Then until (the year of) Iron-Male-Dragon, when the All-knowing *Ye-śes-mtsho* made his calculation, one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-six (years) passed. This is told.

The rGya-Bod yig-tshañ gives according to the translation by A. Macdonald (169.91) the following chronological data:<sup>2</sup>

Depuis la naissance du roi des Muni en *sa-pho 'brug* jusqu'en *chu-pho khyi*, année ou le plus ancien des rois *Gña-khri* bcan-po a pris le pouvoir, mille trois cent cinquante-six ans se sont écoulés. Neuf cent soixante et un ans plus tard, en *chu-pho khyi*, *Mtho-ri sñan-rcan* est apparu. Cent quatre-vingt-dix-sept ans plus tard, en *me-glañ*, naquit *Sroñ-bcan sgam-po*. . . .

Depuis l'année *me-stag* (1206) jusqu'à la présente année *çin-stag* (1434) . . . . , deux cent vingt-huit ans ont passé. En additionnant les chiffres, trois mille cinq cent quatre-vingt-cinq ans se sont écoulés (depuis le *Nirvāṇa*).

The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (58.24v) adds the following note to the account of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*:

Saṅs-rgyas mya-ñan-las-'das-nas lo ñis-stoñ  
soñ-ba-na /

This occurred two thousand years after the  
*Nirvāṇa* of Buddha.

Later (58.27v-28r) the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ in a note quotes the tradition of 'Phags-pa bLa-ma and then proceeds with a critical survey, of which we shall only quote the beginning:

Śes-bya rab-gsal-nas / Saṅs-rgyas mya-ñan-  
las-'das-nas / lo ñis-stoñ soñ-dus / rJe gÑa'-khri-  
btsan-po byon / ñis-stoñ-lña-brgya-na / lHa-tho-  
tho-ri-sñan-śal byon gsañ-bar 'dus /

From the *Śes-bya rab-gsal* it is clear, that when two thousand years have passed since the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha, came the ruler *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*. When two thousand and five hundred (years had passed) came *lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-śal*.

/rJe gÑa'-khri-btsan-po-nas/lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-śal yan-la gduñ-rabs ñi-śu-rtsa-bdun-la lo lña-brgya soñ 'dug-par ñes zer-na'añ / ... .

If we say, that it is true that five hundred years have passed during the twenty-seven generations from the Ruler *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po to lHa-tho-tho-ri-sñan-śal*, then ...

In 1962 a Tibetan school-reader (123.67) appeared which dates the coming of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* this way:

De-nas Sañs-rgyas-kyi 'das-lo bdun-brgya-lña-bcu-ña-bzi-pa śiñ-stag-lor Bod Gañs-can spyi-la dbañ-ba'i rgyal-po'i thog-ma rje-la śña-ba gÑa'-khri-btsan-po žes grags-pa byuñ /

Then in the year Wood-Tiger, the seven-hundred-and-fifty-fourth year after the *Nirvāna* of Buddha, appeared the first of the kings having power over all Snowy Tibet, the earliest among rulers, known as *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*.

The cyclic year of the Wood-Tiger as the date of the advent of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* depends on the *Bai-đurya-dkar-po* by Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho. According to the rules of this work all popular Tibetan calendars contain a chronological list of historical events, dated by counting the years up to the year of the calendar in question.<sup>3</sup> The calendar of 1963/64 A.D., *Water-Female-Hare* or *Chu-mo-yos*, printed in Dharamsala, relates (111.9):

/ Śiñ-stag Yar-kluñs bTsan-thañ-rir /  
/ Bod-rje'i thog-ma gÑa'-btsan lebs 2089 / ...  
/ Śiñ-khyir 'Od-gsal-lha'i gduñ rigs /  
/ Chos-rgyal Tho-ri-sñan-śal 'khruñs 1709 /

(In the year) Wood-Tiger, at *bTsan-thañ-ri* in *Yar-kluñs*,  
Came *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, the first Tibetan ruler.  
2089th year.  
(In the year) Wood-Dog, a descendant of the family of *'Od-gsal-lha*,  
The King of Law, *Tho-ri-sñan-śal* was born.  
1709th year.

Based on this method of counting the years elapsed since *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* we find the Tibetan Royal Era, *rGyal-lo* or *King Year*, the 2061st of which is identified with 1965/66 A.D. or *Śiñ-sbrul*, *Wood-Serpent*. This dates *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* to 95 B.C.

To facilitate the comparison of the data from the above quotations we have united the chronological dates and their correspondences to the European calendar in Table VI below. In this table we have excluded the *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ* which states the lapse of years between the *Nirvāna* and *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, and between the *Nirvāna* and *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan* according to *'Phags-pa bLa-ma*.

The following abbreviations are employed: *N*—the *Nirvāna* of Buddha; *gÑa'*—the advent of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*; *lHa*—the birth of *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan*; *D*—the death of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*; *Sroñ*—the birth of *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po*. The Tibetan sources are indicated by their numbers of reference and folio or page number.

In our calculations we have not added that number of years which is sometimes ascribed to *lHa-tho-tho-ri*, viz. 120, except when mentioned by the source in question. In all cases where these 120 years are not included we may have to consider the possibility of a date other than the one included in the table below, viz. a date displaced by 120 years.

Disregarding the uncertainty caused by the incompatibility between the date of the cyclic names employed by the sources and the data obtained by retrograde calculation, we obtain no less than *six different dates* for the advent of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* and thus *for the beginning of the Yar-luñ Dynasty*, viz. B.C. 95, 125, 173, 252, 447, and 794.

These different dates cannot be explained merely as results of miscalculations and dislocations by multiples of twelve years. They are indications showing that these chronological datings are late inven-

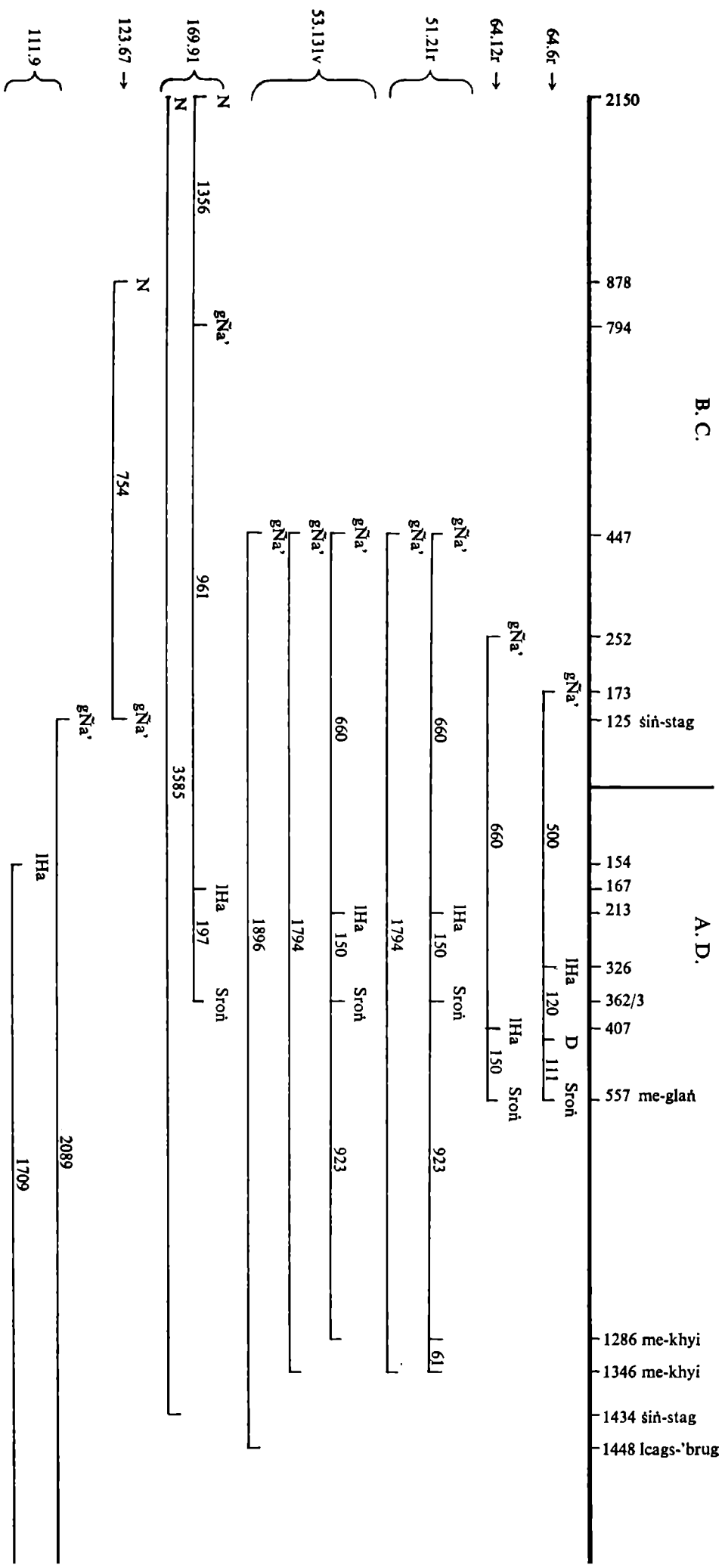


Table VI: The beginning of the Dynasty in Tibetan chronology.



tions, probably connected with the beginning of Buddhist historiography during the last sixty years of the Yar-luñ Dynasty. That this might be the case is indicated by dPa'-bo gTsong-lag (64.10r), who in a note writes:

Bod-tu chos-'byuñ-tshul 'di-la'añ lo ñis-  
stoñ-lña-brgya zes zer-ba mañ-bar snañ yañ  
stoñ-dañ-lña-brgyar 'chad-pa-rnams 'grig-par  
snañ-ñiñ 'di-ni chos-rgyal Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan-gyi  
dus-la dgoñs-so /

As to this tradition of the arrival of the Law to Tibet, it is widely accepted to say that two thousand and five hundred years (have passed since *Nirvāna*). But those explaining it to be one thousand and five hundred are correct. This was thought so at the time of the King of the Law, *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan*.

Our sources thus indicate that *there exists no firm tradition dating the beginning of the Yar-luñ Dynasty*, and those dates we have seem to indicate that *no generally accepted tradition existed*—rather do they indicate the existence of computations made by single authors at different times, more or less independent of each other.

## The cosmological and theogonical aspects of the representation of the Dynasty

The division of the prehistoric lineage of the Dynasty into separate groups might be quite simply explained if we assume that the whole lineage had been composed from several separate lines of mythical or semi-historical origin; or if, in accordance with Rockhill, we dismiss the Tibetan tradition of the Dynasty as a mere imitation of the Chinese tradition of the mythic and prehistoric dynasties of China.<sup>1</sup>

Undoubtedly the lineage of the ancient Tibetan kings has been composed from separate parts, as shown above, but just as undoubtedly the lineage is no imitation. It depends on genuine Tibetan traditions.

The elements of a cosmological and theogonical nature which are more or less definitely revealed from the definitions of the groups and from the names of the kings might, however, indicate that the division, and so far the idea of the lineage as a whole, was founded in the cosmological or theogonical concepts of the ancient Tibetans.

In fact, it appears from the present study that the cosmological and theogonical elements, which we are going to discuss immediately below, are secondary elements. They originate from the traditions of the origin of the Dynasty and the concept of the nature of the Tibetan kings. Their apparently close connection with the definitions of the various groups is partly the result of later attempts to arrange the groups in a cosmological-theogonical system.

The question of the composition of the lineage itself, proves to be considerably more complicated, as we shall see in the following. It appears that we are dealing partly with a composition from mythic or prehistoric lines of possibly different local origin, partly with a gradual reflection of various stages of Tibetan culture and religion, personified in the groups or in single kings belonging to them.

### *The cosmological aspect of the Dynasty*

During the examination of the names or definitions of the groups we have already seen that the first, fourth, and fifth groups are particularly connected with the upper, middle, and lower spheres respectively, while the second group is connected with both the upper and the middle spheres, and the third group is ambiguously defined in its relation to the middle or the lower spheres. In fact, the cosmological references are ambiguously defined for all the groups with the exception of the first group.

This ambiguity is to a large extent due to the two circumstances that the three principal cosmic spheres are in themselves differently named and conceived with regard to extent and limits, and that these three spheres were gradually conceived as consisting of two strata each, an upper and a lower one.

Certain indications make it probable that the expression *gNam-Sa*, Heaven-Earth represents the most ancient Tibetan concept of the world, an upper and a lower part, either of them being the reflection of the other one. According to the oldest traditions of cosmology known from Tibetan literature, the world consisted, however, of three spheres, an upper, a middle, and a lower sphere, which were more simply characterized by the corresponding general terms *sTeñ*, *Bar*, and *'Og*, as we learn, from the *Bai-ḍūrya dkar-po*. The upper world or *sTeñ* was the somewhat indefinite idea of Heaven, the middle world or *Bar* was the earth with the lower atmosphere in the sense of the existence medium of Man, while the lower world or *'Og* was the earth in the principal sense of the Underworld.<sup>2</sup>

These three cosmic spheres are more specifically named *gNam*, heaven, *Bar*, the intermediate space, and *Sa*, the earth.

In the systematical Bon-religion, as it is represented by the *gZer-myig*, the three spheres are defined as *Nam-mkha'* the heaven in the sense of the supreme part of the world, *Bar-snañ* "the intermediate light" signifying the medium of the celestial bodies or the "sky," and *Sa-gzi* the solid ground of the earth including the existence medium of Man and the Underworld.<sup>3</sup>

When comparing these definitions of the spheres we immediately observe a general ambiguity. Depending on circumstances *gNam* may be synonymous with *Bar*, *Bar* with *Sa*, and *Sa* with 'Og. The world of Man may be either *Bar* or *Sa*.

Matters become even more confused by the differentiation of the three main spheres in an upper and a lower stratum, so that we have to distinguish between terms like *sTod-gnam* or *gNam-steñ* and *gNam*, *sTod-bar* and *Bar*, and *Sa-steñ* and *Sa*.

Faced with this confused terminology we are, in reality, unable to give a precise explanation of the cosmological ideas connected with the representation of the Dynasty, as long as we are dealing merely with the heterogeneous material presented by the names of the various groups. If, however, on the one side we consider the tradition of the Dynasty and its origin, and on the other side realize the significance of the second group as a mere link introduced for reasons of necessity by the composition of the authorized representation of the royal pedigree, we may give a plausible explanation of the cosmological aspect of the Dynasty.

A fundamental feature in the tradition of the Dynasty is that the progenitor king descended *from Heaven upon Earth*, was a son of *lHa* who came to be the *Ruler of Men*. *The tradition provides no intermediate stage between Heaven and Earth* corresponding to the facts that the Bon-po tradition makes the *Sa-la-dbañ-po* the successors of the *gNam-skos-lha*,<sup>3</sup> and that a number of sources do not mention a second group between the Celestial Khri and the Legs of the Earth.

The intermediate sphere or stage in an unambiguous significance is in fact only represented by the second group, which, in a *general sense*, actually forms an intermediary link between two groups which in a *cosmic sense* are connected with the idea of Heaven and Earth.

We may therefore assume that the groups of the Dynasty, which in other ways, for example by specific designations of the kings, Khri, Legs, etc., distinguish themselves individually, were additionally characterized, the first group with the reference to Heaven and the remaining groups of the original tradition with references to the lower world expressed in various terms. By the introduction of the second group the idea of the intermediate or middle sphere was brought into the tradition, and the representation of the Dynasty gained the appearance of reflecting the cosmic structure.

The fact remained, however, that the number of groups did not permit a simple reflection of the cosmic spheres. This very fact, which made it necessary to connect more groups with one and the same sphere, is in itself a striking argument against the idea that the reflection of all three cosmic spheres is an original feature in the traditions of the groups of the Dynasty.

It seems as though the author of the *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ* has attempted to remedy this defect by presenting a tradition of the names of the five groups which deviates from other traditions. As appears from the compilation of names given above and from the quotation, p. 36, the *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ* uses the following names of the groups:

*gNam-la-khri-bdun*  
*sTod-kyi-steñ-gñis*  
*Bar-du(gyi)-legs-drug*  
*Sa-la-sde-brgyad*  
*'Og-gi-btsan-gsum.*

These names give the groups the appearance of belonging to five different spheres, while in reality they are only the result of a play with terms. In the last three names the repetition of *Sa* is avoided by the

use of three terms which, belonging to different cosmological traditions, synonymously signify the lower sphere. In sTod-kyi-steñ-gñis the significant element may be sTod, but if so, the group is connected directly with the upper sphere. The significant element may also be sTeñ or lTeñ which may modify the whole name in a sense corresponding to the general concept of the intermediate position of the group. Unfortunately our insufficient knowledge of the value of the terms involved makes us unable to give a precise interpretation of the name, which may ultimately have been used by the author, because it was in itself equivocal.

### *The theogonical aspect of the Dynasty*

In the general tradition of the origin of the Dynasty, in the names of the groups, and in the regal names of the kings certain features connect the idea of the Dynasty with that of the Tibetan theogony.

In the Bon tradition and concept of the Dynasty (see chapters 10 and 11) gÑa'-khri-btsan-po belongs to the lineage of the Srid-pa'i-lha, and the Tibetan kings as such represent a link in this lineage, symbolized in the idea of rGyal-srid.

The circumstance that the first group of the Dynasty are celestial gods, related with the lHa or the rMu depending on the traditions considered, that the fourth group seems somehow connected with the idea of the Te, and that the fifth group is directly characterized by the name of the bTsan, seems to indicate the possibility that the idea of the various groups of the Dynasty has a general connection with the theogony. Although the connection between certain groups of kings and certain groups of Tibetan deities is evident, a general connection does not seem to exist. The characteristic designation of the third group and its kings, Legs, strongly speaks against it, because the Bon name Sa-la-dbañ-po shows that Sa-la-legs cannot be interpreted in any theogonical sense, but only in that imparted to the name by Legs in the common significance of good.

Admitting our doubt with regard to the real significance of lDe and consequently with regard to the position of the lDe in our problem,<sup>4</sup> and taking due reserve because of these facts, we find that depending on the traditions *only two classes of deities*, viz. the lHa (or rMu) and the bTsan seem definitely connected with the ideas of the Tibetan kings.

The connection with lHa appears from the tradition of the descent of the kings, and from their designation as lHa-bu, lHa-sras, or 'Phrul-gyi-lha and the further significance of these names (see p. 316 ff.). While the idea of lHa in its narrowest sense is connected only with the first King gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, the idea of bTsan can be connected only with the Dynasty from the seventeenth King lDe-'phrul-gnam-gzuñ-btsan and onwards, with the exception of the general occurrence of the title *bTsan-po*.

In the fourth group of the Dynasty the element bTsan is found in the names of lDe-'phrul-gnam-gzuñ-btsan (no. 17) and lDe-sprin-btsan (no. 23), and sporadically in the variant lDe-rgyal-po-btsan of the name of the king no. 22. From the first king of the fifth group rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan also named sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan (no. 24), all the royal names with two exceptions contain the element bTsan. In most cases this is connected with the elements gÑan, Sroñ or lDe in the following characteristic ways:

- nos. 24–27: -btsan
- 28–29: -gñan-btsan
- 30–31: -gñan-
- 32–33: sroñ-btsan
- 34–35: ...-sroñ-...-btsan
- no. 36: ...-sroñ-
- 37: -lde-btsan
- 38: -sroñ-lde-btsan
- 40: -lde-sroñ-btsan
- 41: -lde-...-btsan.

The two exceptions mentioned are 'Dus-sroñ (no. 36) and Mu-ne-btsan-po (no. 39). The occurrence of bTsan in the latter name cannot be taken into account in the present connection, because it is found in the same way in all the original names of the sons of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan.

The absence of bTsan in the names of kings nos. 30 and 31 cannot be regarded as actual exceptions, because there is no essential difference between the gÑan and the bTsan in the Tibetan concept of them. In many cases it is difficult to make a precise distinction between these two groups of deities.

It is evident that bTsan is the fundamental theogonical element in all the names of the kings enumerated above. With the exception of a few, in themselves dubious cases, *these kings characterized as bTsan are identical with those otherwise characterized as the prehistoric, but real, and the historic lines of the Dynasty.*

The occurrences of Sroñ and lDe in their various combinations with bTsan seem to indicate that these elements are secondary ones. Both of them may be supposed to have a sacral significance which cannot, however, be interpreted at present. They may have some connection with the sacerdotal classes of Bon, represented by sGruñ and lDe'u (see p. 108).

The two classes of deities, the lHa and the bTsan, which are connected with the concept of the Tibetan kings, were the principal deities of two of the cosmic spheres. The lHa belong to the upper sphere or gNam (sTeñ or sTod), while the realm of the bTsan is Bar or Bar-snañ (162.passim). Bar in the capacity of the world of the bTsan or the gÑan which are mostly identified with the bTsan, is conceived in the sense of the middle sphere as the abode of Man. The bTsan are the most important deities living in the world of the human beings.

*The two cosmic spheres, Heaven and the World of Man, are the same spheres with which the idea of the Dynasty is connected in its cosmological and theogonical aspects. They are the only spheres with which it is connected in fundamental accordance with the mythic traditions of its origin from Heaven and task on Earth.*

In the theogonic aspect of the Dynasty one important feature, however, still demands an answer; why were the ideas of the kings and the bTsan so intimately connected that the kings as bTsan-po were actually identified with the bTsan?

G. Tucci alone (195 and 196 passim) seems to have realized the profound significance of this identity, which became manifest when the Tibetan King Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan abandoned the old religion and became an adherent of Buddhism, but the answer to the question above is to be found in the *mythic tradition of the task of the king on earth*. As we shall outline later in chapters 11 and 14, their task was not merely that of being the Ruler of Men; it was also to be the equal of the powers of the earth, the deities and the demons, and *to be the equal of the most powerful deities, the bTsan.*

## The Dynasty and its origin in the light of the legendary tradition

From the analysis of some of the main features in the representation and the division of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, which may have given some preliminary impressions of the heterogeneous and complicated structure characterizing the general, authorized representation of the prehistoric line of the Dynasty, we shall proceed to study in detail its relation to the legendary traditions attached to the Dynasty and its origin. In this regard our interest will be concentrated particularly on the first two groups of the Dynasty.

Including the legendary material in the investigation—and indeed, without taking this material into account, any study of the early history of the Dynasty is futile—we may make in advance, although thus anticipating the issue, the following general statements. In the legendary material concerning the Dynasty the Tibetan *imago mundi* is reflected not only in its vertical projection as is immediately apparent from the subdivision of the Dynasty, but in certain details its horizontal projection is revealed too. Moreover, a number of features from the ancient conceptions of the origin of mankind and of the Tibetan peoples in particular, and from the myths of the prehistoric and even the pre-dynastic regimes in Tibet and the deities dominating the country at various times, are either directly present in the image of the Dynasty, which we are going to obtain, or they are intimated by its general character or by special details. We shall learn that the idea of the Dynasty and its origin is based on fundamentally different religious concepts and on different local traditions, and gives us reflections of ancient cultural and ethnological conditions especially illustrative with regard to the funeral customs, rites, and sacrifices.

The image of the Dynasty as we obtain it from the legendry is in itself sufficiently complicated by the presence of these different constituents, but it becomes even more difficult to analyze because practically each of these constituents is again a complex of intermingled concepts of separate, regional or chronologically different origin. Taken as a whole, however, these various elements involved in the idea and representation of the Dynasty are numerous, more or less fragmentary or sporadic occurrences in Tibetan literature. They are generally regarded as curiosities of no further consequence, but they form an integral part of the tradition of ancient Tibetan culture. They have unavoidably to be taken into consideration as a condition for understanding the conditions and the development of Tibetan history in all its aspects.

The task of giving a general, not to say systematic, presentation of these elements of Tibetan culture is one of the future, beyond the scope of the present investigation. Taking the traditions of the Dynasty as our point of departure we shall, however, endeavour to clear up some special features and advance some suggestions for a future discussion.

### *The progenitor of the Dynasty and his relation to its first group of kings*

Regarded in the light of the records of the mythical or legendary kings gÑa'-khri-btsan-po (no. 1), Gri-gum-btsan-po (no. 8), and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal (no. 9), which have been discussed and given in variety by H. Hoffmann in his work on the Bon religion (162), the first and the second groups of the Dynasty apparently form a logical unit. They describe the origin of the Tibetan kings from the *divine* gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and the development of the royal lineage through his successors of *divine nature* up to Gri-gum-btsan-po who, *though born divine, loses the direct connection with the celestial and divine world and dies as a mortal being* to be succeeded by his son sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, *who both by birth and by death was bound to the abode of Man*. This unity of the two groups is, however, only an apparent one created

by a very clever combination of two or more different conceptions of the divine or supernatural origin of the first king of the Dynasty. We are going to show that *the second group is an interpolation serving the sole purpose of combining two different origin conceptions, each of which had its particular progenitor of the royal lineage, viz. gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal.*

According to the generally adopted tradition gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was a celestial god, lHa, or a Son of lHa, lHa-sras, who descended upon earth to become the Ruler of Men, Mi'i-rje. The transition from the state of supreme divinity to the final nature of man, which in the general representation of the Dynasty is particularly indicated by the existence and nature of the *first three groups*, in fact takes place as a progressive transition *within the group of the Seven Celestial Khri itself.*

If we consider the matronymical elements in the names of the six successors of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and examine the names of their mothers,<sup>1</sup> we find the transitory stages defined in the following way: *gNam, Sa, So, Mer, gDags*, and *Sribs* or *Heaven, Earth, Underworld, Fire, Light, and Darkness.* These six stages, the Tibetan expressions of which in two cases demand a special interpretation, exhibit a *double representation of the three principal spheres of the Tibetan cosmos.*

In its widest sense *Sa* comprises the total idea of Earth, i.e. the lower part of the atmosphere, the soil, and the underground. When occurring in the later literature *So*, as in terms like *so-kha*, may hardly be distinguished from *Sa* in its common sense, but in the present case, where *So* is evidently different from *Sa*, we would be justified in considering *So* as an inferior stratum in relation to *Sa*, signifying the inferior world or the Underworld.

*Mer* may be subject to various views, and two possibilities of interpretation are immediately at hand. It may be a derivative either of *Me*, Fire, or of *Mi*, Man. The circumstance that the former interpretation gives us the cosmic stage which logically corresponds to the position in the sequence, makes us adopt the interpretation Fire without particular hesitation. Moreover, the form *Me-khri* in several versions of the royal names occurs instead of *Mer-khri*, and the corresponding king is in the Mongolian tradition expressly characterized as the King of the Fire-Jewel-Throne.

If we regard the transitory stages as they are indicated directly by the names of the six kings in question, we get the following sequence: *Mu, Diñ, So, Me(r), gDags*, and *Sribs* corresponding to the same duplex reflection of the three cosmic spheres which appears from the names of the mother queens. *Mu* and *Diñ* are metaphors for *gNam* and *Bar*, the latter term being in our sequences conceived in the sense of the ancient cosmology, i.e. identical with *Sa*. The *Mu* (*rMu* or *dMu*) are deities of the upper sphere, and according to certain traditions gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is considered a descendant of the *Mu* instead of the *lHa* (see p. 268 f.). *Diñ* signifies a transitional stage or something situated in a hovering position, thus expressing the same sense of an intermediate stage as *Bar*.<sup>2</sup>

In the double reflection of the three cosmic spheres the former part, viz. *gNam* (*Mu*), *Bar* (*Sa*), and *'Og* (*So*), corresponds to the common definitions of the spheres, while the latter part, viz. *Me(r)*, *gDags*, and *Sribs*, corresponds to a special conception of the world, according to which the upper sphere contains the Fire from which the middle sphere gets its Light while the underworld below remains in Darkness.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that the cosmic spheres are personified by the kings of the first group is inconsistent with the idea of the cosmic stages which is expressed in the representation of the Dynasty by means of the groups. Besides, the double occurrence of the cosmic stages defined according to two different conceptions of the world seems just as inconsistent with any idea that the first group in its present and general formulation should represent an original tradition. On the contrary we find several facts which seem to indicate that *the first group consists of three separate parts, viz.*

gÑa'-khri-btsan-po,	Mu-khri-btsan-po	and	Mer-khri-btsan-po
	Diñ-khri-btsan-po		gDags-khri-btsan-po
	So-khri-btsan-po,		Sribs-khri-btsan-po,

where the separation of the two triads of kings from gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is already justified by the cosmic references just considered.

A sequence of four kings, formed by gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and his three immediate successors, seems to represent a tradition older than the authorized or related traditions of the Dynasty, in which the last three kings have apparently been introduced to create a group of the favourite number of seven. While an explanation of this sequence of four kings and its origin cannot be given until a later stage in our investigation, we may here mention the facts which indicate its separate position. All known Tibetan sources representing the first seven kings as the initial line of the Dynasty agree perfectly with regard to the names and positions of the first four kings, while they disagree with regard to the last three kings. In the representation of the Dynasty given by the Tun-huang Ms (1) the remarkable distinction appears that only the names of the queens of the first three kings are mentioned. If we compare the names of these three queens with those of the following queens (see Table III) we observe that the nature of the two groups of queens is quite differently conceived. The first queens possess names of an analogous structure being, as far as we may judge from a rather scarce mythological material, characteristic of a particular class of goddess belonging to the upper middle sphere or the sphere of the celestial bodies and the meteorological phenomena. The last queens, on the contrary, have less uniform names, and two of them are classified as lHa-mo, thus formally belonging to a superior class of deities compared with those of the middle sphere. Moreover it is still questionable whether the class of the lHa-mo belongs to the ancient, pre-Buddhist pantheon of the Tibetans, or it has been created only under the influence of Buddhism.

We have previously seen that the Mongolian sources and a special Bon-po version depend on traditions of the seven kings which are essentially different from that appearing from the authorized representation, and that these traditions, where the last three kings are concerned show a certain relationship with the deviating Tibetan representations.

According to the special Bon-po tradition given by the 'Dzam-gliñ Gañs Ti-se'i dkar-chag (109) the first seven kings are named gNam-skos-lHa, Heavenly Appointed lHa, and without any interposed second group they are followed by six kings named Sa-la-dbañ-po, Rulers on Earth, corresponding to the common third group of the Six Legs. The seven gNam-skos-lHa are divided into three groups corresponding to the three sacred mountains upon which they descended:

Upon *lHa-ri rGyañ-thog* in Koñ-po descended *gÑa'-khri-btsad-po*,  
*Thiñ-khri-btsad-po*, and  
*Mi-khri-btsad-po*.
 Upon *Po-rta-la-ri* of lHa-sa descended *So-khri-btsad-po* and  
*Bya-khri-btsad-po*.
 Upon *Šam-po-la* in Yar-kluñs descended *lDe-khri-btsad-po* and  
*Gri-gum-btsad-po*.<sup>4</sup>

If we temporarily leave out the question of the occurrence of Gri-gum-btsan-po among the first seven kings of the Dynasty, and study the total material of names of these kings, given in chapter 1 and Table III, it seems evident that all the known representations of the first group of kings depend on a few, but distinctly different, conceptions of them. With the exception of the authorized representation, which enumerates the kings in a strictly logical order corresponding to the significance of their names, the individual representations present a more or less confused mixture of elements deriving from various fundamental conceptions. In an attempt to retrace the original conceptions we may therefore feel independent of the individually given orders of succession of the kings.

Regarding the special Bon-po tradition mentioned above, we may arrange the kings in the following way:

gÑa'-khri-btsad-po	lDe-khri-btsad-po	Gri-gum-btsad-po.
Mi-khri-btsad-po	Thiñ-khri-btsad-po	
Bya-khri-btsad-po,	So-khri-btsad-po,	



Without changing the order of succession we may divide the main sequence of names given by the Mongolian sources with the exception of Sanang Sečen into the following groups:<sup>6</sup>

(gÑa'--khri-btsan-po),	Küjügün sandali-tu qayan
(Mi-khri-btsan-po),	Kümün sandali-tu qayan
(Bya-khri-btsan-po),	Siba yun sandali-tu qayan
( ? ),	Arbai sandali-tu qayan
(Me-khri-btsan-po),	Gal bolur sandali-tu qayan
(rTa-khri-btsan-po),	Morin sandali-tu qayan
(gSer-khri-btsan-po),	Altan sandali-tu qayan.

The former triad of kings corresponds perfectly to that deriving from the Bon-po tradition, while the latter triad can hardly be regarded as more than a formal unit because of the heterogeneity of the fundamental elements of the names, viz. Barley, Fire-Jewel, and Horse, traces of which are found in other sources (see p. 94 f.). The last king, the King of the Golden Throne, whose first appellative in the Mongolian sources is Dalai sübin or He Who is expanded in the Ocean, is identified with Gri-gum-btsan-po by Sanang Sečen. His isolated position which formally results from the arrangement above, hardly agrees with the particular conception expressed by the initial names of the last kings, the nos. 4 or 5, 6, and 7 of the Mongolian versions:

Ayitulqa,	The Main Pole of the Tent,
Gün sübin,	He Who is expanded in the "Deep," and
Dalai sübin,	He Who is expanded in the Ocean.

When interpreted in the way outlined in the following the Mongolian names of these three kings may express exactly the same image of the three cosmic spheres, viz. Heaven, Middle World, and Underworld in the ancient cosmic sense, as given by the former triad of kings in the authorized tradition.

Among a great many of the peoples of the Altai regions and in Siberia the tent symbolizes the world. This conception of the world is also known from Tibetan sources (194.719). A pole outside the tent or the main or central pole inside the tent, if such a pole belongs to the structure of the tent, symbolizes the central structure of the world or the support of heaven. It is thus conceived in a way analogous to the conception of the central mountain Ri-rab or Sumeru. The top of the pole or the smoke-hole of the tent, depending on the structure of the tent, symbolizes heaven in various aspects such as the centre of it, the entrance to it, or, more specifically, the Polar Star.

In the Tibetan conception of the World-Tent, the tent has eight ribs giving the sky, which revolves about the pole, the appearance of a wheel with eight spokes. Reminiscences of this conception are found in a deity connected with the myths of gÑa'--khri-btsan-po, the god sKar-ma-yol-sde or Guardian of the Star-Curtain, who is also characterized as rTsibs-lha or lHa of the Ribs. The pole of the Tibetan tent of the world was imagined as the glacier mountain Ti-se, the top of which passed through the central hole of the tent or heaven. The central hole, which was also imagined as a window or dkar-khuñ, was called *guñ*. This term specifically applies to the centre of heaven marked by the pole. From this sense derives its general use, particularly in terms of time-reckoning. The original cosmological sense of it appears in *guñ-thañ*, signifying heaven or the abode of the gods, and in various names of celestial gods in the expression *guñ-rgyal*, signifying a Ruler of Guñ or in a more general sense a celestial ruler.

In the general formulation of this conception of the world, the tent-pole, the top of which indicates the centre of heaven, may be used metaphorically of heaven itself.

In the second name mentioned above, *Gün sübin*, the former word means both the space below the observer, which is conceived as a "deep," and the bottom of this space or deep. It may therefore be a

metaphor for the atmospheric space or deep below heaven or the bottom of it, the earth, thus in reality signifying the middle sphere or Bar of the Tibetan cosmology.

In the same way *dalai* or ocean in the name of the last king Dalai sübin may signify the lower sphere of the world. The idea of the water or the ocean as the base or inferior stratum of the universal structure is well-known, and according to Tibetan conceptions, the waters belong to or directly represent the lower sphere or the underworld, the world of the kLu.

In so far as the preceding considerations based on rather disparate material permit us to draw any conclusions, it seems as though the kings of the first group are in various ways grouped by triads belonging to particular circles of conception. Unfortunately only two of these circles can safely be defined. One of them is represented in the general Tibetan tradition of the Dynasty and has its centre in the idea of the tripartite cosmos. The corresponding triads of kings have already been discussed above. An analogy seems to be found in the Mongolian versions in the group of the three names Ayitulqa, Gün sübin, and Dalai sübin.

The other circle of conception is represented by the special Bon-po tradition and by the Mongolian tradition through the existence of the triad

gÑa'-khri; Mi-khri; Bya-khri;

but the fundamental idea of it and the significance of the triad itself does not immediately appear.

If, however, we consider the general tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po, his three sons form the following triad

Ña-khri; Śa-khri or Śa-za-khri; Bya-khri;

with the Mongolian equivalent

Boroču; Börte čino-a; Sibayuči.

The triad formed by the three sons quite evidently represents *the three principal groups of living beings*, as expressed in the names

Fish-Throne; Flesh-Eater-Throne; Bird-Throne;

and in a further sense it represents *a reflection of the three cosmic spheres in the order Underworld, Earth, and Heaven*.

Provided, therefore, that *gÑa'* was originally identical with *Ña*, a hypothesis we are going to substantiate in the following, we shall find *a close ideological analogy between the triads deriving from the Bon-po tradition, from the tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons, and from the general tradition of the first group of the Dynasty*.

For this reason and because in various respects it will prove expedient, we shall proceed temporarily to the study of the legendry of the kings of the second group, Gri-gum-btsan-po and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, and some special subjects involved hereby, instead of pursuing the apparently logical course of investigation by examining in detail the position of *gÑa'*-khri-btsan-po and the legendry concerned.

#### *Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons*

While for the present we must comply with the traditions that Gri-gum-btsan-po was either a son of the last king of the first group of the Dynasty Srib-khri-btsan-po or was himself the last king of this group, we shall proceed to the study of the myths or legends concerning this king and his sons. The tradition as a whole comprises a number of rather different versions, as will appear from the following presentation of them. All of them deal, in more or less detail, with three main themes, 1. *Gri-gum-btsan-po's fight and death*, 2. *his sons and their fate*, and 3. *the particular nature of that son who became either his successor sPu-de-guñ-rgyal or the minister of this latter King*.

To avoid too much confusion with regard to the representation of the various versions of the general tradition, we have given them to their full extent in the following, although in the present part of

the paper we shall consider them only as far as *the sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po* and *his successor* are concerned. We shall postpone the study of his fight and death until further relevant material has been presented (see p. 329 ff.).

The Tibetan and Mongolian sources generally tell us that *Gri-gum-btsan-po* had *three sons*, but a few, especially important sources maintain the existence of only *two sons*, so that we shall have to distinguish between *two different categories of tradition of three or two sons*.<sup>8</sup> The former category of three sons is represented by the following versions.

The rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig (37.18v–19r):

Sa-la-lags<sup>7</sup>-drug rgyal-po'i rgyal-brgyud-la :  
 rGyal-po Gri-gum-btsan-po'i sras gsum ni :  
 Bya-khri Śa-khri Ņa-khri rnam-pa gsum :  
 rGyal-po Bya-khri Koṅ-po'i yul-du gśegs :  
 rGyal-po Ņa-khri Ņaṅ-po'i yul-du gśegs :  
 rGyal-po Śa-khri sPo-bo'i yul-du gśegs :  
 Yab-gcig gśegs-nas rgyal-sras spyān-draṅs-pa :  
 sPo-bo'i yul-nas sBu-de-guṅ-rgyal byon :

As to the lineage of kings (called) *Sa-la-legs-drug*, King *Gri-gum-btsan-po* had three sons, *Bya-khri*, *Śa-khri*, *Ņa-khri*, those three. King *Bya-khri* went to the country of *Koṅ-po*. King *Ņa-khri* went to the country of *Ņaṅ-po*. King *Śa-khri* went to the country of *sPo-bo*. When the father died, a prince was invited (and) *sBu-de-guṅ-rgyal* came from the country of *sPo-bo*.

The Deb-ther-dmar-po (51.15v–16r):

De'i sras Gri-khuṅ-btsan-po źes-te / bLon-po Lo-ṅam źes-pa-la 'thab-zla bcol-nas 'thabs-pas ma-thub-par blon-pos bkroṅs /

His son was called *Gri-khuṅ-btsan-po*. He appointed the minister *Lo-ṅam* fighting partner (adversary), but being unable to fight (him), the minister killed (the king).

Bu spun-gsum Koṅ-po bros / rgyal-sa Lo-ṅam-gyis bzuṅ /

The three sons fled to *Koṅ-po*. *Lo-ṅam* seized the throne.

Bu-gsum-po'i ma'i rmi-lam-du mi-dkar-po žig daṅ-bsdoṅs-pa rmis-nas khrag-gi goṅ-bu gcig byuṅ-ba-las skyes-pa'i-bu Ru-las-skyes-pas / sras Bya-khri rgyal-sar bcug-ste / sPu-lde-guṅ-rgyal-du btags / gCen Śa-khri daṅ / gcuṅ Ņa-khri gñis Koṅ-po daṅ Ņaṅ-po'i rje mdzad / Lo-ṅam btul /

The mother of the third son dreamed that she copulated with a white man. After the dream a lump of blood appeared, out of which was born the child *Ru-las-skyes*. He placed the son *Bya-khri* on the throne and named him *sPu-lde-guṅ-rgyal*. The older brother *Śa-khri* and the younger brother *Ņa-khri*, these two, acted as rulers of *Koṅ-po* and *Ņaṅ-po*. He subdued *Lo-ṅam*.

dPa'-bo gTzug-lag (64.7r–8v):

/ Phyi-mos mtshan-du Gri-gum-btsan-por gsol /  
 / De-yi btsun-mo kLu-srin Mer-lcam-la /  
 / Śa-khri Ņa-khri Bya-khri gsum yaṅ bltams /

By posterity he is named *Gri-gum-btsan-po*. To his queen *kLu-srin Mer-lcam* Were born *Śa-khri*, *Ņa-khri*, *Bya-khri*, these three.

.....  
 / rGyal-po'i thugs-su bdud-ris gDon gsol-gyur /

In the king's mind *gDon*, a form of *bDud*, took place.

/ Ņa-la gri-gum-du 'dugs-pa cug<sup>8</sup>-yin zer-ba-la mthar grir gum zer-nas btags byas-pas Cis-kyaṅ grir 'gum-na ṅa gźan daṅ-'thab zer-nas 'baṅs Lo-ṅam rTa-rdzi-la 'thab-zla bcol yaṅ zer /

“As it is said that I am destined to be part in a knife-dying, I shall ultimately die at a knife,” he said, and making this addition he said: “If I am going to be killed by a knife or something, I will fight with someone;” and he appointed the subject *Lo-ṅam rTa-rdzi* (the horse groom) to be fighting partner (adversary).

Ka-bkol-ma-las Kha-che'i rgyal-po dañ-g'yul sprad-nas Bod rgyal-nas log-pa'i-lam-du Kha-che'i mi lus-pa cig na-re / Bod-kyi dpa'-bos gzu ka-ba tsam-la mda' phyam tsam 'phan-pa-byuñ / Pha-ki-na zer-nas pha-boñ-la ldem-me 'dug-pa dmag-mi-tshos mthoñ-bas La-la na-re rGyal-po yin zer La-la na-re 'Bañs Lo-ñam rTa-rdzi yin zer-bas De-gñis gañ yin brtag-pa'i sñan-phra bcug-pas rgyal-pos rtsal 'gran zer-ba-la Lo-ñam-gyis Nās ma-thub-na ña-la chad-pa 'oñ sñam-nas gya-log smras zer /

Gañ-na'añ Ñañ-ro rTsibs-kyi-thal-ba-tshal-du skar-ma Sa-ri Sa-ga-la 'thab-dus btab / rGyal-pos khyi-mo Ñan-gyi-rna-gsañ bya-ba ñan-po byed-tu btañ-ba Khos go-na / rGyal-po dbu-la dar-nag-gi thod bcñs dpral-bar me-loñ btags phrag-pa g'yas-la wa-ro dañ / g'yon-la khyi-ro bkal / ba-dmar glañ-dmar brgya-la thal-sgro sums-pa bkal / ral-gri gLañ-bya-pho klad-la bskor-ziñ byuñ-na mi-thub ces-smras-pas rGyal-pos de thams-cad byas / 'Thabs-pas Sa-ri Sa-ga rluñ-skar-du soñ-bas rluñ-mar<sup>9</sup> chen-po byuñ / gSo-btab-pas ba-lañ 'grogs-ste thal-sgro-rnams ral thal tshub-kyis mig 'gribs / Dar-nag-gi thod dañ wa-ro dañ khyi-ros rje'i mGur-lha dañ dGra-lha Pho-lha gsum-po yal / Ral-gri bskor-bas rMu-thag dañ rMu-skas chad / / Lo-ñam-gyis dpral-ba'i me-loñ-la mda' 'phañs-nas bkroñs skad /

rGyal-phran Lo-ñam rTa-rdzi bya-ba-la /  
/ 'Thab-zla bcol-ste 'thabs-pas gri-ru bkroñs /  
/ Zañs-kyi ga-'ur spur bcug lCags-gzer btabs /  
/ Ñañ-chu-skya-mo'i nañ-du bor-bar-gyur /  
/ rGyad-mkhar Pa-tshab-yul-du dguñ bdun chags /  
Khri-'thañ 'Gur-mor dguñ žag bcu-gsum chags /  
/ Koñ-por khyer-ste kLu-srin Ho-te-re'i /  
/ Bran-mo Bye-ma-lag-riñ žes-pas zin /  
/ mDzod-nañ dKor-gyi-dam-pa byas ces-grags /

According to the *Ka-bkol-ma*, there was war with the king of Kashmir, and the Tibetans having gained victory, the only one left of the Kashmirians on the road back said: "The Tibetan hero(es) shot with bow(s) some arrows somewhere. It is over there!" On a boulder the soldiers saw a *lDem-me*.<sup>10</sup> Some said: "It is the king!" Some said: "It is the subject *Lo-ñam rTa-rdzi*!" So by gossip about which of the two it was, the king talked and challenged his skill. To this *Lo-ñam* thought: "If I am no match, punishment will come for me," and he told twisted duplicities.

However, in *Ñañ-ro rTsibs-kyi-thal-ba-tshal* the time of fight was fixed to the constellations of *Sa-ri* and *Sa-ga*. The king sent the bitch called *Ñan-gyi-rna-gsañ* to act as spy. When he (i.e. *Lo-ñam*) perceived this, he said: "If the king binds a black silken turban on his head, fastens a mirror on his brow, carries a fox-corpse on his right shoulder and a dog-corpse on his left, loads and binds leather bags with dust on a hundred red oxen and cows, and brandishes the sword *gLañ-bya-pho* over his head, I am no match!" Therefore the king did all that. At the fight they passed into the wind-constellations of *Sa-ri* and *Sa-ga*, and a great dust-storm arose. He whistled through his teeth and the oxen followed him, and he tore open the leather bags with dust, and by the storm the dust darkened the eyes. The black silken turban, the fox-corpse and the dog-corpse replaced the king's *mGur-lha*, *dGra-lha*, and *Pho-lha*,<sup>11</sup> these three. By brandishing the sword he cut the *rMu-thag* and the *rMu-skas*. *Lo-ñam* shot an arrow at the mirror on the brow and killed (the king). The petty king called *Lo-ñam rTa-rdzi* He appointed fighting-partner, and when fighting he was killed at (with) a knife. In a copper *Ga'u*(box) was placed the body (*spur*). Iron-nails were driven in. It was thrown into *Ñañ-chu-skya-mo*. It moved (along) *rGyad-mkhar Pa-tshab* country in seven nights. It moved (along) *Khri-'thañ 'Gur-mo* in thirteen nights and days. It was carried to *Koñ-po*, and *kLu-srin Ho-te-re's* Maid-servant called *Bye-ma-lag-riñ* seized it. In the store-room it was known as *dKor-gyi-dam-pa*.

/ lHa-sras mched-gsum yab-kyi dkor-mdzod-  
 nas /  
 / lHa-yi-glañ-bu Ce-'u-ru-dkar zes /  
 / 'Phur-śes ųon-nas Koñ-po'i yul-du bros /  
  
 / gCen-po Śa-khri Koñ-gi rje-bo mdzad /  
 / 'Briñ-po Bya-khri Po-bo'i mña'-dbañ mdzad /  
  
 / Chuñ-ba Ña-khri Ñañ-po'i rje mdzad skad /  
  
 / Lo-ñam-gyis ni lha-gcig chuñ-mar bzuñ /  
 / lCam-sriñ bzi-yi yum-la rta-rdzi bcol /  
  
 / rTa 'tshor phyin-ste gñid-log rmi-lam-du /  
 / Mi-dkar mdzes-pa cig dañ-bśos-pa rmis /  
 / Sad-tshe g'yag-dkar žig ni soñ-ba mthoñ /  
  
 / Zla-ba tshad-nas khrag rlañs 'gul-ba btsas /  
  
 / 'Broñ-ru dron-mor bcug-nas 'o-mas bran /  
  
 / Drod-kyis btsos-pas de-yi nañ-nas ni /  
 / Khye'u mdzes-ciñ lta-na sdug-pa byuñ /  
 Ru-las-skyes dañ Ñar-sos-po ces btags /  
 / Lo-bcu lon-tshe pha dañ phu-bo 'dri /  
  
 / rGyal-po'i gduñ dañ dpun-zla tshol-du phyin /  
 / rGyal-po'i sku-gduñ Koñ-nas brñed-na yañ /  
  
 / bsLañs-pas ma-ster rku-bar ma-thob-nas /  
  
 / sPur-'dis kLu-rnams mkha'-ldiñ 'jigs-las  
 bskyabs /  
 / De-phyir Nor-gyi-dam-pa yin-mod kyañ /  
 / Mi-mo bcu-drug lon-ba Bya-mig-can /  
 / gLud-mar byuñ-na blu-ru btañ-ño skad /

/ De btsal-bas g'Ye'i-gañs Bar-yur-goñ-nas  
 bu-mo dGe-yu-ma bya-ba žig brñed-ste Phan-re  
 gser bu-mo ci-žig 'dod zer / Ma na-re Srid-kyi-bu  
 yoñ-ba'i thabsu spur-de-la mtshar-gyi-lcag brgya  
 dañ mtshal-gyi-thig brgyad-bcu 'debs-su chug  
 zer-nas Des blus skad /

Bon Tshe-Co-gñis-kyis gri-brtul yañ ma-thul-  
 nas Pa-ra'i bu sKy-i-rgyal Mañ-po-rjes gri-sri  
 brtul-ste spu Yar-luñs-su spanyan-drañs skad /

The three *lHa-sras* brothers, from the treasury of  
 the father,  
 (Took) the divine bull-calf called *Ce-'u-ru-dkar*,  
 Which knew how to fly, mounted it and fled to  
*Koñ-po*.

The oldest, *Śa-khri*, acted as chief of *Koñ-po*.  
 The middle one, *Bya-khri*, executed his power in  
*Po-bo*.

The youngest, *Ña-khri*, acted as ruler of *Ñañ-po*,  
 it is told.

*Lo-ñam* took the queen (*lHa-gcig*) as wife.  
 He appointed the mother of the four brothers  
 to be horse-groom.

She went to tend horses. When asleep she dreamed,  
 That she copulated with a beautiful white man.  
 When she woke up, she saw a white yak go  
 away.

After (the normal) number of moons, she gave  
 birth to steaming and quivering blood.

She placed it in the hot horn of a wild yak and  
 moistened it with milk.

It boiled by the heat, and out of it  
 Came a beautiful baby, attractive to look at.

*Ru-las-skyes* and *Ñar-sos-po* it was named.  
 When ten years old, he asked about his father  
 and elder brothers.

He went to seek the king's remains and his relatives.  
 But when he (tried to) get the king's remains  
 (*sku-gduñ*) from *Koñ-po*,

He was not allowed to take it up, and he could  
 not steal it.

Then the body (*spur*) said: "I protect the *kLu*  
 from fear of the *mKha'-ldiñ* (eagles)!

Therefore I am really *Nor-gyi-dam-pa*.

Get sixteen women! With bird-eyes!

When there shall be a ransom, send them as ran-  
 som!"

When he was looking for them, he found a  
 girl called *dGe-yu-ma* from *g'Ye'i-gañs Bar-yur-  
 goñ*. "For every benefit gold! I want such a girl,"  
 he said. The mother said: "At the time when a  
*Srid-kyi-bu* is coming, you shall hit with and  
 place a hundred fine sticks (blows) and eighty  
 lines of vermilion in that body (*spur*)!" He made  
 the ransom (thus), it is said.

The two *Bon-pos*, *Tshe(-mi-bon)* and *Co(g-la-  
 bon)*, were not able to subdue by performing the  
*Gri-brtul*, but *sKy-i-rgyal Mañ-po-rje*, the son of  
*Pa-ra*, subdued by *Gri-sri*, and conducted the  
 corpse (*spu*) to *Yar-luñs*. (This is) told.

/ bLus-nas spyan-drañs sPur-zañs phyeba'i  
tshe /  
/ sPur-des Da(Ña?)-ra-ra zes-sgra bsgrags-pas /

/ Yul-de'i miñ yañ Dar-pa-thañ-du thogs /  
/ 'Bañs bskor žag ni sum-brgya-drug-bcu byas /

/ Drañ-mo-drañ-chuñ ri-yi zom-du bžugs /

/ De-tshe gnam-nas gser-gyi thig-gu byuñ /  
/ sPur-la thim-pas gNam-lha-gser-thig grags /

/ Deñ-sañ yul-de'i lha-ru bžugs-so skad /

/ Ru-las-skyes-kyi 'phrul dañ mthu-stobs-kyis /

/ Lo-ñam 'khor-bcas btul-žiñ tshar-gcod-byas /

/ Ru-las-skyes-kyis Lo-ñam-gyi nañ-mir  
žugs-ste ša-khyi dkar-mo'i spu-rtzar dug byugs-  
pa dKor-du phul-ba-la Lo-ñam-gyis byil-byil  
byas-pas de ma-thag-du lus thams-cad srañs /  
g'Yog-rnams kho-na-ba'i sar 'dus-pa'i bar-la  
Ñañ-ro Šam-po mkhar-gyi pha-ri-la bya-rgod-  
kyi tshad yod-pas bya-rgod-kyi gsab-tu žugs-ste  
Ñañ-ro Šam-po mkhar-rtse-nas phab / Lo-ñam  
pho-brgya mo-brgya bsad skad /

Sras-rnams rgyal-sar spyan-'dren byas-pa'i tshe /  
/ Thog-tha-gñis ni gšegs-su ma-bžed-nas /

/ Po-bo'i yul-nas 'briñ-po Bya-khris byon /

/ rGyal-sar bton-tshe yum-gyis sras-la 'jus /

/ Bu khyod rgyal-brgyud ma-ñams yin ñes-na /  
/ rGyal-srid brtan-žiñ rgyas-par-šog zes smras /

/ De-tshe Bar-snañ gnas-pa'i lha-rnams-kyis /

/ Khyod-kyi bu-de kun-las rgyal-'gyur zes /

/ brJod-pas thos-pas de-ñid mtshan-du chags /

/ 'Bañs-kyis sgra-ñams Pu-de-guñ-rgyal grags /

/ rGyal-po'i sku-mkhar 'Chiñ-ña-stag-rtse  
brtsigs /

Having brought the ransom, he moved it. When  
he opened the sPur-zañs (Body-kettle),  
The body (spur) made the sound of Da-ra-ra, and  
therefore

This country was named Dar-pa-thañ.  
The circulation (among) the subjects was per-  
formed in three hundred and sixty days.

It resided on the top of the mountain Drañ-mo-  
drañ-chuñ.<sup>12</sup>

At that time a golden rope came from Heaven.  
It dissolved in the body (spur), which, therefore,  
is known as gNam-lha-gser-thig.

To-day it resides among the gods (IHa) of that  
country. This is told.

By the miraculous and mystic powers of Ru-las-  
skyes

Lo-ñam and his attendants were tamed and put  
to an end.

Ru-las-skyes joined the companions of Lo-  
ñam. He rubbed poison into the roots of the hair  
of a white (female) hound, which he gave as  
property (to Lo-ñam). Lo-ñam stroked it and im-  
mediately his whole body grew rigid. The serv-  
ants assembled just at that spot, where the  
mountain opposite the castle of Ñañ-ro Šam-po  
had the form of a vulture, and placed him at the  
disposal of the vultures, and threw him down  
from the top of the castle of Ñañ-ro Šam-po. A  
hundred male and a hundred female Lo-ñam  
were killed. This is told.

When the sons were invited to the throne,  
The eldest and the youngest, those two, were not  
disposed to go.

But from the country of Po-bo came Bya-khri,  
the middle one.

When he was raised to the throne, the mother  
grasped her son:

"Son! You are not of royal descent, that is true,  
But you can make firm and enlarge the rGyal-  
srid." So she said.

At that time the gods (IHa) living in Bar-snañ  
said:

"That son of yours shall be superior (victorious)  
to all others!"

By hearing this utterance, he was given the name  
like this.

By the subjects he was known as Pu-de-guñ-rgyal  
in accordance with the words.

He built the royal residential castle 'Chiñ-ña-  
stag-rtse.

/ Śam-po mkhar-gyi rtse phab-nas rmañ-rdo  
byas / lHa-gcig-gis Ņa'i lus-la Lo-ñam-gyi bu  
yod-pa rMad-du gnon žig zer-nas Srog dor-bas  
yul-de'i lha-sman žig byuñ-bar grags /

rGyal-pos Mi-mchog Ru-las-skyes khyod-kyis /  
/ Ņa-yi yab-kyi go-bgyis rgyal-sar bton /

/ Sras-kyi go-bgyis yab-kyi sku-mtshal gñer /

/ Che-chuñ-med-pa'i mi kun khyod-la smon /

/ Miñ yañ Khu-bo lHa-bu-smon-gzuñ žes /

/ bTags-ciñ drin-du gzo-ba rgya-cher-byas /

/ rGyal-pos khu-bor khur-bas Khu'i rus-su  
thogs skad /

Bod-yul 'phrul-blon mdzes-pa'i mi-bdun-gyi /

/ Thog-mar gyur-pa Ru-las-skyes 'di yin /

Immediately following are the two quotations of pp. 122 and 103–104, which are then again followed by these lines:

De-yis Bod-rnams cuñ-zad blo kha-bye /

/ rGyal-po yab-sras 'di-gñis sTod-kyi-steñs /

/ sTeñs-gñis bañ-so rdza dañ g'ya'-la btab /

/ De dañ btsun-mo 'Om-thañ-sman-mtsho'i  
sras /

/ Legs-drug thog-ma I-šo-legs ces-bya /

/ De-yi blon-po lHa-bu-mgo-dkar žes /

/ Khu Khu Ru-las-skyes-kyi bu-yis byas /

Thrown down from the top of the *Śam-po* castle, they were made into foundation stones. The queen (*lHa-gcig*) said: "In my body I have a son of *Lo-ñam*. He shall be excellent!" Giving up life he is known to be a *lHa-sman* (divine medicine) to that country.

The king (said): "You best of men, *Ru-las-skyes*, Acting in the position of my father, you raised (me) to the throne;

Acting in the position of a son, you took care of father's blood (*sku-mtshal*).

All people, being not small nor great, bless you.

The name *Khu-bo lHa-bu-smon-gzuñ*

Was given. You made gratefulness abound".

It is told, that the king carried (honoured) him as paternal uncle (*Khu-bo*) and therefore named him to be of the *Khu*-clan.

Among the seven beautiful, miraculous ministers of Tibet

the first to appear was this *Ru-las-skyes*.

He (they?) opened a little the minds of the Tibetans.

These two kings, father and son, the *sTod-kyi-steñs*,

The *sTeñs-gñis*, placed their tombs in *rDza* and *g'Ya'*.

His and the queen '*Om-thañ-sman-mtsho*'s son was

The first *Legs-drug* called *I-šo-legs*.

As the minister acted *lHa-bu-mgo-dkar*,

The son of the paternal uncle *Khu Ru-las-skyes*.

The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ relates (58.24v–25v):

/ Srib-khri-btsan-po'i sras / Gri-gum-btsan-  
po / De-la sras gsum byuñ-ba / Śa-khri / Ņa-  
khri / Bya-khri gsum yin-no /

rGyal-po Gri-gum-btsan-po de / thugs gDon-  
gyis bslus-te / blon-po Loñ-ñam rTa-rdzi zer-ba  
cig-la / Khyod-kyis ña'i 'thab-ya byed dgos zer-  
nas / Loñ-ñam na-re / rJe ci-lags / Ņa 'bañs-šig-  
gis rje'i 'thabs-ya mi-'oñ žus kyañ / dbañ-med-  
du bcol-bas 'thab-par chas / sKar-ma Sa-ga dañ  
Sa-ri'i ñin-'khrug dus byas-so /

The son of *Srib-khri-btsan-po* was *Gri-gum-btsan-po*. He had three sons, These three were *Śa-khri*, *Ņa-khri*, and *Bya-khri*.

The king, *Gri-gum-btsan-po*, got his mind possessed by a *gDon*, and to a minister called *Loñ-ñam rTa-rdzi* he said: "You shall act as my adversary!" *Loñ-ñam* answered: "But why, Ruler? I, a subject, cannot be the adversary of a Ruler." But because he had no power (to decline), he was obliged to fight. A propitious day of the constellations *Sa-ri* and *Sa-ga* was fixed as the time of the fight.

Der rgyal-pos / kyi-mo Ñan-gyi-rna-gsar-ma  
 bya-ba'i sprul-pa'i khyi cig yod-pa / Loñ-ñam-  
 gyi rtsar ñan btañ-bas / Loñ-ñam-gyis de-bzin  
 ño-śes-nas gnañ ñin rgyal-pos ñid-rañ gsod-du  
 'oñ-ste / dmag-gi-'khor ma-khrid-par / rgyal-po'i  
 dbu-la dar-nag-gi thod bciñ / dpral-bar me-loñ  
 btags / phrag-pa g'yas-la wa-ro bkal / khyi-ro  
 g'yon-la bkal / ral-gri glad-la bskor / glañ-dmar-  
 la thal-sgro bkar<sup>14</sup> byuñ-na / ñed-rañ-gis mi-thub  
 ces smras-so /

/Khyi-mo-des rgyal-po-la de-bzin-du zus-pas/  
 De-ltar byed gsuñs-te / gNañ ñin de-ltar byas-  
 nas / Loñ-ñam gsod-du byon / bso sgra btab-pas  
 glañ-dmar 'grog-te / thal-sgro ral-bas thal  
 tshub-kyis mig kheñ / Wa-ros dgra-lha yal /  
 khyi-ros pho-lha yal / Ral-gri glad-la bskor-bas  
 rMu-thag chad / Der blon-po Loñ-ñam-gyis  
 rgyal-po'i dbral-ba'i me-loñ-la gtad-nas mda'-  
 brgya babs rgyal-po bkroñs-so /

/ rGyal-po'i sras gsum-po ni / Koñ-po dañ /  
 Ñañ-po / sPo-bo gsum-gyi yul-du bro-sso /

/ Der blon-po Loñ-ñam-gyis rgyal-srid  
 phrogs-nas / rgyal-po'i btsun-mo-la rta-rdzi  
 bcol-lo /

/ Der yum btsun-mo ñes rta 'tshor phyiñ-  
 nas / gÑid-log-pa'i rmi-lam-na / Yar-lha-śam-  
 po'i sprul-pa mi-dkar-po cig dañ-'brel-pa rmis /  
 gÑid sañ-tsa-na / sñas-mgo-nas g'yag-dkar-po  
 cig loñ-nas soñ-ba mthoñ / De-nas zla-ba brgyad  
 soñ-tsa-na/yum btsun-mo de-la khrag goñ-po lag-  
 mgo-tsam 'gul śes-pa cig skyes byuñ-ba bskyur-  
 bar ni gnas chad sñiñ-rje-bar byuñ / gSo-ba-la  
 ni kha mig gañ-yañ mi-'dug-nas / 'broñ-ru dron-  
 mo cig-tu bcug / gos-thuñ-gi dañ-bas dril bžag-  
 pas / žag 'ga' soñ-dus bltas-pas / khye'u cig  
 byuñ-'dug / De'i miñ Yab-'jañ-gi-bu Ru-la-skyes  
 žes grags-so /

/ Des lo-bcu-lon-dus Ña'i pha dañ / pho-bo-  
 rnams gar soñ žes / A-ma-la dris-pas / A-mas  
 sñar-gyi lo-rgyus-rnams žib-par bśad-pa dañ /  
 Ru-la-skyes-kyi thabs sna-tshogs-kyis Ñañ-žu-  
 skya-mo-nas yab-kyi pur btsal-te / Phyiñ-yul  
 Dar-thañ-du yab-kyi bañ-so brtsig / bLon-po  
 Loñ-ñam bśad / Pho-bo gsum-gdan-'dren phyiñ-

The king possessed a dog that was a *sPrul-  
 pa*,<sup>13</sup> a bitch named *Ñan-gyi-rna-gsar-ma*. He  
 sent this to *Loñ-ñam* to listen, but *Loñ-ñam* who  
 was aware of his intention, said: "On the ap-  
 proved day, when the king comes to kill me  
 without leading a host of warriors, if the king  
 binds a black silken turban around his head,  
 fixes a mirror to his forehead, places a fox-  
 corpse upon the right shoulder and a dog-corpse  
 upon the left, brandishes the sword around his  
 head, and fastens a sack of dust upon a red ox,  
 then I, myself, shall be no match for him."

The bitch told this to the king, who said: "I  
 will do so!" On the approved day he did so. *Loñ-  
 ñam* came to the killing, he whistled through  
 his teeth and the red ox followed him. He tore the  
 sack of dust and whirled the dust around, thus  
 filling the eyes (of the king). The fox-corpse made  
 the *dGra-lha* fail. The dog-corpse made the *Pho-  
 lha* fail.<sup>15</sup> By brandishing the sword around his  
 head, the king cut the *rMu-thag*. Now *Loñ-ñam*  
 aimed at the mirror on the king's forehead, shot  
 off a hundred arrows and killed the king.

The king's three sons fled to the three coun-  
 tries *Koñ-po*, *Ñañ-po*, and *sPo-bo*.

Now the minister *Loñ-ñam* overthrew the  
 government and appointed the king's queen  
 horse-groom (*rTa-rdzi*).

Now the mother queen went truly to tend  
 horses. When asleep she dreamed that she was  
 united with a white man, an incarnation of *Yar-  
 lha-śam-po*. When awakening from sleep, she  
 saw a white yak rise from the pillow and go  
 away. Then eight moons passed, and a lump of  
 blood was born by the mother queen. It was like  
 (two) hands held together forming a head. She  
 first decided to throw it away, but her compas-  
 sion arose. To nourish it, though it possessed  
 neither mouth nor eyes, she placed it into the  
 warm horn of a wild yak, which she rolled up in  
 a pair of clean trousers. After some days she saw  
 to it, and it had become a baby. Its name is  
 known as *Yab-'jañ-gi-bu*<sup>16</sup> *Ru-la-skyes*.

When he was ten years old, he asked: "Where  
 have my father and brothers gone?" This he  
 asked his mother. The mother told him in de-  
 tail about the previous events, and by various  
 means *Ru-la-skyes* acquired the corpse of the  
 father from *Ñañ-žu-skye-mo*, and built the fa-  
 ther's tomb in *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*. He killed the



pas / Śa-khri dañ / Ņa-khri gñis gdan-ma-drañs-  
te / Koñ-po dañ / Ņañ-po'i rje-mdzad-nas da-  
lta-yañ gduñ-brgyud lod-do /

/ sPo-bo'i yul-nas / sras Bya-khri gdan-  
drañs-te / Yar-luñs-su bžugs / sKu-mkhar Phyiñ-  
ña-stag-rtse brtsigs / Yum-gyi-sras Bya-khri-la  
'jug-nas / lha-la dmod-po rags / nam-mkha'-nas  
sgra-byuñ-ste / Khyod-kyi bu-de kun-las rgyal-  
bar 'gyur-ro /

/ Bu-de kun-las rgyal zer kyañ sPu-de-goñ-  
rgyal-du grags-so /

/ rGyal-po-'dis rgyal-sa bzuñ-ste / blon-po  
ni Ru-la-skyes-kyis byas-so /

/ rGyal-blon-'di-gñis-kyi dus-su / g'Yuñ-  
druñ-gi Bon byuñ-ste / sTon-la gSen-rab-Mi-bo  
bya-ba sTag-gzig 'Ol-mo'i Luñ-riñs-su sku-  
'khruñs / Khams chen-po brgyad la-sogs-pa Bon-  
po'i chos thams-cad / Žañ-žuñ-gi yul-nas bsgyur-  
te / dar-žin rgyas-par mdzad /

While this part of the xylograph edition of the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ corresponds in the main to the same section of the Manuscript B, parts of which have been published by H. Hoffmann (162.298/399), it is more detailed than the hitherto known version of the Bodhimör, its Kalmuch translation, which is given in the translation of I. J. Schmidt (62). From a comparison of this part of the text in the Dresden Ms (67.35v–37r)<sup>20</sup> with the translated version given by Schmidt, it appears that this is partly a translation, partly an abbreviated interpretation of the text of the Dresden Ms. The general content of the translated version seems to indicate that I. J. Schmidt has used a copy of the Bodhimör which, as far as the present piece of text is concerned, corresponds rather closely to the Dresden Ms. On the other side certain details seem to indicate that the two copies are not quite identical, thus the copy used by Schmidt has Śa-za-khri, while the Dresden Ms has only Śa-khri.

The Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.11v–12r) and the Pakṭa-yā (93.283r–v) have practically the same version of the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons. The text of the Fifth Dalai Lama, with variants from the Pakṭa-yā given in parentheses, reads:

Srib-khri-btsan-po dañ / Sa-btsun rLuñ-rje'i  
sras Gri-gum-btsan-po / De dañ kLu-btsan Mer-  
lcam-la (Mer) sras gsum byuñ yañ / bLon-po Lo-  
ñam dañ 'thabs-pas rgyal-po bkroñs /

Bod-du khrab-kyi thog-ma 'di'i-dus(-su)  
sMar-khams-nas (rMar) blañs / Sras-rnams yab-  
mes-kyi dkor-mdzod-na rTe'u-glañ-ru-dkar žas  
(žes)-pa'i glañ 'phur-šes-la žon-nas Koñ-po'i  
phyogs-su bro-siñ Yug(yun)-cig blon-pos rgyal-  
srid bzuñ /

minister *Loñ-ñam*, and went to invite the three brothers, but *Śa-khri* and *Ņa-khri* did not follow the invitation. They acted as rulers of *Koñ-po* and *Ņañ-po*, but their lineages have now been effaced.

He invited *Bya-khri* from the country of *sPo-bo*. *Bya-khri* settled in *Yar-luñs*. He built the residential castle *Phyiñ-ña-stag-rtse*. When the son of the mother went to *Bya-khri*, she conjured *lHa*,<sup>17</sup> and a voice came from Heaven: "That son of yours shall be superior (victorious) to all others!"

From the saying, "That son of yours shall be superior (victorious) to all others," he is known as *sPu-de-goñ-rgyal*.

This king took the throne, and *Ru-la-skyes* acted as minister.

At the time of the king and the minister, these two, the *gYuñ-druñ-gi Bon* appeared. The teacher called *gSen-rab-Mi-bo* was born at 'Ol-mo'i *Luñ-riñs* in *sTag-gzig*. The *Khams chen-po brgyad*<sup>18</sup> and all the other *Bon-po'i chos*<sup>19</sup> came from the country of *Žañ-žuñ*, and were propagated and spread.

The son of *Srib-khri-btsan-po* and *Sa-btsun rLuñ-rje* was *Gri-gum-btsan-po*. To him and *kLu-btsan Mer-lcam* three sons were born. Quarrelling with the minister *Lo-ñam*, the king was killed.

At this time the first armour in Tibet was received from *sMar-khams*.<sup>21</sup> The sons mounted the ox that knew how to fly, called *rTe'u-glañ-ru-dkar*, coming from the treasury of the forefathers, and fled to *Koñ-po*. For some time the minister took over the reign.

Ma(mi)-riñ-bar rgyal-po'i btsun-mo dañ  
Yar-lha-śam-po'i sprul-pa cig(gcig) 'dus-pa-las  
byuñ-ba'i blon-po Ru-las-skyes-kyis Lo-ñam  
bsad-de / Sras Bya-khri rgyal-sar bskos /

rJe Gri-gum-nas rMu-thag chad-pas bur  
(pur) byuñ-pa(ba) zañs-kyi-ga'ur bcug-ste lcags-  
gzer btab-nas chu-la bskyur-ba(bskyur) Koñ-  
chu rlag-tu (')khyer-ba chu-srin Bye-ma-lag-riñ-  
kis(gis) brñed(rñed)-nas Jo-mor phul-ba mdzad-  
du sbas-pa-las btoñ-nas / 'Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ-  
du bañ-so brtsigs-de(te) Bañ-so'i thog-ma yin-  
ziñ /

Yum-gyis lHa-la dmod-por-bas (dmod-pa  
bor-bas) Nam-mkha'-nas Khyod-kyi bu-de kun-  
las rgyal-bar 'gyur-ro zes-pa'i sgra phyuñ-bas  
(byuñ-bas) Bya-khri'i mtshan-la sPu-de-guñ-  
rgyal zer /

In the dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ (75.150) Sum-pa mkhan-po gives the following short account (see p. 104):

Srib-khri'i sras Gri-gum-btsan dus Žañ-žuñ  
dañ Bru-śa'i Dur-bon dar-ziñ bLon-po Lo-ñam  
zes-pas rgyal-po bkroñs-tshe mtshon khrab dar-  
te Blon-gyis srid<sup>22</sup> cuñ-zad bzuñ / Gri-gum-gyi  
sras spun-gsum-gyi Bya-khri'am sPu-de-guñ-  
rgyal dus sGruñ-lDe'u gNam-bon gśen-po-che  
byuñ.

The Hor-chos-'byuñ (80.4–5):

Sribs-khri-btsan-po'i sras rgyal-po Khri-gum-  
btsan-po zes-pa de blon-po bLo-ñan zes-pas  
bkroñs-te rgyal-sar bsdad-do /

/ De'i-tshe rgyal-po chen-po de'i sras Bya-  
khri dañ / Śa-khri dañ / Ņa-khri zes-bya-ba  
gsum yod-pa De-dag rim-pa-bžin sPo-bo dañ /  
Ņañ-po dañ / rKoñ-po'i yul-du bros-so /

rGyal-po sñon-ma de'i blon-po-dag-gis rgyal-  
po-de'i btsun-mo khrid-nas bros-siñ 'Bañ mtha'-  
dag bsdus-te rgyal-po bLo-ñan rgyal-sar lo  
phyed-tsam bsdad-pa'i dus-su bsad-nas / Da ni  
sras gsum-gyi gcig rgyal-por mña'-gsol dgos zes  
gros-byas-pa-la / Yum-gyis smras-pa / Kho-mas  
Bya-khri ma-btsas goñ-gi-dus-su nub-gcig-gi

After a short time *Lo-ñam* was killed by the  
minister *Ru-las-skyes* who appeared after the  
union of the king's queen and an incarnation of  
*Yar-lha-śam-po*. The son *Bya-khri* was appointed  
to the throne.

After the *rMu-thag* had been cut for the ruler  
*Gri-gum*, his dead body (*pur*) appeared and was  
put into a copper box. Iron nails were driven into  
it, and it was thrown into the river. The *Koñ*  
River broke it and carried it away, and the *Chu-  
srin Bye-ma-lag-riñ* took it. It was drawn forth  
from where it was concealed in (return for) what  
has been given to (her) mistress (*jo-mo*). A tomb  
was built in *Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ*. This was the  
first of tombs.

The mother besought the *lHa*, and from the  
Heaven came the words: "That son of yours  
shall be superior (victorious) to all others!"  
Therefore *Bya-khri* got the name *sPu-de-guñ-  
rgyal*.

At the time of *Gri-gum-btsan*, the son of *Srib-  
khri*, the *Dur-bon* from *Žañ-žuñ* and *Bru-śa*  
spread. At the time when the minister *Lo-ñam*  
killed the king, weapon and armour came into  
use. The government was seized for a short time  
by the minister. At the time of *Bya-khri* or *sPu-  
de-guñ-rgyal*, one of the three brothers who were  
sons of *Gri-gum*, the great *gNam-bon gśen-po*,  
*sGruñ* and *lDe'u*, appeared.

The son of *Sribs-khri-btsan-po* was king *Khri-  
gum-btsan-po*, who was killed by the minister  
*bLo-ñan*<sup>23</sup> who then placed (himself) upon the  
throne.

At that time there were three sons of the  
great king, named *Bya-khri*, *Śa-khri*, and *Ņa-  
khri*. They, one after the other, fled to the coun-  
tries of *sPo-bo*, *Ņañ-po*, and *rKoñ-po*.

The ministers of the previous king guided the  
king's queen during her flight. They called all the  
subjects together and killed King *bLo-ñan* after  
he had occupied the throne for about half a year.  
"Now we want to instate one of the three sons  
as king," they discussed, and the mother said:  
"When *Bya-khri* was not yet born, one night I

rmi-lam ni mi mdog-dkar-po gcig dañ lhan-cig  
ñal-bar rmiš-pa'i rjes-su sgo-ña gcig byuñ / de  
rdol-pa-las bu-de byuñ-bas De rgyal-por 'os-sam  
sñan-pas de khugs-te rgyal-sar 'khod-cig Ces-  
pa-ltar sPo-bo'i yul-nas de bkugs-te rgyal-sar  
bžag-pas rgyal-po Bya-khri'am sPu-de-kuñ-  
rgyal-du grags-so /

dreamed that I was united with a man of white  
colour. After the dream an egg appeared, it broke  
and that son came out of it. Therefore, if he  
is worthy to be king, call him back and place him  
upon the throne!" Accordingly they called him  
back from the country of *sPo-bo* and placed him  
upon the throne. He is known as king *Bya-khri*  
or *sPu-de-kuñ-rgyal*.

A little later in the text of the Hor chos-'byuñ (80.10) the author refers to this account when describing the Mongolian tradition of the origin of the Mongol Qans from one of the sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po. The passage in question has been quoted earlier, p. 96.

It has been mentioned, p. 96, that Sanang Sečen also gives two different accounts of the sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po. In his former account (145.24/25; 146.8v), which depends on the Tibetan tradition, he has obviously been the source for the Hor chos-'byuñ, which closely follows him. Only with regard to the countries where the three sons sought refuge, does the account of Hor chos-byuñ differ by connecting *Bya-khri* with *Ña-po*, *Ña-khri* with *sPo-bo*, and *Ša-khri* with *rKoñ-po*.

Chandra Das (149.I.214–15) relates:

Gri-gum-btsan-po, the eighth in the descent from gÑa'-khri, was married to kLu-btsan Mer-lcam, by whom he had three sons. His minister, named Lo-ñam, was a very ambitious man, who rebelled against him. An internecine war followed in which the king was killed.

It was during this war that the use of the coat of mail (khrab) was first introduced into Tibet from Mar-khams. The victorious minister, having married one of the widows of the late king, usurped the throne and obliged the three princes to fly towards Koñ-po. He reigned for several years. The widow of the late king and mother of the three princes, by invoking the goblin Yar-lha-šam-po, got a son, who eventually rising to the post of minister killed the usurper. He now invited the three exiled princes from Koñ-po, the eldest of whom named Bya-khri-btsan-po quietly ascended his ancestral throne.

While the mythic tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po in its various versions proves on a closer examination to be a most important complex of etiological myths, those versions already quoted above immediately present a rather confused picture of it. In the version given by Chandra Das, it approaches the character of a tale.

The versions disagree with regard to the relative ages of the three sons, as appears from the following compilation:

<i>Ša-za-khri</i>	<i>Ša-khri</i>	<i>Ša-khri</i>
<i>Ña-khri</i>	<i>Ña-khri</i>	<i>Bya-khri</i>
<i>Bya-khri</i>	<i>Bya-khri</i>	<i>Ña-khri</i>
(59.53–4; 62.317–18; 64.7r)	(58.25r; 68.29/79)	(51.15v–16r; 57.33r; 64.7v)
<i>Bya-khri</i>	Sibaγučī ( <i>Bya-</i> )	Boroču ( <i>Ña-</i> )
<i>Ša-khri</i>	Boroču ( <i>Ña-</i> )	Sibaγučī ( <i>Bya-</i> )
<i>Ña-khri</i>	Börte čino-a ( <i>Ša-</i> )	Börte čino-a ( <i>Ša-</i> )
(37.18v–19r; 80.4)	(145.24/25; 146.8v)	(145.57/58; 146.24v)

We observe that in the Tibetan sequences *Bya-khri* is the mutable element, occurring in all three possible positions of age, while *Ša-khri* and *Ña-khri* always have the same relative position, *Ša-khri* being the elder, *Ña-khri* the younger of them.

The same does not apply to the two Mongolian versions given by Sanang Sečen, because the Mongol Qans were considered the descendants of the last and youngest son of Gri-gum-btsan-po. However, to conform with the ancestor concepts of the ancient legends of the Mongolians he had to be Śa-za-khri, corresponding to Bōrte čino-a, the Flesh-Eater-Throne and the Spotted or Blue-Grey Wolf.<sup>24</sup> Horchos-byuñ presents the ancestor of the Qans as Por-ta-ze-ba (Bōrte čino-a) in accordance with the ancient aboriginal tradition, but identifies him with Ņa-khri. The reason for this apparently false identification seems to be that the author, just as Sanang Sečen, chooses the *youngest* son of Gri-gum-btsan-po and lets him *originate from Koñ-po*, but depends on a special Tibetan tradition, probably the original one. According to this *Ņa-khri was the younger of two sons and was connected with Koñ-po*, as described in the following.

The myth, whether it mentions three or two sons, relates that the sons and eventually their mother had to seek refuge abroad, when Gri-gum-btsan-po was killed. The strange circumstance that the countries to where they fled are mentioned by names, while the country of Gri-gum-btsan-po or the country from where they fled in no version of the myth is mentioned by name, may possibly have some significance with regard to either the legendary reality of Gri-gum-btsan-po (see p. 110, 162) or the locality from where the idea of this king actually originated. Even by inference from other traditions of Gri-gum-btsan-po, or from secondary features of the myth, we cannot definitely connect this king with Yar-luñ. The records that he built his castle in the eastern part of Yar-mo (see p. 99) have just as little value as arguments in the present regard as the mere fact that he is a member of the royal lineage according to the authorized tradition. A single circumstance which may have a more close relation to the myth considered is to be found in the original disposal of his corpse in a river, but as far as the name of it is mentioned, it is either the rivers of Koñ, Ņañ, or rTsañ, more or less pointing away from Yar-luñ. The local tradition of Myañ even maintains (162.405) that the locality Śam-bu-rtse-dgu or rTse-chen to the northwest of Gyantse was once the place where Gri-gum-btsan-po had his castle. According to the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (see p. 99) gŅa'-khri-btsan-po is said, however, to have built a castle named Śam-po-dgu-brtsegs in Yar-kluñs-sog-kha.

While the tradition thus does not definitely locate the Gri-gum-btsan-po of our myth, it apparently states definitely to which countries his sons fled after his death, although the various versions disagree with regard to which of the three countries in question each of the sons chose. Taking all available material into account, we get the following view of the ways in which the three or two sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po are connected with the three countries sPo-bo, Koñ-po, and Ņañ-po, the reference numbers of the sources being given in parentheses:

<i>sPo-bo</i>	<i>Koñ-po</i>	<i>Ņañ-po</i>	
Bya	Śa	Ņa	(51; 58; 59; 62; 64)
Ņa	Śa	Bya	(56; 145; 146)
Śa	Bya	Ņa	(37)
Bya	Ņa	Śa	(80)
	Bya Śa Ņa		(70; 93; 149)
	Śa Ņa		(1)
	Śa Bya		(117)

Here we get the same immediate impression of confusion as we got above, when regarding the records of the three sons. This confusion is only an apparent one, which can be satisfactorily explained. Behind it we shall find certain features of particular consequence to our further considerations.

Primarily it appears that some sources relate that all the sons fled to Koñ-po, and in a few cases only two sons are mentioned. The latter occurrence depends on the fact already mentioned, and to be further outlined below, that there actually exists a tradition of only two sons. The former occurrence seems to lead us to the conclusion that a separate tradition of Koñ-po as a refuge of all the sons must also be taken into consideration. The Tun-huang Ms (1) speaks definitely in favour of the existence of this separate tradition. On the other hand we cannot depend too much on one single source, however

old it may be. The notes to Bu-ston's Chronicle are not reliable in detail, and the three remaining sources (70; 93; 149) represent exclusively the version given by the Fifth Dalai Lama, i.e. the orthodox Buddhist tradition, in which sPo-bo, and consequently also Ņañ-po, may have been omitted for doctrinal reasons.

The two most significant features behind the apparent confusion are, however, that *the son who was recalled or returned to ascend the throne of his father as sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, in all versions mentioning the three sons, and without regard to his name, *was that son who stayed in sPo-bo* (37; 51; 57; 58; 59; 62; 64; 80; 145; 146), and that the great majority of sources (51; 53; 58; 59; 62; 64; 68; 70; 75; 80; 93; 117; 149) *identify this king with the son Bya-khri*, eventually stating that the two other sons remained rulers of Koñ-po and Ņañ-po. Two sources, Sanang Sečen (145.24/25; 146.8v) and the bŠad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (57.33r) identify sPu-de-guñ-rgyal with Ņa-khri. Only one of the sources mentioning three sons, rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.18v–19r), identifies him with Śa-khri. The notes to Bu-ston's Chronicle quoted below identify him alternately with Bya-khri and Ņa-khri.

These circumstances show that *the generally prevailing tradition*, which may also be characterized as *the tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po's three sons*, *presents sPu-de-guñ-rgyal as the son Bya-khri who came from sPo-bo*.

Disagreeing with this formulation of the tradition, the bŠad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (57.33r) relates:

De'i sras Mi-khri-btsan-po / De'i sras Gri-khuñ-gtsan-po rnañs-la gNam-kyi-khri-bdun zer-ba yin / De-rnañs-kyi spur nañ-mkha'-la yal'-gro / Khri-bdun Phyiñ Yon-bu-gla-rgan yin /

rGyal(-p)o Gri-guñ-brtsan-po'i 'bar Lo-ñañs-gyi drir-skurñ<sup>25</sup> /

De-la sras gsuñ yod-pa / Śa-khri / Bya-khri / Ņa-khri gsuñ /

Lo-ñañ-gyi Śa-khri bKoñ-po'i yul bšud / bKoñ-po'i brgyal(-p)o mdzad / Bya-khri Ņañ-po'i yul-du bšud / De'i gduñ chad / Ņa-khri sPo(-bo)'i yul-du šud / Des sPo-bo'i brgyal-po mdzad / mTshan yañ sPo-ti-guñ-brgyal žes-bya rtags / Gri-guñ-btsan-po dañ sPu-ti-guñ-brgyal gñis-la Bar-gyi-steñ-gñis zer /

sPu-ti-guñ-brgyal Bod-kyi yul-du byon / 'bañs Loñ-nañ 'tshar-spyad yab-mes-kyi brgyal-sa bzuñ / sPu-ti-guñ-brgyal-gyi 'Chiñ-ña-btags-rtse btab / De'i sras Li-šo-legs /

The notes to Bu-ston's Chronicle in the Nor-gliñ-bskal-bzañ Pho-brañ edition (117.123v) relate:

Che-ba Śa-khri bar-pa Gri-gum-btsan-po chuñ-ba Bya-khri-la sPu-de-guñ-rgyal žes grags /

Gri-gum dañ blon-po 'thab-pas ma-thub-par blon-pos bkroñs sKu-mched gsum Koñ-por broš / Koñ-po dañ Ņañ-po'i rje byas /

His son was *Mi-khri-btsan-po*. His son was *Gri-khuñ-gtsan-po*. These (seven kings) are called *gNam-kyi-khri-bdun*. Their corpses vanished into Heaven. The *Khri-bdun* lived (at) *Phyiñ(-yul) Yon-bu-gla-rgan*.

In a quarrel King *Gri-gum-brtsan-po* was killed by *Lo-ñañ*'s sword.

He had three sons: *Śa-khri*, *Bya-khri*, and *Ņa-khri*, these three.

*Lo-ñañ* drove *Śa-khri* away to the country of *bKoñ-po*; he acted as king of *bKoñ-po*. He drove *Bya-khri* away to the country of *Ņañ-po*; *his lineage was cut off*. He drove *Ņa-khri* away to the country of *sPo-bo*; he acted as king of *sPo-bo*. His name was fixed as *sPo-ti-guñ-brgyal*. *Gri-gum-btsan-po* and *sPu-ti-guñ-brgyal*, these two were called *Bar-gyi-steñ-gñis*.

*sPu-ti-guñ-brgyal* came to the country of Tibet, exterminated the subject *Loñ-nañ* and took over the ancestral throne. *sPu-ti-guñ-brgyal* founded '*Chiñ-ña-btags-rtse*'.<sup>26</sup> His son was *Li-šo-legs*.

The eldest was *Śa-khri*, the middle one *Gri-gum-btsan-po*, the youngest one *Bya-khri* who is known as *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*.

*Gri-gum* fought with the minister, but he was killed by the minister because he was not able to compete with him. The three brothers fled to *Koñ-po*, and acted as rulers in *Koñ-po* and *Ņañ-po*.

rGyal-po blon-po Lo-ñam-gyis bzuñ / Sras gsum-gyi a-ma'i rmi-lam-du mi dkar-po gcig dañ-bsdoñs-pa rmiis Khrag-gi goñ-ñu žig byuñ-ba-las skyes-pa'i-bu / rGyu-las-skyes žes-pas sras gÑa'-khri bcug-pa-la sPu-de-guñ-rgyal žes rGya Lo-ñam btul De'i-riñ-la žiñ 'debs-pa gser dñul bzu-ba dañ / zam-pa 'dzugs-pa sogs byuñ-ño /

(The dignity of) king was seized by the minister *Lo-ñam*. The mother of the three sons dreamed that she copulated with a white man. A drop of blood appeared, from which a son was born, named *rGyu-las-skyes*. To the benefit of the exiled son *gÑa'-khri*, known as *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, he subdued *rGya Lo-ñam*. At that time cultivation of fields, smelting of gold and silver, building of bridges, etc. appeared.

The last two quotations bear the marks of having been composed from different versions and even different traditions. They form, in fact, a compromise between the tradition ascribing three sons to Gri-gum-btsan-po and that ascribing only two sons to him.

In the notes to Bu-ston, the compiler has unsuccessfully endeavoured to combine the tradition of the two sons Śa-khri and Ña-khri with the tradition of three sons, among whom Bya-khri became sPu-de-guñ-rgyal. The issue was, however, that Gri-gum-btsan-po got the double role as both father and son. sPu-de-guñ-rgyal became identical with both Bya-khri and Ña-khri.

The most remarkable feature in the account of the bSad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu is the introduction of Bya-khri and the subsequent elimination of him by relating that his lineage was cut off. His existence did not conform with the tradition of two sons. Although the idea of the three refuge countries has been adopted by the author, he connects Ña-khri, as the son to be king, with sPo-bo, probably under the influence of the basic idea of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po as the ancestor. But the ancestor of the Dynasty was actually Śa-khri according to the tradition of only two sons, as we shall see.

This separate tradition of two sons, the existence of which has already been inferred from various features of the generally known versions of the myth, is found in two quite different, but equally important sources. One of them is the inscription from rKoñ-po published by H. E. Richardson (20), and the other one is the first text fragment of the Tun-huang Ms 250 Paris (1.97–100/123–28) given in extenso in Appendix I of this paper.

The inscription presents a charter of privilege given to the vassal king of Koñ-po, Kar-po Mañ-po-rje, by the Tibetan King Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan and confirmed by his son (Khri-)lde-sroñ-(btsan). The part of this inscription which concerns the present subject is the initial and introductory section, reading:

// lHa bTsan-po Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan dañ / lDe-sroñ yab-sras-kyi riñ-la' /

// rKoñ dKar-po-la gtsigs gnañ-ba' //

// Kar-po Mañ-po-rje dañ // blon-po ... i ... gis gsold-ba' // Thog-ma Phywa Ya-bla-bdag-drug-gi sras-las / Ña-khyi-btsan-po myi-yul-gyi rjer // lHa-ri Gyañ-dor gšegs-pa tshun-chad / Drī-gum-btsan-po phan-chad / gduñ-rabs bdung-yi bar-du // Phyi(ñ-ba)-ta(g)-rtse-na bžugs-bžugs // Drī-gum-btsan-po'i sras gcen Ña-khyi dañ / gcuñ Śa-khyi gñis-la / gcuñ Śa-khyi ni / lHa bTsan-po / gcen Ña-khyi ... gcen Kar-po ni / Thog-ma yas gšegs-pa'i tshe / mched-gñis-kyi / sKu-bla gÑan-po-gsol-ba dañ / sKu-bla De-mo dañ bšos-pa lHa-sras gñis-kyis kyañ / ...

Under *lHa bTsan-po Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan* and *lDe-sroñ*, father and son,

a charter was given to *rKoñ dKar-po*.

*Kar-po Mañ-po-rje* and the minister ... made the petition: From the beginning, when among the sons of *Phywa Ya-bla-bdag-drug*, *Ña-khyi-btsan-po* went to *lHa-ri Gyañ-do* to be ruler of the country of man, until *Dri-gum-btsan-po* there were seven generations staying at *Phyiñ-ba-stag-rtse*. The sons of *Dri-gum-btsan-po* were *Ña-khyi* the elder and *Śa-khyi* the younger. Of these two, *Śa-khyi* the younger was *lHa bTsan-po*, and *Ña-khyi* the elder was *gCen Kar-po*. In the beginning when he descended from above he got the two *lHa-sras* (God-sons) with the two sisters *sKu-bla gÑan-po-gsol-ba* and *sKu-bla De-mo*. ...

From this document, which gives us *the tradition of ancestry recognized by the Yar-luñ kings and the princes of Koñ-po in the period immediately around 800 A.D.*, it appears that *Gri-gum-btsan-po had only two sons*. Far more important, however, is the fact that *gÑa'-khri(khyi)-btsan-po was regarded as a primary ancestor common to both dynasties, while Śa-khri(khyi) and Ña-khri(khyi) were secondary ancestors but, in the proper sense, the actual progenitors of the local dynasties of Yar-luñ and Koñ-po*.

The most important and elaborate, though still incomplete, version of the tradition is given by the Tun-huang Ms. As the text fragment in question forms an important basis for several parts of the present study, the Tibetan text as a whole, accompanied by a translation, is given separately in Appendix I. The text represents a compilation of minor text pieces deriving from different sources and fitting loosely together. All the original sources seem to have been epics, and the epic form has partly been maintained, partly been transcribed into prose. For the sake of future references to this text, its various parts have been indicated by Roman numerals, and the single paragraphs within them by small index letters.

According to the *general* tradition all three sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po became local kings, and according to the majority of sources Bya-khri became king of Yar-luñ. According to the *special* tradition the king had only two real sons who became local kings. Śa-khri in Yar-luñ and Ña-khri in Koñ-po. Moreover, according to certain versions of the *general* tradition (see below) *the son who succeeded Gri-gum-btsan-po, no matter how he is named, was supernaturally conceived or born*, while according to the *special* tradition, *the exiled queen gave birth to a son of supernatural nature, named Ñar-le-skyes, Ñar-la-skyes, or Ñar-sos-pa, who is her son yet without being the brother of her two "natural" sons*.

There is hardly any doubt that the supernaturally born son in the general tradition and Ñar-la-skyes of the special tradition derive from one and the same basic concept. While the general tradition describes, in various ways, only the extraordinary circumstances connected with the birth of this being, but in its later existence mentions it in different, purely human capacities, the special tradition, as far as it is known to us, gives no information of its birth, but delivers us the key to the particular and strange nature of this mysterious being.

The Deb-ther-dmar-po, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, and the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ and correspondingly the Bodhimör, relate more or less in detail that the exiled queen, *who already had three sons before the death of Gri-gum-btsan-po*, in a dream was impregnated by the god Yar-lha-śam-po in the shape of a *white man*, and eight moons later she was *delivered of a lump of blood from which a son appeared*. This son, called Ru-la(las)-skyes, acted as an intermediary or a minister, and recalled Bya-khri from sPo-bo to take his ancestral throne. The Mongolian version of Sanang Sečen and the Hor chos-byuñ relate that the queen *already before the birth of one of the three sons, Ña-khri (Boroču) and Bya-khri respectively, dreamed that she had intercourse with the white man, and in consequence of this gave birth to an egg. This egg opened and the son appeared*. Because of his extraordinary nature, it was this son who was recalled from the exile in sPo-bo.

According to the notes to Bu-ston's Chronicle and to the accounts of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Pakṣa-yā, the queen was united with the white man or Yar-lha-śam-po *after the birth of her three sons*. In the former case the issue is described as *a drop of blood from which a son appeared*, and this son was named rGyu-las-skyes. In the latter case it is merely related that the *minister* named Ru-las-skyes issued from the union with the god.

Comparing these features with the narrative of the Tun-huang Ms (Appendix I), which we are going to study in detail later in the paper, we immediately realize that the idea of the supernaturally conceived or born "son" not only has a different significance in relation to the two diverging traditions of the sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po, but has also been essentially modified in the course of time, especially under the influence of orthodox Buddhism.

The main feature in the idea of the supernatural being, as it gradually developed, seems to be that he appears beside the two sons after the death of their father, in a quite particular capacity and mission (see chaptre 14). It can hardly be doubted that the tradition of three sons has developed from that of only two sons, but the reason for this development may be explained in at least two different ways (see

below). The idea of the supernatural "son" has been preserved in the new tradition, but in two different ways having a certain relation to the two ways of explaining the origin of the new tradition itself. He is either identified with *that son who became king after returning from sPo-bo*, or represented as *a fourth son of the queen, conceived by divine interference, but acting in the human capacity of a minister by the name of Ru-la(s)-skyes*.

We are thus obliged to distinguish between *three main aspects of the supernatural being* appearing as a son of the queen, viz. as 1° *Ñar-la-skyes* besides the two sons *Ña-khri* and *Śa-khri*; as 2° *Bya-khri* who comes from *sPo-bo* to be king as *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*; and as 3° the minister *Ru-la(s)-skyes* besides *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal* and his two brothers.

As an attempt to explain these three aspects involves in fact the general study of the origin myths or legends of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* outlined in the following chapters of the paper, which on the other hand is dependent on the result already obtained by the study of the sons of *Gri-gum-btsan-po*, it is necessary to anticipate the final issue of our study for the purpose of giving here a provisional, but yet relevant explanation of the three aspects.

*Ñar-la-skyes* of the *Tun-huang Ms* appears as the son of *Gri-gum-btsan-po's* widow (Appendix I, sect. XI and XIV–XVII), but the text contains no account of the circumstances connected with his birth. His supernatural nature appears, however, by the interpretation of the text. A flimsy attempt to establish a genealogy of *Ñar-la-skyes* appears from the insertion of the sections IX and X. The threads of myth and legend weaved together here present a paradigm of Tibetan mythic tradition. In section IXa–b the fight between *Gri-gum-btsan-po* and *Lo-ñam* is connected with the fight between the *Kuru-* and *Pāṇḍu-*sons narrated in the *Mahābharata* and the *Purāṇas* (see p. 193 ff.). The triumphant party of the Indian legend, *Pāṇḍu* and his sons, corresponds to *rHya* or *Lo-ñam*, who in the notes to *Bu-ston's Chronicle* is called *rGya Lo-ñam*. In the *Tun-huang* text itself (sections XIb and XIIa) he is directly identified with *rHya*. The loosing party is *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *dMag-brgya-pa*, and his sons, the *Kuru-*sons. According to the original tradition all of the *Kuru-*sons are exterminated by the *Pāṇḍavas*, but in the Tibetan version used in the Buddhist tradition of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* for establishing his descent from the *Śākya* dynasties, the youngest *Kuru-*son escapes alive as the captive of the *Pāṇḍu-*sons. In the Buddhist tradition, as rendered by the *bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu* (see p. 191 f.), this youngest son is named *Ru-pa-skyes*, and later he becomes *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*. In the *Tun-huang Ms* the loosing party is characterized as *bKrag*s, whose son *lHa-bu Ru-la-skyes* fights with *rHya*, while the youngest son of *bKrag*s escapes as does *Ru-pa-skyes* mentioned above. The line separated as section X cannot be fully interpreted, but it quite obviously refers to the same event which is described in the *bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu*, where the surviving youngest son of *dMag-brgya-pa* is carried away by the son of *Pāṇḍu* or *sKyabs-señ*.

There seems to be obvious reasons for assuming that *Ru-pa-skyes* and *Ru-la-skyes*, or *rGyu-las-skyes*, names which apply to both *the son of bKrag*s and to *the third aspect of the supernatural being*, derive from the same concept. Besides we are able to establish a connecting link from the name *Ru-pa-ti* occurring at the primary stage of the development of the Buddhist tradition of the origin of the Tibetan kings (see p. 193). Moreover, this concept must have a close relation to that of *Ñar-la-skyes*.

J. Bacot and G.-Ch. Toussaint (1.125, note 6) interpret *Ñar-la-skyes* as "Né de lui-même" or "Born by himself." This interpretation, which we might perhaps prefer in the formulation "Born from (or by) myself," appears, as we shall see, most adequate to the real nature of its bearer, but the linguistic side of the interpretation may present some doubts. Quite particular precaution must be taken in the interpretation of the individual occurrences of the vocables *Ñag*, *gÑa'*, *Ña*, and *Ñar* so strangely accumulated in the progenitor legends of the Tibetan kings. They present so large a field for false etymologies (see p. 157 f, 325). Far more important than the significance of the name *Ñar-la-skyes* is the question of the real nature of its bearer.

In the *Tun-huang Ms* (Appendix I, sections XIa–b, XIVa, and XVI a) he is mentioned once as *Bu-spus* and thrice as *sPus-kyi-bu Ñar-la-skyes*, translated (1.125–26) as "enfant excellent" and "le fils excellent *Ñar-la-skyes*." On a lexicographical basis these translations are no doubt perfectly jus-



tified, but in these cases we cannot be content to translate lexicographically, but must resort to a particular interpretation. As we shall see (p. 310 ff., 324 f., 329 f.), the main theme of the context concerned is the fate of the corpse of Gri-gum-btsan-po, and the text as a whole is a complex of etiological myths dealing with the death of the Tibetan kings and the customs and sacrifices at the royal funerals. Moreover we shall show that *Ñar-la-skyes*, who is the central figure in the search for the royal corpse, and its recovery for a ritual burial, is the *Yi-dwags* or manifestation of the killed, but unburied king himself. Therefore we are inclined to regard *spus* as a derivative of *spur*, which in itself and in the form *spu* signifies in various senses corpse. *sPus* may in itself be an otherwise unknown derivative, or it may derive from *spu* as the result either of a conscious modification or of a misunderstanding or misinterpretation by the author of the manuscript. *sPus-kyi-bu* has undoubtedly an original significance of "The Son of the Corpse".

While *Ñar-la-skyes* vanishes from the myth after the recovery of the king's corpse, and the myth still remains the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's two sons corresponding to the *Koñ-po* inscription, the general idea connected with the supernatural being *Ñar-la-skyes* is preserved in the myth of three sons. It has probably even partially contributed to the creation of this form of the myth itself. The supernatural element has been reminiscently preserved in the particular accounts of the conception or birth of the son who succeeded as *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, but fundamentally, though disguised, it is preserved in the relation of this son and king to *sPo-bo* (see p. 228 ff.).

Two other concepts beside that of *Ñar-la-skyes* seem to have contributed to the creation of the myth of three sons or, more specifically, to the introduction of a third son *Bya-khri* in the apparently original myth of the two sons *Ña-khri* and *Śa-khri*. Both of these concepts depend on the basic idea involved by the term *Bya*, viz. that of Bird, which on one side seems to represent the clan totem of the kings, on the other side forms the third component of the triad *Ña*, *Śa(-za)*, and *Bya* already considered above.<sup>27</sup>

The circumstance that *Bya* and certain ornithomorphous features within all probability seem to characterize the clan or clan totem of the *Yar-luñ* kings, as it will appear from a documentation in connection with the study of the various traditions of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* (p. 210 ff.), would make it immediately plausible that a later and modified tradition introduced a *Bya-khri* as an ancestor of the Dynasty. The documentation given above shows that the general tradition actually makes *Bya-khri*, in the appearance of *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, the ancestor of the Dynasty, in spite of the fact that, according to the original tradition as recognized in the *Koñ-po* inscription from the later part of the dynastic era, it originated from *Śa-khri*. The later Buddhist tradition, in its apparent attempt to eliminate this confusion or contradiction, in reality makes the confusion complete by introducing *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, a reflection of the third son *Ña-khri*, as the ancestor of the Dynasty.

In the preceding section of this paper we have already seen that the kings of the first group of the Dynasty are or may be grouped by triads which, depending on the versions in question, in various ways represent the idea of the tripartite cosmos, whether defined as *gNam-Bar-Sa* or *gNam-Sa'Og*. We have moreover suggested that the triad *gÑa'-khri* + *Mi-khri* + *Bya-khri* derived from the first group of the Dynasty might, under certain provisions, be identical with that formed by the three sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po *Ña-khri* + *Śa(-za)-khri* + *Bya-khri*, which immediately represents the three principal groups of living beings, and indirectly the tripartite cosmos. To show a general identity between these two triads we shall have to establish the identity of meaning between *gÑa'-khri* and *Ña-khri*, and between *Mi-khri* and *Śa(-za)-khri*.

From the names of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* given in Table III it appears that although the form *gÑa'* is the predominant one, no absolutely fixed tradition seems to exist with regard to the first element of his name. We find the deviating forms *Ña* and *Ñag* beside *mÑa'*, which can hardly be regarded as more than a mere orthographic variant of *gÑa'*. The lack of a fixed tradition also appears from the different etymological explanations of *gÑa'* to be found in Tibetan sources. The generally known etymology is given by the account that the king, when arriving in Tibet, was placed upon a throne, *khri*, on the neck, *gña'-ba*, of those men who met him and accepted him as their ruler. This etymology

seems to be that generally authorized by the Buddhist tradition, which accounts for the fact that *the form gÑa' prevails in the great majority of sources, while the deviating forms are to be found exclusively in a few ancient sources little influenced by Buddhism.* The version of the Bon-po tradition, Grags-pa Bon-lugs, which is given below in chapter 10, but to a considerable extent has been influenced by Buddhism, also bases its etymology on neck, gña'-ba but explains the name gÑa'-khri-btsan-po from the abnormal birth position of the child.

If we regard the deviating forms occurring in the ancient sources, the form Ñag found in the Tun-huang Ms hardly permits any conclusion, while the form Ña occurring in the Koñ-po inscription and in the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig is so much more important.

In the Koñ-po inscription, gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is called Ña-khyi-btsan-po, and the son of Gri-gum-btsan-po is called Ña-khyi. The interchange of khri and khyi, which is insignificant in the present connection is explained elsewhere (p. 440, note 60). *The important fact is that the inscription employs the form Ña in both names.* As the inscription is the oldest preserved document mentioning the progenitor king in the sense of "gÑa'-khri-btsan-po" and moreover the only primary source from the era of the Yarlun Dynasty doing this, we might so far consider the inscription conclusive evidence that *the original form was Ña.*

In the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig (40.7r) the name Ña-khri-btsan-po occurs with the following most interesting context:

Khri-rgyal-ba dañ Dri-dmu-tri-btsan sras :  
 gÑa'-khri-btsan-po zla ba ña la skyes :  
 Ña-khri-btsan-po zes-kyañ bya :

The middle line of this quotation is most ambiguous, so that the translation depends on how the Tibetan text itself is conceived. Being

gÑa'-khri-btsan-po zla-ba ña-la-skyes :

as we are going to explain it, the translation reads:

The son of *Khri-rgyal-ba* and *Dri-dmu-tri-btsan*  
 Called *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, was born among fishes,  
 And is also named *Ña-khri-btsan-po*.

If, however, we conceive it in the same way as H. Hoffmann (162.248), viz.

gÑa'-khri-btsan-po zla-ba-ña-la skyes :

the meaning of the middle line changes completely. Hoffmann translated it

*Gña'-khri bcan-po wurde an einem Vollmondstage geboren, or*  
*gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was born on a day of full moon (zla-ba-ña).*

Quite disregarding the indications given by the present study as a whole, we should be inclined to reject Hoffmann's interpretation, because it introduces an element of chronology which appears completely alien in character to the ancient Tibetan traditions. The text of the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig expressly states that both names, gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and Ña-khri-btsan-po, apply to the progenitor king. If, therefore, he had the name Ña-khri-btsan-po deriving from his birth on a *full moon day*, ña, which in itself, without zla-ba, signifies the day of the full moon, beside signifying *fish*, there would be no reason for the introduction or occurrence of the form gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and the more or less elaborate etymologies applying to this form of the name. If, on the contrary, the name Ña-khri-btsan-po actually signified "Fish-Throne-King", it would harmonize no more than Bya-khri or Śa-khri with the Buddhist tradition of a descent from the glorious Śākyas or Licchavis, and its modification to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po accompanied by some relevant etymology would be the immediately plausible solution.

On the basis of these considerations we should not hesitate to accept *the form Ña-khri-btsan-po as the original one, in which Ña-khri identically with the name Ña-khri of Gri-gum-btsan-po's son signifies Fish-Throne*. Nor, supported by the fact that *the traditions persistently connect both gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and Ña-khri with Koñ-po*, should we hesitate to regard the two names as synonymous expressions for one and the same progenitor.

The latter statement seems to be immediately disproved by the circumstance that the Koñ-po inscription mentions Ña-khyi-btsan-po and Ña-khyi as two different persons, but this is not so. The inscription can be dated to the first one and a half decennium of the ninth century A.D., and it is *a Buddhist inscription* which, as far as it alludes to the most ancient part of the royal lineage, *reflects the authorized Buddhist representation of the Dynasty at a very early, almost primary stage of development*.

The particular importance of the inscription with regard to the problem under discussion, and to our study in general, is due to the circumstance that it is the oldest primary source referring to the royal pedigree, and that it agrees at essential points with a secondary source depending on a contemporary and complete representation of the Dynasty. This secondary source is the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig, in which the representation of the Dynasty ending with King Sad-na-legs depends on the Thañ-yig-chen-mo, the Catalogue of Kings or rGyal-po'i dkar-chag composed by the Lo-tsā-ba lDan-ma-rtse-mañ on the order of King Sad-na-legs (157.147-48, 155-56). From the correspondence which exists between the inscription and the representation of the Dynasty, given in the seventh chapter of the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.18v-19v), we are fairly justified in regarding the latter representation, at any rate where the former part of the Dynasty is concerned, as a true copy of the Catalogue of Kings by lDan-ma-rtse-mañ, thus representing, in reality, *the prototype from which the later versions of the royal lineage have developed or been modified by Buddhist authors*.

Both the inscription and the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig show a discontinuity at the transition from the Seven Celestial Khri to the further line of the Dynasty by stating no definite relation between Gri-gum-btsan-po and the seventh Celestial Khri. With regard to the latter, the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig names him sPyi-khri and thus seems to depend partially on a tradition which represents this king as the sixth, and Gri-gum-btsan-po as the seventh Celestial Khri. When counting the number of generations "between" Ña-khri-btsan-po and Gri-gum-btsan-po as seven, the text of the inscription is equivocal. The latter king may be actually the seventh or the eighth king of the lineage. In fact, the expression "Thog-ma yas gśegs-pa'i tshe" (see p. 154) classifies Gri-gum-btsan-po among the kings of the first group, particularly as it is conceived in the Bon-po tradition of the seven gNam-skos-lha who, including Gri-gum-btsan-po, descended individually from above, the last mentioned king upon Śam-po of Yar-klun (see p. 140).

Another feature of similarity between the inscription and the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig appears from the significant fact that both sources mention the son Śa-khri as the ancestor of the Yar-lun kings, and Ña-khri as the ancestor of the princes of Koñ-po. In this regard the sources represent *the original tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po's two sons*, although the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig, by mentioning *three* sons, gives a compromise of both traditions of the sons.

From these considerations, and at the same time taking into account the problematic position of Gri-gum-btsan-po and the second group of the Dynasty as a whole, we find it proper to state that *the Koñ-po inscription reveals no genealogic relationship between Ña-khyi-btsan-po and Ña-khyi beyond that artificially established by the general Buddhist representation*. Because of a dependence on the old tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons as *co-ordinate ancestors of local dynasties*, which makes Ña-khri-btsan-po *a common primary ancestor of more dynastic lines*, in a parallel to Mahāsamādhi of the Śākya dynasties, the artificial nature of the established relationship between the two links of the lineage is even less veiled in the inscription than in the common versions of the tradition.

We shall therefore still maintain that *Ña-khri-btsan-po and Ña-khri both fundamentally symbolize the concept of the progenitor of the Yar-lun kings, for which the Buddhist representation of the Dynasty and its idea of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po are generalized expressions*. The reasons for the existence of two principal personifications of this progenitor, and his occurrence in two different capacities in the represen-

ration of the Dynasty, each of them characterized by its own mythic complex, is to be found in the circumstance that, according to age or locality, the Tibetans had fundamentally different ideas of the nature and origin of the progenitor. *Ña-khri-btsan-po* and *Ña-khri* represented two principal ideas, one of "celestial," the other of "chthonic" nature.

While the explanation of these two principal ideas of the origin of the progenitor belongs to a later part of the paper (chapters 10 and 11), we still have to prove, besides the established identity of original meaning between *gÑa'-khri* and *Ña-khri*, an identity of significance between *Mi-khri* and *Śa(-za)-khri* also.

The vocable *mi* signifies man. In its plural or collective sense it signifies mankind or people, and in the self-centred world-concept of the ancient Tibetans it particularly signified the Tibetan people itself, the *Bod-mi*.

*Śa-za* signifies flesh-eater, and since prehistoric time *Śa-za* or *Śa-za gdoñ-dmar*, "Red-faced Flesh-Eaters" have particularly designated the Tibetan people itself. By the authority of the *Pakṭa-yā* (93.281r; see p. 296) we are able to show that these names are still known in this significance:

Here in Tibet it is told that the issue of the union between the Ape (*sPre'u*) and the Rock-Demoness (*Brag-srin-mo*) were the Redfaces (*gDoñ-dmar*), who are the offspring of the Family of Flesh-Eaters (*Śa-zan-gyi rigs*).

The idea of the *Śa-za gdoñ-dmar* derives from the common tradition of the pre-human period in Tibet and its rulers. One of its periods is characterized by the special sign (*rtags*) of *Śa-za gdoñ-ba-dmar-ba* (see p. 292), and in the *Bon-po* work *gZer-myig* (138.II.72r) Tibet is correspondingly described as the country of the flesh-eating redfaced *Srin-po*, *Śa-zan gdoñ-dmar Srin-po Bod-kyi-yul*. The Tibetans, who considered themselves the descendants of these pre-human beings, as expressed above in the quotation from the *Pakṭa-yā* or in the *Mañi-bka'-'bum* (see p. 183 f.), took over the designation *Śa-za gdoñ-dmar* and used it of themselves, so that we read in the *bTsun-mo bka'i-thañ-yig* (38.118), in connection with King *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan* (see p. 86):

<i>Śa-za gdoñ-dmar 'dul-mdzad Mes-dpon gsum :</i>	As to the third ancestor(-king) who disciplined the flesh-eating redfaces,
<i>bTsun-mo bka'i-thañ-yig bstan-par-bya :</i>	The <i>bTsun-mo bka'i-thañ-yig</i> relates of him.

In the later systematical *Bon* religion as well as in Buddhism, the *Śa-za(n)* are generally represented as supernatural or deified beings. The *Bon-po'i lha-bsañs* (172.324) mentions them in close connection with the *Srin-po*, while *kLoñ-rdol bLa-ma* (102.Ya.14r), as a representative of systematic Buddhism, classifies them together with most different beings, such as *lHa*, *kLu*, *Srin-po*, *Yi-dwags*, *mTshun-lha*, in a group called the Eighteen *gDon*. In all occurrences *Śa-za* signifies, however, the fundamental idea of a flesh-eating being, also in its religious personifications, as it appears e.g. from the numerous carnivora covering the body of the *mGon-po* deity *Śa-za ce-spyañ-gdoñ-can* (135.II.404r). In its general sense *Śa-za* signifies the class of the mammals, including without particular distinction the species of *homo sapiens*.

We may therefore ascribe the same fundamental sense to *Mi-khri* and *Śa(-za)-khri* in ancient Tibetan conception, and we may consequently regard the two triads

<i>gÑa'-khri-</i>		<i>Ña-khri</i>
<i>Mi-khri-</i>		<i>Śa(-za)-khri</i>
<i>Bya-khri-</i>	and	<i>Bya-khri</i>

as synonymous expressions for one and the same idea.

The occurrence of triads of kings, representing directly or indirectly the three cosmic spheres, seems to be a characteristic feature in the traditions of the first kings. When regarding the traditions of *Gri-gum-*

btsan-po's sons we are therefore confronted with the strange circumstance that the tradition of two sons, which we have every reason to consider as older than that of three sons, only comprises the two constituents Ńa and Śa out of the three forming the triad. Admittedly the tradition as given by the Tun-huang Ms comprises also a third "son" Ńar-la-skyes who, however, does not become king. He is reflected in the tradition of three sons, as it appears from the Buddhist versions, but the idea of him, from which the myth has been formed, is definitely a pre-Buddhist one.

At present we are unable to give any satisfactory explanation for this strange occurrence, but we may venture conjectures which are vaguely supported by certain indications to be found in the sources. On one side we cannot completely reject the possibility that the triad Ńa-Śa-Bya has developed from a previous concept on only Ńa and Śa as representatives of a world consisting of only the Earth with the glacier mountains and the Underworld with the waters. The idea of Heaven in the sense of a third and upper sphere of the world may be a later stage of development, which somehow is connected with the rise and spread of the Bon religion, in which a particular significance and importance is ascribed to Heaven or gNam. The idea of the world as a Ga'u, the closed space of gNam-Sa, seems to represent an intermediate stage of the development towards the idea of a world of three spheres in its various forms of definition (see p. 314 f.). Corresponding to such a change in the concept of the physical world, a similar change in the religious concept of the existence seems to have taken place. The ancient, pre-Buddhist and pre-Bon concept of existence seems to have comprised two worlds of existence, that of man or Sa, the Earth, and that of the defunct or 'Og, the Underworld. They were mutually connected in a reciprocal action, the idea of which was apparently founded in a fundamental concept of *ya(r)-yog(s)*, above and below, and the *rum* of beginning and end, birth and death (see p. 314 ff.).

On the other hand the peculiarity of the tradition of two sons may also find a possible explanation in the following considerations. If Ńa, Śa, and Bya do not specifically signify the sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po, or the idea of them does not belong exclusively to the traditions of the origin of the Dynasty, but is known from other Tibetan traditions, such as we shall endeavour to prove in the following, then the tradition of the two sons may simply represent an intermediary stage between some original tradition comprising Ńa, Śa, and Bya and the final tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po's three sons Ńa-khri, Śa-khri, and Bya-khri.

If we realize the fact that the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons serves in general as an origin myth for the Yar-luñ kings, but is actually a mythic complex dealing with the origin of more local dynasties, in fact three dynasties, viz. those of Yar-luñ, Koñ-po, and Ńañ-po, we may also realize that an intermediary stage of tradition as mentioned above might issue from a preliminary attempt to combine *a separate tradition of three tribal progenitors* characterized by the idea of Ńa, Śa, and Bya with *a separate tradition of the origin and particular nature of the ancestor of the Yar-luñ kings*, such as the tradition of Yan-bsañ studied in detail below (chapter 10).

A combination of two such traditions would account on one side for the general occurrence of the triad, on the other side for the circumstance that the third son, whether appearing as Ńar-la-skyes, the manifestation of Gri-gum-btsan-po, as the miraculously conceived son Bya-khri who became king, or as the minister Ru-la-skyes of the Buddhist tradition in its final version, possesses the fundamental characteristic ascribed to the ancestor according to Yan-bsañ, viz. that of being *śugs-pa* or an incarnation, ultimately appearing from the realm of the defunct, whether it is called *sPu-yul* or is modified to *sPo-bo* (see p. 227 ff.).

The accounts of the miraculously conceived son, that he was born from a lump of blood, a drop of blood, or as an egg, lead us to consider the special origin concept which may be called origin from a blood-egg.

The idea of the *blood-egg*, *khrag-gi sgo-ña*, somehow seems to be a modified idea of a *cosmic egg*, and both ideas again lead us to certain, still practically unexplored aspects of Tibetan mythology. On one hand the idea of an origin from eggs seems to be a characteristic feature of *matriarchal concepts among the Tibetans* (see p. 225). On the other hand it characterizes certain ancient traditions of *the origin of the world*, but particularly of *the origin of the Tibetans or the primary Tibetan tribes*.

The Fifth Dalai Lama and, following him, Sum-pa mKhan-po (see p. 256 ff.) relate various most interesting Tibetan myths describing the origin of the world or of the Tibetans from what in Western literature is generally called the cosmic egg. But this name is so far mistaken, as Tibetan *duñ-gi sgo-ña* ought to be translated as *origin egg*. This idea of the egg as the primary source of origin is still living in Tibetan popular traditions (see 194.712–13; 160.833 and 837), but the form of this idea which, in the present connection, is of particular interest to us, is that of the contemporary existence of a multitude of origin eggs or, more specifically, a quadruple of origin eggs, each of which being referred to one of the four quarters of the world as its separate origin egg.

According to traditions from Ladakh (156.no.XV) also known from the Ladakh version of the Gesar legend (194.719) each of the four quarters of the world originally had its own cosmic egg or origin egg, from which the four rulers or guardians of the quarters originated. They are

*Bya-rgyal rgod-po* (the wild royal *bird*)

*Ña-mo gser-mig* (the *fish* with golden eyes)

*Señ-ge dkar-mo g'yu-ral-pa-can* (the white *lioness* with turquoise mane)

*rGya-stag khra-bo* (the motley, or striped, Indian (Chinese?) *tiger*)

These guardians are, in fact, characterized analogously to the sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po as Bird, Fish, and Flesh-Eater, the last class being in the present case represented by two carnivorous animals, the lion and the tiger. If we regard the name Śa(-za)-khri in its Mongolian equivalent Bōrte čino-a, the motley, or striped, wolf, then we find that the characterizing element čino-a is identical to Tibetan khra-bo. If we make allowance for the locally conditioned choice of animals, we observe that Bōrte čino-a as an equivalent to Śa-za-khri, and rGya-stag khra-bo represent virtually identical concepts.

While the idea of the three classes of living beings is obviously a fundamental feature in the names of the guardians and in those of the sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po, the circumstance that we are dealing with four guardians but only three sons still presents an obstacle to the acceptance of an identity of ideas. From the study of the ancient Tibetan image of the world and the traditions of the Tibetan tribes and their origin (see chapter 12), it appears that the number of three seems to have been a fundamental number in the concept of the world both in its vertical and in its horizontal image. In the traditions of the four principal tribes of the Tibetans as represented in literature from Buddhist time, the idea of them is closely connected with that of the horizontal image of the world, and we find the original number of three clearly reflected in the most characteristic feature that the four co-ordinated elements in these traditions distinctly result from the addition of three and one elements.

The guardians of the quarters as they are conceived in Buddhist time hardly belong to the pre-Buddhist concepts of the Tibetans. In Tibetan literature, thus speaking of traditions rendered in, or belonging to, the Buddhist era, we find three different ideas connected with the quarters, viz. that of the guardians, the Phyogs-skyoñ or Phyogs-la-mkhos-pa, that of the Great Kings of the Four Quarters, the Phyogs-bži'i rgyal-po chen-po, and that of the Rus or Rus-chen, signifying both the principal ethnic groups or tribes of the Tibetan peoples and their progenitors, referred to their particular quarters. Between these three ideas there seems to exist no sharp distinction. They seem rather to represent different phases of a development which successively, and in various ways, broadened the general concept of the world, but basically derived from the concept of the Rus (see chapter 12, esp. p. 275 ff.). This agrees so far with the fact that the very idea of the Rus shows a clear development from three plus one to four, and from four plus two to six individual Rus, corresponding to the Buddhist concept of four quarters and six cardinal directions of the world.

We may therefore regard the guardians of the tradition mentioned above, who originated from eggs, as an expression for tribal progenitors, and presume that it is *this idea of tribal progenitors which is to be found behind the tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons in their capacity of the ancestors of local dynasties*. This presumption is so far more justified as in the traditions of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons and of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po the idea of the three countries Ñañ-po, Koñ-po, and sPo-bo, or the gDugs-pa-

can-gyi yul of Nān-po, Koñ-po, and Dwags-po (see p. 271 f.) in their relations to Yar-luñ represent, in reality, a microtype of the ancient Tibetan image of the world (see chapter 12).

No matter whether it may be accepted generally that the idea of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons derives from a concept of tribal progenitors, the fact seems to remain that the Buddhist tradition, when including the myth of them in its representation of the Dynasty and its origin, was bound to accept two previously given conditions, viz. *a tradition of three brothers* and *a tradition distinguishing one of them beyond the others by the possession of miraculous qualities or by being an incarnation*.

We are in the fortunate position to be able to show that the Buddhist tradition of the Dynasty, which has the fundamental purpose of showing that the Tibetan kings descended from an Indian dynasty, presents two main stages of development (see p. 193 ff.). *The former and initial stage takes its departure from a tradition of three brothers* corresponding to the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons, while *the later and final stage takes its departure from the Bon tradition of the Son of lHa, gñā'-khri-btsan-po*.

In the sources hitherto known, the former stage of development is only vaguely indicated by references to the authority of Śes-rab-go-cha (see p. 193), according to whom an Indian prince named Ru-pa-ti and his soldiers had fled to the Snowy Country disguised as women, and there, depending on the interpretation of the ambiguously formed accounts, had either founded the royal lineage or the Tibetan people. In the introductory remarks to the description of the royal lineage and its origin, however, the rGyal-rabs-gsal-ba'i-me-loñ gives a short but most informative account in this regard. The same account is found in the Bodhimör, but in the translation by I. J. Schmidt it has lost its pregnant significance. The two versions (58.24r and 61.34v) which are mutually corresponding relate:

rGyal-srid-la mña'-'cham-pa'i dus-su / dMag-brgya-pa-la bu gsum byuñ-ba'i chuñ śos / sKyes-buchen-po'i mtshan dañ-ldan-pa cig / rGyal-srid-la dbañ ma-thob-par / lHas luñ-btsan-pa bzin / bu-mo'i chas-su byas-te Bod-kyi-yul-du spyugs-pa-yin kyañ zer-la /

Tere čaktu qāni sangartu ülü žokičon žōn čeričtū-dü gurban kübđn boluksan učūken inu yeke törölkiteyin belge tögüsüksen nigen-dü : qāni sangsarın erkešil ese kürten tenggeri eši üjülüksen metü : okini žemseč üyiledči tö-böđin oron-du dutāksan mün kemēn ögülemüi

At the time when there was disagreement with regard to the government, the youngest of the three sons of dMag-brgya-pa was born as one possessing the signs of a Mahāpuruša. To prevent him from getting the power of government it is said that, in accordance with the prophecy from lHa, he was driven away to Tibet, having donned woman's attire.

The fight about the power of government referred to, is the fight between the Pāñđu- and Kuru-sons related in the Mahābharata (see p. 193 f.), which forms the general background for the Buddhist tradition in its older version. Disregarding the number of the Kuru-sons, the sons of dMag-brgya-pa, which is given by the Indian tradition, the Buddhist tradition here at its initial stage states a number of three sons, while at its later stage conforms in principle with the Indian tradition. Just as one of the three sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po distinguished himself before his brothers by miraculous qualities which predestined him to be king, Ru-pa-ti, the youngest of the three sons of dMag-brgya-pa, who became ancestor of the Tibetan kings according to the initial stage of the Buddhist tradition, distinguished himself by possessing the signs of a Mahāpuruša. In the original Indian concept these signs, the nature and further significance of which are discussed later on (p. 203 ff.), predestined their possessor as a Cakravartin, a universal king being superior or victorious before all others, just as it was said of Bya-khri. In the Indian-Buddhist concept the signs of Mahāpuruša meant that their bearer was to be either a Cakravartin or an incarnation of Buddha, and it was to prevent the son from being a Cakravartin taking all the power that he was expelled.

Beside the analogy between the sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po and those of dMag-brgya-pa, we may also, in connection with what we have hinted above, point out the pronounced features of analogy between on one side the particularly distinguished sons of the two kings just mentioned, and on the other side U-pe-ra of the tradition of Yan-bsañ described below. U-pe-ra distinguished himself before

his brothers and all others by being a *śugs-pa*, an incarnation. He was expelled from his country, but he finally came to Tibet to be the ancestor of the Tibetan kings.

Occasionally anticipating the later parts of the present study, we have seen that the special qualities which distinguished that son of *Gri-gum-btsan-po* who became king are somewhat differently defined. They derive from the particular nature of his birth or from his being an incarnation, and they are manifest from his particular appearance, powers, and abilities, or from his possession of the signs of a *Mahāpuruṣa*. We are also going to learn from the study of the varying versions of the myth of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* that it was fundamentally the same qualities which qualified *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* to be the Ruler of Men, *Mi'i-rje*, and the ancestor of the Tibetan kings.

The particular qualification which derives from the possession of the signs of *Mahāpuruṣa*, is especially emphasized in the myth of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, but less obvious, though clearly discernable in the myth of *Bya-khri* becoming *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*. Through the documentation below (p. 197 ff.) it is possible to demonstrate that the signs which actually distinguished the ancestor, being characterized as the signs of *Mahāpuruṣa* or, in the specific Buddhist traditions, as the prodigious signs of a Buddha, have only the appearance of such signs. They express, in reality, a series of characters which are different from those of *Mahāpuruṣa* or Buddha and can only be explained as the "totem" characters of the royal clan. The most characteristic ornithomorphous nature of some of these characters inevitably involves the idea of Bird or *Bya* as the fundamental characteristic of the royal clan. This circumstance seems to give us the explanation as to why the tradition so persistently presents *Bya-khri* as the ancestor of the Tibetan kings, in spite of the fact that the local dynasty of *Yar-luñ*, according to the original tradition supported by authentic evidence from historical time, actually originated from *Śa-khri*.

When studying here the myth of *Gri-gum-btsan-po* and his sons with particular regard to the traditions of his sons, one feature of importance still remains to be considered. We have seen that in various phases of the development of the tradition the motive of supernatural nature and birth is connected at first with *Nar-la-skyes*, then with one of the three sons whether *Bya-khri* or *Ru-pa-ti*, and finally with a fourth son *Ru-la(s)-skyes* who simply became a minister.

It is obvious that these three different figures derive from one and the same original concept, but they also represent different steps of a gradually modified interpretation of this original concept. In fact, they represent the changing idea of the religious foundation of royalty, and of the religious status of the king, during a development which ranges from pre- or non-Bon, through Bon, to Buddhist concepts. As we shall see in the following, the same long line of development is to be found throughout the traditions finally making *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* the ancestor of the Dynasty.

At the final step of this ideological development, the fundamental idea of supernatural origin was, in reality, separated from the idea of the king and connected with that of the king's minister. This final step is clearly pronounced in the occurrence of the minister *Ru-las-skyes* beside King *Bya-khri* or *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, while it is hardly directly discernable in the Buddhist versions of the myth of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, probably because the nature of this king, in the Buddhist traditions specifically dealing with him, is generally represented and interpreted so far in the light of the Buddhist doctrine, that further elaborate measures seem to be of no avail.

With regard to the tradition of the three sons, which formed the primary basis of the Buddhist tradition, and in the later versions of this tradition still remained an important constituent, a further revision seems, however, to have been found opportune to the authors representing the orthodox Buddhism. The accounts of the fourth son, the minister *Ru-las-skyes*, which are given by *dPa'-bo gTug-lag* and by *bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan* in his *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ* (see above), are the most detailed ones as yet known, and they seem to form the general basis for the versions to be found in later sources. It is, however, hardly the primary versions introducing a fourth son in the capacity of a minister, although in certain respects they contain remarkable reminiscences of the traditions of *Gri-gum-btsan-po*'s two sons. Above all this relationship of tradition appears from the way *Ru-las-skyes* is described as *Yab'-jañ-gi-bu*, and from his discourse with his mother, and the recovery of his father's corpse, in which cases he acts in the role of *Nar-la-skyes*.



Among the later versions, that given by the Fifth Dalai Lama and in modern time literally adopted by Pakṭa-yā is the most important one. In direct continuation of the quotation p. 149–50, the two sources relate (see p. 101):

Yab-kyi riñ-la Žaṅ-žuñ dañ / Bru-śa'i gśen-gyi  
Dur-bon byuñ-žiñ / Sras-kyi riñ-la sku-mkhar  
Phyiñ-(ña)-stag-rtse brtsigs / sGruñ dañ lDe'u  
(sDe'u) gNam-bon gśen-po che (chen-po) byuñ /

Ru-las-skyes dañ / sras lHa-bu-mgo-dkar-te  
blon-po gñis-kyi riñ / chu yur-bar drañs / ...

By an immediate consideration of these two paragraphs of the text of the Fifth Dalai Lama, we might, perhaps, be inclined to believe that the text was corrupt in some way, so that the *sras lHa-bu* actually was identical with the *sras*, viz. *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, mentioned just before. The text should then have a meaning corresponding to that of the *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ* (see p. 149):

/ rGyal-blon-'di-gñis-kyi dus-su / g'Yuñ-druñ-gi  
Bon byuñ-ste /

In the lifetime of the father (*Gri-gum-btsan-po*) the *Dur-bon* of the *gśen* from *Žaṅ-žuñ* and *Bru-śa* appeared. During the lifetime of the son (*sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*) the residential castle *Phyiñ-ña-stag-rtse* was built, and the great *gNam-bon gśen-po*, *sGruñ* and *lDe'u*, appeared.

*Ru-las-skyes* and the son *lHa-bu-mgo-dkar(-te)*, in the lifetime of *these two ministers* the water was led through irrigation canals.

At the time of *the king and the minister*, *these two*, the *g'Yuñ-druñ-gi Bon* appeared.

There is, however, no question of corruption of the text in this regard. The Fifth Dalai Lama actually relates of *Ru-las-skyes* and of a son of *Ru-las-skyes* called *lHa-bu-mgo-dkar(-te)*, who were both of them ministers, as it is also related by *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* (see p. 147). Moreover, the Fifth Dalai Lama and *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* here allude to, and perhaps even modify, a hitherto little known tradition of *the origin of the ministers* or of the special *institution of the Žaṅ-blon*.

The *bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig* (40.7v) contains a list of ministers who, during the era of the *Yar-luñ* kings, belonged to various Tibetan clans. To this list the *bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig* gives the following introduction:

: De-nas blon-po'i byuñ-khuñs dpyad :  
gÑa'-khri-btsan-po man-chad-nas :  
Khri-sroñ-lde'u-btsan yan-chod-la :  
Che brgyud<sup>28</sup> drug-cu-rtsa-gcig byuñ :

bLon-po rigs-brgyud rnam-lña-ste :  
Guñ-blon sPyi-blon dBañ-blon gsum :  
Nañ-blon bKa'-blon gñis-te lña :

Dañ-po blon-la śna-ba ni :  
lHa-yi-smon-gzugs Śam-po'i sras :  
De sras lHa-yi-'od-dkar byuñ :

Then an *examination of the origin of ministers*:  
From *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*  
Until *Khri-sroñ-lde'u-btsan*  
There were sixty-one in the lineage of Great (Ministers).

There are five kinds of minister lineages.  
The three: *Guñ-blon*, *sPyi-blon*, and *dBañ-blon*.  
The two: *Nañ-blon* and *bKa'-blon*. Altogether five.<sup>29</sup>

The very first among ministers was  
*lHa-yi-smon-gzugs*, the son of (*Yar-lha*)-*Śam-po*.  
His son was *lHa-yi-'od-dkar*.

While the *bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig* thus refers the origin of the *bLon-po* or minister to the time of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, the *rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig* (37.19v) refers the origin of the *Žaṅ-blon* to the time of *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*:

bTsan-po sPu-de-guñ-rgyal sku-riñ-la :  
Yab-sras goñ mdzad lHa-bu smon-gsum-du :  
Thabs-kyi žaṅ-blon-dag kyañ da-nas byuñ :

These three lines are inserted in the gTer-ma to state an important event at the time of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, without any further connection with the context. For this reason it is only possible to give an interpretation of the second line based on the preceding quotation from the bLon-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig. The vocable *gsum*, which means three, must be part of the name of the first minister, lHa-yi-smon-gzugs of the bLon-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig and lHa-bu-smon-gzuñ of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (p. 147). Therefore, we may interpret the text fragment in the following way (see p. 100):

In the lifetime of King *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*,  
 Father and son acted (as stated) above; in *lHa-bu-smon-gsum*  
 Arose from now the skilled *Žaṅ-blon*.

There seems to exist a close connection between the accounts of the Fifth Dalai Lama, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, and those of the two gTer-mas. The first of the ministers was lHa-yi-smon-gzugs (lHa-bu-smon-gzuñ or lHa-bu-smon-gsum) and the second minister was his son lHa-yi-'od-dkar (lHa-bu-mgo-dkar(-te)).<sup>30</sup> If sPu-de-guñ-rgyal is regarded as the ancestor of the Dynasty, then his minister Ru-las-skyes must, *ipso facto*, be the first of the ministers, and his son correspondingly the second minister, a fact directly maintained by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (p. 147), who identifies Ru-las-skyes and lHa-bu-smon-gzuñ. According to the mythic accounts of Ru-las-skyes, this minister was born from the queen of Gri-gum-btsan-po, but he was conceived by the god Yar-lha-śam-po, and therefore in reality is to be regarded as a son of this god. That the first minister lHa-yi-smon-gzugs was a son of (Yar-lha-)Śam-po is stated by the bLon-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig.

There seems to be very little doubt that lHa-yi-smon-gzugs and lHa-yi-'od-dkar on the one side, and Ru-las-skyes and lHa-bu-mgo-dkar on the other side, represent two identical ideas of the first two ministers. We may suspect that Ru-las-skyes, whose role as a minister is probably a later Buddhist invention, has been substituted for the real first minister of the tradition, lHa-yi-smon-gzugs, by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag and the Fifth Dalai Lama.

The rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig refers the origin of the Žaṅ-blon, one of the most important institutions in the Tibetan constitution during the Yar-luñ Dynasty, to the reign of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal. The Žaṅ-blon (see 195.57 f.; 196. 200) was the most potent minister of the realm by virtue of being the supreme head of the maternal lineage of the royal heir. This special position of the Žaṅ-blon by virtue of being a near, or the nearest, relative of the king's mother by blood, is, in fact, the position in which the Buddhist tradition presents the minister Ru-las-skyes to us. This analogy between Ru-las-skyes and the Žaṅ-blon in general, may account for the occurrence of two different personalities in the traditional role as the first Tibetan minister. The relative age of the various sources concerned gives us some reason to assume that *the concept of the Žaṅ-blon has presented the pattern from which the tradition of the minister Ru-las-skyes was created.*

In one of the sources quoted above indications appear which give rise to speculations whether the institution of Žaṅ-blon was the only minister-institution based on family ties. We have to consider the possibility of a minister of the father's line, a paternal uncle or *Khu-bo*. In the quotations above from dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.8v and 9r, quoted p. 147):

“The name *Khu-bo lHa-bu-smon-gzuñ*  
 Was given. You made gratefulness abound.”

It is told, that the king carried (honoured) him as paternal uncle (*Khu-bo*) and therefore named him to be of the *Khu*-clan.

As his (*I-śo-legs's*) minister acted *lHa-bu-mgo-dkar*,  
 The son of the paternal uncle *Khu Ru-las-skyes*.

The important elements are *Khu-bo* lHa-bu-smon-gzuñ and *Khu Khu* Ru-las-skyes. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag after his etiological explanation connects *Khu-bo* or paternal uncle with *Khu-rus*, the clan of *Khu*.

The clan of Khu is mentioned on nine occasions in the Tun-huang Annals and Chronicle (1.34, 35, 40, 41, 130, 131, 145, 146), twice in connection with ministers being disgraced, and twice with members of the clan being ministers of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. In the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig (40.7v) the Khu-clan is listed as the first among fourteen clans in the list of ministers. But in no source at our disposal exist indications that an institution of Khu-blon answering to the institution of Žañ-blon ever functioned under the Yar-luñ kings.

Ru-las-skyes, miraculously conceived by the queen-mother, was a maternal relative, žañ-po, to sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, both having the same mother, but according to the concept of Nar-la-skyes he was also a paternal relative, both having the same father. This concept of Khu-bo or paternal uncle we are inclined to consider a result of a misinterpretation of the *Khu* occurring in the name of the first minister. *This Khu*, by later authors interpreted as Khu-bo, paternal uncle, *was the name of the Khu clan, with which a tradition seems to connect the first Žañ-blon.* This Khu of the clan name may have signified paternal uncle.

## The traditions of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po

From the general discussion of the representations of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, we have received the preliminary impression that the Tibetan concept of the origin of the Dynasty and of its progenitors is considerably more complicated than the authorized representation immediately permits us to suspect. This impression is further confirmed by the following special study of the traditions of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. A fairly large material of traditions of varying character, directly or indirectly connected with the idea of this progenitor of the Dynasty, is already generally known, but only the circumstances that we have succeeded in bringing otherwise rare or completely new and important materials to light, and have introduced an analysis of the compositional structure of the text traditions, have enabled us to obtain a rather definite idea of the original character of the origin traditions of the Dynasty, and of their fundamental importance for the understanding of the position and fate of the Yar-luñ Dynasty in historical time.

The tradition of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, as it has been known up to now and presented in a number of more or less fragmentary legends, may in the main be referred to *a principal myth characterized by the progenitor king's descent from, or appearance on, a (sacred) mountain*, while in a few cases we find features showing the existence of origin myths of this king, which are distinctly different from the principal one. The multiplicity and variety of myths and legends thus intimated may be considered partly as an original or most ancient occurrence owing to their development in different localities or strata of population, partly as the result of such modifications which inevitably occur in the course of time, and partly as the result of conscious Buddhist modifications of the original tradition, effected at the time when Buddhism became dominant in Tibet.

In consequence of the fact that the majority of the generally known Tibetan sources, at any rate as they are available at present, belong to the era of Buddhism, and frequently to a time long after its introduction in Tibet, *the Buddhist representations of the origin of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po have acquired such a priority that until recently very little of the pre-Buddhist traditions was known beyond the feature that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, according to the Bon concept, was a descendant of the Celestial IHa.*

From the material available to him, and taking the Buddhist representation as his point of departure, H. Hoffmann (162.146 ff.) has analysed the origin tradition of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. As the main results of this analysis *he has stated the existence of three principal traditions* characterized by the terms *gSañ-ba*, *Grag-spa*, and *Yañ-gsañ*, and has recognized *the Bon origin of the apparently genuine, Buddhist representation*. Beyond the sporadic allusions to the original or pre-Buddhist tradition, particularly those occurring in the *bKa'-thañ sde-lña*, however, the author possessed no means of stating the specific nature of this tradition, but left the problem to a future solution when concluding: "Die Analyse dieser Sage scheint mir ein gutes Beispiel dafür zu bieten, dass die scheinbar buddhistischen Erzählungen aus der tibetischen Königszeit ihren im Bontum verwurzelten Ursprung nicht restlos verleugnen können und somit noch Aussicht besteht, mit Hilfe dieses Material die eine oder die andere alte Vorstellung zu rekonstruieren."<sup>1</sup>

The present study is an attempt in this regard.

A fundamental feature in the Buddhist representation in all its versions is *the appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po as a descendant from one of the royal lines of India*. Consequently the Tibetan Dynasty

becomes a branch of the Indian dynasty in question, and the pre-Buddhist idea of its origin from the native gods of the Tibetans is eliminated by removing the origin of the Dynasty to the more or less mythic past of the Indian lineage. The purpose of this combination of Tibetan and Indian traditions may have been on one side to glorify secularly the original Tibetan Dynasty and its younger, local branches by connecting them with the famous Indian dynasties of the Śākya or the Licchavis, on the other side either to suppress the idea of divine origin according to Bon concept or to introduce a tradition of direct or indirect descent from Buddha as a substitute of the idea of a descent from the lHa. The motive for these modifications of the ancient tradition, which have taken place in historical time after the introduction of Buddhism, are not merely to be found in flattery or vanity, but in the urgent necessity of creating a new traditional basis and background for the Dynasty. As we shall see, the previous tradition of the king's descent from the aboriginal gods had a special significance and involved religious ideas which were absolutely incompatible with Buddhism.

Still bearing in mind that the greater part of our sources are Buddhist sources, we may easily realize the difficulties which are connected with a reconstruction of the original concept of the origin of the Dynasty. In an attempt in this regard we are therefore obliged to make the total mass of available sources the subject of a general analysis, excluding only those which are but shorter or longer versions of the authorized Buddhist tradition, as it is represented by the Fifth Dalai Lama. As the point of departure for this analysis we may take the following statement of the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig (40.7r), which has also been used by H. Hoffmann:

gNam-lha bebs-kyi rgyal-po gÑa'-khri-btsan :	(As to) <i>gÑa'-khri-btsan-po</i> , the king descending from the <i>lHa of Heaven</i> ,
gLeñ-lugs ma-mthun gSañ bsGrags-las gSañ zer :	The disagreeing narratives of <i>gSañ</i> and <i>bsGrags</i> exist. <i>gSañ</i> saying:
gSañ-ba rgyal-po chad-pas Chos-lugs glen :	(That when speaking of his) descent from kings (according to) <i>gSañ-ba</i> , the tale is <i>Chos-lugs</i> , <sup>2</sup>
bsGrags-pa lHa-las chad-pas Bon-lugs glen :	(But when speaking of his) descent from <i>lHa</i> (according to) <i>bsGrags-pa</i> , the tale is <i>Bon-lugs</i> . <sup>3</sup>
Yañ-gsañ The'u-brañ chad-pas dbañs blon glen :	(When speaking of his) descent from the <i>The'u-brañ</i> (according to) <i>Yañ-gsañ</i> , the tale is that of subjects and ministers (i.e. the people).

Thus, already the ancient Tibetan literature states, as pointed out by Hoffmann, the existence of three essentially different traditions of the origin of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* and consequently of the Yar-luñ Dynasty. The primary sources of the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig most probably date from the time of Sad-na-legs,<sup>4</sup> but it is questionable whether *gSañ* or *gSañ-ba*, *bsGrags* or *bsGrags-pa*, and *Yañ-gsañ* are sources in a common sense. It is more probable that we are dealing with special terms signifying the three traditions of the origin of the progenitor of the Dynasty. These terms may originate from the period of Sad-na-legs or from the immediately preceding time during the reign of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan (755-97 A.D.).

In dPa'-bo gTsub-lag (64.5r-v) we find the following description of the three terms:

/ 'Di-la bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs ces grags kyañ /	Concerning this, there is the famous so-called <i>bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs</i> .
/ Phywa dañ gnam-la dga'-ziñ blun-pa-yi /	It taught in the interest suitable to all men of old in Tibet,
/ Bod-yul gna'-mi-spyi mthun-gzuñ-phyir bstan /	Those fools, who rejoiced in <i>Phywa</i> (casting lots) and <i>gNam</i> (Heaven).
/ sPyr Yog-lha gyes-can-gyi lugs-la rTsub-kyi-lha Karma-yol-sdes spyān-drañs-pa dañ / lHa-glañ-ru-dkar sogs dkon-nor brjañs-tshul	Generally, according to the dispersed traditions of the <i>Yog-lha</i> , there existed (the following main themes): The invitation by the God of the

sogs dañ / Srid-pa'i-lha phal-cher-gyi byuñ-tshul  
dañ-bcas-pa snañ-ño /

/ Mi-rje lHas mdzad Dzam-gliñ yul-gžan-las /

/ Khyad-tu-'phags-par 'chad-phyir dmad-mi-  
bya /

/ Yañ-gsañ Mi-min-lugs ces zer-ba ni /

/ mThoñ-snañ tha-dad tsam-la 'gal-ba-med /

/ gŽan-du rigs-mthon-rnams-kyi rigs mi-dmad /

/ gSañ-ba Chos-lugs 'Jam-dpal-rtsa-rgyud-las /

/ Li-tsā-wi-yi rigs byuñ zes gsuñs phyir /

/ Rigs-mchog Gau-ta-ma Śākya'i brgyud-par  
gsal /

Ribs *Karma-yol-sde*, the storing of the treasures like *lHa-glañ-ru-dkar*, and also the universal appearance of the *Srid-pa'i-lha*.

*lHa* acted as Ruler of Men (*Mi-rje*). (Compared) to other countries of *Jambudvīpa*

It makes no lies to describe (Tibet) as the most famous one.

There are the sayings of the so-called *Yañ-gsañ-Mi-min-lugs*.

There is no disagreement as to distinctions in perception(?).<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, a family of high extraction is no abuse(?).

*gSañ-ba Chos-lugs* in accordance with the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*

Relates that (he) came of the *Licchavi* family (and) therefore

Explains the descent from the most excellent of families, that of *Gautama*, the *Śākya*.

The La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.28/76) only refers to *gSañ-ba* and *bsGrags-pa* when saying:

Rigs-brgyud-kyi rgyal-po ni sPu-rgyal Bod-  
kyi-rgyal-po yin-te / 'Di bśad-lugs mañ-du-ma  
mchis-te / rGyal-rabs spun-po gsum Khug blon-  
po'i rgyal-mtshan / gSañ-ba-'am 'Bru-bdus la-  
sogs-pa mañ-du yod kyañ / bsDus-na gñis legs  
skad /

bsGrags-pa / lHa-rabs Bon-lugs dañ /

gSañ-ba / Mi-rabs Chos-lugs-so //

The king from whom the Dynasty developed is *sPu-rgyal*, the King of *Bod*. About this a great many accounts (*bśad-lugs*, traditions of accounts) exist. There are the *rGyal-rabs spun-po gsum*, *Khug blon-po'i rgyal-mtshan*, *gSañ-ba* or *'Bru-bdus*, and many others.<sup>6</sup> But shortly (told) there are two good phrases:

*bsGrags-pa*, the *Bon* tradition that it is a family of the *lHa*, and

*gSañ-ba*, the Buddhist tradition (*Chos-lugs*) that it is a family of men.

As to the specific nature of the three traditions implied by the terms *gSañ*, *bsGrags*, and *Yañ-gsañ* we in the West have hitherto known little or nothing beyond the general information given by these quotations. By means of a hitherto unknown text, the *bśad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu*, which gives a far more extensive representation of the origin traditions of *gŃa'-khri-btsan-po* than any source as yet known, and gives it in a quasi-systematical way, we are able to get a rather clear picture of the traditions and give a definition of the three characterizing terms. The Tibetan text of this source is given in Appendix II as far as the origin traditions are concerned, while the translation of it is given successively in connection with the various subjects involved in the following.

After a description of the conditions in Tibet, the text of this source continues (57.28r-v; Appendix II, section III):

Then the exercise of power of a *brTsad-po* (*bTsan-po*) was established in *Ru-ži Bod* (Tibet of the Four *Ru*). The king (*brgyal-po*) of Tibet was *mŃa'-khri-rtsan-po*. We learn about *gŃa'-khri* himself in *bSañ-ba Chos-lugs*, in *Grags-pa Bon-lugs*, and even in *Yañ-bsañ The-rañ*.  
*gSañ-ba'i lo-rgyus* should be taught, but *Yañ-bsañ The-rañ lo-rgyus* should not be taught!

At this point and later in the text the two expressions *bSañ-ba Chos-lugs* and *Graggs-pa Bon-lugs* are used in the quality of terms signifying respectively *the Buddhist tradition, referring the origin of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po to Indian dynasties*, and *the Bon tradition, referring his origin to the lineage of the Srid-pa gods*.

The circumstance that *gSañ* (*gSañ-ba*, *bSañ*, or *bSañ-ba*) involves the idea of something *esoteric*, and *Graggs* (*Graggs-pa*, *bsGraggs* or *bsGraggs-pa*) that of something *common* or *generally known*, points to the possibility that the two expressions are *terms emphasizing the difference between Buddhism and Bon*, between the esoteric and the common religion.

*Yañ-gsañ* is characterized by *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* as *the tradition of the Mi-min*, the Non-human ones. In the *bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu* it is called *Yañ-bsañ The-rañ*, which is substituted later in the text by *Yañ-bsañ-lugs* or *Yañ-bsañ-ba*. It is there characterized as *the tradition of the heretic school of Yañ-bsañ-ba*, according to which *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* was a descendant of the *The-rañ* or *The'u-brañ* (see p. 217 ff.). This origin from the *The-rañ* explains the expression of *Mi-min* employed by *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag*. *Lo-rgyus*, as occurring in the above quotation, can hardly be interpreted in its specific sense of annals, unless the idea of the family of the *The-rañ* and the records of their genealogy is involved. In this case it means records or traditions.

### *gSañ-ba Chos-lugs*

The Buddhist version of the principal legend of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, the *gSañ-ba Chos-lugs*, maintains that the first Tibetan king, the progenitor of the *Yar-luñ* Dynasty descended from an Indian dynasty, and therefore directly or indirectly presents him as a relative of Buddha. We have characterized the Buddhist version, as it is presented to us, as an invention of the Buddhist clergy, but in spite of this fact and of the circumstance that in most Tibetan works it is mentioned as an alternative version, though the most elaborate one, we are not justified in neglecting it, for at least two obvious reasons—one, that it constitutes an integral part of the total tradition of the Tibetan Dynasty,—and the other, that it may primarily be based on the simple fact that the local dynasty of *Yar-luñ* originated from a foreign, *in casu* Indian, royal house. The Tibetan sources give us no definite clue to the question of the authenticity of the Dynasty, and as we shall see, the evidence which may be found in the Buddhist tradition can be interpreted either way.

The various versions of the Buddhist tradition, some of which are known from their sporadic occurrences in European works or translations of Tibetan texts, present similar features in general, as far as the description of the first Tibetan king and his appearance in Tibet are concerned, and they correspond in this respect to the *Bon* tradition. But as to his ancestry and the particular features connected with it they differ in a way which seems to indicate the existence of more than one single tradition and of several stages in the development of the tradition as a whole. In the following we shall give a synopsis of the versions available to us, arranged as far as possible to illustrate the variety and development of the tradition, disregarding the chronological order of the sources. In advance it deserves notice that the sources generally contain two or more alternative versions and in some cases combine traditions of the origin of the Tibetans and of the mythical rulers before *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* with the origin tradition of the Dynasty.

The general picture of the tradition, which we get by inspecting the individual versions of the tradition, is rather confused, as illustrated by the accounts of the *Deb-ther-sñon-po* (56.Ka.18v–19r) and *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* (64.5r–6v). The author of the *Deb-ther-sñon-po* rendered a further contribution to the general confusion by involving the prophecy of the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*.<sup>7</sup> This has been accepted by *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* who identified *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* with the Buddhist tradition.

The original text of the *Deb-ther-sñon-po* reads:

sTon-pa Thub-pa byon-pa'i dus-las sña-ba rtsod-lan-gyi thog-ma sKya-señ-bu lñas dpuñ-tshogs  
yan-lag bcwa-brgyad-dam bcu-gñis bcom-pa'i tshe / Ru-pa-ti zes-bya-ba'i rgyal-po dpuñ-gi-

tsogs gcig dañ-bcas-pa g'yul-'gyed-pa'i tshe / bud-med-kyi cha lugs-su byas-te pros-nas ri Kha-  
ba-can-gyi ri-khrod-du žugste gnas-pa'i rigs-las / diñ-sañ-na yañ Bod ces-bya-bar grags-pa yino  
žes / slob-dpon Śes-rab-go-chas bśade /

sNon-gyi-yi-ge rñiñ-pa-rnam-las yul-'di-la sñon miñ Pu-rgyal žes zer-la / phyis Bod ces-bya-  
bar 'chad-pa yañ slob-dpon Śes-rab-go-cha'i gsuñ dañ-sbyar-na 'byor-ro // Khyad-par-du  
Thub-pa bžugs-pa'i dus-na Bod ces-bya-ba Luñ-rnam-'byed-du bśad-la / Dus-kyi-'khor-lor  
yañ / 'Phags-pa Bod la-sogs-rnams-la / žes gsuñs snañ-ño /

/ Da-la gñā'-khri-btsan-po Śākya-chen-po dañ Śākya-brag-pa dañ Śākya-Li-tsa-byi gsum-  
pa'i rigs gañ yin-pa-la ma-mthun-pa yod kyañ / 'Jam-dpal-rtsa-ba'i-rgyud-na Sroñ-btsan-nas  
Dar-ma yan-chad-du luñ-bstan-pa śin-tu-gsal-ba žig snañ-la / De'i skabs-su rTsa-ba'i-rgyud-las/  
Li-tsa-byi-rnams rigs-su byuñ // Žes 'byuñ-bas Li-tsa-byi'i rigs yin-pa dag-go /

/ De-ltar-na dañ-po Khri-btsan-po 'Od-lde / ... ..

In the translation by G. N. Roerich (184.36) this quotation runs as follows:

In the beginning of the Kali-yuga, before the appearance of the Teacher Muni, when the *five Pāṇḍava brothers* led to battle a host consisting of twelve or thirteen<sup>8</sup> divisions, a king named *Rupati*, who fought at the head of his army, suffered a defeat and fled to the region situated inside the snowy Mountains disguised as a woman. His descendants settled there. "*Nowadays his line is called Bod,*" so said the ācārya *Prajñāvarman (Śes-rab-go-cha)*.

In the old chronicles of the Past (it is said): "The ancient name of this country was *Pu-rgyal*. Later it was called *Bod*." This agrees with the account of the ācārya *Prajñāvarman*. Especially in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* it is said: "It was called *Bod* in the lifetime of the Muni." Also it is said in the *Kālacakra*: "To Āryavarta, *Bod* (Tibet), etc."

Now, though there is no agreement as to whether *gñā'-khri btsan-po* belonged to the race of the *Mahā-Śākyas* or the "*Village*" *Śākyas*, or to the *Śākya-Licchavis*, the prophecy contained in the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* concerning the period from *Sroñ-btsan* till *Dar-ma* is very clear. In this chapter of the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* it is said: "(he) *appeared in the Licchavi race*." Thus it is correct to state that the kings (of Tibet) belonged to the Licchavi race.

Thus the first (king) was *Khri-btsan-po 'Od-lde*. ... ..

In this quotation, where the italics have been made by us, we find references to the three main categories to which the various versions of the tradition belong:—the account of *the five Pāṇḍavas or Pāṇḍu sons in the Mahābharata*,—the accounts of *the four kings of India who were the contemporaries of Buddha*, contained in the volumes of the 'Dul-ba or Vinaya,—and the special account of the Licchavis contained in *the prophecy of the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*.

We find the same mixture of traditions in dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.5v-6v), who in his note text gives a very interesting critical synopsis of the different traditions mentioning some of the sources by name; immediately following the quotation on page 170 dPa'-bo gTsug-lag relates:

'Di-dag-du Li-tsā-wi'i brgyud-pa gZugs-can-sñiñ-po dañ Ko-sā-la'i rgyal-po gSal-rgyal yin bya-ba dañ / gTum-po-rab-snañ-gi bu Śar-pa ces bris-pa dañ / sTon-pa Śākya'i-rgyal-po byon-pa'i 'og-tu sKyabs-señ bu-lña sogs byuñ-bar byas-nas Ru-pi-ti Luñ-bstan-gyi-mdo yod bya-ba dañ / Kun-mkhyen Buss Tod-'grel-gyi luñ-gis Bod-spyi-mi-rnams Ru-pa-ti-las chad-pa dañ / Bad-sa-la'i rgyal-po 'Char-byed-tam / Ko-sa-la'i rgyal-po gSal-rgyal-lam / gZugs-can-sñiñ-po'i sras chuñ-

Here is told about the descendants of the *Licchavis*, *gZugs-can-sñiñ-po* and *gSal-rgyal* the king of *Kosala*. The son of *gTum-po-rab-snañ* called *Śar-pa* is described. After the advent of the Teacher, the king of the *Śākyas*, appeared *sKyabs-señ* and others. The *Luñ-bstan-gyi-mdo* says he is *Ru-pi-ti*. The All-knowing One, *Bu (-ston)*, (tells) that the people of all Tibet descended from *Ru-pa-ti* according to the *sTod-'grel-gyi-luñ*. Either *'Char-byed* the king of *Vaiśa-*



ba sTobs-chuñ-gi sras-lña tshigs-cig sor-mo drabas 'brel-ba sogs mtshan-ldan žig byuñ-ba ltas-ñan-du dogs-pas zañs-su bcug chur bskyrur-ba žiñ-pas brñed-nas gsol-pa physis skyobs bros-pa Bod-kyi-rje bcol žes sogs mañ-du snañ yañ-dag-par ma-mthoñ-ste

sKyabs-señ bu-lña'i ston-pa-las ches lña-ste sTon-pa dGa'-ldan-nas gšegs-tshe Dzam-bu-gliñ-gi gañ-du skye-bar rigs ces lha-rnams bgro-ba-na lha'i-bu-cig-gis sKyabs-señ-gi rgyud gLañ-po'i-groñ-gi rgyal-po 'di 'os-so žes zer-ba-la gžan-rnams-kyis 'di-ni rgyud rnam-par-'khrugs-pa yin-ste 'di-ltar g'Yul-ñor-brtan-pa-la Chos-kyi-bu / 'Jig-sde-la rLuñ-gi-bu / Srid-sgrub-la dBañ-po'i bu / Ris-med dañ lHar-bcas-la Thaskar-gyi bu žes zer-ste rgyud rnam-par-'khrugs-pas-na mi-rigs-so žes bsgrags-par rgya-rol-las bšad-to /

/ gZugs-can-sñiñ-po sogs kyañ Šākya'i rig-su mDo-las bšad-pa ma-mthoñ-la / spyir gZugs-can-sñiñ-po / gSal-rgyal / Rab-snañ / Šar-pa bži-po sTon-pa'i dguñ-mñam bži'i re-re yin-žiñ Phal-cher sTon-pa'i goñ-du 'das-par 'Dul-baluñ-las gsuñs sTon-pa 'das-nas byuñ-ba 'dra-ba'i lo-rgyus de-rnams mi-'grigs-žiñ /

sPyr rgyal-po-de-rnams-kyi tshe Bram-ze Rig-byed-kyi-smreñ dañ mtshan-brtag-pa-la mkhas-pa'i 'dun-na 'don sogs mañ-žiñ sKye-bo gram-rnams kyañ sgyu-rtsal drug-bcu-rtsa-bži-po slob-pa'i phyir bu mtshan-dpe dañ-ldan-pa btsas-nas ltas-ñan bu dogs-pa ga-la skye /

lHa-las-phul-byuñ-gi stod-'grel Šes-rab-go-chas mdzad-par sñon sKyabs-señ-gi bu-lña dañ sGra-ñan dpuñ-tshogs bcu-gñis 'thab-pa-na rgyal-po Ru-pa-ti ces-pa 'khor-brgya dañ-bcas-pa bud-med-kyi chas-su žugs-nas ri Kha-ba-can-gyi khrod-tu bros-pa 'Phel-ba-la deñ-sañ yañ Bod ces grags-so /

Žes byuñ-ba yañ Bod-mi mtha'-dag-gi khuñs ni ma-yin-ste Ru-pa-ti gñA'-khri-btsan-por byed-na de'i-goñ-du mi mañ-du yod-par grags-pa

li or gSal-rgyal the king of Kosala, or one of the five sons of sTobs-chuñ, the youngest son of gZugs-can-sñiñ-po, appeared possessing signs like fingers connected by a web, etc. Fearing him as a bad omen, he was placed in a copper vessel and thrown into the river. He was taken up by a farmer, and (when) he asked (about what had happened), then he fled for protection, and was appointed Ruler of Bod. There are many such (traditions) but they do not seem to be genuine.

According to the tradition about sKyabs-señ bu-lña, there were five great ones. When the Teacher went from Tušita and the gods were discussing the family where he was to be reborn in Jambudvīpa, a divine son said: "The king of Hastināpura, of the family of sKyabs-señ, he is worthy". To this other said: "This is a family being very warlike. Thus (there is) Yudhiṣṭhira son of Dharmā, Bhīma son of Vāyu, Arjuna son of Indra, and Nakula and Sahadeva sons of Aśvin. Because it is a very warlike family, it is not suitable." So it is told and explained from many sides.

That gZugs-can-sñiñ-po and the others shall be of Šākya-family according to the Sūtras, I cannot see; so in the main, gZugs-can-sñiñ-po, gSal-rgyal, (gTum-po-)Rab-snañ, and Šar-pa, these four are individually contemporary with the Teacher. In many cases it is told as in the 'Dul-baluñ, that they died before the Teacher in disagreement with those accounts maintaining (that they) appeared after the Teacher's Nirvāṇa.

Generally (it is told that) at the time of those kings there were many statements ('don) when Brahmins versed in examining the text of the Vedas and the signs gave council. For the purpose of teaching the scattered beings the sixty-four arts, a son possessing (special) signs was born. The son was feared as a bad omen. For what reason was he born?

In the lHa-las-phul-byuñ-gi stod-'grel by Šes-rab-go-cha it is told that when the five Pāṇḍu-sons and sGra-ñan in the past fought with twelve armies, the king called Ru-pa-ti fled with a hundred followers to the Snowy-Mountains, having donned women's attire. They increased and to-day they are known as Bod.

So it happened, but this is not the origin of all Tibetans. If Ru-pa-ti acted as gñA'-khri-btsan-po, this is not corresponding to the well-known

dañ-'gal-ba'i-phyir dañ / min-na yañ Bod-yul-na  
Śākya'i rgyal-brgyud gžan yod-par thal-ba'i  
phyir-ro /

Des-na de-dag ni Bod dañ-ñe-ba Mon-yul  
kha-cig-la Bod-kyi sgrar byas-na du-ma snañ-  
bas de-lta-bu žig-du zad-to /

/ Yañ sñon rabs-pa mañ-žig rgyal-po sKyabs-  
señ dañ dMag-brgya-pa-la bu brgya yod-pas  
dMag-brgya-par grags-ciñ sKyabs-señ-gis lha  
mchod-pas drañ-sroñ-žig-gis Mi-ma-yin-gyi bu  
lha byin / De-rnams-la yon-tan ci yod dris-pas  
so-sor-smras-ciñ Srid-sgrub-kyis dMag brgya-  
tham-pa thub-byas-pas / Ñam-sad-pa'i phyir  
'O-na dMag-brgya-pa thul-žig byas-pas des pha  
dañ go-dgu-po bsad / Tha-chuñ Ru-pa-ti mtshan-  
dañ-ldan-pa de btson-du khrid-nas 'oñs / sKyabs-  
señ-gis gsod-par 'bañs-nas zañs nañ-du zas  
skom dañ gos dañ-bcas-te chur bskyur-ba žiñ-  
pas brñed-nas gsos / Physis Bod-yul-du byon-nas  
rje mdzad zer yañ /

lHa-sa'i bka'-tshigs chen-mor gÑa'-khri-  
btsan-po-nas Tho-tho-ri'i bar lo lña-brgya soñ /  
Tho-thos brgya-dañ-ñi-śu thub / De-nas Sroñ-  
btsan-gyi-bar-gyi bži-la brgya-dañ-bcu-gcig soñ-  
bar bśad-pas sTon-pa 'das-nas lo mañ-žig-na  
Bod-rje byon-par gsal-la / dMag-brgya-pa'i bu  
Ru-pa-ti sogs sTon-pa ma-byon-pa'i goñ-du  
byuñ-bar ñeso /

Des-na Sañs-rgyas Mya-ñan-las-'das-nas riñ-  
žig lon-pa-na Śākya-Li-tsā-wi'i brgyud-pa  
mtshan-dpe dañ-ldan-pa cig Bod-tu byon-nas rje  
mdzad-par gsal-la de mtshan Ru-pa-tir gcig-pa  
tsam byuñ-ba ni mi-'gal-lo /

/ 'On-yañ de-ñid-kyi lo-rgyus ñes-pa-can Bod-  
tu sñon grags-pa mi-snañ-ño /

/ Ka-bkol-ma-las Śākya-Ri-brag-pa'i brgyud-  
pa ces snañ yañ / 'Jam-dpal-rtsa-rgyud-las / Li-  
tsā-wi-rnams rigs-su byuñ /

/ Žes luñ-bstan-pas yi-ge ñams-par zad-ste  
Ka-bkol-ma'i phyi-mo nub-nas physis lHa-sa'i  
dkon-gñer-gyi dag-las bris zer-ba sogs du-ma  
..... snañ-ba'i phyir-ro /

fact, that there existed many men before him.  
Therefore it is wrong. But if so, we must come to  
the result that in Tibet there was another family  
than the Śākya lineage.

Therefore, because there are many who  
speak Tibetan at some places in *Mon-yul*, a  
neighbour to Tibet, they are supposed to be  
identical with those.

Some of the many previous generations were  
*sKyabs-señ* and *dMag-brgya-pa*. He had a  
hundred sons, therefore he was known as *dMag-  
brgya-pa* (Soldier-hundred). *sKyabs-señ* offered  
to the gods, and a *ṛṣi* (said): "You shall be given  
five non-human sons!" Questioned about their  
virtues, they answered differently. *Arjuna* said:  
"I am equal to all the *dMag-brgya-pa*;" and in  
order to give a test he said: "Well, I will pacify  
the *dMag-brgya-pa*!" and he killed ninety-nine  
including the father. The youngest, *Ru-pa-ti*, who  
possessed signs, he marched off to prison.  
*sKyabs-señ* was intent on killing him and threw  
him inside a copper vessel together with food,  
drink, and clothes, into the river. A farmer took  
him up and brought him up. Later he came to  
Tibet and acted as ruler (*rje*).

In the *lHa-sa'i bka'-tshigs chen-mo* it is told,  
that from *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* until (*lHa*-)*tho-  
tho-ri(-gñan-btsan)* five hundred years passed. *Tho-  
tho* managed one hundred and twenty years. Un-  
der the four (kings) from him to *Sroñ-btsan*  
(-*sgam-po*) one hundred and eleven years passed.  
Therefore, if it is sure that the Tibetan ruler came  
only a few years after the Teacher's *Nirvāṇa*,  
then certainly *Ru-pa-ti*, the son of *dMag-brgya-pa*,  
appeared before the Teacher ever came.

But if a long period of time passed since the  
*Buddha-Nirvāṇa* and it is correct that a descend-  
ant of the Śākya-*Licchavi* possessing signs came  
to Tibet and acted as ruler, then it is not im-  
probable that his name was *Ru-pa-ti*.

Yet reliable records about that were not  
known in Tibet in olden time.

According to the *Ka-bkol-ma* he was a de-  
scendant of the Śākya *Ri-brag-pa*. But according  
to the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* he appeared in the  
*Licchavi* family.

So the prophecy (of the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*)  
put an end to the corrupt texts and the copies of  
the *Ka-bkol-ma* were after the Decline (of Bud-  
dhism) copied from the pure (version) kept by

/ sPyan-ras-gzigs-kyis byin-brlabs rnam-par-  
 sprul /  
 / Śākya-Li-tsā-wi-las 'phel-ba ni /  
 / mTshan-dpe rdzogs-pa sKyes-bu chen-po cig /  
 / lHa-yis spyan-drañs Bod-rje'i thog-ma mdzad /  
  
 / 'Od-gsal-lha-las babs dañ Śākya-yi /  
 / rGyal-rgyud yin-pa'añ 'gal-ba ma-yin-ste /  
  
 / Zas-gtsañ sras dañ dGa'-ldan lha-gnas-nas /  
  
 / Babs-pa 'gal-ba med-pa ji-bzün-no /  
 / Dañ-por lHa-ri Gyañ-tho'i rtse-la babs /  
 / lHa-ri Rol-po bTsan-thañ-sgo-bzür byon /  
  
 / De-tshe Bod-mi skal-ldan 'ga'-yis mthoñ /  
  
 / bTsan-pa lHo dañ gÑags / bTsun-pa Khyud  
 dañ sNubs / gÑan-pa Se dañ sPo-ste yab-'bañs  
 rus-drug dañ lHa-bo-lha-sras / Se-bon rMa-bon /  
 Cog-la-bon / Žañ-žuñ-bon / Tshe-mi-bon sogs  
 šes-pa-can bcu-gñis-kyis mjal /  
  
 lTa-bas mi-noms gZugs-la ño-mtshar skyes /  
  
 / Dris-pas phan-tshun ma-go brda ma-'jal /  
  
 / mDzub-mo nam-mkhar ker-ba mthoñ-ba-yis /  
  
 / lHa-yul gNam-nas 'oñs-pa'i bTsan-por 'dug /  
  
 / 'Di-la bcag Cag rje-bo žu dgos zer /  
  
 / gÑa'-bar khri-la bte-gnas spyan-drañs-pas /  
  
 / mThoñ thos thams-cad 'dud-ciñ ño-mtshar  
 skyes /  
 / mTshan-du gÑa'-khri-btsan-po ces-byar grags /  
 / sKu-mkhar thog-ma Yum-bu-bla-rgañ mdzad /  
  
 / Sum-pa'i Bon-po O-yoñ-rgyal-ba btul /  
  
 / sNubs-rje Srid-pa rgyal-phran 'bañs-su 'dus /

the *dKon-gñer* of *lHa-sa*. That is why there are so many (of this version).

Incarnated by the grace of *Avalokiteśvara*,

Proceeding from the *Śākya-Licchavi*,  
An accomplished Great Man, possessing signs,  
Invited by *lHa*, acted as the first of the rulers of Tibet.

He descended from the '*Od-gsal-lha* and a *Śākya* Royal descendant he was. There is no mistake about that.

(He was) the son of *Śuddhodana* and from the divine place of *Tuṣita*

He descended. There is no mistake, how it is. First he descended to the top of *lHa-ri Gyañ-tho*. (Then) he came to *lHa-ri Rol-po* (and) *bTsan-thañ-sgo-bzi*.

At that time he was seen by some blessed Tibetans (*Bod-mi*).

The *bTsan-pa* of *lHo* and *gÑags*, the *bTsun-pa* of *Khyud* and *sNubs*, the *gÑan-pa* of *Se* and *sPo*, (all) the six *Yab-'bañs-rus*, and *lHa-bo-lha-sras*, *Se-bon*, *rMa-bon*, *Cog-la-bon*, *Žañ-žuñ-bon*, together with *Tshe-mi-bon*, all these wise men met (him).<sup>9</sup>

Not satisfied with looking, "(Are You) born miraculously into this body (?)"

(They) asked, but not understanding each other and not able to exchange words,

They saw him point the fore-finger towards Heaven. Therefore,

"He is a *bTsan-po* coming from Heaven, the place of *lHa*;

He will walk here. We will ask (him to be) our ruler (*rje-bo*)," they said.

Having raised him upon a throne on (their) necks, they carried him along, and

Looking and hearing, all bowed; and the miraculously born one

Was known under the name *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*. He constructed the residential castle *Yum-bu-bla-rgañ*.

He subdued the *Bon-po* from *Sum-pa*, *O-yoñ-rgyal-ba*.

*sNubs-rje Srid-pa* he reduced to subject (as) petty king.

These texts quoted above contain a Buddhist, quasi-historical explanation of the origin of the Tibetans, presenting them as the descendant of Indian refugees or invaders. In Bu-ston's Chronicle (117.122v–123r) this origin tradition is outlined in the following way:<sup>10</sup>

Dañ-po-la spyir Bod-kyi-yul-du mi'i-'gro-ba dañ-po byuñ-tshul ni / lHa-las-phul-du-byuñ-ba'i bstod-pa'i 'grel-par / [sLob-dpon Śes-rab-go-chas byas-pa'i] / sKya-señ bu-lña dañ [Śākya'i rigs-so] / dGra-ñan dpuñ-tshogs bcu-gñis 'thab-pa'i dus-su rgyal-po Ru-pa-ti žes-pa dmag stoñ-phrag-gcig dañ-bcas-pa bud-med-kyi chas-su žugs-te ri Gañs-can-gyi gseb-tu bro-s-pa-las 'phel-ba yin-par bśad-ciñ /

Bod-kyi gtam-las [Here the note quoted p. 296 has been inserted] sPre'u dañ Brag-srin-ma-las chad-par 'chad-de De-dag rgyas-par gžan-du blta'o /

When translating this passage, we would prefer to modify the translation given by Obermiller (173.181) in the following way:

As concerns the way in which the human generations first appeared in Tibet, we read in the *lHa-las phul-du-byuñ-ba'i bstod-pa'i 'grel-pa* written by the ācārya *Śes-rab-go-cha* that at the time when the *five Pāṇḍu-sons* of the family of the *Śākyas* were fighting with the twelve armies of *dGra-ñan (Duḥśasana)*, a king named *Ru-pa-ti* together with one thousand warriors, disguised as women, fled into the Glacier Mountains. (The Tibetans) are considered to be the offspring of them.

In the Tibetan legends it is said they (the Tibetans) are the descendants of the Ape (*sPre'u*) and the Rock-demoness (*Brag-srin-ma*). A detailed account of that is to be found elsewhere.

Correspondingly we read in the *Thob-yig* by *Dza-ya pañḍi-ta* (120.IV.194v):

rTso-dldan-gyi dus rgyal-po Rū-pa-ti dmag stoñ-phrag-gcig bud-med-kyi cha-lugs-su Gañs-can-du bro-s-pa-las 'brel-bar lHa-las phul-byuñ-gi bstod-pa'i-'grel-par bśad-ciñ gžan-du-na Pod-khams 'dir ri-dags-kyis gañ-ba'i tsho Thugs-rje-chen-pos byin-gyis-brlabs-pa'i sPre'u dañ Brag-srin-ma 'dus-pa-las 'gro-ba-rigs-drag-nas 'phos-pa'i phrug-gu drug byuñ-ba /

In the *Kaliyuga*, King *Rū-pa-ti* fled to the Glaciers together with a thousand warriors in the appearance of women, which is told in the *lHa-las phul-byuñ-gi bstod-pa'i-'grel-pa*, but in other (texts it is told) that here in Tibet, at the time when there were plenty of wild animals, six children, who separated themselves from the families of wild creatures, issued from the coupling of the Ape (*sPre'u*) and the Rock-demoness (*Brag-srin-ma*) by the particular grace of *Avalokiteśvara (Thugs-rje-chen-po)*.

The same confrontation of the different origin traditions of the Tibetans, we find in the 'Dzam-gliñ rgyas-bśad (106.51):

Bod-yul-gyi mi-rnams Bod-dag-gis sPre'u-las chad-pa dañ / rGya-gar-dag-gis Ru-pa-de dpuñ dañ-bcas-pa-las chad-pa dañ / rGya-nag-gi yig-rñiñ-las Zan-me'o dpuñ dañ-bcas-pa-las chad-par bśad 'dug-pas . . .

The people of Tibet are said to descend from the Ape (*sPre'u*) by the Tibetans, to descend from *Ru-pa-de* and his army by the Indians, and to descend from the *Zan-me'o* and his army according to the old Chinese records. . . .

To the two already known origin traditions a third is added, the Chinese tradition that the Tibetans descended from San-miao.<sup>11</sup> Tibetan sources rarely mention this tradition which has no significance in the development of these concepts.

The *legend of Ru-pa-ti*, to which *Sum-pa mKhan-po* (75.149) also shortly refers, appears in all the versions as a *legend of the origin of the Tibetans*, and in some sources it is therefore combined with the authorized tradition of the descent of the Tibetans from the Ape (*sPre'u*) and the Rock-demoness (*Brag-srin-mo*). The legend of *Ru-pa-ti* presents a certain interest, because all the versions of it apparently depend on one and the same primary source, and this source is available to us. It is the *lHa-las phul-du-*

byuñ-bar bstod-pa'i rgya-cher-'grel-pa, a commentary to the Deva-atīśaya-stotra written by Śes-rab-go-cha or Prajñāvarman (30). This ācārya lived at the time of King Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan and was one of the lo-tśā-bas occupied with the translation of Buddhist texts into Tibetan. It thus appears that *the creation of particular Buddhist traditions concerning the pre-Buddhist era in Tibet can be referred to a very early phase of Tibetan Buddhism, at least to the latter half of the eighth century A.D.*

As we shall see in the following, the text of Śes-rab-go-cha (see p. 193) has had a certain importance for the development of the Buddhist tradition of the origin of the Tibetan kings, although the text itself contains nothing but a very short account of the descent of the Tibetans from Ru-pa-ti and his companions. Even the historical period to which Ru-pa-ti belonged is not stated by Śes-rab-go-cha, but the Tibetan versions quoting this author refer the events to the time of the wars between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas as a matter of course, and thus *connect the idea of the origin of the Tibetans with the Brahman tradition of the Indian epos Mahābhārata, and with events belonging to the beginning of the Kaliyuga period long before the birth of Buddha-Śākyamuṇi, while in the general Buddhist tradition the same events of the Mahābhārata are connected with the time of Buddha and the appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* (see p. 196 f.).

Some sources have modified in various ways the legend of Ru-pa-ti and made it a legend of the origin of the Tibetan ruler clan or Dynasty, as already seen in some quotations above. So the Deb-ther-dmar-po (51.15r) relates without mentioning the name of Ru-pa-ti:

sÑon-gyi yig-tshañ-rnams-las byuñ-ba / Bod-kyi-yul-'dir dañ-por mi med / Mi-ma-yin dumas gañ-bar gyur-pa-la / srid-pa phyi'i-dbañ rjes-dbañ byas skad /

De-nas rim-gyis rMu-rje-btsan-po / bDud-po Ma-tram Ru-dra Srin-po Yak-śa De-ba rnams-kyis dbañ-byas /

De-nas sPyan-ras-gzigs-kyi sprul-pa sPre'u Byañ-chub-sems-dpa' dañ / sGrol-ma'i sprul-pa Brag-srin-mo-las Bod-kyi-mi-rnams byuñ-ste /

Ma-saṅs-spun-dgu / rGyal-phran ñi-śu-rtsa-lña / rGyal-phran bcu-gñis / rGyal-phran Sil-ma bži-bcus rim-gyis dbañ skad-do /

De-nas mi-rje lHas mdzad /

lHa-las phul-du-byuñ-ba'i bstod-pa'i-'grel-pa slob-dpon Śes-rab-go-chas mdzad-pa dañ / lHa-sa'i ka-tshig Ka-khol-ma-las 'byuñ-ba / [Žwa-lu-ba'i Chos-'byuñ-du / rGya-gar-gyi rgyal-po Bad-sa-la Char-byed-kyi bu gÑa'-khri-btsan-por bśad /]<sup>12</sup> Śākya'i rigs-la Śākya-chen-po dañ / Śākya-Li-tsa-byi / Śākya-Ri-brag-pa gsum-las / tha-ma-las rgyal-po sKya-bseñ žes-pa'i bu chuñ-ba gcig dpuñ-gi-tshogs dañ-bcas-pa bud-med-kyi chas-su žugs-nas ri Gaṅs-can-gyi phyogs-su bro-s-pa-las Bod-kyi rjer gyur-par bśad /

Bon-po-rnams gnam rim-pa bcu-gsum-gyi steñ-nas sMu-thag sMu-skas-la byon-par 'dod /

It appears from the old records that at first there was no man here in Tibet. It was filled up by *Mi-ma-yin*. It is told that they executed the outward power of government and the power of a ruler.

Then *rMu-rje-btsan-po*, *bDud-po*, *Ma-tram*, *Ru-dra*, *Srin-po*, *Yak-śa*, and *De-ba* successively executed the power.

Then appeared the Tibetans from the *Ape-Bodhisattva*, the incarnation of *Avalokiteśvara*, and the *Rock-demoness*, the incarnation of *Tārā*.

*Ma-saṅs-spun-dgu*, the twenty-five *rGyal-phran*, the twelve *rGyal-phran*, and the forty *rGyal-phran Sil-ma* successively executed the power, it is told.

Then (the power as) Ruler of Men (*mi-rje*) was executed by the *lHa*.

It appears from the *lHa-las phul-du-byuñ-ba'i bstod-pa'i-'grel-pa* by ācārya Śes-rab-go-cha and from the *lHa-sa'i ka-tshig Ka-khol-ma* (In the Chronicle of *Žwa-lu-ba* is the son of the Indian King *Char-byed* in *Bad-sa-la* explained as *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*.) that from the last one of the three Śākya-families, *Śākya-chen-po*, *Śākya-Li-tsa-byi*, and *Śākya-Ri-brag-pa*, (appeared) the youngest son of King *sKya-bseñ*. Together with an army, disguised as women, he fled in the direction of the Glacier-Mountains and became ruler of *Bod*.

The *Bon-pos* maintain that he came via the *sMu-thag*, the *sMu-skas*, from the top of the thirteen stages of Heaven.

Yar-luñ lHa-ri Rol-po'i rtse-nas lHa-skas-la  
Tsan-thañ-sgo-bžir babs-pa dañ / gNam-nas  
'oñs-pa'i bTsan-po gcig 'dug-pas rañ-cag-rnams-  
kyi rje žu-bo zer-nas gña'-bar khri-la btegs-te /  
rgyal-por bkur-bas rje gña'-khri-btsan-po žes-te  
Bod-kyi rgyal-po-la śna-ba yin-no /

From the top of the *lHa-ri Rol-po* in *Yar-luñ* he descended via the *lHa-skas* to *Tsan-thañ-sgo-bži*, and (the people) said: "Because You are a *bTsan-po* coming from Heaven we ask You to be our ruler." Then they raised him upon a throne on their necks and honoured him as king (*rgyal-po*). Therefore he was called the Ruler (*rJe*) *gña'-khri-btsan-po*. He was the oldest among the Tibetan kings (*rgyal-po*).

Chandra Das (149.I.211–12) gives an account which seems to depend partly on Tibetan sources unknown to us, partly on inferences made by the author himself:

Prior to the advent of Śākya Siṃha, during the war between the five Pāṇḍavas and the twelve legions of Kaurava armies, one of the warrior princes, named Rūpati, through dread of war, fled towards the snowy country of Tibet. For fear of being pursued by the enemy or by his suzerain, the chief of the Kauravas, for deserting the field, he dressed himself in female attire, and with only one thousand followers took shelter in Tibet. He found the country, *Pugyal*, widely peopled by a race of men, still in a primitive state. They welcomed him as their king. By his mild and peaceful behaviour he won their affection and ruled over them for many years. Under his and his descendants' rule the people multiplied, enjoyed prosperity and developed the arts. From Rūpati to the foundation of monarchy in Tibet by Ņa-Thi-tsanpo (*gña'-khri-btsan-po*), in the beginning of the fourth century before the birth of Christ, the history of Tibet is very obscure. During this long interval, after the fall of the house of Rūpati, the country was partitioned into several petty states, ruled by insignificant native chieftains and princes.

While Das still lets the primary events take place before the time of Buddha and makes Rupati the head of a ruling lineage belonging to a period prior to *gña'-khri-btsan-po* and the petty rulers (*rgyal-phran*) preceding him, the Mongolian version of Sanang Sečen (145.20/21) connects Ru-pa-ti with the Mountain Śākyas (*Śākya-Ri-brag-pa*) and places the events at the time of the appearance of *gña'-khri-btsan-po*, i.e. the common era of the Pāṇḍavas and the great Indian dynasties coeval with Buddha according to Buddhist tradition:

In *Boluγsan mayṭayal-un tayilburi kemeküi sudur* written by the *Bayši* named *Bilig-ün Quyaγ* three rulers are mentioned as the descendants of Buddha: *Yeke Sagiy-a*, *Sagiy-a Ličai Uri*, and *Sagiy-a Ayulan-a Bada Yabuyči*. A descendant of the last one was *Itegel Arsalan Qayan*, son of *Mandayuluyči Qayan*. His five sons were beaten in a great battle delivered against one hundred and eighty thousand foreign barbarians, and thereafter his youngest son named *Ubadi* (146: *Rubadi*) fled to the slopes of the snowy mountains and became the progenitor of the Tibetans of *Yar-luñ* (*Töbed Yarlung*).

In the part of the text immediately following, Sanang Sečen states that *gña'-khri-btsan-po* was born at the same time. In fact, the account of Sanang Sečen constitutes the transitory link between the tradition of Ru-pa-ti as the progenitor of the Tibetans and the Buddhist tradition of the origin of *gña'-khri-btsan-po*. Both in the account of Sanang Sečen and in that of the *bšad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu* (see p. 190 ff.) the progenitor originated from the lineage of the Mountain Śākyas, and although the former source erroneously presents the Pāṇḍavas as the defeated part in the battle, the progenitor in both cases is the youngest son of the losing party, by Sanang Sečen named Rupati, in the *bšad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu* named Ru-pa-skyes or *gña'-khri-btsan-po*.

Unfortunately we have not as yet succeeded in establishing the identity of Ru-pa-ti, as he appears in his original capacity in the account of Śes-rab-go-cha, but the legendry of the Dynasty and its origin

presents to us a number of mysterious personalities, Ru-pa-ti, Ru-pa-skyes, Ru-la-skyes, Ru-las-skyes, rGyu-la-skyes, and Ņar-la-skyes, who ultimately seem to derive from two different fundamental conceptions. However, in the course of tradition these two conceptions have been entangled in a way that made it possible, or intentional, to combine the traditions of gŅa'-khri-btsan-po with those of Gri-gum-btsan-po and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal.

From the Deb-ther-dmar-po, the Deb-ther-sñon-po, and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag quoted above, it appears that the various versions of the tradition do not agree as to the particular line of the Śākya from which the royal house of Tibet is said to descend. They refer to three different lines:—the Mahāśākya or *Śākya-chen-po*, the Mountain Śākya or *Śākya-(Ri-)Brag-pa*, which Roerich somewhat misleadingly translated “Village” Śākya, and the Śākya-Licchavi or *Śākya-Li-tsa-byi*. The same alternatives occur in the account of Sanang Sečen.

In the following presentation of the various versions connecting the Yar-luñ Dynasty with different Indian dynasties, certain details are included which have no direct connection with the problem at hand, but serve the later part of our investigation.

In continuation of the quotation, p. 176, Bu-ston (117.123r) relates:

Bod-kyi rgyal-rgyud ni kha-cig Ko-sa-la'i rgyal-po gSal-rgyal-gyi sras-lña tshigs yin zer-ro / Kha-cig gZugs-can-sñiñ-po'i sras chuñ-ba sTobs-chuñ-gi sras-lña tshigs zer-ro // Kha-cig Bod-rnams bDud dañ gNod-sbyin-gyi rGyal-phran bcu-gñis-kyis mnar-ba'i dus-su / Bad-sa-la'i rgyal-po 'Char-byed-kyi bu mig mas 'gebs-pa sor-mo dra-bas 'brel-ba mtshan-ldan žig byuñ-bas skrag-ste zañs kha-sbyor-du bcug-ste Gañgā-la bskur-ba Žiñ-pas rñed-de gsos-te Cher-skyes-pa-na sñar-gyi gtam bśad-pas yid-skyo-ste Gañs-ri'i brag-tu bros-pas-na Rim-gyis lHa-ri Yol-ba'i khar byuñ-ste bTsan-thañ-sgo-bžir byon-pa-la Bon-po-rnams dMu-thag dañ dMu-skas-la yoñs-pas lHa yin zer-ro // De-nas Khyed su yin dris-pas bTsan-po zer / . . .

With regard to the royal lineage of Tibet, some say that (the ancestor) was the fifth son of *gSal-rgyal* king of *Ko-sa-la*. Some say that it was the fifth son of *sTobs-chuñ*, the youngest son of *gZugs-can-sñiñ-po*. Still others say that at the time when the Tibetans were tormented by the twelve petty kings (*rGyal-phran*) of the *bDud* and the *gNod-sbyin*, a son was born to 'Char-byed king of *Bad-sa-la*. His eyes closed from below upwards and his fingers were connected with a web. As the child appeared with such signs, (the king) was frightened and let it be put into a copper vessel with a closed mouth, and cast into the Ganges. He was found by a peasant who brought him up. But when he had grown up, he was grieved when he was told what had passed, and went away to the rocks of the Glacier Mountains. He appeared in the snows of *lHa-ri Yol-ba* and gradually came to *bTsan-thañ-sgo-bžir*. The *Bonpos* said: “Because he came by the *dMu-thag*, the *dMu-skas*, he is a *lHa*.” Then they asked: “Who are You?” and he said: “A *bTsan-po*.”

The sNar-thañ Tanjur (92.10r) contains an account which corresponds closely to that of Bu-ston with regard to the enumeration of alternatives of an ancestor of gŅa'-khri-btsan-po:

Thugs-rje-chen-po'i bKa'-'bum sogs-susPyan-ras-gzigs dañ sGrol-ma'i rnam-'phrul sPre'u dañ Brag-srin-las mi'i-'gro-ba 'phel-te

In the *Thugs-rje-chen-po'i bKa'-'bum*<sup>13</sup> and other (works it is told) that the human beings developed from the Ape (*sPre'u*) and the Rock-demon (*Brag-srin*) who were incarnations of *Avalokiteśvara* and *Tārā*.

Se-lDoñ-rMu-sToñ-ste rus-chen-bži'am gduñ-drug / Ma-sañs-spun-dgu / rGyal-phran ñer-lña / bcu-gñis / Sil-ma bži-bcus rim-gyis dbañ-byas mthar /

*Se, lDoñ, rMu, and sToñ*, the four *Rus-chen* or the six *gDuñ*, the *Ma-sañs-spun-dgu*, the twenty-five and the twelve *rGyal-phran*, and the forty *Sil-ma* successively executed the power.

Bod-spyir dbaṅ-ba'i dpon-po Ko-sa-la'i rgyal-po gSal-rgyal-gyi sras-lña tshigs-sam / gZugs-can-sñiṅ-po'i sras chuṅ-ba sTobs-chuṅ-gi lña tshigs-sam / Bod-rnams bDud daṅ gNod-sbyin-gyi rgyal-phran bcu-gñis-kyis mnar-ba'i dus Bad-sa-la'i rgyal-po 'Char-byed-kyi bu mig mas 'gebs sor-mo dra-bas 'brel-pa mtshan-ltan žig byuṅ-ba dag-par dogs-nas bskyur-ba Žiṅ-pas rñed-pa nar-soṅ-nas sṅar gтам-la skyo-ste Kha-ba-can-du byon-pa sogs rnam-graṅs yaṅ-na'aṅ rJer bkur-ba gṅa'-khri-btsan-po yin-ciṅ /

Finally the master of power in all *Bod* (was) either one of the five sons of *gSal-rgyal* king of *Ko-sa-la*, or the fifth son of *sTobs-chuṅ*, the youngest son of *gZugs-can-sñiṅ-po*. (Otherwise it is told) that at the time when the Tibetans were tormented by the twelve *rGyal-phran* of *dDud* and *gNod-sbyin*, a son of 'Char-byed, the king of *Bad-sa-la*, was born whose eyes closed from below and whose fingers were connected with a web. Afraid of these (signs, his father) exposed him. A peasant took him up. When he came of age, he was grieved by the records of the past and went to *Kha-ba-can*, and the enumeration (of his deeds continues). He was honoured as ruler (*rje*). He is *gṅa'-khri-btsan-po*.

Bu-ston and the *sNar-thaṅ Tanjur* thus alternatively connect the origin of *gṅa'-khri-btsan-po* with three different dynasties in India, those of Magadha, Kosala, and Vatsa. The account of the Altan Tobči is in reality based on the tradition of the same three alternatives. Misunderstanding the alternative character of his sources or source, the author of this chronicle has simplified the whole matter by describing the ancestor of the Tibetan kings as "Sarba (king of Vatsa), son of King Kusala (Kosala) of Magadha in India". In the translation of C. R. Bawden (143.112) the account runs:

More than one thousand years after Buddha had passed into Nirvāṇa, those who flourished on the snowy eastern slopes from the golden line of king *Maha Samadi* were as follows. There were five sons of the king called *Sarba*, son of King *Kusala (Kosala) of Magadha* in India. The youngest son, at birth, had turquoise blue hair; his hands and feet were flat; his eyes closed from below upwards. They said to each other: "He is not like (one who has had) a previous incarnation." Putting him into a copper box, they threw him into the River Ganges. Between Nepal and Tibet an old man of Tibet picked up the box from the bank of the river and opened it. When he looked, there was (in it) a beautiful splendid boy. He became sixteen years old, and seeking the lofty and good (place) of the land, and considering the snowy Sambu mountains and the four strange lands,<sup>14</sup> he came, saying: "I shall settle (here)." A man of Tibet, meeting him, asked him: "Where do you come from?"

He pointed upwards. Saying: "This child has a destiny from Heaven; our Tibet has no king," he raised him on his neck and brought him away. He was the first Neck Seat King (*Küjügün sandali-tu qayan*) of Tibet.

The accounts of the origin of the first Tibetan king—and consequently of the lineage of the Mongol rulers—given by the Chinese texts *Mêng-ku shih hsi-p'u* (215) and *Mêng-ku yüan liu* (216; quotations 143. 21–2), correspond in the main features to that of the Altan Tobči. In the former of the Chinese sources he is called *T'u-po-i'ê kuo K'u-chun San-ta-li-t'u han* by a transcription from Mongolian *Töbed-ün oron Küjügün Sandali-tu qayan*, meaning "gṅa'-khri-btsan-po of the Tibetan country". The account of him reads:

This king was the second son of King *Sha-êrh-pa* grandson of King *Ku-sa-la*, and descendant of King *Ma-ko-sa-ma-ti* of India. At birth he had green hair, his hands and feet were flat, and he blinked from below upwards. King *Sha-êrh-pa* was startled and hated him and, putting him in a copper box, cast him into the Ganges etc.



Here gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is regarded as the second son of Śar-ba, king of Vatsa, but at the same time as a descendant from the dynasty of Kosala. Ma-ko-sa-ma-ti is the legendary first king of India, Mahāsamadhi, the progenitor of the Śākya. In the Mêng-ku yüan liu King Śar-ba is mentioned by his usual Sanskrit name Udayana transcribed as Wu-ti-ya-na.

In the sources quoted above, the priority seems more or less ascribed to the tradition that the father of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was the king of Vatsa known by the names Śar-ba, 'Char-byed, or Udaya(na). Correspondingly kLoñ-rdol bla-ma (102.'A.5) refers the origin of the Tibetan kings to the son of King Śar-pa of the family Śākya-Licchavi.

In the Thob-yig gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (120.IV.194v-95r) the following version is found:

Rim-pas Rus-che-na bźir gyis-śiñ rGyal-phran gSil-ma bcu-gñis-kyis dbañ-byed-pa'i dus rgyal-po Śar-pa'i bu tha-chuñ sor-mo dra-bas 'brel-ba sogs mtshan-ldan cig the-tshom zos-nas Gañgār bskyur-ba Li-tsi-bya'i žiñ-pa-rnams-kyis rñed-pa Cher-skyes-pa-na yid-skyo-ste Gañs-ri'i phrag-tu bro-s-pa lHa-ri Gyañ-mtho'i khar byuñ-ba Bod-spyi'i jo-bor byas-te miñ gÑa'-khri-btsan-por btags /

By and by the great *Rus* rose to the number of four, and at the time when power was exercised by the twelve *rGyal-phran gSil-ma*, the youngest son of King *Śar-pa* (was born) with fingers connected with a web and other signs. As doubt arose, he was thrown into the Ganges. He was picked up from there by peasants of *Licchavi*. When he had grown up, he became grieved and fled to the regions of the Glacier Mountains. He appeared in the snows of *lHa-ri Gyañ-mtho*. He acted as master (*jo-bo*) of all *Bod* and received the name *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*.

Immediately after his account of Ru-pa-ti quoted above (p. 178), Sanang Sečen writes:

At the same time a son was born to *Oroyuluyči* king of *Badasala*, whose hair at birth was blue, whose teeth had the lustre of a conch, and whose fingers and toes were connected (with a web) like those of a goose. He blinked from below upwards like the birds, and possessed all the prodigious signs.

A rather detailed account of the fate of the boy follows, particularly emphasizing his prodigious nature, but otherwise following the general lines of this part of the legendry. Only one feature may be especially mentioned—his remark, when asked by the Tibetans about his origin, that his ancestors were the offspring of the Golden Race of Olan-a Ergügdegsen Qayan (i.e. Mahāsamadhi) in former times.

While the first Tibetan king is generally described as the son of Śar-ba in the versions which refer his origin to the royal line of Vatsa, five sources of some prominence, dPa'-bo gTsub-lag quoted above and the four following sources, name him as the son of dMag-brgya-pa and thus as a brother of Śar-ba. The Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.10r) relates:

Khyad-par 'gro-ba-yoñs-la mña'-sgyur-ba'i rgyal-po žig med-na / rGyal-ba'i-bstan-pa 'byuñ dka'-bar dgoñs-nas / Mañ-pos-bkur-ba'i brgyud-las byuñ-ba'i rgyal-po dMag-brgya-pa žes-bya-ba-las sras 'Phags-pas byin-rlabs-kyi byed-pos mi-las'-das-pa žig bltams-te / mig mas 'gribs-su yod-pa / g'yu'i-smin-ma-can / so duñ-so 'khor mar yod-pa / lag-pa 'khor-lo'i yan-lag-can lta-bur yod-pa'i mtshan-ldan žig byuñ-ba /

Especially as there was no king who possessed the sovereignty of all beings (in Tibet), he considered the obstacles to the appearance of the *Doctrine of Jina*. A son was born to King *dMag-brgya-pa*, born himself in the lineage of *Mañ-pos-bkur-ba* (i.e. *Mahāsamadhi*). This son was born by the effects of the *Supreme Grace*, and distinguished himself from other men by being born with the signs – his eyes narrowed (closed) from below, he had turquoise eyebrows, his teeth were a row of *duñ-so* below, and he had circular divisions (*yan-lag*?) in his hands.

The Fifth Dalai Lama here expresses the opinion of the orthodox Buddhists that the Dynasty of the Tibetan kings arose by the force of supreme destiny to serve the propagation of the Doctrine. The same opinion is expressed in the sNar-thañ Kanjur (90.13), but a most remarkable allowance is made for the Bon tradition in the same way as made by the Deb-ther-dmar-po and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag in the quotations above:

De'i-tshe mi-rnams rje med-pa-la gSañ-bdag  
Las-kyi-rdo-rje'i-ye-śes-kyi-gzigs Nor Śar-ba'i-  
rdo-rje'i bka' ltar-ba / sTeñ-lha'i-yul-nas rJe  
gÑa'-khri-btsan-po / dMu-thag-la 'jus-te sprin-  
gyi-śul phul-nas byon-pas 'Od-gsal-lha'i gduñ  
rim-par byon-par gsuñs-śiñ /

sLob-dpon chen-pos kyañ /  
Rigs-mtho khuñs btsun 'Od-gsal-lha-yi brgyud :  
Mu-khri-btsan-po gduñ-brgyud ma-chad-par :

Žes gsuñs yoñs-grags ltar-na Mañ-bkur rgyal-po'i  
brgyud-las / rgyal-po dMag-brgya-par sgrib-pa  
rnam-sel-gyi-sprul-ba sras duñ-so g'yu'i-smin-  
ma-can 'khruñs-pa ltas-ñan-du dogs-te sgrugs-  
pas 'Phags-pa'i thugs-rjes Yar-kluñs lHa-ri  
Gyañ-tho'i rtser babs-pa / Rim-gyi lha'i Rol-po'i  
lha-skas-las babs-te gśegs-pa-las / Bon-po sogs  
yon-tan-can-gyi mi bcu-gñis-kyis gña'-bar btag-  
nas rjer bkur-bas gÑa'-khri-btsan-por grags /

The account of the sNar-thañ Kanjur belongs to a certain fraction of the Buddhist versions, in which the exposition motive is omitted and replaced by other explanations of the transplantation from India to Tibet. Thus it is told in the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.28/77) that the child, on the advice of the sign-interpreters, was carried to Tibet for the benefit of mankind, while in the present case the explanation is a most ingenious imitation of the Bon myth of the descent from Heaven, in fact only differing from it in the very question of the origin of the child. To the same fraction belongs the bSam-yas dkar-chag composed in 1854 A. D. by dBañ-phyug-rgyal-po (107.8r-v):

'Phags-pa Thugs-rje-chen-po dañ Jo-mo  
sGrol-ma gñis-kyis byin-gyis-brlabs-pa'i sPre'u  
dañ Brag-srin lhan-cig tshogs-pa-las 'gro-ba-  
drug-nas tshe-'phos-pa'i sprel-phrug spyod-  
tshul mi-'dra-ba drug byuñ-ba rim-par 'phel-te  
Bod-mi'i rgyal-khams-su gyur /

De'i-tshe mi-rnams gdug-rtsub che-ziñ mi-  
srnun-pa chos-kyi sgra tsam-yañ mi-grags-pas  
srog-gcod la-sogs-pa'i mi-dge-ba'i bya-bar ñañ-

At that time there was no ruler for men. For that reason, as it is told in the words of gSañ-bdag Las-kyi-rdo-rje'i-ye-śes-kyi-gzigs Nor Śar-ba'i-rdo-rje,<sup>15</sup> the Ruler gÑa'-khri-btsan-po came from the *Land of the Supreme lHa*, taking hold of the *dMu-thag* and using the path of the clouds. Therefore he came as a member of the lineage of '*Od-gsal-lha*.

However, the *Great Ācārya* told that In the lineage of '*Od-gsal-lha*, the reverend source of the high (noble) family, Not in the lineage of *Mu-khri-btsan-po*, was he born.<sup>16</sup>

In conformity to the famous declaration (it is told) that a son, an incarnation perfectly purified from darkness, having *duñ-so* and turquoise eyebrows, was born to *dMag-brgya-pa*, the king who descended from King *Mañ-bkur*. Feared as a bad omen, he was picked up and by the *Supreme Grace* lowered to the top of *lHa-ri Gyañ-tho* in *Yar-kluñs*. When he came, after descending the *lHa-skas* of the divine, into sections divided *Rol-po*, twelve excellent men, *Bon-pos* and others, placed him upon their necks and honoured him as ruler (*rje*). Therefore he is known as *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*.

The Ape (*sPre'u*) and the Rock-demon (*Brag-srin*), (who appeared on account of) the blessing of *Avalokiteśvara* and *Tārā*, copulated, and six beings (appeared). The six mortal young apes with different behaviour gradually increased (in number) and became the kingdom of the Tibetans.

At that time men were very ferocious and barbarous. Because the words of the Law were not even known they spontaneously started doing

gis 'jug-pa srin-po'i khyu ltar gnas-pa-na /  
'Phags-pas sprul-pa bstan-nas 'bru la-sogs-pa'i  
ñer-spyad-rnams 'byuñ-bar byin-gyis-brlabs-  
śiñ / sGo-gsum-gyi ñes-spyod-rnams thabs-kyis  
bkag-nas dge-bcu'i-lam-la rim-gyis khrid-pas  
bzin bzañ-ba dañ rgyud 'jam-pa sogs lus-rten  
bzañ-por gyur-te /

De yañ Rus-chen bžir gyes-śiñ / rGyal-phran  
Sil-ma mañ-du byuñ mod-kyañ / 'Gro-ba yoñs-  
la mña'-bsgyur-ba'i rgyal-po žig med-na Sañs-  
rgyas-kyi bstan-pa 'byuñ dka'-bar dgoñs-nas /  
riñ-žig-na Śākya-Li-tśā-byi'i rigs-las 'Phags-yul-  
gyi rgyal-po dMag-brgya-pa-las Rigs-gsum-  
mgon-pos byin-gyis-brlabs-pa'i sras mig mas  
'gebs / g'yu'i-smin-ma-can / so duñ-so 'khor ma  
yod-pa / Nañ-pa'i-rgyal-po ltar sor-mo-rnams  
dra-bas 'brel-ba / mi-las 'das-pa žig bltams-pa-  
na / lHa-'dre'i sprul-par dogs-nas mthar sbyugs-  
pa /

Phyag-na-padmo'i ye-śes mchog-gi 'od-zer-  
gyis snañ-ba bsgyur-nas dgoñs bzin-du Bod-  
spyi'i rje-bor phebs-pa thog-ma'i Mi-rje gÑa'-  
khri-btsan-po-nas Pur-rgyal Bod-kyi rgyal-  
kham-spyi-la dbañ-bsgyur-ba'i gNam-gyi-khri-  
bdun /

The most recent version of the Buddhist tradition is found in the rather elaborate account given by the Pakṣa-yā completed in 1934. It reads (93.282r-v):

'Phags-pa'i thugs-rjes<sup>18</sup> rigs-bsgyur-ba'i  
sPre'u Byañ-chub-sems-dpa'i žig dañ / 'Phags-  
ma sGrol-ma'i byin-rlabs-kyis dwags-gzugs  
brñan-blo'i zla gžon dwañs-pa'i ños-su śar-ba'i  
Brag-srin-mo gñis tshogs-pa-las rigs-drug-nas  
tshe-'phos-pa'i spyod-tshul mi-'dra-ba'i<sup>19</sup> phru-  
gu drug byuñ-ba yañ /

Pha-rigs-rnams 'char-sgo myur-ziñ sñiñ-rje  
che-ba khog grims-pa / Ma-rigs-rnams gdoñ-  
dmar sdig-las-la rñams-śiñ ro gyoñ-ba byuñ-ba  
De-dag-las rim-par 'phel-bas Bod-mi'i rgyal-  
kham-su gyur-to /

/ lHa-las phul-byuñ-gi bstod-'grel-las kyañ de  
dañ-mthun-par byuñ-ño /

unvirtuous actions like killing, etc. They lived like  
a gang of *Srin-pos*. *Ārya* (— *Avalokiteśvara*) as  
an incarnation taught and bestowed blessings by  
introducing offerings like grain etc. Opposing  
cleverly the bad aspects of the Three Doors  
(*sGo-gsum*) he gradually guided (them) along the  
path of the Ten Virtues (*dGe-bcu*), and hereby  
improved the bodily constituents like good looks  
and mild extraction.

Those divided into the four *Great Rus*, and  
many *rGyal-phran Sil-ma* appeared. But as there  
was no king who possessed the sovereignty of all  
beings (in Tibet), he considered the obstacles to  
the appearance of the *Doctrine of Jina*. After  
some time a son was born to *dMag-brgya-pa*, the  
Indian king of the *Śākya-Licchavis*, a son blessed  
by the *Rigs-gsum-mgon-po*<sup>17</sup> with eyes closing  
from below, having turquoise eyebrows, with  
teeth being a row of *duñ-so* below, fingers con-  
nected with a web like the King of Geese, and  
(so) distinguished himself from other men. He  
was feared as an incarnation of *lHa-'dre* and  
banished to the frontier.

His appearance was changed by the ray of  
light (coming from) the *Jñāna* of *Padmapāṇi*, and  
in agreement with his thoughts he descended to be  
ruler (*rje-bo*) of all *Bod*. From him, *gÑa'-khri-  
bisan-po* the first Ruler of Men (*Mi-rje*), (de-  
scended) the *gNam-gyi-khri-bdun* who exercised  
power in all the kingdom of *Pur-rgyal Bod*.

*Avalokiteśvara* (appeared) as the Ape (*sPre'u*),  
the origin of families, a *Bodhisattva*, and *Tārā*  
bestowing blessings took the appearance of a  
wild animal, the Rock-demoness (*Brag-srin-mo*)  
who shows out on the pure surface of the young  
moon. These two having copulated, appeared  
the six families, the six children who were of dif-  
ferent mortal behaviour.

On the father's side they were quick of  
thought, compassionate, and considerate. On  
the mother's side they were red-faced, indulging  
in sinful deeds, and crude. From them developed  
what gradually became the kingdom of the Ti-  
betans.

That is conformable to the *lHa-las phul-byuñ-  
gi bstod-'grel*.

/ De yañ rGyal-phran Sil-ma mañ-du byuñ  
yañ 'Phags-pa mchog-gis byin-gyis-brlabs-pa ma-  
mchis-śiñ /

Khyad-par yoñs-la mña'-bsgyur-ba'i rgyal-  
po žig med-na / rGyal-ba'i bstan-pa 'byuñ dka'-  
bar dgoñs-nas / Mañ-pos-bkur-ba'i rgyud-las  
byuñ-ba'i rgyal-po dMag-brgya-pa žes-bya-ba-  
las sras 'Phags-pa'i byin-rlabs-kyis byad-gzugs  
mi-las 'das-pa žig bltams-te / mig yas<sup>20</sup> 'gebs-su  
yod-pa / g'yu'i smin-ma / duñ-so 'khor mar yod-  
pa / lag-pa 'khor-lo'i yan-lag-can lta-bur yod-  
pa'i mtshan-ldan žig byuñ-ba / Yab-kyis lHa-  
'dre'i sprul-par dgoñs-nas spyugs-pas /

Pad-dkar 'dzin-pa'i ye-śes mchog-gi 'od-zer-  
gyis snañ-ba bsgyur-nas / lHa-ri Gyañ-tho'i rtse-  
la byon-nas gzigs-pas / Yar-kluñs-kyi yul ni  
mtho-ris-kyi yon-tan sa-la 'phos-pa ltar bzañ-  
žin / Yar-lha-śam-po'i gañs-ri 'di lhun-po'i  
mdzes sdug-la chags-pa'i chu-śel-gyi dbañ-po ña  
gañ-bas 'khyud-pa ltar mkhyen-nas / lHa-ri Rol-  
pa'i rtse-la gśegs-nas lHa-skas-la babs-te / bTsan-  
thañ-sgo-bžir žabs-zuñ-gi 'khor-lo-bskyod-pas  
Bon-po sogs yon-tan-can-gyi mi bcu-gñis  
phyugs-skyoñ-bas mthoñ-ste Gañ-nas 'oñs žes-  
gtam dris-par / mKha'-la mdzub-mo ker-bas  
lHa-las chad-par go-nas Bod-khams-kyi rjer  
'os-so žes gña'-bar khri byas btegs-nas 'oñs-pas  
rJe gñā'-khri-btsan-por grags-la / Deb-sñon-du  
Khri bTsan-po 'Od-ldan žes-pa dañ-don-gcig /

These quotations from the dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, the Fifth Dalai Lama, the sNar-thañ Kanjur, the bSam-yas dkar-chag, and the Pakṭa-yā, present versions which are mutually related and in their fundamental features ultimately depend on the 34th chapter of the Mañi-bka'-'bum (34.E.59v-65v; see 199. passim), as it immediately appears from their common, characteristic references to the interference of the Supreme Grace for the benefit of the future propagation of the Doctrine in the land of the Tibetans. The concept of the Supreme Grace, 'Phags-pa'i byin-rlab, is a parabolic expression for the concept of Avalokiteśvara particularly established by the Mañi-bka'-'bum.

We have learned that certain sources, and especially the Chos-'byuñ of Bu-ston, mention the origin of gñā'-khri-btsan-po alternatively as a descent from the dynasty of Kosala. In two cases, in the La-dwags

Those appeared as the many rGyal-phran Sil-ma, but the blessing of the Supreme Grace did not exist.

Above all, there was no king who possessed the sovereignty of all (beings). Therefore, he considered the obstacles to the appearance of the *Doctrine of Jina*, and a son was born to King dMag-brgya-pa, who descended from Mañ-pos-bkur-ba. He was born by the blessing of the Supreme Grace and distinguished himself from other men by being born with the signs – eyes filling up from above, turquoise eyebrows, duñ-so in a row below, the hands having circular divisions (*yan-lag*). His father thought that he was an incarnation of lHa-'dre and expelled him.

His appearance was changed by the ray of light (coming from) the *Jñāna* of *Puñḍarīka-dhara*<sup>21</sup> and he came to the top of lHa-ri Gyañ-tho and looked around. The country of Yar-luñ was good, as if changed into a place of heavenly excellence, and he realized that the glacier mountain of Yar-lha-śam-po, this mountain massive (*lhun-po*) as to beauty appeared like the moon-stone embraced by the full moon.<sup>22</sup> When he came to the top of lHa-ri Rol-pa, he descended via the lHa-skas and moved around having placed his feet upon bTsan-thañ-sgo-bži. He was seen by herdsmen, the twelve excellent men, *Bon-pose* etc. They asked: "Where do You come from?" To this he answered by pointing towards Heaven, and they thought he descended from the lHa and said: "He is worthy of becoming ruler (*rJe*) of Tibet." Making a throne they lifted him upon their necks and went off. Therefore he is known as the Ruler gñā'-khri-btsan-po. In the *Deb-ther-sñon-po* he is identified with the one called *Khri-btsan-po 'Od-ldan*.

rgyal-rabs and in the representation given by Chandra Das, the descent from the house of Kosala is mentioned without alternatives. In the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.28) we read:

Bod rgyal-phran bcu-gñis-kyis mnar-ba'i dus-su / bCom-ldan-'das-kyi gduñ-brgyud yul Kosala-la'i rgyal-po gSal-rgyal-la / sras lña mña' ba'i bar-pa Bud-dha-ši-ri zes-pa / mig bya ltar yas 'gebs-pa / rkañ-lag ñañ-pa ltar 'brel-ba smin-ma g'yu'i smin-ma skyes-pa

At the time when the *twelve rGyal-phran* (petty kings) tormented *Bod*, a son named *Buddha-širi* was born as the middle of five sons to *gSal-rgyal* the king of *Kosala*, a descendant of *Bhagavat*; (he had) eyes like a bird, filling up (i.e. opening) from above; his (toes and fingers of) feet and hands were connected like those of a goose; his eyebrows appeared as eyebrows of turquoise.

We have translated this piece of text in a way which in principle corresponds to the translations of A. H. Francke and E. Schlagintweit. In connection with its context, however, it presents such peculiarities that it becomes a most important document for the evaluation of the Buddhist tradition, for which reason we shall make it the subject of a more detailed study below (p. 198 ff.).

The account of Chandra Das (149.I.213) correspondingly reads:

The fifth son of King *Prasenajit* of *Kośala* (*Kasala rgyal*)<sup>23</sup> was born with obliquely drawn eyes and light blue eyebrows of the colour of turquoise. As soon as he came out of his mother's womb, the infant was found possessed of webbed fingers and two rows of teeth, fully developed, and white as a conch shell. Apprehending great evil from such ominous signs in the infant, the parents packed it up in a copper vessel and floated it away on the river *Gangā*, etc.

The version of the origin legend of gñNa'-khri-btsan-po given by the Kalmuck edition of the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ, Bodhimör, presents some special interest by its relation to the Mongolian versions. Like the chronicle of Sanang Sečen it regards the Tibetan kings as the descendants of the Mountain Śākya (62.317):

This lineage considers the Indian king *Śākya Ayula Qadači* its origin. From his descendant named *Qasalang Ugei Nom-un Qayan* originated *Itegel Čaraytu* and *Ĵayun Čaray-tu*, who were born at the same time. They quarrelled, however, and violent wars about the succession occurred. For this reason the youngest of the three sons of *Ĵayun Čaray-tu*, who possessed all the signs of his divine origin, fled to the Tibetan country, by order of his gods.

According to the statement of *Erdeni Köböñ Bayči* (i.e. *Bu-ston*), however, the boy was the fifth son of the king of *Kosala* named *Dotorqui Ilayugsan* (i.e. *gSal-rgyal*), while according to others this strange boy was a son of *Uryulun Üiledüγči* king of *Batsala* (i.e. *Vatsa*). Now, however that may be, these different opinions refer to the person of *Küsün Širegetü*.

*Küsün*, or *Küjügün*, *Širegetü Qayan* are equivalents to Tibetan gñNa'-khri-btsan-po. The same name has been used by the Mongolian source of the above quoted version of the Mêng-ku shih hsi-p'u, while Sanang Sečen uses *Segar Sandali-tu Qayan*, and Altan Tobči uses *Küjügün Sandali-tu Qayan*, names which in both cases are equivalent to gñNa'-khri-btsan-po.

The latter section of the quotation from the Bodhimör simply quotes *Bu-ston* and so far presents nothing new. It alternatively refers to a descendance from *gSal-rgyal* of *Kosala* or from *Šar-ba* or *'Char-byed*, the king of *Vatsa*. The latter king is named *Uryulun Üiledüγči* in the present text, while according to the transcription of I. J. Schmidt (62.317), Sanang Sečen calls him *Oroyuluyči*. The reading of Schmidt seems, however, to be erroneous, as the *Urga Ms* (146.7v) has *Uryuyuluyči*. This name derives from *uryuqu* which signifies Tibetan 'khruñ-ba or 'char-ba. *Uryuyuluyči* is evidently equivalent to the Tibetan name *'Char-byed* of the king of *Vatsa*.

The former section of the text of the Bodhimör, to the contrary, contains a tradition which is different from any other known text. To explain the genealogy indicated by this separate tradition, it is necessary to get a general view of the Indian kings alternatively involved by the different versions, and their historical background.

The subject of Indian kings and dynasties at that time is a most problematic one to deal with. The regret of 'Gos lo-tsa-ba in his *Deb-ther-sñon-po* (184.35) that he was unable to write down the history of Aśoka, because no one possessed an Indian royal chronicle, is still valid in general, as far as the old Indian dynasties are concerned. The Buddhist tradition of the origin of the Tibetan Dynasty, however, is based on a rather firmly established tradition of *four Indian kings ruling the four kingdoms of Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa(la) or Kauśāmbi, and Avanti or Ujjayinī, in the lifetime of Buddha Śākyamuni*. In Buddhist literature in Tibet the tradition of these four kings is particularly represented by the various accounts of them and their conversion to Buddhism, given by the Kanjur. According to the Tibetan sources and the general historical testimonies (see 170.passim) these four kings were:

- in *Magadha* King *gZug-can-sñiñ-po*, Śrenika or Bimbisāra, a son of *Padma-chen-po*, Mahāpadma, of Rājāgrha (68.27/74; 170.58),
- in *Kosala* King *gSal-rgyal*, Prasenajit, a son of *Tshañs-pas-byin*, Mahākosala or (Bing Aranemi) Brahmadata of Śrāvastī (68.27/74; 170.57),
- in *Vatsa(la) or Kauśāmbi* King *Śar-ba* or 'Char-byed, Udaya(na), a son of *dMag-brgya-pa*, Śātānika (68.27/74; 170.56), and
- in *Avanti or Ujjayinī* King *gTum-po Rab-snañ*, Caṇḍa Pradyota, a son of *Mu-khyud-mtha'-yas*, Anantanemi (68.27/74; 170.57).

These kings belonged to various branches of the Śākyas, all of them considering themselves the descendants of the original king of India Mahāsamadhī or Mahāsammata (Tib. Mañ-po (s)-(b)skur-ba, Mong. Olan-a Ergügdegsen Qayan).

Sanang Sečen gives an apparently corresponding tradition of the four Indian kings contemporary to Buddha Śākyamuni. According to the Urga Ms (146.6r-v) the kingdoms and their kings were:

- in *Magadha*: – *Čoyčas-un Ĵirüken* the son of *Yeke Lingyo-a*,
- in *Kosala*: – *Gsalrjal* (Tib. note in the Ms: *gSal-rgyal*) the son of *Ariyun-a Ögkügči*,
- in *Badasala*: – *Maši Gegen* the son of *Kičayalal Ügei*, and
- in *Kuyu-šambi*: – *Sarba* the son of *Ĵayun Čaray-tu*.

With regard to the two countries Magadha and Kosala, the version of Sanang Sečen agrees perfectly with the Tibetan and the general traditions. The names of the last two countries, however, are the names of one and the same country, Vatsala or Kauśāmbi. For the latter name the edition by I. J. Schmidt has *Kuuju Sambrw-a*, which is an obvious misreading of *Kuuyu šambiy-a*. The King *Sarba* of *Kuyu-šambi* is identical to *Śar-ba* of *Vatsala* (Mong. *Badasala*), while the question of the identity of *Maši Gegen* remains an open one.

For the identification of the kings of the genealogy given above in the first section of the quotation from the Bodhimör, Sanang Sečen (Urga Ms fol. 6v) enumerates the following kings descending from *Čoyčas-un Ĵirüken* who is identical with *gZugs-can-sñiñ-po* or *Bimbisāra* of *Magadha*: – *Erdeni Saran*, *Masakisar-a Amuylang Üiledügči*, *Arsalan*, *Arban Dergetü*, and *Qasalang Ügei Nom-un Qayan*.

According to the Bodhimör the last mentioned king was the father of *Ĵayun Čaray-tu*, who again was the father of *gŅa'-khri-btsan-po*, while according to Sanang Sečen he belonged to the dynasty of *Kauśāmbi* as the grandfather of *Śarba* (the son of *Ĵayun Čaray-tu*). If we combine these two representations, *gŅa'-khri-btsan-po* becomes the brother of *Śar-ba*, as maintained in the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama and related sources. At the same time, however, we get a perfect confusion with regard both to dynasties and chronology.

In his further account Sanang Sečen relates that the first Buddhist Council, in the first year after Parinirvāṇa, took place at the time of Masakisar-a (Schmidt: Margasir-a), the grandson of Bimbisāra. Now, both the Purāṇas and the Jain and Buddhist sources agree that the successor of Bimbisāra was his son Vaidehiputra Ajātaśatru (170.59). Moreover, the death of Buddha occurred in the beginning of the reign of Ajātaśatru according to the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, the Li-yul-gyi lo-rgyus, and the Mahawanso,<sup>24</sup> and the Buddhist Council of Rājāgrha took place under his auspices. Therefore Masakisar-a, regardless of whether he is presented as a son or a grandson of Bimbisāra, is identical with Ajātaśatru and belongs to the dynasty of Magadha, as stated by Sanang Sečen in the genealogy given above, and not to that of Kauśāmbi, as involved by his representation of the four principal kingdoms of India.

In the next place, Sanang Sečen relates that the *second great council*, the Council of Vaiśālī one hundred and ten years after the Parinirvāṇa, took place during the reign of Qasalang Ūgei Nom-un Qayan. In the Mongolian version of 'Phags-pa'i Śes-bya-rab-gsal, Čiqula kereglegči tegüs udqatu šastir, made by Mañjuśrī guosi siregetü čorjiva,<sup>25</sup> it is correspondingly stated that the Council of Rājāgrha took place in the reign of Ajadasadru and the Council of Vaiśālī at the time of Qasalang Ūgei Nom-un Qayan. Therefore, as the latter council was held under the auspices of King Kālāśoka, this king is identical with Qasalang Ūgei Nom-un Qayan of the Mongolian tradition. Consequently gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, who according to the Bodhimör is a grandson of Qasalang, is also a grandson of Kālāśoka and a descendant of the dynasty of Magadha, though not belonging to the direct lineage of the Śākyas from Bimbisāra, because the last king of this lineage was banished by the people and replaced by a minister who was the father of Kālāśoka.

This separate tradition of the Bodhimör, presenting the first Tibetan king as a descendant of Kālāśoka and thus putting his origin a century or more forward in time in comparison to the majority of versions, which connect it with the time of Buddha Śākyamuni, seems to depend on historical traditions other than those known from the common versions. The succession of the kings of Magadha, as indicated by the Mongolian sources, seems to agree neither with the common Buddhist nor with the Purāṇic traditions, and together with the various discrepancies found in the Mongolian tradition, this circumstance seems to be a reflection of the general discordance prevailing in the whole question of the successors of Ajātaśatru.

It thus appears from the survey made until now, that the Buddhist tradition above all aims to show that *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po originated from one of the prominent Śākya dynasties at the time of Buddha Śākyamuni, but makes no definite statement as to which dynasty he descended from.*

Obviously the object of the Buddhist tradition was—*partly* to establish, at a certain time, a sufficiently distinguished and imposing ancestry of the Yar-luñ Dynasty by connecting it with the Śākyas, in the same way as in a later time the Mongol Qayans by claiming a descent from the Yar-luñ kings, considered themselves the descendants of Mahāsamadhi, and—*partly* to establish from the very beginning a *Buddhist background for the Dynasty*, and as we shall see, a *legendary foreboding of the appearance of Cakravartin Kings in the Tibetan Dynasty*, by choosing Bimbisāra, Prasenajit or Udaya as an ancestor, and emphasizing the *prodigious signs* with which gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was born.

It may appear strange that no version names the fourth Indian king at that time, gTum-po Rab-snañ or Caṇḍa Pradyota of Ujjayinī, as the ancestor of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. In fact, a tradition of his descent from this king exists or has existed, as we learn from a synopsis of the origin traditions given by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, as quoted above, and by Sum-pa mKhan-po, as quoted below. The circumstance that we hitherto have found no version of such a tradition, may be due to prejudices as to the name gTum-po signifying savage, cruel, etc., and the fact that it suggests too much of the Bon deity gTum-po-rje.

We have intimated above that a particular category of Buddhist traditions is based on the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra. This category seems to be of a rather late date, and apparently the author of the Debther-sñon-po, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba gŽon-nu-dpal is responsible for it, or at any rate for the fact that it has been generally known (184.X-XI). The occurrence of this later tradition is undoubtedly due to the historical facts that the ancient Śākyas from the time of Buddha Śākyamuni fairly soon dissolved and

were replaced by other dynasties, among which another branch of the Śākya the Licchavis acquired great fame. As appears from the quotation of the Deb-ther-sñon-po given above, further outlined Ka, 22v–23r of this work (184.44–47), 'Gos lo-tsā-ba has interpreted the *prophecy post facta of the Licchavi kings* given in the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra, *as though applying to the historical lineage of the Yar-luñ Dynasty* reckoned from Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

Though this application of the prophecy has a primary importance among the attempts to link the Tibetan Dynasty with the Indian dynasties, the text of the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra and its interpretation and application are very little known. Though it has no direct connection with the present study, we shall quote the prophecy and its interpretation as these appear in the chronicle of dPa'-bo gTsub-lag (64.12r–v) in order to prevent further speculations as to the contents and significance of this special tradition; the readings of the lHa-sa Kanjur, Tha, 411v–412r, are added in parentheses:<sup>26</sup>

/ De-yañ 'Jam-dpal rtsa-ba'i rgyud-chen-las /  
 / De-bžin-gšegs-pa'i bstan 'di-la /  
 / rNam-pa sna-tshogs bya-ba byed /  
 / Byañ-gi phyogs-la brten-nas ni /  
 / De-yi tshe-na 'byuñ-bar 'gyur /  
 / lHa-ldan-yul žes-bya-ba-yi /  
 / Gañs-can ri-yi nañ gnas-par (gnas-pa'i) /  
 / rGyal-po *Mi-yi-lha* žes-bya (žes-pa) /  
 / Li-tsā-wi (bi)-rnams rigs-su 'byuñ (byuñ) /  
 / De-yañ sñags-kyi don grubs-ste (bsgrubs-te) /  
 / Loñs-spyod che dañ-ldan-par 'gyur /  
 / Rig-pa loñs-spyod che-ldan žes (loñs-spyod-ldan žes-bya) /  
 / Mi-yis(yi) bdag-pos de yañ grub /  
 / lo ni brgyad-bcur(cur) rgyal-srid byed(byas) /  
 / Des ni rkun-ma rnam-par-spañs /  
 / rGyal-po de-yi (des-ni) srog spañs-nas /  
 / De-yis (Der yañ) sñags ni myur-grub('grub)-ste /  
 / Ži dañ rgyas-pa'i las (rgyas-pa bsil) byed-pa'o /  
 / 'Jig-rten s*Grol-ma* žes grags dañ /  
 / lHa-mo *Gos-dkar-mo* dañ ni /  
 / d*Kar-mo-chen-mo* gžan don (phan) brtson /  
 / rTag-du(tu) yid ni mi-skyo-ba'o /  
 / De-la-sogs-pa gsuñs-pa-yi /  
 / De-bžin rgyal-po mañ-po ni /  
 / rNam-pa du-ma mañ-po-dag /  
 / Kha-dog sna-tshogs sna-tshogs gzugs /  
 / Kha-ba-can-rnams(gnas) kLa-klo'i rgyal /  
 / Der(De)-yañ sTon-pa mchod byed-pa(pa'o) /  
 / *Khyu-mchog Khyu-mchog-bzañ-po* dañ /  
 / Sa-'og('od) de-bžin Sa-'og ('od)-bzañ /  
 / De-bžin *Pha-rol-gnon* ñid dañ /  
 / r*Kañ-pa'i-i-gros* ces(žes) bstan-pa yin /  
 / Sa-sruñ dañ ni *Be'u*(Be-'u) dañ /  
 / 'Od-ldan ñid ni phyi-ma yin /  
 / Tha-mar 'Tshañ-rgya'i dañ tshul-ste (Tha-mar Char-rgyal ñañ-tshul-te) /  
 / kLa-klo-rnam-pa-sna-tshogs yin /  
 / De-'og lugs ni rnam-gcig-žin (rnam-žig-ciñ) /  
 / *Phyi-rol skye-gus*(dgus) ñe-bar-spyod /



/ Ces luñ-bstan-pa'i *lHa-ldan-gyi yul sKyi-śod lHasa* / rGyal-po *Mi'i-lha chos-rgyal Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po* / *sGrol-ma* dañ *Gos-dkar* dañ *dKar-chen-mo* sogs *btsun-mo-rnams* / *Khyu-mchog Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan* / *Khyu-mchog-bzañ 'Dus-sroñ Mañ-po-rje* / *Sa'og Mes-ag-tshoms* / *Sa'og-bzañ Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan* / *Pha-rol-gnon Mu-ni-btsan-po* / *rKañ-pa'i-'gros Sad-na-legs* / *Sa-sruñ Khri Ral* / *Be'u gLañ-Dar* / *'Od-ldan 'Od-sruñ-gi* bar dañ / *de-phal-cher 'Tshañ-rgya-ba* dañ / *de-nas kLa-klo-rnam-pa-sna-tshogs yin* / *žes-pas smad sil-chad* / *De'og Phyi-rol skye-gus spyod-pa* mthar *Mi-ñag Hor rGya lJañ Tu-ruška* rnams-kyis rim-pas dbañ-byed-pa'o /

As the translation of the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra prophecy has no importance here, we confine ourselves to translating the notes of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag in which he connects parts of the verse-lines with kings of the Dynasty. These parts have been rendered in italics in the quotation above. In the translation below we add the numbers of the kings in question (see Table IV).

Thus in the prophecy *lHa-ldan-gyi yul* is *lHa-sa* in *sKyi-śod*. rGyal-po *Mi'i-lha* is Dharmarāja *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po* (33). *sGrol-ma*, *Gos-dkar*, and *dKar-chen-mo* are the queens (33e, 33a, 33f). *Khyu-mchog* is *Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan* (35). *Khyu-mchog-bzañ* is *'Dus-sroñ Mañ-po-rje* (36). *Sa'og* is *Mes-ag-tshoms* (37). *Sa'og-bzañ* is *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan* (38). *Pha-rol-gnon* is *Mu-ni-btsan-po* (39). *rKañ-pa'i-'gros* is *Sad-na-legs* (40). *Sa-sruñ* is *Khri Ral(-pa-can)* (41). *Be'u* is *gLañ-Dar(-ma)* (42). *'Od-ldan* is *'Od-sruñ* (43). In the following part there is especially *'Tshañ-rgya-ba* and then the different kinds of *kLa-klo*, which mean the later disintegration. *De'og* and *Phyi-rol-skye-gus spyod-pa* at the end, are those who successively had the power: *Mi-ñag*, *Hor*, *rGya*, *lJañ*, and *Tu-ruška*.

This interpretation, which primarily tends to prove the *descent of the Tibetan kings from the Licchavis*, has been of little consequence in our present problem to later Tibetan literature. In the sources available for the present study, the only important vestiges of it seem to be found in the accounts of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, the late Tibetan work of the bSam-yas dKar-chag (107.8v), and in the Hor chos-'byuñ which only formally, from the point of view of language, belongs to Tibetan literature. We shall give this account according to the edition by Hashimoto Kohō (80.3–4):

Dañ-po ni / rGya dañ Bod-kyi byañ-na Hor-gyi rgyal-khams chen-po yod-la / der Sog-po'i rgyal-rigs ni Mañ-bskur rgyal-po'i rigs yin-te /

De-yañ sñon rGya-gar 'Phags-yul-du Ma-hā-sambha-ti'am Mañ-pos-bkur-ba'i rgyal-po žes-bya-ba byuñ-la de'i rigs brgyud / 'Jam-dpal-rtsa-rgyud-las / Li-tstsha-byi-rnams rigs-su 'byuñ /

Žes Bod-kyi rgyal-po luñ-brtan-pa'i skabs-su byuñ-ba bžin Śākya Li-tstsha-byi'i rigs-brgyud-kyi rgyal-po žig-las sras mtshan-dañ-ldan-pa žig bltams-te / mig mas 'gebs-pa / g'yu'i smin-macan / so duñ-so 'khor mar yod-pa / lag mthil-na 'khor-lo'i ri-mo-can / sor-mo dra-bas 'brel-ba žig btsas-pa-la mtshan-mkhan-gyis dpyad mi-spobs-pas nān-par dogs-nas zañs kha-sbyar-du bcug-ste Gañgā-la bskyur-ba žiñ-pas rñed-de gsos /

In the first place: To the north of India and Tibet there is the *Great Kingdom of Hor*, where the royal lineage of *Sog-po* lives, being the lineage of *Mahāsamādhi*.

It originates from the king by name of *Mahā-sambhati* or *Mañ-pos-bkur-ba*, once living in the Indian *Āryadeśa*. According to *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* it arose in the family of the *Licchavi*.

Thus, according to the prophecy, the Tibetan king appeared as a son of one of the kings who descended from *Śākya-Licchavi*, possessing the signs – his eyes closing from below, his eyebrows being of turquoise (colour), his teeth being *duñ-so* in a row below, his palms bearing the design of circles, and his fingers being connected with a web. The interpreters of signs dared not examine one who was born so. They were afraid that he was ominous, and therefore they placed him in a copper vessel which was thrown into the Ganges. He was taken up by a peasant who brought him up.

De cher-skyes-pa-na śhar-gyi gdam bśad-pa  
 thos-pas yid-skyo-ziñ Gañs-can-du broste byon-  
 pa-na / phyugs-rdzi-rnams-kyis mthoñ-ste Gañ-  
 nas'oñs žes dris-pas/bTsan-po yin zer-ziñ mdzub-  
 mo nam-mkha'-la bsgreñ-bas lHa-las babs-pa  
 yin-nam śñam-ste / Bod-khams-kyi rgyal-por  
 'os-so žes śiñ-gi khri-la bžag-ste mi-bži'i gña'-  
 ba-la khur-nas Bod-'bañs thams-cad-kyis 'dud-  
 par byas-pas de 'i mtshan-la gñā'- khri-btsan-po  
 žes btags-so /

When he grew up he heard the account of the  
 past, which made him sorry of mind, and he  
 went away to the glaciers. Arriving there, he was  
 seen by some herdsmen, who asked him: "From  
 where do you come?" In answer to that he said:  
 "I am *bTsan-po!*" and as he pointed his finger to  
 Heaven, they thought: "Maybe he has come  
 down from the *lHa*," and said: "He is worthy of  
 being king of Tibet (*Bod-khams-kyi rgyal-po!*)"  
 They placed him upon a wooden throne which  
 four men carried on their necks, and all the  
 Tibetan subjects bowed. Therefore he got the  
 name of *gñā'-khri-btsan-po*.

The last section of this text gives us an interesting indication with regard to the relationship between the Bon-po and the Buddhist traditions. We have already realized, and shall get further proof, that the Buddhist description of the appearance of *gñā'-khri-btsan-po* in Tibet and his acceptance there, rather closely correspond in the main lines to that of the Bon-po tradition. Even the account of his descent from a mountain, which in some Buddhist versions is preceded by particular explanations of his arrival there, is generally rendered in a way that is far more Bon-po than Buddhist. The remaining features of pronounced Bon-po origin in the Buddhist representation, and the ingenious reconciliations of Buddhist with Bon-po or original popular concepts, which thus was most opportunely established, are to a certain extent made possible by simply introducing the feature of the finger pointing to Heaven, which ambiguously might refer to both Buddha and *lHa*.

Only at the essential point, in the question of ancestry, do the two traditions differ in principle. This fact has so far been sufficiently emphasized already, but we have also mentioned on various occasions that the Buddhist tradition in itself maintains no definite opinion with regard to the ancestry, beyond its being Indian. We are now going to show that beside the disagreement as to the various dynasties just discussed, *the Buddhist tradition as a whole reveals the existence of at least two distinctly different strata in the concept of the origin of the Tibetan kings.*

For this purpose we shall now give a translation of the text of the *bśad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu* as far as its representation of *bSañ-ba Chos-lugs* is concerned (Appendix II, section IV):

IVa. Now, *bSañ-ba Chos-lugs* is (the tradition of) the three kinds of ancestry (*gdun-rgyud*): *Mahāsākya* (*Śākya-chen-po*) and the *Mountaineers of the mountains of Licchavi* (*Li-rtsa-byi ri-brag-la ri-brag-pa*). These kinds of ancestry increased, and from them *sKyabs-señ* and *dMag-rgya-ba*, these two, separated. They took wives, and to *dMag-rgya-pa* (himself) of the family of *Ral-pa-can* (*Jātānika*), there were ninety-nine sons, together with the father one hundred, wherefore (he was) called *dMag-brgya-pa*.

IVb. *sKyabs-señ* had five hundred wives, but no sons. He exercised many rites of procreation (*srid*),<sup>27</sup> but no son appeared. He entreated *dKon-mchog*.<sup>28</sup> He asked a *ṛṣi* who knew the past (and got the answer): "In your former rebirth you killed by an arrowshot a male and a female stag in the act of copulation. Therefore, as a consequence of this, there will be no sons (to you). If, however, you will love<sup>29</sup> your fellow men, I shall give you, as really existing,<sup>30</sup> the sons who were provided you by destiny."<sup>31</sup> So he said.—"Well, I beseech you," so (the king) said. Five sons were given (him): *sNa-tshogs* the son of *lHa*, *bSe-khrab-can* the son of *ñi-ma*, *Mi-'jigs-pa* the son of *rLuñ-lha*, *Tha-dkar* the son of *Drag-po*, and *Mi-tshugs-pa* the son of *dBañ-byed*, these five were given (him).

IVc. The king rejoiced, and in the act of bringing presents (of thanks),<sup>32</sup> he said: "Not being sons coming from my own flesh, you are sons deprived of the wishes for action. Therefore, what skill and abilities do you possess?" (So) he asked. *sNa-tshogs*, the son of *lHa*, said: "I know how to

slip into the earth and live in the water.” *bSe-khrab-can*, the son of *Ñi-ma* said: “I am able to procure (give) whatever symbols (regalia, *rtags*) necessary for a king.” *Mi-'jigs-pa*, the son of *rLuñ-lha*, said: “I am able to prepare whatever implement (necessary).” *Tha-dkar*, the son of *Drag-po*, said: “In one moment I am able to kill one hundred soldiers (*dmag-brgya*).” *Mi-tshugs-pa*, the son of *dBañ-byed*, said: “I am able to drive out *Srin-po*.”

IVd. When thinking, the king thought: “At the present moment there are riches in this world such as jewels,” and for the sake of this idea, he said to *Tha-dkar*, the son of *Drag-po*: “Because *dMag-brgya-pa*, father and sons, have risen now, you shall subdue them!” He killed the hundred daughters of *dMag-brgya-pa* and (ninety-eight of his sons) counting the father, ninety-nine in all. The youngest son he brought back with him. (The king said) “This is of no use. It is a great evil, indeed, that he shall enjoy not to have been killed.” To the youngest son (of *dMag-brgya-pa*) *Ru-pa-skyes*, he said: “It is necessary to accept what has been done with your brothers and sisters,” and he further said, “Having been killed, your father, brothers, and sisters cannot subdue our own brothers and sisters. They are killed.” As (*Ru-pa-skyes*) could not be killed by the king, he was placed in a good<sup>34</sup> jewel chest, and provided with the four kinds of food and the fluid nectar of thirst. The chest was given to the River *Ga-ga* (*Ganges*).

IVe. (The chest) was found by a herdsman of King *bZugs-can-sñiñ-po*. The herdsman carried off the chest and gave it to King *gZugs-can-sñiñ-po*. The king opened the chest and looked into it. There was a little child being like a son of *lHa*. “What kind of being are you?”—“I am the youngest son of King *dMag-brgya-pa*, by name of *Ru-pa-skyes*. My father and all the males (of my family) were killed by a son of King *sKyabs-señ*. I am *śugs-pa*.” This was what *Ru-pa-skyes* revealed to King *gZugs-can-sñiñ-po*, and the kings aid: “Now that you are an incarnation of *Avalokiteśvara*, you shall be my *mChod-gnas*.”<sup>35</sup> *Ru-pa-skyes* said: “I am worthy of it, but they are going to kill us.” To this *gZugs-can-sñiñ-po* answered, “There are means.” Concealed in a hermitage (*Ru-pa-skyes*) acted as a *mChod-gnas*, and when King *sKyabs-señ* heard of the revelation that *Ru-pa-skyes* was an incarnation of *Avalokiteśvara*, he repented. He came with various kinds of music to invite him, but in his own thoughts *Ru-pa-skyes* was thinking, “He is a killer,” and with signs (appearance) of fright he fled and came to the border of *Bod*.

IVf. At that time

There was no ruler (*rje*) in *Bod*.

The six *Yab-'bañs-mi*, therefore,

Were looking for a ruler.

They met (*Ru-pa-skyes*) at the top of *lHa-ri Gyañ-mtho*.

IVg. They said to *Ru-pa(-skyes)*, “You,

IVh. “Having *duñ-so* in a row,

“Having eyebrows like turquoise,

“Having whiskers like a tiger,

“Having eyes like birds’ eyes

“Disappearing (i.e. closing) from below,

“Having feet and hands connected like the waterbirds,

“Being unlike a son of man,

“Being like a son of *lHa*,

IVi. where do you come from?” Thus they spoke to him, and because (they) did not understand the Indian and Tibetan languages (respectively), he pointed his finger<sup>35</sup> towards Heaven. At the sight of that they said, “He is coming from the country of *lHa*, he shall be our ruler!” Having raised a throne on *mña'-ba*<sup>36</sup> they carried him away. Therefore his name was fixed as *rJe mÑa'-khri-brtsan-po*.

IVk. The source from which he comes is good,

The Indian ancestry, the family of kings.

The land to which he comes is good,  
 The snowy realm of *Bod*.  
 The *Te-se* Glacier like a crystal *mChod-rten*,  
 The *Ma-'phañ* Lake formed like the turquoise circle of a *maṇḍala*,  
 The head where the four great rivers are united.  
 He came to the best of countries (*gliñ*), to the land possessing every excellence.<sup>37</sup>

IVl. The expounding of *gSañ-ba Chos-lugs*: the 32nd section ends.

The representation of the Buddhist tradition of the origin of the Tibetan kings thus given by the *bŚad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu*, is the most detailed version of it and demands various comments. A number of isolated details are dealt with in the notes, while the discussion of some particularly important features are postponed to later sections of the paper. In the present connection we are primarily concerned with the contributions to the general analysis of the Buddhist tradition, which are to be found in this particular version.

By the appearance of *gZugs-can-sñiñ-po* it is partially related with the majority of versions referring to the famous kings in India at the time of Buddha Śākyamuni, but the fundamental importance which it ascribes to the sons of *sKyabs-señ* and *dMag-brgya-pa* brings it into the closest relationship on one side with those versions which are based on the tradition of Śes-rab-go-cha, on the other side with the account of the *rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi-'byuñ-gnas* which has hitherto been considered a unique occurrence. As the *rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi-'byuñ-gnas* is unavailable at present, we are under the necessity of giving its account as interpreted by B. Laufer (86.29–30):

In früherer Zeit lebte Pāṇḍu, der König des Sonnenthrones. Seine Gemahlin hiess Krasna. Obwohl sie alle guten Zeichen besass, hatte sie keinen Sohn, worüber sie sehr niedergeschlagen war. Da fiel die Herrschaft an seinen Bruder Duḥśāsana (*sgra ñan*), und das Königpaar wanderte verdüstert in der Waldeinsamkeit umher. Dort trafen sie mit dem grossen Einsiedler Tshañ stañs bka'i bcad zusammen, dem sie Verehrung bezeigten und Lebensmittel zubrachten. Infolge der grossen aus dem Opferfeuer strömenden Hitze verbrannte sich das Königspaar die Hände, so dass dem Munde des Pāṇḍu ein Schrei entfuhr, der den Einsiedler aus seiner Beschauung erweckte. "O König, Vater und Mutter," rief er, "wie freue ich mich! Was für ein Begehrt führt euch zu mir?" "Ich war der das Jambudvīpa beherrschende König; doch da ich sohnlos bin, hat mich mein Bruder Duḥśāsana der Herrschaft beraubt. Ich bitte, mir die Siddhi eines Sohnes zu gewähren". Der Einsiedler überreichte ihm ein Gefäss mit einem Zaubewasser und sagte: "Weihe dies dem Himmel, und es wird dir ein Sohn entstehen; salbe deinen Leib, und er wird von Krankheit geheilt". Da brachte er dem Himmel sechs Libationen dar, und es erschienen die sechs Götter der Welt: im Südwesten der Svastikā-König der Bon, Indra, Sūrya, die Aśvin, Kāmeśvara und Mahākāla segneten die königlichen Gemahlin, die darauf ohne den Beischlaf des Königs einen Sohn gebar. Dieser hatte eine Svastikā auf den Ohren gezeichnet, die Augen eines Vogels, ein Geheuge muschelweisser Zähne und die Hände wie eine Ganz durch Schwimmhäute verbunden. Er hiess der Göttersohn Karṇa (*rna ba can*). Der königliche Vater schämte sich seiner, liess ihn in einen kupfernen Kasten legen und in den Ganges werfen. Der trieb bis zur Stadt Vaiśālī. Alle sahen ihn und erstaunten. Man zog den Knaben auf. Er entwickelte viele Vorzeichen, die auf seine grosse Bestimmung hinwiesen. Als er hörte, dass Duḥśāsana ein Heer zusammenziehe, floh er und stieg von dem Götterberge Gyañ tho nach Mar sog kha hinab. Dort gab es eine Prophezeiung, dass der als Königssohn von hoher Bestimmung herabgestiegene Himmelskönig Herrscher von Tibet werden würde. Der Erdgott Bonpo und die anderen zwölf Verständigen holten ihn herbei, trugen ihn auf dem Nacken und weihten ihn zum Könige. Sie verliehen ihm den Namen *gÑa' khri btsan po*. Dies ist der erste König in Tibet.

The *bŚad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu* mentions three alternatives of ancestry, viz. the Mahāśākyas, the Licchavi Mountaineers who may be conceived as identical with the Mountain Śākyas mentioned else-

where, and Ral-pa-can, but it mentions only two possible ancestors, sKyabs-señ and dMag-brgya-pa. The former is said to descend from the Mahāśākya, while the latter is said to descend from either the Licchavi Mountaineers or Ral-pa-can. This divergency as to the concept of the origin of dMag-brgya-pa, and consequently of the Tibetan kings, is significant of the existence of *two different strata in the Buddhist tradition*.

The *elder stratum* is the *Brahmanic tradition* of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, particularly as it is represented in the Indian epos Mahābhārata, while the *younger stratum* is the tradition of the *famous kings contemporary with Buddha Śākyamuni*. In most of the versions of the Buddhist tradition of the origin of the royal house of Tibet, elements from both strata of the tradition have been mingled together.

We have seen that several sources quoted in the beginning of the present section of the paper, refer to Śes-rab-go-cha or Prajñāvarman and mention an Indian king named Rupati as the ancestor of the Tibetans, alternatively of the Tibetan Dynasty. The work of Śes-rab-go-cha specifically referred to is the *IHa-las phul-du-byuñ-bar bstod-pa'i rgya-cher-'grel-pa*, and the passage particularly concerned runs as follows (30.52r):<sup>39</sup>

Ru-pa-ti zes-bya-ba'i rgyal-po dpuñ-gi  
tshogs gcig dañ-bcas-pa g'yul-'gyed-pa'i tshe /  
bud-med-kyi cha-lugs-su byas-te bro-s-nas ri  
Kha-ba-can-gyi ri-khrod-du žugs-te /

gnas-pa'i rigs-las deñ-sañ-na yañ Bod ces-bya-  
bar grags-pa yin-no /

At the time when a king named *Ru-pa-ti* fought together with an army, he fled, having donned woman's attire, and came to a mountain cavern in the mountains of the *Snowy Mountains (Himavat)*.

The descendants of these settlers are now known as *Bod*.

It appears that Śes-rab-go-cha merely gives an explanation of the origin of the Tibetans, but in no way refers to the origin of the Tibetan kings. Nor does he refer to the wars of the Pāṇḍu and Kuru sons. The connection between Rupati and these events has been established by Tibetan authors using Śes-rab-go-cha as the authority. The very use of Śes-rab-go-cha's account, which in fact occurs only as part of his comment to the expression dpuñ-gi-tshog, and the attempts to combine it with the tradition of the Mahābhārata seem, however, to signify that this account, which was written at the time of King Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, has been of *basic importance to the primary stages of development of the Buddhist tradition of the Dynasty*.

The *Brahmanic tradition of the Pāṇḍu sons and the Kuru sons* as represented by the Mahābhārata, which forms the basis of the elder stratum of the Buddhist tradition, may be summarized in the following way:

*Satyavatī* or *Yojanagandhā*, the daughter of the Paurava king *Uparicara*, bore a son by *Paraśara* who was named *Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana* and later on was called *Vyāsa*. Having borne this son she became a virgin again, and afterwards she bore two sons to King *Śāntanu* of Hastināpura in the Kuru country. The elder son *Citrāṅgada* died childless and was followed by the younger son *Vicitravīrya* who married *Ambikā* and *Ambālikā*, but died childless, too. (Ādiparvan (VI: Ādivaṃśāvatarāṇa-parvan) ch. 63 and Ā. (VII: Sambhava) ch. 101–02).

*Satyavatī* urged her first son *Vyāsa* to take care to continue the lineage (Ā. (VII: Sambhava) ch. 103 and 105), and with *Ambikā* and *Ambālikā*, the widows of *Vicitravīrya*, he got the sons *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* and *Pāṇḍu* (ibid. ch. 106). *Bhīṣma*, an elder half-brother born to *Śāntanu* by the river *Gaṅgā*, who made no claim to the throne, acted as a regent (ibid. ch. 109, see 110).

*Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, the elder son of *Vyāsa*, was born blind (ibid. ch. 106). He married *Gāndhārī* who gave birth to one hundred sons, the *Kauravas* or *Kuru sons*, and one daughter (ibid. ch. 110, 115–17). *Pāṇḍu*, the youngest son, married *Kuntī* (or *Prthā*) and *Mādrī* (ibid. ch. 112–13). The former wife bore three sons, *Yudhiṣṭhira*, *Bhīma*, and *Arjuna* (ibid. ch. 123, see 118–20), while the latter wife bore two sons, *Nakula* and *Sahadeva* (ibid. ch. 124). These five sons were the *Pāṇḍu sons* or *Pāṇḍavas*. The second Pāṇḍu son *Bhīma* was born at the same time as the eldest Kuru son *Duryodhana* (ibid. ch. 115).

The five Pāṇḍavas married *Kṛṣṇa* or *Draupadī* as their common wife (Ā. (XIII: Vaivāhika-parvan) ch. 193–98), and acquired great power and fame. When the people wanted the eldest Pāṇḍu son *Yudhiṣṭhira*, whom *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* already had appointed his future successor, yuvarāja, to take over the throne, the Kuru sons, who for a long time had feared the growing power of the Pāṇḍu sons, conspired against them. *Duryodhana* induced his father *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* to send the Pāṇḍu sons away, but he planned, in fact, to burn them all alive. The Pāṇḍu sons were warned and fled together with their mother *Kuntī* (Ā. (VII: Sambhava) ch. 128–51) and agreed to remain in exile for thirteen years (Sabhā-parvan (XXVIII: Dyūta) ch. 46 and S. (XXIX: Anudyūta) ch. 74–76).

When this time had gone the Pāṇḍu sons wanted to return and get their share of the paternal heritage, but they met refusal and enmity from the Kuru sons. Each of the two parties decided to destroy the other, and together with all their allies they met in the great battle of *Kurukṣetra*, the account of which takes up a major part of the Mahābhārata. In this battle, which lasted for many days with tremendous losses on both sides, all the Kuru sons were killed, and the Pāṇḍu sons finally won a dearly bought victory.

The *Purāṇic tradition* is less detailed and relates according to Viṣṇu Purāṇa IV.20 (212.IV.157–59):

The son of *Śāntanu* (a descendant of Kuru) was the illustrious and learned *Bhīṣma*, who was born to him by the holy river-goddess (*Amaranadī*) *Gaṅgā*; and he had, by his wife, *Satyavatī*, two sons *Citrāṅgada* and *Vicitravīrya*. *Citrāṅgada*, whilst yet a youth, was killed in a conflict with a Gandharva, also called *Citrāṅgada*. *Vicitravīrya* married *Ambikā* and *Ambālikā*, the daughters of the king of Kāśī, and, indulging too freely in connubial rites, fell into a consumption, of which he died. By command of *Satyavatī*, the son *Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana*, ever obedient to his mother's wishes, (according to his legal right) begot upon the widows of his brother (*Vicitravīrya*), the princes *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* and *Pāṇḍu*, and, upon a female servant, *Vidura*. *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* had *Duryodhana*, *Duḥśāsana*, and other sons, to the number of a hundred. Pāṇḍu, having incurred the curse of a deer, (whose mate he had killed in the chase) was deterred from procreating children; and his wife *Kuntī* bore to him, in consequence, three sons—who were begotten by the deities *Dharma*, *Vāyu*, and *Indra*—namely, *Yudhiṣṭhira*, *Bhīmasena*, and *Arjuna*; and his wife *Mādrī* had two sons, *Nakula* and *Sahadeva*, by the celestial sons of *Aśvinī*.

A corresponding account is given by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa IX. 22, which to the hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra adds one daughter, *Duḥśalā* (see Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, Bombay ed., Adhyāya 116). Moreover the Bhāgavata Purāṇa IX.24 relates how *Prthā* or *Kuntī* conceived a son *Karna* by *Āditya*, the Sun, exposed him on the river, and later on married *Pāṇḍu* (see p. 196).

In most of the versions which represent the *younger stratum* of the Buddhist tradition, we find features which reflect the elder one, such as *the number of five sons* (Bu-ston, sNar-thaṅ Tanjur, Altan Tobči, La-dwags rgyal-rabs, etc.), *quarrels about the succession and war as the cause for flight* (rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ, Bodhimör), and *above all the predominant feature of the exposure of the child* (see below).

If we preliminarily disregard the question of Rupati and his eventual identity, these reflections of the elder stratum might lead us to the inference that the progenitor of the Tibetan kings was originally conceived as *one of the five Pāṇḍu sons*, as it is actually but erroneously described in the version given by the rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi-'byuṅ-gnas.

According to the bŚad-mdzod yid-bzīn-nor-bu he is not a son of Pāṇḍu, on the contrary he is *the youngest Kuru son*. In Tibetan the name of Pāṇḍu is sKyabs-seṅ (bseṅ), while that of his elder brother Dhṛtarāṣṭra is ordinarily dGra-ṅan or sGra-ṅan. In the bŚad-mdzod yid-bzīn-nor-bu he is, however, named dMag-brgya-pa, a name that otherwise signifies King Śātānika of Vatsa, the father of Śar-ba or 'Char-byed. Undoubtedly we are dealing here with an etymological occurrence arising from the circumstance that dMag-brgya-pa means "he who has one hundred soldiers" and that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had one hundred (fighting) sons.

Although sKyabs-seṅ and dMag-brgya-pa (dGra-ṅan) were half-brothers in the Brahmanic tradition,

the bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu presents them as belonging to two different lines. Correspondingly the account of the wives has no foundation in the Mahābhārata, while the account of Pāṇḍu's childlessness, its cause, and the supernatural nature of his five sons, directly depends on this source.

Thus it is related in the chapters 118–24 of Ādiparvan (VII: Sambhava) that Pāṇḍu once shot a couple of gazelles when pairing, and the Ṛṣi who had taken the form of a gazelle cursed Pāṇḍu that he should die himself when copulating. For this reason Pāṇḍu could have no children. He became a hermit, and together with his two wives, Kuntī and Mādri, he ascended the mountain of Gandhamādana with the forest of fragrance. As now the Ṛṣi promised him offspring, he urged Kuntī to bear him sons in the way of sāradaṇḍāyani. By means of the Durvāsa-mantra, which permitted her to call one of the gods to get a son, Kuntī called Dharma and got the son Yudhiṣṭhira, then she called Vāyu and got Bhīma, and finally she called Indra and got Arjuna. In the same way Mādri called the Aśvins and got the two sons Nakula and Sahadeva.

Because of their supernatural birth and divine descent, the five Pāṇḍu sons, the spiritual sons of Pāṇḍu, were distinguished by particular qualities. This also appears from the account of their abilities given by the bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu, but at the same time it contradictorily states that they were deprived of the wish for action, thus emphasizing the Buddhist (Indian) conception that the sons, because born supernaturally and not from the flesh of Pāṇḍu, were born without karma.

In this connection it may be remarked that an unequivocal correspondance between the names of the five sons, given by the bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu (and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag), and the five sons as they are defined by the Mahābhārata cannot be definitely established. On the contrary, certain features seem to indicate that *the five names correspond to six persons, viz. the five Pāṇḍu sons and Karṇa*, a son of Kuntī born before her marriage to Pāṇḍu. The son named Ņi-ma'i bu bSe-khrab-can, "*The Son of the Sun, with the bSe-Armour*," by the bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu, perfectly represents *Karṇa* who was a son of *Sūrya*, the Sun, and was *born with armour* according to *Karṇasambhava* (Ādiparvan ch. 111). Among the remaining Tibetan names in the bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu, rLuñ-lha'i-bu definitely refers to the second Pāṇḍu son, Bhīma, the son of Vāyu, the God of the Winds. dBañ-byed-kyi bu seems to correspond to Arjuna, the son of Indra, who is sometimes called dBañ-byed in Tibetan. Drag-po'i bu Tha-dkar seems to correspond to both of the two Aśvin sons Nakula and Sahadeva, Tha-dkar signifying the Aśvins, Tha-skar. Provided that these identifications are correct, lHa'i-bu sNa-tshogs, which contains no elements of identification, would correspond to Yudhiṣṭhira. The version of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (see p. 172–73) corresponds to that of the Mahābhārata.

The most important disagreement which appears from the comparison of the version of the bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu with the tradition of the Mahābhārata is, however, the very fact that the progenitor of the Tibetan kings should have been a Kuru son, and *ipso facto* that *one of the Kuru sons should have survived the battle of Kurukṣetra*.

This maintenance of the survival of the youngest son also occurs in the latter of the two interpolations in the Tun-huang Ms. 250 Paris (see p. 156). This interpolation (1.98, lin. 18–22/ 125, lin. 8–12; Appendix I, section IXa–c) reads:

Thereafter the nephew (*pha-tshan*), the son of *bKrag*s, *lHa-bu Ru-la-skyes* fought with the nephew (*pha-tshan*) *rHya*.

*rHya* cut off the offspring of *bKrag*s. *Dud sna pho lo*.

The youngest (son) of *bKrag*s fled and brought himself in safety to the country of his maternal relatives (*pha-myin-gi yul*).<sup>39</sup>

This account of fighting parties of cousins, one of which destroys the other with the exception of the youngest son, has an unmistakable resemblance to the version of the Brahmanic tradition given by the bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu. This analogy is so much more interesting as the interpolation is found in the narrative of Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons, and the personalities named Ru-pa-skyes, Ru-la-skyes, and Ņar-la-skyes are all involved by this analogy.

The version of the origin legend of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po which is given by the rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi-'byuñ-gnas, and has been translated by B. Laufer (86.29-30) is based on the tradition of the Mahābhārata, but it gives a somewhat distorted picture of the relationship between the main persons involved. Krasna who is presented as the wife of Pāṇḍu, is Kṛṣṇā or Draupadī the common wife of the Pāṇḍu sons. Duṣśāsana who is said to be the brother of Pāṇḍu (viz. Dhṛtarāṣṭra), is in reality one of the most prominent Kuru sons.

Far more important, however, is the question of the identity of Karṇa or rNa-ba-can who is presented as a son of Pāṇḍu, and later on becomes gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. As mentioned above, Karṇa was no son of Pāṇḍu, but a son of Kuntī or Pṛthā, born before her marriage to Pāṇḍu. In the Karṇasambhava of the Mahābhārata (loc.cit.) it is related that Pṛthā acquired a particular mantra by the benevolence of the ṛṣi Durvāsa. By means of this mantra she called the Sun, Sūrya, and got the son *Karṇa* who was born *with golden ear-rings and clad in armour*. Pṛthā (Kuntī) became a virgin again and *exposed Karṇa on the river, where he was found by a coachman and reared by him*. When grown up, Karṇa became a prominent partisan of the Kuru sons, and although his mother informed him about his origin, *he renounced the relationship with the Pāṇḍu sons, reminding her of the exposure*. The particular account of the appearance of the gods before the birth of Karṇa, obviously refers to the celebration of the birth of the third Pāṇḍu son Arjuna, in which all the gods, demigods, ṛṣis, etc. participated (Ā. (VII: Sambhava) ch. 123).

Though entirely depending on the tradition of the Mahābhārata with regard to the general account of the origin of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu and the rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi-'byuñ-gnas disagree fundamentally in the concept of the particular lineage from which he originated, and we are inclined to believe that in this regard *the latter source represents the original concept of origin of the elder stratum of the Buddhist tradition*. Notwithstanding that the transmigration of the Indian prince to Tibet in certain cases is explained by the motive of flight taken from the text of Śes-rab-go-cha, the general explanation of it, given by the Buddhist tradition, is founded in the *motive of exposure*. This motive occurs, however, in connection with Karṇa, but furthermore *the events after the exposure* (the child being found and reared by common people and his grievance when informed about the past and his renunciation of it) *are common and characteristic features of the traditions of both Karṇa and gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*.

We may therefore state that *the older versions of the Buddhist tradition of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, or the older stratum of this tradition as a whole, are directly based on the Brahmanic tradition of the Mahābhārata as far as his ancestry is concerned, moreover that the various versions diverge as to particulars of this ancestry, but that the original concept of it derives from the special tradition of Karṇa, or rNa-ba-can*. However, *where the attributes of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and his arrival in Tibet are concerned, the Buddhist tradition adopts or modifies the original Bon-po tradition, as shown in detail in the following sections*.

The development of the *younger stratum* in the Buddhist tradition and the prevailing concept that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po originated from one of the famous Indian kings who were won for the Doctrine by Buddha himself, is rather easily conceivable in itself, but it seems as though the change in the concept of ancestry from the circle of the Mahābhārata to the circle of the contemporaries of Buddha Śākyamuni, is not effected entirely as an act of conscious modification. In fact, it seems just as much as though we are dealing with a general confusion in Tibetan concepts of the ancient history of India, so that *events related by the Mahābhārata are identified with events at the time of Buddha or immediately after his death*.

Significant of this identification of events is the fact that the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu identifies Śatānika of Vatsa with Dhṛtarāṣṭra in the person of dMag-brgya-pa, and makes Bimbisāra of Magadha a contemporary of Pāṇḍu. But far more significant is the fact that the son and successor of Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru, and the first Pāṇḍu son, Yudhiṣṭhira, in Tibetan sources are homonymously known as Ma-skyes-dgra. In the same way as Yudhiṣṭhira (by bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu considered a descendant of the Śākyas) fought and with great difficulty vanquished the Kuru sons who intended to destroy the Pāṇḍu sons, Ajātaśatru in a long and serious war fought Virudhaka, the successor of Prasenajit of Kosala, who intended to destroy the Śākyas and led a host of Indian princes against them (sNar-thañ



Kanjur, 'Dul-ba, Tha, fol. 132 ff.) (170.59–60). This obvious connection of the Pāṇḍu sons with the time of Buddha Śākyamuni also appears from other instances. Thus it is related that the sKya-bseñ-kyi-bu, the Pāṇḍu sons, raided the Śākya country at the time immediately before the birth of Buddha Śākyamuni, but were vanquished by Śuddhodana, the son of the king of Kapilavastu and the father of Buddha. (sNar-thaṅ Kanjur, 'Dul-ba, Ga, fol. 449r).

Such as the Buddhist tradition of the descent of the Tibetan kings from an Indian dynasty hitherto has been known, we were hardly justified in rejecting the idea that the tradition ultimately reflects a reality, so much more as the Tibetan sources in no other way seemed to give us the faintest hint with regard to the origin of the royal lineage or its relation to the Tibetan principalities or clans. By its relation to realities, the Buddhist tradition, though younger, might even have a preference to the mythically founded Bon-po tradition. *The results of our analysis hardly permit us, however, to see a reality behind the Buddhist tradition*, particularly because the very link of the tradition, which would most strongly support the idea of its reality, proves to be its weakest link, viz. the explanation of the *transmigration from India to Tibet*. The *motive of flight* borrowed from the *account of Rupati* presents a perfectly plausible explanation, only this account as it appears, has apparently nothing to do with gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, even if it directly or indirectly is applied to him by certain Tibetan sources. On the other hand, the usually applied *motive of exposition* shows such a pronounced analogy to the account of Karṇa, that it must be regarded as *an integral part of the general traditional loan from the Mahābhārata*.

A comparison of all the versions quoted above immediately shows that the two versions representing *the elder stratum* of the traditions, viz. those of the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu and the rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi-'byuñ-gnas, are the most complete or elaborate ones, while those representing chiefly *the younger stratum* are mutually conflicting or generally vague with regard to a definite statement of the ancestry, while they conform in a much higher degree as to the description of the boy and his fate.

Above all the description of *the strange, ominous, or prodigious signs with which gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was born*, recurs so regularly that we might rightly characterize it as one of the most significant features of the Buddhist tradition,—and it appears from the following that it was actually meant to be so.

In his work on the Altan Tobči, C. R. Bawden (143.22) has identified the prodigious signs, as they appear from the Mongolian or Chinese-Mongolian versions of the tradition, as some of the thirty-two particular signs which distinguish a Cakravartin-rāja, a Wheel-Turning King, who according to Buddhist conception is destined to promote and propagate the Buddhist Law or Doctrine. Therefore, conceived in the light of their Buddhist significance of *Cakravartin-signs*, *those signs on gÑa'-khri-btsan-po were, perhaps, the most conclusive evidence of the origin, the nature, and the destiny of the ancestor of the Tibetan Dynasty*. It might even reconcile the Buddhists with the ancient Tibetan concept of the King as lHa-sras, especially when later modified into 'Phrul-gyi-lha. In this connection attention is drawn to the accounts of Sanang Sečen and the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ, Bodhimör, that at the birth of the Cakravartin Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, his father gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan, when seeing the son possessed of all the prodigious signs, recalled the birth of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, whom the ancestors in their ignorance had cast into the Ganges (145.28/29)—or, that Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, when born, bore the image of Buddha Amitābha on his forehead, had blue hair, and the sign of the Wheel, cakra, on his hands and feet (62.324).

Studying the available versions, we find that *the strange or prodigious signs distinguishing gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* can be summarized in the following items:

1. Birdlike eyes, closing or covering from below upwards.
2. Fingers (and toes) connected by a web or, otherwise defined, flat hands and feet, in all cases signifying the nature of the feet of swimming birds.
3. Turquoise eyebrows or hair.
4. Teeth characterized as *duñ-so*, *duñ-teeth*, which generally but questionably is interpreted as "teeth like, or white like, a conch shell". The teeth are placed in a circle or row below.
5. Whiskers like a tiger.

6. Circular designs on the palms.
7. The sign of the Swastika on the ears.
8. Additional undefined signs.

The two signs characteristic of *ornithomorphy*, the *birds' eyes* and the *webbed feet* occur in all versions. Next in frequency come the *blue eyebrows or hair* and the *duñ-so, duñ-teeth*. The *circular designs on the palms*, which probably refer to the cakra, are mentioned in a few cases, while the *tiger whiskers* and the *Swastika* are single occurrences, the latter apparently as a substitute for the golden ear-rings of Karṇa.

Until now nobody seems to have objected to the Buddhist interpretation of these signs as Cakravartin signs. The later, especially Mongolian, versions elaborate this concept of them more ostensibly than the older sources, and even refer 'to all the signs'. Therefore we should so far seem compelled to conceive the signs of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po in the spirit of Buddhism, as long as we take the Tibetan texts at their immediate face value, as has hitherto been the case, but an analytical treatment of our material shows that the accounts of the prodigious signs depend on one and the same original representation, and a further investigation reveals that the signs are to be interpreted in a way quite different from the Buddhist interpretation.

The version which is given by the La-dwags rgyal-rabs presents a suitable basis for a comparative analysis with regard to the prodigious signs, and at the same time it gives us details which are going to be most useful in the following. A detailed study of the text, as represented by the manuscript first published by E. Schlagintweit (69.11r-12r, corresponding to 68.28), and its metric and general compositional structure shows that the version in question and its context are to be rendered in the following way:

I Rigs-brgyud-kyi rgyal-po ni sPu-rgyal Bod-kyi-rgyal-po yin-te / 'Di bśad-lugs mañ-du-ma mchis-te / rGyal-rabs spun-po gsum Khug blon-po'i rgyal-mtshan / gSañ-ba-'am 'Bru-bdus la-sogs-pa mañ-du yod kyañ / bsDus-na gñis legs skad /

II bsGrags-pa / lHa-rabs Bon-lugs dañ /

gSañ-ba / Mi-rabs Chos-lugs-so //

III gZuñ-'di-ñid-kyi lugs-nas dbyen tsam-žig brjod-na /

IV 'O-skol lho 'Dzam-bu-gliñ-gi lte-ba / Yul-gyi-dbus / Sa'i sgañ /

Gaṅs-ri'i rgyud-kyi skor-ba'i rwa-ba /

Gaṅs Ti-se śel-gyi mchod-rten-gyi rtsa /

mTsho Ma-bad<sup>41</sup> g'yu'i mañdal-gyi 'gram /

V Rin-po-che gser byuñ-sa / Chu-bo-chen-po-bzi'i mgo / Yul Bod-ka-gliñ-drug / Ri tho-la sa gtsañ /

VI gNas 'di-la / Dañ-po dbañ-byed rim-pa'i dgu 'byuñ žes gтам-rgyud-rnams-las bśad-

The king from whom the Dynasty developed is *sPu-rgyal*, the King of *Bod*. About this a great many accounts exist. There are the *rGyal-rabs spun-po gsum*, *Khug blon-po'i rgyal-mtshan*, *gSañ-ba* or *'Bru-bdus*,<sup>40</sup> and many others. But shortly (told) there are two good phrases: *bsGrags-pa*, the *Bon* tradition that it is a family of the *lHa*, and *gSañ-ba*, the Buddhist tradition (*Chos-lugs*) that it is a family of men.

In various ways it is said according to the traditions of these texts:

The navel of *Jambudvīpa*, our southern continent,  
The middle of countries, the rocky summit of the earth,

The fence of the unbroken circle of glacier mountains,

The foot (root) of the crystal *stūpa* of the *Ti-se* glacier,

The turquoise *mañḍala* border of Lake *Ma-paṅ*.

The birth-country of jewels and gold,

The head of the four great rivers,

The country of *Bod-ka-gliñ-drug*,

The pure soil amidst the mountain cairns.

About this place is told by those traditions which describe the first nine successive executors

na'añ / Bod rgyal-phran-bcu-gñis-kyis  
mnar-ba'i dus-su / bCom-ldan-'das-kyi  
gduñ-brgyud yul Ko-sa-la'i rgyal-po gSal-  
rgyal-la / sras lña mña'-ba'i bar-pa Bud-dha-  
ši-ri zes-pa /

VII Mig bya-ltar yas 'geñs-pa<sup>43</sup> /

/ rGañ-lag ñañ-pa ltar 'brel-pa /

/ sMin-ma g'yu'i smin-ma skyes-pa /

/ Dud-po<sup>44</sup> 'khor gcig

VIII 'khruñs-pas / Bram-ze mtshan-mkhan-la  
bstan-pas bram-ze na-re / rGyal-bu 'di  
mtshan ñañ-ldan / sku bsod kyañ  
šin-tu-che / yab ma-groñs goñ-du rgyal-srid  
byed-par-'gyur zes luñ-bstan-pas /

IX / Yab-kyi thugs-la ña gsañ<sup>46</sup> -pa'am /

/ Yañ-na spun-zla gsad-nas /

/ Kho rgyal-srid byed-par-'gyur sñam-nas /

/ Phyr-spyugs bsam-pa-la /

X Bram-ze-rnams na-re / rGyal-po 'di  
byañ-phyogs Kha-ba-can-du bskyal-na  
sems-can-la phan thogs-par-'gyur zes luñ-  
bstan-pas /

/ rGañ-mgyogs<sup>46</sup>-bzi'i gña'-ba-la khri-  
byas-nas byañ-gi ri ñañ rags bsgral-nas /  
Bod-yul dBus-kyi lHa-ri Gyed-mtho'i kha-  
la bskyal-nas bžag-go /

of power; but at the time when the twelve *rGyal-  
phran* (petty kings) tormented *Bod*, a son named  
*Buddha-širi*, the middle of the five sons to *gSal-  
rgyal* the king of *Kosala*, a descendant of *Bhaga-  
vat*,<sup>43</sup>

(having) eyes like a bird, filling up (i.e. opening)  
from above,

Feet and hands connected (with a web) like a  
goose,

His eyebrows appeared as eyebrows of turquoise,  
With *Duñ-so* in one row,

was born. He was shown to the sign-interpreters,  
the Brahmins, and the Brahmins said: "This  
prince possesses signs. Great happiness will come  
(to him), and he will display the authority of a  
ruler, before his father is dead." Therefore,  
having prophesied thus,

The father thought to himself: "He will kill  
Either me or his brothers, and then

Exercise the authority of a ruler himself," thus  
he thought.

To the idea of exposing him,

the Brahmins said: "If this king is brought to  
the Land of Snow (*Kha-ba-can*) in the North, it  
will prove a benefit to the living beings." Thus  
they prophesied.

Therefore a throne was made on the necks of  
four *rGañ-mgyogs* (fast legs), and (the prince)  
was carried across the northern mountains and  
ridges and placed upon the snow of *lHa-ri Gyed-  
mtho*<sup>47</sup> in the Central Province (*dBus*) of Tibet.

When the text is presented this way, the real nature of it immediately appears. *It is a Buddhist account of the origin of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, into which fragments of ancient epics have been interpolated.* The author's account, which builds the frame of the text, consists of the sections I-III, VI, VIII, and X, while the remaining sections IV-V, VII, IX are quotations from epics.

As stated by the author himself, the interpolations IV and V are quotations, and they serve quite specifically to describe the country which was to become the realm of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. They are going to be the subject of a further investigation in the following.

From the interpolation VII describing the prodigious signs, the words 'khruñs-pas, which definitely belong to the last line of it, have been used as a connecting link both between the two sections VI and VIII of the author's text and between the latter of them and the interpolation VII. The interpolation IX, in which the exposure of the child is motivated, apparently belongs to a more elaborate but unknown version (but see dPa'-bo gTsug-lag quoted p. 173). In the present occurrence it is logically connected with the section VIII of the author's account, but in reality it is irrelevant to this account, which in itself evades the exposure motive in its ordinary form, and explains the removal of the boy to Tibet from the idea of destiny.

While the interpolation IX thus most probably belongs to the time of Buddhism, *the interpolations IV, V, and VII derive from pre-Buddhist time, and represent fragments of an ancient tetrasyllabic epos, or,*

*more correctly perhaps, of a cycle of tri- and tetrasyllabic epics*, the original form of which we are able to restore approximately. For this purpose, however, it is necessary to include a rather extensive piece of material in the investigation. This investigation we shall publish in another study, and at this place restrict ourselves to proving the possibility and probability of the existence of prototypes of the three epic interpolations in question.

In the first interpolation La-dwags IV

1. 'O-skol lho 'Dzam-bu-gliñ-gi lte-ba /
2. Yul-gyi dbus / Sa'i sgañ /
3. Gañs-ri'i rgyud-kyi skor-ba'i rwa-ba /
4. Gañs Ti-se śel-gyi mchod-rten-gyi rtsa /
5. mTsho Ma-bad g'yu'i mañḍal-gyi 'gram /

the lines, with the exception of the second one, contain nine syllables, as frequently used in Buddhist poetry. The second line, which obviously does not belong in this connection, consists of only six syllables, but is, in reality, itself composed from two lines each of three syllables. The remaining four lines are characterized by the occurrence of particular Buddhist terms, viz. 'Dzam-bu-gliñ, (rgyud), mchod-rten, and mañḍal. In the bŚad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu (Appendix II, IVk) we find the following analogous occurrence:

Gañ(s) Te-se śel-gyi mchod-brten 'dra-ba /  
 mTsho Ma-'phañ g'yu'i mañḍal bkod-pa 'dra-ba /  
 Chu(-b)o chen-po bži 'dus-pa'i mgo /

The last of these lines represents an enlarged edition of the second line of our second interpolation, La-dwags V:

Rin-po-che gser byuñ-sa /  
 Chu-bo-chen-po-bži'i mgo /  
 Yul Bod-ka-gliñ-drug /  
 Ri tho-la sa gtsañ /

but a general reduction of the fragments La-dwags IV and bŚad-mdzod IVk to corresponding lines of six (or five) syllables is not possible without partially leading to absurdities. On the other hand it is immediately possible to reduce all the three fragments to lines of four and three syllables:

'O-skol lte-ba /  
 Yul-gyi dbus /  
 Sa-'i sgañ /  
 Gañs-ri'i rwa-ba /  
 Gañs Ti-se'i rtsa / (or: Gañs śel-gyi rtsa / )  
 mTsho Ma-phañ 'gram /(or: mTsho g'yu'i 'gram / )  
 Rin-po-che /  
 gSer byuñ-sa /  
 Chu-bo bži'i mgo /  
 Bod-ka gliñ-drug /  
 Ri-tho sa-gtsañ /

In this reduction the specific Buddhist elements are eliminated, and the reduction might, in fact, be carried further on to an occurrence of only trisyllabic lines. The question of whether such a total re-

duction is justified, must remain pending until later on. The reduction of these fragments, originating from relatively late sources, to a tetra- or trisyllabic metre, seems justified, however, by the following facts as more than merely theoretical experiments.

In certain ancient sources the significant constituents of the three epic fragments considered occur in the following forms and connections:

The Tun-huang Ms. 249 Paris (1.81/86; Appendix III, interpolation D):

*gNam-gyi ni dbus /*  
*Sa'i ni dkyil /*  
*gLiñ-gi ni sñiñ-po /*  
*Gaṅs-kyi ni ra-ba /*

Here the number of original syllables has been augmented from three to four, and from four to five, by introducing the auxiliary syllable *ni*.

Ibidem (Appendix III, interpolations D and E):

*Chu-bo (kun-gyi) ni mgo-bo /*  
*/ Ri-mtho sa-gtsaṅ / yul-bzaṅ /*

The inscription of the Sino-Tibetan peace treaty of 821–2, at lHa-sa gTug-lag-khaṅ, lin. 6–8 of the east inscription (18.55):

*/ Gaṅs-(ri) (m)thon-po'i ni dbus /*  
*/ Chu-bo chen-po'i ni mgo /*  
*/ Yul-mtho sa-gtsa(ṅ)-(ba-la) gnam-gyi lha-las /*

The charter of foundation of a Buddhist monastery in Eastern Turkestan, at the time of King Ral-pa-can (7.71):

*Chu-bo chen-po'i glad /*  
*Gaṅs-ri mthon-po'i rtsa*  
*Yul-mtho sa-gtsaṅ-ba'i gnas-na bźugs-pas /*

The Tun-huang Ms. 250 Paris (1.113/151):

*/ Yul-mtho ni sa-gtsaṅ-bas /*

*These epic fragments unmistakably derive from one and the same prototype edition, and it just as clearly appears that this epic prototype was composed in a metre of three and/or four syllables, corresponding to the theoretical reconstruction given above.*

Returning to the discussion of the text of the La-dwags rgyal-rabs, the most important question now is from where the interpolation VII describing the so-called *prodigious signs of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* derives, and how it is to be interpreted and conceived. Regarding this interpolation we may state in advance that its fourth and last line is misrendered in a way that perfectly obliterates the original sense of it. Besides, we again call attention to the fact that the last word of this line, *'khrūns-pas*, is most ingeniously used as the connecting link between the author's two text pieces VI and VIII.

Beside the description of the signs given by the interpolation VII in the La-dwags rgyal-rabs:

*Mig bya-ltar yas 'geṅs-pa /*  
*/ rGaṅ-lag naṅ-pa ltar 'brel-pa /*  
*/ sMin-ma g'yu'i smin-ma skyes-pa /*  
*/ Duṅ-so 'khor gcig 'khrūns-pas /*

the following versions are to be found in the available sources in the Tibetan language:

Bu-ston (see p. 179):

mig mas 'gebs-pa sor-mo dra-bas 'brel-ba

dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (see p. 173):

sor-mo dra-bas 'brel-ba sogs mtshan-ldan žig

sNar-thaŋ Kanjur (see p. 182):

duŋ-so g'yu'i smin-ma-can

sNar-thaŋ Tanjur (see p. 180):

mig mas 'gebs sor-mo dra-bas 'brel-pa mtshan-ldan žig

Dza-ya Paŋdi-ta'i Thob-yig gsal-ba'i-me-loŋ (see p. 181):

sor-mo dra-bas 'brel-ba sogs mtshan-ldan cig

The Fifth Dalai Lama (see p. 181):

mig mas 'gribs-su yod-pa /  
g'yu'i smin-ma-can /  
so duŋ-so 'khor mar yod-pa /  
lag-pa 'khor-lo'i yan-lag-can lta-bur yod-pa'i mtshan-ldan žig

The dKar-chag of bSam-yas (see p. 183):

mig mas 'gebs /  
g'yu'i smin-ma-can /  
so duŋ-so 'khor ma yod-pa /  
ŋaŋ-pa'i rgyal-po ltar sor-mo-rnams dra-bas 'brel-ba /

lHa-sa Kanjur, Pakṭa-yā (see p. 184):

mig yas 'gebs-su yod-pa /  
g'yu'i smin-ma /  
duŋ-so 'khor mar yod-pa /  
lag-pa 'khor-lo'i yan-lag-can lta-bur yod-pa'i mtshan-ldan žig

Hor chos-'byuŋ (see p. 189):

mig mas 'gebs-pa /  
g'yu'i smin-ma-can /  
so duŋ-so 'khor mar yod-pa /  
lag mthil-na 'khor-lo'i ri-mo-can /  
sor-mo dra-bas 'brel-ba žig

bSad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (see Appendix II, IVh):

duŋ-so 'khor-du yod-pa /  
mig-ma g'yur yod-pa /  
sma-ra stag-ru yod-pa /  
mig bya-mig ltar mas-kyi 'dzul-pa /  
rkaŋ lag chu-bya ltar 'brel-ba /

These versions reveal not only certain cases of relationship, but above all a common dependency on one and the *same original edition*, at any rate where the *ornithomorphous features*, the *eyebrows*, and the *teeth* are concerned. The original description of these four signs may have had approximately the following form:

<i>mig-mas 'gebs-pa /</i>	Eyes closing from below upwards,
<i>sor-mo 'brel-pa /</i>	Connected fingers,
<i>g'yu-'i smin-ma /</i>	Turquoise eyebrows,
<i>duñ-so 'khor mar /</i>	Duñ-teeth in a row below,

from which a more elaborate version in a hexasyllabic metre has developed.

The four signs comprised by this reduced form are the only specified signs which occur in the Mongolian and Sino-Mongolian versions of the origin of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.<sup>48</sup>

The references to more or all of the prodigious signs are symptomatic of the younger versions which generalize under the influence of the Buddhist interpretation of the specified signs as representatives of the *thirty-two Cakravartin signs*, the *Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa* or *sKyes-bu-chen-po'i mtshan*, Signs of a Great Man.

In the general Buddhist concept these signs describe primarily the characteristic features of the bodily appearance of Buddha Śākyamuni. More specifically the saṃbhoga-kāya of a Buddha is endowed with these signs. With regard to their significance as the signs of a Cakravartin, the Buddhist sources, such as the Lalita-vistara, give contradictory statements. Thus the ṛṣi Asita, having seen the newborn Buddha Śākyamuni and enumerated the prodigious signs to the father, King Śuddhodana, says (209.106):

naca mahārāja cakravartināmevaṃvidhāni  
lakṣaṇāni bhavanti. bodhisattvānāṃ ca tādr̥ṣāni  
lakṣaṇāni bhavanti.

Such signs, *Mahārāja*, are not those of a *Cakravartin*. Such signs are those of a *Bodhisattva*.

while he has shortly before stated that (209.103):

so'drākṣīdbodhisattvasya dvātriṃśanmahā-  
puruṣalakṣaṇāni yaiḥ samanvāgatasya puruṣa-  
puṅgalasya dve gatī bhavato nānyā. sa cedagāra-  
madhyāvasati rājā bhavati. caturaṅgaścakra-  
vartī pūrvavadyāvadevaiśvaryādhipatyena. sa  
cetpunaragārādanagārikāṃ pravrajati tathāgato  
bhaviṣyati vighuṣṭaśabdaḥ samyaksambuddhaḥ.

He saw that the *Bodhisattva* had the thirty-two signs of greatness, which indicate for the bearer *one of two careers*, and no other. Should he remain at home he becomes *a sovereign possessing the fourfold army* and other attributes as described above. Should he, forsaking urban life, retire to a hermitage, he would become *a Tathāgata of great renown and a perfect Buddha*. (207.141).

This dual significance of the signs gives us the explanation of the prophecy of the Brahmans and the measures taken according to it, as related by the La-dwags rgyal-rabs. It also explains why, according to the bŚad-mdzod yid-bzīn-nor-bu, Ru-pa-skyes was concealed in a hermitage and regarded as a mChod-gnas. In fact, the exposure motive, which is characteristic of the Buddhist accounts of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, attains a particular Buddhist aspect as decisive with regard to the two possible alternatives of his destiny. Moreover, the deliberations among the Śākyas, whether Buddha Śākyamuni was to stay at home or not, and his transport from the house to the temple of the gods, as related by the Lalita-vistara, present a resemblance to certain features of the Buddhist account of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, which is worth noting.

The circumstance that the thirty-two principal signs, the *Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*, to which a series of eighty secondary signs, the *Anuvyañjana*, is added, distinguish their bearer as either a *Cakravartin* or

a Buddha (Bodhisattva), immediately shows that *these signs are not specifically characteristic of Buddha and consequently not specifically Buddhist*. As the question of the origin and significance of these signs has a direct connection with that of the signs of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, we are obliged to consider the Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa and the Anuvyañjana with regard to their fundamental significance.<sup>40</sup>

From their connection with the concept of Cakravartin the question of the origin and nature of this concept itself immediately arises. As partly appearing from the quotation from the Lalita-vistara, a Cakravartin is conceived as a Universal Sovereign distinguished by particular attributes. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (201.IV.16.14) states the universality of his domain when narrating of the first Cakravartin, Pṛthu, that his empire reached as far as the illumination of the sun. In his essay on the Legend of Buddha (187.216), É. Senart concludes the chapter dealing with the idea of Cakravartin by giving the following general definition:—"Le Cakravartin, c'est Vishnu lui-même, mais Vishnu vu sous un certain aspect, façonné sous l'empire d'idées déterminées, sous l'influence de légendes liées étroitement, sinon essentielles, au cycle du dieu."

É. Senart (187.218–19) comments on the relationship between the concept of a Cakravartin and a Buddha in the following words, thus involving the general idea of the signs distinguishing them.—"Non seulement ils partagent certains titres, certaines fonctions et certains emblèmes, . . . mais, annoncés au monde par de prodiges tout semblables, ils naissent avec des signes parfaitement identiques et dont le privilège n'appartient qu'à eux seuls."

These privileged signs are particularly well known from the tradition of Buddha Śākyamuni, but regarded as a whole, the two series of the signs of Buddha show a remarkable heterogeneity. A majority of the signs concern natural features in the appearance of the male body, and have an apparently impersonal and general character, representing, in fact, nothing but details of a general concept of ideal male beauty. As such they would quite naturally apply to Buddha, without being Buddhist in any other way. A minority of the signs, especially found among the Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa, show, however, a far more specific, partly a more personal, character; they distinguish themselves by describing extra- or supernatural features. Moreover, we observe that the sources diverge to a certain degree in their representation of the signs, and that several of the secondary signs coincide with primary ones as to their fundamental significance.

For the judgement and interpretation of the signs attributed to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po it is essentially important to know whether the two series of signs actually depend on such a composition, which has been established as a more or less firm Buddhist tradition, or on some ancient specific tradition or traditions. In the latter case we might possess certain criteria of discrimination, while in the former case any sign attributed to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, different from the generally known Buddhist signs, might have been introduced in a supplementary or substitutional capacity, more or less at random.

One specific tradition exists with regard to all the signs which, depending on circumstances, are applied to Viṣṇu, Mahāpuruṣa, Cakravartin, or Buddha. Both the Buddhist Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa and Anuvyañjana with few, or probably no, exceptions depend on this tradition. The fact that the various sources formulate the signs of Buddha somewhat differently, does not alter the presuppositions for assuming the existence of one single, basic tradition, because the fundamental significance of the signs proves to remain unaltered. We may even make allowance for the occurrence of some signs or other in the various representations, which possibly may not strictly belong to the original tradition, but in no case do we find fundamental deviations from the ideas expressed by the signs in the Mahābhārata or in the principal Buddhist sources. The possibilities of introducing, changing, or substituting signs of Buddha, or in a further sense of Cakravartin, seem thus to be limited within a narrow frame of tradition. Thus the problem of discerning whether the prodigious signs of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po are generally to be conceived as Cakravartin signs, as directly intimated by the Buddhist sources, or in some or all cases another and particular significance is to be ascribed to them, presents itself.

While the available formulations of the signs of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po are given above (p. 201 f.), and summarized into seven main items (see p. 197 f.), the various important representations of the signs of Buddha are found in the following sources:



- Bbh *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 375.9ff. (M), 376.11ff. (A) (202).  
 Dh *Dharmapradīpika* 2r (M), 7v (A) (quoted 205.53ff; 211.553ff.).  
 Dhs *Dharmasaṅgraha* LXXXIII (M), LXXXIV (A) (205.53ff.)  
 Gv *Gaṇḍavyūha* 399.20ff. (M) (206).  
 L *Lakkana-sutta*, Dighanikaya II.17.10ff. (M) (quoted 152.II.458–59; 205.53ff.; 211.553ff.)  
 Lc *Lakkana-sutta* with commentary, Dighanikaya III.143.5ff. (M) (quoted as L).  
 Lv 1 *Lalita-vistara* 105.11ff. (M), 106.11ff. (A) (209).  
 Lv 2 *Lalita-vistara* 429.3ff. (M) (209).  
 M *Mahapadhana-sutta* 70r (M) (quoted 205.53ff.; 211.553ff.).  
 MN *Majjhimanikāya* II. 136,6ff. (M) (quoted 152.II.458–59).  
 Mv *Mahāvastu* I.226.16ff, II.29.19ff. (M), II.43.8ff. (A), II. 304.14ff. (M,A) (210).  
 Mvy *Mahāvvyutpatti* nr. 235ff. (M), no. 268ff. (A) (33).  
 V *Vocabulaire Pentaglotte* III (M), IV (A) (quoted 205.53ff.; 211.553ff.).

All these sources enumerate either the Sanskrit or the Pali versions of the Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa, while only a few of them contain the Anuvyañjana. The two series of signs are referred to as (M) and (A). In the following, references to the single signs of the various lists are given by the abbreviated titles of the sources, accompanied by the number of the sign in the list in question, “sec.” particularly signifying the secondary signs.

Considering the seven items above (see p. 197 f.), comprising the specified signs of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, we may safely maintain that *item 7, a Swastika on the ears*, is a Bon-po modification of the *golden earrings of Karṇa*, as already accounted for above, and ultimately a reflection of *the splendid pendants with which the lobes of Viṣṇu's ears were decorated* (Viṣṇu-purāṇa VI. 7, see 212.V.238).

The signs comprised by the *items 2 and 6, viz. fingers and toes connected with a web*, or more elaborately formulated, and the *circular designs on the palms, are*, however, *analogous to*, and in principle *identical with*, *two of the Buddhist Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*, viz. Lv 30 and Lv 31.

Among the remaining signs only that of *the teeth, item 4, may possibly have some connection with the two series of Buddha's signs*. The signs comprised by the *items 1, 3, and 5 have no connection whatever with the signs of Buddha*, or with the basic Indian tradition of these signs in general, as will be outlined in the following.

Regarding at first the two signs of *items 2 and 6*, just mentioned, we observe the remarkable fact that these two signs, the only ones of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's attributes which can be definitely identified with the signs of Buddha, are not only *two of the most characteristic Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*, but apparently also *the most pregnant signs of a Cakravartin*.

*The toes and fingers connected with a web* or, as it frequently but in a more limited and specific sense is interpreted, *a membrane*, occurs in the Mahābhārata as one of the characters of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu (see 208.I.234; 201.VI.5f.). The Bṛhat-saṁhitā (203.86) states that feet with “*connected toes, bright and red nails, . . . , are those of a monarch*.” Most important, particularly with regard to the true interpretation of this sign (see below), however, are a few lines of the seventh act of Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā, giving the words of the Paurava king Duṣyanta, when he beholds his son with Śakuntalā and discovers the Cakravartin sign in the hands of the boy (204.155):

Rājā (Hastaṁ vilovya).

Kathaṁ cakravartilakṣaṇamanena dhāryate.

Tathā hi.

Pralobhyavastupraṇayaprasārīto

vibhāti jālagrathitāṅgulīḥ karaḥ

alākṣyapatrāntaramiddharāgayā

navoṣayā bhinnamivaikapaṅkajam

The King (having seen the hand):

How can it be that he bears the sign of a Cakravartin? It is so:

The hand with fingers joined with a web,  
 when extended in the desire of alluring things,  
 looks like the invisible space between the petals  
 of a lotus

made to open by the flame-coloured new dawn.

The account of the son of Śakuntalā, who became the Cakravartin Bhārata, is found in the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata (Bombay edn. Adhyāya 68–74; Calcutta ed. v. 2799–2988).

In the Lalita-vistara the corresponding Buddhist sign reads (Lv 30) *Jālāṅgulihastapāda*, which Burnouf (211.573–75) translates:—“Il a des pieds et des mains dont les doigts ont des réseaux,” and Foucaux (208.I.96):—“Les doigts de ses pieds et de ses mains sont réunis par une membrane (jusqu’à la première phalange),” or (208.I.358):—“ayant les doigts des pieds et des mains réunis par une membrane” (Lv 2 30). The Pali sources give the version *Jālahatthapāda* (Dh 6; L 7; Lc 8; M 6) interpreted by Burnouf as:—“Ses pieds et ses mains ont des réseaux,” to which sense the Sanskrit version *Jālapāṇipāda* (Bbh 6) corresponds. The Gaṇḍavyūha has a somewhat modified formulation *Hastapādātale jālini* (Gv 4), while the versions of the Vocabulaire Pentaglotte, the Mahāvyyutpatti, the Mahāvastu, and the Dharmasaṅgraha differ in a particular respect from the foregoing formulations. The version *Jālāvanaddhahastapāda* (Mvy 27), with which *Jālābandhahastapāta* (V 28) and the incomplete *Jālāvanaddhā* (Mv 12) are related, is interpreted in the following ways by Burnouf (211.574):—“Il a des pieds et des mains sur lesquelles sont attachés des réseaux.” The more elaborate and somewhat corrupt formulation given in the Dharmasaṅgraha (Dhs 3), viz. *Jālābaddhavajrāṅgulipāṇipādātātā*, is translated by Burnouf as:—“La qualité d’avoir sur la plante de ses pieds, sur la paume de ses mains, sur ses doigts précieux des réseaux attachés.”

The Tibetan translation of the Lalita-vistara, the rGya-cher-rol-pa (lHa-sa Kanjur, mDo Kha 114.92), has *Phyag-dan-žabs-kyi sor-mo dra-bas ’brel-ba*, “fingers (toes) of hands and feet connected with a web,” perfectly corresponding to the Sanskrit original. The Mahāvyyutpatti has *Phyag-dan-žabs dra-bas ’brel-ba*, “hands and feet connected with a web,” differing from its Sanskrit version, but closely corresponding to the Pali versions.

The fundamental formulation of the sign when ascribed to gÑa’-khri-btsan-po, is *Sor-mo ’brel-ba* or *Sor-mo dra-bas ’brel-ba*, meaning “fingers (and/or toes) connected, or connected with a web.” For reasons to be outlined later we consider the former formulation the original, or nearest to the original one. The more elaborate formulations of the sign, such as those found in the La-dwags rgyal-rabs and the bSam-yas dKar-chag, and in the Mongolian and Chinese sources, all tend to emphasize the apparently obvious sense of it, viz, the indication that *the hands and feet were provided with a web giving them an appearance like the feet of a swimming bird*.

The question of the real sense of this sign has given rise to various interpretations, none of which seems quite satisfactory. Apart from the fact that we find the sign applied to gÑa’-khri-btsan-po in connection with the sign of the *bird-like eyes*, any idea of duck-like feet seems irrelevant to the general application of the signs. É. Burnouf therefore seems fairly justified in protesting against “faire passer celui qu’on représente comme le modèle de l’humanité dans la classe des palmipèdes” (211.574). As the essential point in his more objective argumentation, Burnouf advances the problem, in how wide a sense are we permitted to interpret the Sanskrit word *jāla*, which in the present connection is generally translated as network, web, or membrane? He states that *jāla* signifies filet, réseau, and treillage, but never signifies a membrane, so that in general it might be translated as network or lattice, while web, when correctly conceived, might be adequate, but is equivocal and also involves the significance of membrane, just as is the case in connection with webbed feet or swimming feet.

While Burnouf thus rejects the idea of webbed hands and feet, Foucaux (see above), evidently realizing the delicacy of the problem, partly evades it by adding in parentheses to his interpretation of the sign (Lv 30) that the membrane reaches only “jusqu’à la première phalange”. For this reservation he seems indebted to Cowell’s Sanskrit edition of Śakuntalā, judging from his quoting of the commentary of this work: “Celui qui a les doigts réunis un peu plus haut que la racine des doigts sera roi” (208.II.28).

Senart (187.285–86) rallies on account of Burnouf’s objection to the idea of the swimming feet, and maintains to the contrary that “jālapāda a effectivement le sens de palmipède,” but his main argument against Burnouf is worthless. He refers to the Tibetan versions and to Sanang Sečen (145.21), where the hands and feet of gÑa’-khri-btsan-po are expressly compared with the feet of a swimming bird. But from the Tibetan or Mongolian elaboration or interpretation of similar signs applied to gÑa’-

khri-btsan-po nothing whatever can properly be inferred with regard to the original significance of the Sanskrit Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa. In spite of his predilection for the idea of the palmipèdes, Senart advances, however, a most plausible explanation as to the origin of the sign, and even seems to approach most closely to explaining how the anthropomorphous hand or foot can be connected with the idea of connected fingers or toes.

Viṣṇu being a god connected with the sun or light, his hands and feet symbolize the rays of the sun—an idea which distinctly appears even from the Mahāpuruṣa-gati of Buddha (208.I.234). Senart therefore conceives the jāla, the réseau, web or membrane, as a réseau de rayons. If we accept this concept, the actual significance of the sign is that *the hands*, and identically *the feet*, may be imagined as a fan of light, in which we may perceive the fingers at the same time in their anthropomorphous appearance and in their symbolic representation of the total of connected, or invisibly separated, rays of light. It is this intimate closeness of the rays—or the fingers—which is alluded to in the Siamese conception mentioned by Senart that “les doigts du Buddha sont si rapprochés l’un à l’autre, que pas une goutte d’eau ne saurait pénétrer dans l’intervalle.” It is this closeness of the fingers, as in the namaskāra-mudrā, which is described in the allegorical description of Śakuntalā’s son, the coming Cakravartin, when his fingers are compared with the petals of an opening lotus, separated by invisible spaces.

The sign indicates no abnormal character of the hands or the feet. The particular interpretation in the sense of palmipèdes, which the Tibetan, and further the Mongolian and Chinese, sources give to this sign when applied to gÑā’-khri-btsan-po, can be accounted for in two different ways. We may simply deal with an interpretation which immediately presents itself from the idea of connected fingers and toes, or with an interpretation elaborated under the particular influence of the sign of the bird-like eyes of gÑā’-khri-btsan-po (item 1). The fact that the sign is interpreted in the ornithomorphous sense only when applied to this king, but neither in the Mahāvvyutpatti nor in the Tibetan translation of the Lalita-vistara, seems to speak in favour of the latter alternative. Therefore, the possibility still exists that the sign, as a specific ornithomorphous sign, is used together with the sign of the eyes quite independently of the analogous Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa, and therefore is originally Tibetan and not Buddhist or Indian, but we possess no immediate evidence for deciding one way or the other. Finally we may point out a circumstance which in this connection may prove significant, viz. that in none of the available versions of the signs of gÑā’-khri-btsan-po, does this prominent sign of a Cakravartin occur together with the other prominent one, that of the Cakra in the hands or feet.

The sign of the Cakra, Wheel, is the specific sign of the Cakravartin. As a Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa of Buddha it is formulated by the Lalita-vistara (Lv 31) in the following way:—*Adhaḥkramatalayor cakre jāte citre (arciṣmatī prabhāsvare site) sahasrāre sanemike sanābhike*, which Burnouf (211.575) and Foucaux (208.I.96) using almost the same words, translate as:—“Sous la plante de ses deux pieds sont nées deux roues belles, lumineuses, brillantes, blanches, ayant mille rais retenues dans une jante et dans un noyau.” A part of the other Sanskrit versions (Bbh 2, Gv 2, Mv 2) and the Pali versions (D2, L 2, Lc 2, M 2):—*Heṭṭhāpādātesu cakkāni jātāni honti sahasarāni sanemikāni sanābhikāni sabbakaraparipurāni suvibhattantarāni* in their general sense correspond to the version of the Lalita-vistara, while the Dharmasaṅgraha (Dhs 1), the Mahāvvyutpatti (Mvy 29), and the Vocabulaire Pentaglotte (V 29) also in this case diverge from the majority. These sources have shorter formulations:—*Cakrāṅkitā-pāṇipādātālā*, *Cakrāṅkitahastapāda*, and *Cakrāṅkitahastapādātālā*, stating that the Cakra is found on both hands and feet.

Thus the majority of the lists of Buddha’s signs connect the Cakra sign only with the feet of Buddha, while the three sources just mentioned refer it to both hands and feet, and the Purāṇic version of the tradition refers it to the hands (see a.o. 212.I.183). The Tibetan version of the Lalita-vistara (114.93r):—*Žabs-kyi ’og-gi mthil gñis-la ’khor-lo re-re skyes-pa ni . . . bzañ-žin rtsibs-stoñ dañ-ldan-la | mu-khyud dañ bcas | lte-ba*—perfectly corresponds to that of the Sanskrit version, while the Mahāvvyutpatti formulates it:—*Phyag-dañ-žabs-kyi mthil ’khor-lo’i mtshan dañ-ldan-pa*—corresponding to the Sanskrit version. Applying the sign to gÑā’-khri-btsan-po, the Fifth Dalai Lama, and, depending on him, the lHa-sa Kanjur formulate it:—*Lag-pa ’khor-lo’i yan-lag-can*,—and the Hor chos-byuñ:—*Lag-mthil-na ’khor-lo’i*

*ri-mo-can* (see above), thus exclusively mentioning the hands. The fact that the sign of the Cakra is connected with *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* only in two or three late Tibetan sources, possibly substituting the previous sign, seems to eliminate any objection to regarding it as originating from the concept of Buddha.

Regarding *item 4* above, *the teeth* of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, this is the translation given by other authors based on the common assumption that *duñ* in *duñ-so* is to be understood in the metaphorical sense of white, derived from *duñ*, *conch shell*. But this can be made the subject of well-founded doubt, because *duñ*, besides signifying conch, is known in other senses, e.g. *duñ-gi sgo-ña* or *duñ-rgyud* (see p. 256).

A number of both primary and secondary signs of Buddha describe the teeth in general or the eye-teeth in particular. Depending on the source concerned, three or four Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa are involved, viz. *Samacatvāriṃśaddanta* (Lv 7), *Aviraladanta* (Lv 8), and *Śukladanta* (Lv 9), or *Catvāriṃśaddanta* (Mvy 6), *Samadanta* (Mvy 7), *Aviraladanta* (Mvy 8), and *Suśukladanta* (Mvy 9). The Tibetan versions given by the translations of Lv and Mvy are *Tshems bži-bcu mñam-pa* (Lv 7), *Tshems bži-bcu mña'-ba* (Mvy 6), *Tshems mñam-pa* (Mvy 7), *Tshems thags bzan-ba* (Lv 8, Mvy 8), and *Tshems śin-tu-dkar-ba* (Lv 9, Mvy 9). These versions simply signify that Buddha had *forty, uniform, closely set, perfectly white teeth*. The Anuvyañjana in question are particularly describing the eye-teeth:—*Vṛttadaṃṣṭra* (sec.: Lv 49, D 34, Dhs 55, Mvy 53, V 55), *Tikṣṇadaṃṣṭra* (sec.: Lv 50, Mvy 54, V 56), *Anupūrvadaṃṣṭra* (sec.: Lv 51, Dhs 58, Mvy 57, V 59), *Śukladaṃṣṭra* (sec.: Mvy 55) or *Śukladanta* (sec.: Dhs 57), and *Samadaṃṣṭra* (sec.: Mvy 56, Dhs 59). The Tibetan equivalents are *mChe-ba zlum-pa* (sec.: Lv 49, Mvy 53), *mChe-ba rmo-ba* (sec.: Lv 50, Mvy 54), *mChe-ba byin-gyis-phra-ba* (sec.: Lv 51, Mvy 57), *mChe-ba dkar-ba* (sec.: Mvy 55), and *mChe-ba mñam-pa* (sec.: Mvy 56). These signs state that *the eye-teeth are rounded, pointed, regular, perfectly white, and uniform*.

Thus only the two signs *Tshems śin-tu-dkar-ba*, *Su-śukladanta*, and *mChe-ba dkar-ba*, *Śukladaṃṣṭra*, may have some connection with the sign of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's* teeth—and only provided that the assumed metaphorical sense of *duñ* is correct. We are, however, inclined to reject the idea of such a connection, particularly for the reasons that different terms are constantly used of the teeth, viz. *Tshems* or *mChe-ba* or (*Duñ-*)*so* respectively, and that the teeth of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, judging from the stereotyped character of the descriptions, are defined not by *So* and characterized by *Duñ*, but are defined by *Duñ-so* and characterized by *'khor(-mar)*.

To the discussion of the actual significance of the sign of his teeth, we may, considering that the signs in general refer to a newborn child, add the question of whether the sign actually serves to describe the character of the teeth, or rather to state the extraordinary fact that *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was born with teeth*, *Duñ-so, a row of teeth*, *Duñ-so 'khor*, or *a row of teeth in the lower (gum)*, *Duñ-so 'khor mar*. This significance of *Duñ-so, teeth visible in the gum of a newborn child*, corresponds exactly to the meaning of *duñ* in the expression *Duñ-gi-sgo-ña*, *Origin Egg* (see p. 256 ff.).

With regard to *the eyebrows of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, *item 3* above, it is said that he had *turquoise eyebrows*, *g'Yu'i smin-ma can*. Looking for a possible connection with the signs of Buddha, we must make allowance for a confusion of the ideas of eyebrows, eyelashes, and eyelids. Among the Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa only one sign refers to these ideas. It is the variously formulated *Gōpakṣmanētra* (Lv 5), *Gōpakṣa* (V 5), *Gōpakṣmā* (Bbh 30), *Gōpakṣma* (Gv 25), or Pali *Gōpakhumō* (L 30, Lc 22, D 30, M 29), while the Mahāvvyutpatti (Mvy 5) combines it with another sign, *Abhinilanetra* (Lv 6), into *Abhinilanetraḥgopakṣmā*. Foucaux (208.I.95) and Burnouf (211.564) interpret the sign in general as “Il a les cils comme ceux de la génisse,” while F. Max Müller and H. Wenzel (205.55) give the interpretation “having eyes with lids like those of a cow.” It appears that neither these versions nor their Tibetan equivalents, viz. *sPyan-gyi rdzi-ba'i rdzi-ma lta-bu* (Lv 5), *sPyan mthon-mthiñ-la-ba'i rdzi-ma lta-bu* (Mvy 5), or *sPyan dkar-nag 'byes-pa* (Lv 6), have any connection with the sign of the turquoise eyebrows, or even a distant relationship with the sign indicated as *item 1*. The Anuvyañjana contained in the *Lalita-vistara* (sec.: Lv 59–63) characterize *the eyebrows as equal, beautiful, joined, regular, and black*. They may be supplied by variants describing them as *long* (sec.: D 56, Dhs 65, V 66), *white?* (sec.: Dhs 66), *small* (sec.: D 53, V 67), or *shining* (sec.: Dhs 67). The Tibetan versions are *sMin-ma'i-spu mñam-pa*, *sMin-ma stug-pa*, *sMin-ma nag-pa*, *sMin-ma rgyun chags-pa*, and *sMin-ma rim-gyis-g'zol-ba* according to the Tibetan translation of

the Lalita-vistara (114.94v), which may be supplied with the variants of the Mahāvvyutpatti, *sMin tshugs-riñ-ba*, *sMin-ma 'jam-pa*, *sMin-ma snum-pa* (sec.: Mvy 64,65,67). The Tibetan versions tell us that *the hairs of the eyebrows are equal, that the eyebrows are thick, black, connected, curved gradually downwards, long of shape, soft, and shining (smooth)*. Thus the sign of the turquoise eyebrows has no more connection with the secondary signs of Buddha than with the primary ones, on the contrary it is stated that the eyebrows of Buddha were black, *sMin-ma nag-pa*.

Finally we can state that the signs of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* comprised by the items 1 and 5, *the bird-like eyes closing from below* and *the whiskers like those of a tiger*, have no connection whatever with the signs of Buddha, or with the Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa in general.

We consider this rather lengthy documentation a necessity for establishing the evidence that *with the exception of the two particularly distinguished Cakravartin signs, one of which is even highly disputable, the signs attributed to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po do not belong to or depend on the same tradition as the signs of Buddha, but are to be explained from some originally Tibetan tradition.*

Thus still admitting the possibility of a Buddhist or Indian origin of the sign of the connected fingers and toes, we shall provisionally include it in the list of signs of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, to which we must ascribe a Tibetan origin. The reason for this inclusion is above all to be found in the persistent occurrence of the sign in close connection with the definitely Tibetan signs.

This list comprises the same five signs which are enumerated by the *bŚad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu* (see p. 191 and 203). Reducing this version of the *bŚad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu* into tetrasyllabic lines, in accordance with the procedure employed on p. 203, we get the following, still hypothetical reconstruction, describing the five signs:

*Mig mas 'gebs-pa*  
*Sor-mo 'brel-ba*  
*g'Yu'i smin-ma*  
*sMa-ra stag-ru*  
*Duñ-so 'khor-du*

Presented this way, we find the five signs of the king described in the same pregnant and concise form as the features of the Tibetan country given above on p. 200.

While the signs of Buddha are compatible with the ideas of a human, or at any rate idealized or superhuman, appearance, these signs, apart from the sign of the teeth, indicate animal or definitely non-human features. The most strange ones are, perhaps, the signs of the birdlike eyes and the turquoise eyebrows, but nevertheless the key to the explanation of the signs as a whole seems to be found in these two signs. In a fragment of the Tun-huang Ms. 250 Paris, which will be dealt with in detail later (see p. 343 f.), it is told how a river demon demands *a substitute sacrifice from the sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po for the release of the corpse of the king, which had been thrown into the river, and this substitute was to be a human being, who should possess one particularly demanded quality* (1.99/126):

<p>Myi'i-myig bya-myig ltar 'dug-pa 'og-nas-'gebs-pa gchig</p>	<p>A human being who has eyes like bird's eyes closing from below.</p>
--	--

After a long search in all the four corners of the world, a girl was found whose eyes closed from below upwards like the eyes of a bird. This girl is described as *Cho-myi-bya'i bu-mo*, the Daughter of Cho-myi-bya. Cho is an obsolete term signifying *family* or *descent*. Thus, according to Chandra Das (150.426–27), cho-'brañ means family, especially the maternal relatives, cho-rigs means the father's lineage, and cho-ris means descent or extraction. Therefore Cho-myi-bya signifies "Family-Man-Bird."

We find here ideas of ornithomorphy which are identical with those expressed by the sign of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*: *mig bya-ltar mas 'gebs-pa*, or *mig bya-mig ltar mas-kyi 'dzul-pa*. Moreover, these ideas are in both cases connected with the ancestor of the Dynasty, and in the sense of the legend of

the Tun-huang Ms. they are intimately connected with the general conception of the kings of the Dynasty.

Only one plausible way of explaining the deeper significance of this birdlike nature of the kings, expressed by the particular quality of the eyes, seems indicated, viz. that it represents the "totem" of the king. In accordance with the general sense and significance of a substitute sacrifice, the substitute, in the present case that representing Gri-gum-btsan-po, has to possess the quality or qualities that particularly distinguish the person of the king, i.e. his "totem". We shall therefore maintain that the sign of the birds' eyes together with the remaining, so-called prodigious signs particularly ascribed to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, the webbed fingers and toes, the turquoise eyebrows, the whiskers, and the teeth, in reality represent the "totem" of the royal family or of the clan of the Tibetan kings.<sup>50</sup>

It is very strange, especially with regard to the great importance which was obviously ascribed to the clan institution in the Tibetan society, that no apparent trace or indication as to the clan of the royal house is to be found in Tibetan sources. This silence of the sources, and all the sources concerned originate from the time of Buddhism, is undoubtedly due in the first instance to the fact that the ideas of the royal clan were too intimately connected with the ancient concept of the kings and their origin, which the Buddhists strove from the very first to suppress or modify. For obvious reasons it may have been difficult or impossible, even at the time of the most fervently Buddhist kings of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, to suppress the ideas of the royal prerogatives, to which the clan symbols may be reckoned, but it proved possible to interpret the latter in a way which was most convenient to Buddhist purposes without being offensive to the royalty. As we have already seen, the prodigious signs of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po were interpreted as Cakravartin signs, but in the particular sense which is ascribed to a Cakravartin, a Wheel-Turning King, in the Buddhist concept of the propagation of the Doctrine. The signs became the foreboding and the signs of the coming Cakravartins in the Tibetan Dynasty, and ultimately the signs of an incarnation of the Supreme Being. This ultimate Buddhist interpretation of the signs directly appears from the representation of gSañ-ba Chos-lugs given by the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu (see p. 191) where gÑa'-khri-btsan-po because of his particular appearance is regarded as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara.

Our interpretation of the signs of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po as the "totem" of the royal clan, most probably the particular clan of the royal family, which above all is based on the features of the bird nature, is corroborated by several, otherwise apparently disparate facts. First of all we may mention the curious, as yet unexplained circumstance that in his capacity of progenitor of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, sPu-de-guñrgyal is identified with *Bya-khri*, Bird-Throne, while that member of the zoo-anthropomorphous triad, *Ña-khri*, who should be the natural prototype of the progenitor in the appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, is referred to Koñ-po. Correspondingly the Bon-po tradition of the gNam-skos-lHabdun<sup>51</sup> connects gÑa'-khri-btsan-po with Koñ-po, while *Bya-khri-btsad-po* is said to have descended upon Po-ta-la-ri of lHa-sa which, all anachronisms disregarded, became the seat of the Yar-luñ Dynasty. Thus the very legends of the origin of the Dynasty seem to hint, directly and indirectly, that *Bya-khri, King Bird-Throne* was in reality its ancestor, while the final appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po in Yar-luñ and his connection with this country has a definite artificial cast, with regard to his conspicuous connection with the sacred mountain Gyañ-tho in Koñ-po.

The question naturally arises as to whether the existence of a clan named or characterized particularly by Bird, *Bya*, can actually be proved. In that respect we may quote the *Deb-ther-sñon-po* (56.Ba,11v-12r).<sup>52</sup>

De-la spyir Bod-kyi-yul-'dir yul gañ-dañ-gañ-du rus-tshan-gyi mi śas che-bar byuñ-ba'i yul sa de-la rus-de dañ de'i-miñ-gis btags-te // dPer-na Rog-pa-sa zes-pa lta-bu-'am / dGyer-pa-sa zes-pa bzin-no //

Here in Tibet it is usually so that in each *Yul* (country, province) the various *Sa* (districts) get their names from that *Rus* (see p. 279 ff.), the members of which (*rus-tshan-gyi mi*) constitute the majority of the population in the *Yul*. You say for instance *Rog-pa-Sa* or *dGyer-pa-Sa*.

Yul Yar-kluñs-kyi smad Ma-yul-rdzoñ-gi  
 'dabs-su Bya'i-rigs-can mañ-du-byuñ-bas Bya-sa  
 zes-grags-pa 'Dod-dgu 'dzom-pa'i gnas-der Bya-  
 Chos-kyi-ka-ba dañ / gcuñ Thod-pa-g'Yu'i-smin-  
 ma-can-te sku-mched gñis byuñ /

The lower part of the *Yul of Yar-kluñs* is known as *Bya-Sa*, for the reason that below *Ma-yul-Castle* there lived so many people who belonged to the *Family of Bya (Bya'i-rigs)*. Here, in this tract (*gnas*), with an abundance beyond desire, there lived two brothers, *Bya Chos-kyi-ka-ba* and the younger one, *Thod-pa g'Yu'i-smin-ma-can*.

Besides giving us some valuable information as to the significance of Yul and Sa, and the relation of these territorial terms to the concepts of Rus and Rigs, the text informs us that *Lower Yar-luñ* was the very seat of the family or family clan of Bya. Moreover it shows that the idea of *g'Yu'i-smin-ma-can*, "He Who Has Turquoise Eyebrows," one of the most characteristic signs of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, is living within the family clan of Bya itself.

From ancient time Bya-Sa seems to have taken up a separate position in the territorial division of Tibet. Among the Thirteen, or more correctly the Twelve and A Half, Khri-skor or divisions of gTsañ and dBus, particularly known from the decrees of the Yüan Dynasty,<sup>53</sup> Bya-sa was the last, or half, one. The Khri-skor are enumerated both in the bŠad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (57.36r-v) and in the dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ (75.158-59). From both sources it appears that, although belonging to dBus, Bya-Sa or Bya-Yul was not regarded as a part of the Four Ru, Ru-bži, each of three ordinary Khri-skor, which constituted gTsañ and dBus, or Central Tibet.

While beyond the identification of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal with Bya-khri, the evidence connecting the Tibetan kings with Bya is mainly indirect, but two eulogic epics to Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, found in the Tun-huang Mss., directly identify the king with Bya. One of these eulogies (1.109/145) addressed to the young king reads:

bTshan-du ni bdag 'tshal-na /  
 Chuñ-ña ni rJe khur-chig //  
 Pyug-du ni bdag 'tshal-na //  
 lHa-ri ni Gyañ skyoñ-sig //  
 rJe-'is ni bka'-stsal-na  
 gŽa'-ma ni yuñ-kyi srid /  
 Bya-'is ni žu-phub-na  
 La-pyi ni gdañs-su-dro /

When I am asked about name,  
 I, Small One, shall be honoured as *rJe* (Ruler)!  
 When I am asked about riches,  
*lHa-ri Gyañ* shall protect (me)!  
 When *rJe* issues a command,  
 (It is like) the moment when the rainbow extends.  
 When *Bya* "extends" a request,  
 The surface of (the glacier) *La-pyi* is warmed.

The verses are addressed to the young King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po by the dBa's sByi-chab, the old vassal and confederate of his father gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan. The king, *rJe* (Ruler), is identified with *Bya*, an identification occurring in a similar wording in a song addressed to the somewhat older Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po by the minister mGar sToñ-rtsan-Yul-zuñ (1.117-118/159-160):

rJe-'is ni bka'-stsal-pa  
 gŽa'-pyi ni yuñ-kyi srid<sup>54</sup> /  
 Bya-'is ni žu-pub-pa /  
 La-pyi ni gdañs-su-dro //

*rJe* issues a command.  
 (It is like) the moment when the rainbow extends.  
*Bya* "extends" a request.  
 The surface of (the glacier) *La-pyi* is warmed.

... ..  
 rJe-'is ni 'bañs ma-gtañ //  
 rJe-'is ni 'bañs btañ-na /  
 Bya-bañ ni thañ-la thas /

... ..  
*rJe* shall not abandon the subjects!  
 If *rJe* abandons the subjects,  
*Bya* shall end (?) in the Plain of Tombs (*Bañ(-so'i)-thañ*)!

'Bañs-kyis ni rJe ma-gtañ /

The subjects shall not abandon *rJe*!

'Bañs-kyis ni rJe btañ-na //  
'Dzon-mo ni śiñ-ka rebs //  
Sañ pyi ni gnañs slad-na

Nam-nam ni źa-źa-ru //  
Ri-gañ ni khus btab kyañ /  
Bya-pu ni khus ma-gdab /

If the subjects abandon rJe,  
'Dzon-mo, the Forest, shall wither!  
To-morrow, later, the day after to-morrow, after-  
wards,  
In nights and nights, in days and days,  
The whole mountain cried.  
But *Bya-pu* (the Upper Valley of *Bya*)<sup>56</sup> will not  
cry.

The clan or "totem" characters of the Tibetan king, as represented by the signs of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, belong to the pre-Buddhist era. Obviously the knowledge of them could not be suppressed in Buddhist time, but the Buddhists knew how to interpret them in Buddhist spirit. The question remains, however, from which source the later Buddhist sources have taken their description of the signs, the stereotype formulation of which has permitted us to establish the hypothetical reconstruction of such an original version. The original source of quite particular character, from which not only the description of the signs, but also the epic fragments describing the Tibetan country seem to derive, is identical with a complex of songs and epics connected with the ritual installment of the Tibetan king.<sup>55</sup>

### *Grag-s-pa Bon-lugs*

Grag-s-pa Bon-lugs or the *Bon-po* tradition of the origin of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and consequently of the *Yar-luñ* Dynasty is fundamentally characterized by the concept of a *divine origin of the progenitor king*. Until now no actual version of the Bon-po tradition, but only fragments of such a tradition and allusions to it has been known. The most important fragments of the tradition are found in the two gTer-mas rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.18v) and bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig (40.7r) and in the Tun-huang Ms 249 Paris (1.81/85-6); but because of the very fragmentary nature of these pieces of text and their isolated occurrence, the significance of them has hardly been realized beyond the fact that they state a descent from *lHa*, and specifically from the *Srid-pa'i-lha*. Allusions to the Bon-po tradition are frequently found in the Buddhist tradition in references to the dMu-thag, dMu-skas or lHa-skas, or in variants of the formula "gNam-gyi lHa-las mi-yi-rje-ru gśegs" stating that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po "came from the lHa of Heaven to be Ruler of Men."

The designation lHa-sras, Son of lHa, used of the Tibetan kings, is, however, above all significant of the Bon-po origin of the tradition of the Dynasty. Buddhist literature has so suppressed the Bon-po tradition of the origin of the Tibetan kings, that at present we have only a few fragments and one single version (see below) in which the idea of *lHa-sras* has survived. The mere allusion to a relationship with lHa apparently lost its offensive character very early and hardly gave much occasion for severe objections from a Buddhist point of view, at any rate when Buddhism had got a safe foothold in Tibet. The *lHa* were adopted in the Buddhist pantheon and identified with the *Deva*. Therefore lHa-sras, Son of lHa, from being a royal prerogative of a most pregnant, and to Buddhism particularly odious, significance, developed into a mere royal title equivalent to Indian Devaputra or Chinese T'ien-tzū. The opinion of various authors that the title or prerogative of lHa-sras (or of 'Phrul-gyi lha) derives from these or similar titles of the neighbouring peoples, from Khotan or China as proposed by G. Tucci (195.77 note 37) and P. Demiéville (151.363-4), or from India as proposed by S. Levi and M. Lalou (3.296), depends on a misunderstanding of the actual development, due to the circumstance that these authors drew their conclusions from documents which belong to the latest time of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, scarcely more than its last half century, and have a predominant Buddhist character. In these documents lHa-sras still occurs in its original significance indicating the ancient, sacral status of the king, although the process of identifying it with, or interpreting it as, Devaputra was, no doubt, already far advanced. It has, however, been completely overlooked that the evidence of the general Tibetan tradition proves without a shadow of doubt that *lHa-sras* was the fundamental



prerogative of the Tibetan kings, ultimately signifying the very foundation upon which the royalty had been instituted (see p. 316 ff.).

The only version of the Bon-po tradition of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* of larger extent and presumably complete, which is as yet available, is found in the *bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu*. This version, published for the first time here, has in various respects been influenced by the Buddhist tradition, while, on the other hand, its representation of *bSañ-ba Chos-lugs* quoted above contains certain elements belonging to the original Bon-po tradition, as we shall outline in the following sections.

The Tibetan text of the *bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu* concerning *Grags-pa Bon-lugs* is given in Appendix II, section V. It is our main source for explaining the original concept of the origin of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, and for understanding and combining a great number of disparate features found elsewhere in Tibetan literature. In translation it reads:

- Va. Then *Grags-pa Bon-lugs* (teaches) the descent from the *Yog-lha*. The first (or One) of the *sNa-lña-srid-pa*, called *Cha-yis-mkhyen-chen-po*, came into existence (*srid*).<sup>57</sup>
- Vb. They (*phod* and *mod*, see below) came into existence (*bsrid*) in the white and black light inside a closed *ga'u* (box), down upon the thirteen spheres of the earth (*sa rim-pa bcu-gsum*), shielded<sup>58</sup> by all the thirteen spheres (of Heaven). As the issue of the union of *phod* and *mod* (the male and the female principle),<sup>59</sup> these two, a yellow, male, and a blue, female, flower (*me-tog ser-po sñon-mo*)<sup>60</sup> came into existence (*bsrid*). As the issue of the union of these two flowers the *Srid-pa'i lha* called *rJe Kha-gdañs-rkyen-med* came into existence (*srid*).
- Vc. His and *Che-bza' Ye-'then's Srid-pa son* (*srid-pa'i bsras*) was the *Srid* called *lHa-dkar-ma-yol-sde*.
- Vd. His and *g'Yun-phyug-mo's Srid-pa sons* were the *Four lHa-rab Brothers* (*lHa-rab mched-bži*), the White Ones among the *Srid* (*Srid-la dkar*):  
(the first one) *rNam-rgyal-ba-ldiñ-rgu-dkar-po* who went away as *lHa* of *Lus-'phags-po*<sup>61</sup> in the East,  
the second one, *dKar-rnams-rgyal-ba* who went away as *lHa* of *Ba-glañ-spyod* in the West,  
the third one, *Khri-sel-dkar-po* who went away as *lHa* of *'Dzam-bu-gliñ* (in the South), (and)  
the youngest one, *rTsed-can* who went away as *lHa* of *sGra-mi-gñan* (in the North).
- Ve. From *Khri-sal-dkar-po* the *Thirteen rJe'i 'Gur-l(h)a* came into existence (*srid*).
- Vf. *Phyi-lHa Tho-dkar-l(h)a*, *Bar-lha 'Od-dkar*, (and) *Nañ-lha Guñ-brgyal* came into existence (*srid*), these three.  
After the saliva from the tongues of these three had been excreted upon Heaven (*gnam*), *sPrin-dkar-chuñ-rtse-gcig* (a little white cloud with one peak) came into existence (*srid*).  
It is said that the primary male (*duñ-gi mi pho*) with a plaited tuft of turquoise hair (*g'yu'i-thor-tshugs-can*),<sup>62</sup> *lHa-gnam-than-chen-po* was in the middle of it (i.e. the white cloud).  
His son was *Srin-than-chen-po*.  
After him came seven generations of sons, *sTag-rje-'al-'ol* coming as the last one.  
These were the thirteen spheres of Heaven (*gNam rim-pa bcu-gsum*).
- Vg. With *Chu-lo-rigs* there were fourteen (spheres),
- Vh. and with *dGa'-sa-le* fifteen, and upon this
- Vi. was placed the jewel throne formed from the jewels of the (four) quarters, sparkling outside and inside (*phyogs rin-chen-las grub-pa phyi-bsal nañ-bsal-ba'i rin-chen-po'i khri*), upon which the Father (*Yab*) *sTag-rje-'al-'ol* stayed with a golden staff (*mkhar-ba?*).<sup>63</sup>  
From his union with the Mother (*Yum*) *Tshe-za Khyañ-khyuñ* the sons, the *Four lHa-rab Brothers* (*lHa-rab-mched-bži*), came into existence. Having had a deliberation as to the necessity of dividing the earth (*sa-ru-dgos*), they threw dice with conch shells at *bSiñ-ma'i-ne-thañ*.  
*Yar-lha-thal-drug* threw three times six, making eighteen. He became ruler (*rje*) of all the *lHa* of the thirteen spheres of Heaven.  
By *Cha-lha-bram-chen* were thrown three times five, making fifteen. He went away as *lHa* of *mGon-btsun-cha*.

*rGya-lha-gron-rnams* threw three times four, making twelve. He went away as *IHa* of *rGya-mi-maṅs*.<sup>64</sup>

By '*O-de-guñ-brgyal* were thrown three times three, making nine. He went away as *IHa* of *Mi-lha-med-rnams*.<sup>65</sup>

- Vk. Upon the thirteen spheres of Heaven, seven sons, procreated by *rJe Yar-lha-śam-drug* and the Mother (*Yum*) *rMu-brtsun-khri-smān*, came into existence.  
For the three *Mar-gyi-pho*, the three *Mar-gyi-bcud-po*, and *Bar-gyi-bdun-tshigs* there was only one throne. (As *Bar-gyi-bdun-tshigs*) ventured against *Yar-yab* and those belonging to him, the father and the mother consulted together and sent him away to the land of *Žaṅ-po sMu*.<sup>66</sup> *Nor-lha-mṅas-po* and *sKu-bsruṅ-klu'i-bu phyed-bdun* were sent away from *sNaṅ*.
- VI. They met at the foot of *Dam-ri*, in the land of *sMu-rje-tshan-po*.
- Vm. He (*Bar-gyi-bdun-tshigs*) and *sMu-jo-bre-btsan-mo* begat a son. The mother of the son said continuously: "If he comes head upwards, the mother will die. If he comes head downwards, it will be a gift of happiness." After these fatal words had been uttered (*rgal-pa'i tshigs rjed-par bsal-nas?*), he made life with his right hand, and because he came with the nape (*gṅa'-ba*) downwards,<sup>67</sup> his name was established as *gṅa'-khri-btsan-po*.
- Vn. At that time there was no ruler in *Bod*. They (the Tibetans) were unable to check the enemies of the four quarters. Therefore a voice from *Bar-snaṅ* pronounced: "If you want a ruler for the subjects of *Bod*, the *blackheads* (*mgo-nag*), then he who is named *gṅa'-khri-brtsan-po*, a grandson of *sMu*, a descendant from *IHa*, is dwelling in a *gSeṅ-khaṅ*, a house of turquoise, in what is called *Ri-dam-'greṅ*.
- Vo. The subjects of *Bod*, nobles and others, went to meet, but they did not invite him. They said that they would ask the *rTsibs-kyi-lha dKar-ma-yol-sde*.
- Vp. They asked him, and *dKar-ma-yol-sde* went to *gṅa'-khri-brtsan-po* and asked him: "Oh, *IHa!* *gṅa'-khri-brtsan-po!* Below in *Sa-steṅ*,<sup>68</sup> in the *Land of Men* (*Mi-yul*) there is no ruler of men. I beg you to come," thus he asked. "Below in the Land of Men there is a world of unhappiness:—*Theft, Poison, Enemies, Sri, gDon*, and so on. I will not come," he (*gṅa'-khri-brtsan-po*) answered. Again he (*dKar-ma-yol-sde*) said: "Against those things there is a world of remedies:—against *Theft* there is *Retaliation*, against *Poison* there is *Medicine*, and so on. Once more I ask you to come."
- Vq. Thereupon the ancestral, self-acting weapons<sup>69</sup> appeared:
- Vr. The *Bow* (*gzu*) bending itself,  
The *Arrow* (*mda'*) flying off by itself,  
The *Armour* (*khraḅ*) shielding by itself,  
The *Spear* (*mduṅ*) throwing itself.
- Vs. The right measures were drawn.  
The encircling fence was made.
- Vt. As guardian *mGon-bu*  
To protect his body,  
*kLu'i-mched-bdun* and  
*IHa-glaṅ-ru-dkar*  
Acted together.
- Vu. By *Žaṅ-po sMu*,  
The *sMu-Armour* *Śol-mo*,  
The *sMu-Helmet* *bŽa-ma*,  
The *Spear* *Śab-kha*,  
The *Shield* *Gon-bra*,  
The *sMu Ladder* *Rim-dgu-sMu-'phreṅ*,  
These copper implements  
Were given by *Žaṅ-po*.

- Vv. By his famous mother  
*g'Yu-'od-'bar*,
- Vw. The *Cord* twining itself,  
 The *Trumpet* blowing itself,  
 The *Water* being water by itself,  
 The *gLa-da*<sup>70</sup> that in itself is a (*tether-peg*),<sup>71</sup>  
 The *Fence-rope* drawing a circle by itself,  
 The *Bowl* serving itself, all these  
 Were sent from *sNañ*.
- Vx. Thereafter  
 His hands took hold of *rGyu-thag*,  
 He set foot upon *sMu-skas*.
- Vy. (Through) the eye of Heaven,  
 The open door of the clouds,  
 He beheld
- Vz. *lHa-ri Gyañ-mtho*,  
*Thañ-po-mo gru-bži*,  
*Yul Yar-mo-rnams-bži*,  
*Chab Šam-chu-bsñon-mo*.  
 Clearly he beheld all these.
- Vaa. Then to the *Land of Turquoise* (*g'Yu-yul*)  
*g'Yems-khañ* he came down.  
 Then down to the *Stones*.
- Vbb. *Stones* and *Trees*,  
*Da lu-ma*<sup>72</sup> and others made obeisance.
- Vcc. Then he came down to the assembly of the *Forest-birds*.
- Vdd. At that time the enemy-aspect (*dgra-ños*) of *Srin* appeared. *Byañ-srin* and *sKoñ-srin* appeared  
 disguised as one *red Yak*. The body-guardians *sKu-bsruñ-phyed-bdun* (and) *lHa-glañ-ru-dkar rwa-  
 dkar* deliberately crushed it.
- Vee. By the *Armour* putting itself on,  
 By the *Spear* throwing itself,  
 By the *Shield* giving cover by itself,  
 By the *Sword* striking by itself,  
 By the *Bow* bending by itself,  
 By the *Arrow* shooting itself off,  
 By these things  
*Byañ-srin* and  
*Koñ-srin* were killed.
- Vff. Then he went to the root of the tree *sMu-le-goñ*.
- Vgg. Having pulled off *bSil-ma*,<sup>73</sup> the attire of *lHa*,  
 He put on *Dar-rkab*,<sup>74</sup> the attire of *Man*.  
 Having thrown away *Gar-bu*, the food of *lHa*,  
 He ate *'Bru-bcud*,<sup>75</sup> the food of *Man*.  
 Having poured out *bDud-rtsi*,<sup>76</sup> the drink of *lHa*,  
 He drank *'Bras-chañ*,<sup>77</sup> the drink of *Man*.
- Vhh. Then to *Dag-po Mas-mkhar*,  
 Then to *Na-la-ya-mig*,  
 Then to *Yar-luñ Sogs-mkhar* he went.
- Vii. In *Mun-bu-gla-mkhar* he made *rtsis*.<sup>78</sup>  
 He chastised the *Kings of the Four Quarters*.

The *Twelve rGyal-phran* he made his subjects.

Vkk. At that time he was seated on a throne erected upon the napes (*mñā'-ba*) of all men, and if one asked, he was called by the name of *gÑā'-khri-rtsan-po*.

VII. The expounding of *Grags-pa Bon-lugs*, the proceedings from *Yog-lha*, the thirty-third section ends.

This representation of the Bon-po tradition of the origin of the Yar-luñ Dynasty is a most remarkable documentation. The text, as it appears, is in itself the product of a time several centuries later than the era of the Dynasty, and thus far later even than its origin epoch and the creation of its origin legendry. Like most Tibetan sources this text is a compilation, but it is more systematic in its disposition than most other sources, and it is particularly valuable, because it is based on traditions otherwise unknown to us.

The descriptions of *Tibetan cosmology* and *theogony* present a very interesting supplement to our previous knowledge in these respects. Where the cosmologic or cosmogonic content of the text is concerned, we are dealing with no uniform concept of the world, but with a mixture or composition of various concepts. We find traces of the older concept of the world, that of the Ga'u or gNam-sa, combined with the highly developed concept of a world consisting of a duplex of thirteen spheres. Similar considerations apply to the theogonic content of the text. The representation of the theogony, which serves to explain the *divine pedigree of gÑā'-khri-btsan-po* and consequently of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, comprises several co-ordinated concepts of the origin and relationship of certain Tibetan gods or families of gods, and these concepts depend mainly on a much more systematically developed theogony than that imagined in the pre-Buddhist Bon-po era during the Yar-luñ Dynasty.

A discussion of the cosmological content of the text remains in general outside the object of the present study, while an examination of the theogonic features proves to be an indispensable necessity for understanding the status of the Dynasty, as imparted to it by the nature and origin of its mythic progenitor. The fact just mentioned that the text depends partly on a later, systematized theogony naturally presents certain disadvantages, but they are more of a formal than real nature, because the younger systems in a wide measure are composed from elements of the ancient concepts and traditions. The recognition and separation of these ancient elements presents difficulties, but these difficulties are considerably lessened by the indications issuing from a co-ordination of the present text with a number of other texts on the same or similar subjects.

Quite particular importance is to be ascribed to this section of the *bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu* dealing with *Grags-pa Bon-lugs*, because it contains, in fact, nothing less than a fragmentary representation and description of the ancient sacral hymns and rites connected with the institution of the royalty and the installation of the Tibetan kings. A study in these subjects, important as it is, will not be included in this present study, but will be postponed to another publication.

The further evaluation and understanding of the text and the great number of particular features involved demand a rather extensive study and a co-ordination of the present text with all similar material to be found in available Tibetan sources. In the following exposition based on such a study we shall keep apart, as far as possible, some main aspects of the problem of *gÑā'-khri-btsan-po*.

Preliminarily we shall on one side consider the Bon-po myth of *gÑā'-khri-btsan-po* in general as the myth of the origin of the Dynasty, on the other side consider it in particular with regard to its sacral and ritual significance and its connection with the religious and secular status of the Yar-luñ Dynasty. When considering the myth in general, we shall do it from the following main points of view:—1. the reason or motive for the appearance of *gÑā'-khri-btsan-po*, i.e. the mythic etiology of the origin of the Yar-luñ Dynasty (see p. 231 ff.),—2. the possible or probable historical reality behind the myth (see p. 240 ff.),—3. the genealogy or divine pedigree of *gÑā'-khri-btsan-po* (see p. 251 ff.), and the ambiguity with regard to *gÑā'-khri-btsan-po*'s origin from lHa or rMu, pointing to the existence of an older stratum of the myth than that appearing from the general Bon-po tradition (see p. 268 ff.).

*Yañ-bsañ lugs*

The third tradition of the origin of the ancestor of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, variously characterized as *Yañ-bsañ The-rañ*, *Yañ-gsañ Mi-min-lugs*, *Yañ-bsañ-lugs*, *Yañ-gsañ-ba*, and *Yañ-gsañ*, (see p. 206), has been even less known than the Bon-po tradition, because it has not been mentioned by the generally known Tibetan sources. But we have now at our disposal one single source which gives an account of this tradition, the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (Appendix II, section VI). In translation it runs as follows:

- Vla. Then the tradition of *Yañ-bsañ*: In the country of *sPo-bo'i-yul*, from the ferocious *Mo-bya-btsun-bya* appeared the Man from *sPo-bo*, the youngest of the *The-brañ-dpun-dgu skyes-pa* named *Ma-U-be-ra*, who was covered with designs (circles) in the shape of tongues, had his fingers connected with a web, and was ferocious and of great abilities. Therefore all men in the country said: "Because he is able to cope with Man (or: he is invincible, no match for others (*mi thub*)), he is *Śugs-pa drag* (a powerful, terrible, wrathful incarnation)." His father and mother said:
- Vlb. "This, the youngest of our nine sons is not *Śugs*. If our son is *bŚugs*, then all your own sons have the quality of *bŚugs-pa*," they said, (but the people) did not listen.
- Vlc. Then all men in the country secretly agreed: "He is *bŚugs-pa*." After all the capable *Ban (Bon?)*<sup>99</sup> in the country of *sPo-bo* had been killed, the *The-brañ-skyes* (the *Born The-bran*) was driven out and exiled. Because he was *bŚugs-pa*, he was not harmed when staying in *sPo-yul*, (and) he came therefore to *Bod* as an omen to *Bod*.
- Vld. Therefore, as there was no ruler (*rje*) of *Bod* at that time, (and the people) went to seek a ruler, they met (him) at *Byañ-lam g'Ya'-le-goñ*. "Who are you, where do you come from, where do you go?" Thus they asked him and he said: "I come from the country of *sPo-bo* and I am travelling to *Bod*."
- Vle. "Well, you are possessed of outstanding abilities and forces," they said, and he answered: "By virtue of great abilities, forces, and miraculous appearances I am called *bŚugs-pa* by the people of the country (*yul-mi*)."
- Vlf. "Now, meeting you when being in search for a king (*rgyal-po*) of *Bod*, we believe that you are qualified for it," they said. "By my great abilities, forces and *sprul*<sup>100</sup> I am, indeed, competent," he answered.
- Vlg. There and then they raised a throne upon their necks and carried him away. They appointed him ruler (*rje*) and gave him the name of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*.
- Vlh. This is the tradition of descent (taught) by the Heretic School (*mu-stegs-lugs*) of *Yañ-gsañ-ba*. As it is a collection of secret things (*tshad-bsañ-tshogs*), it is not called *Grags* (common knowledge).
- Vli. The expounding of *Yañ-bsañ-ba*, section thirty-four ends.

This tradition of a descent from the *The-brañ* or *The'u-brañ* has as yet only been known from two allusions. In the *bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig* (40.7r; in continuation of the quotation p. 169) we read:

- Yañ-gsañ The'u-brañ chag-pas dbaṅs blon glen : (When speaking of his) descent from the *The'u-brañ* (according to) *Yañ-gsañ*, the tale is that of subjects and ministers (i.e. the people).
- sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal-la : By *sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal* (were born, *skyes-pa*)
- The'u-brañ-spun-dgu skyes-pa-las : The *Nine, Born The'u-brañ Brothers* (*The'u-brañ-spun-dgu skyes-pa*),
- Chuñ-dag U-pe-ra-nas chad-pa'o : From the youngest of whom, *U-pe-ra*, he (i.e. *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*) originated.

Moreover we find a reference to this tradition in the *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ* (75.149), partly mixed together with the general Bon-po tradition:

Yañ-gsañ The-brañ-lugs-la rMu-yul-nas byuñ  
zer-siñ / Bon-dag-gis lHa'i-yul gNam-la rMu-  
thag brgyud-da<sup>81</sup> lHa-ri'i-rtser babs zer /

According to the tradition of *Yañ-gsañ The-brañ* he originated from *rMu-yul*. The adherents of *Bon* tell that he fastened the *rMu-thag* in Heaven, the country of *lHa*, and descended upon the top of *lHa-ri*.

Yañ-bsañ-lugs is characterized as a tradition of *secret things*. It is *bsañ* or *gsañ*, secret or esoteric, but not *grags*, common or generally known, and it is neither *gSañ-ba* nor *Grags-pa*, the Buddhist or Bon-po tradition. By the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig it is furthermore characterized as a *popular tradition*, and by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (see p. 170) as *Mi-min-lugs*, the *tradition of the Non-human ones*, the *Mi-mayin* or *Mi-min*, the *inhabitants of Tibet before the advent of the human beings*, the *mi*. This may possibly indicate that we are dealing with reminiscences of a concept of the origin of the kings, *anterior to the various versions of traditions classified as gSañ-ba Chos-lugs and Grags-pa Bon-lugs*.

Unfortunately we are unable to grasp the full significance of Yañ-bsañ-lugs as given by the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu and the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig, partly because of a deficient knowledge of certain terms, partly because of a too scanty knowledge of the The'u-brañ. Besides, we are undoubtedly dealing with versions giving only a condensed or even modified impression of the original idea of the tradition. Nevertheless these versions of Yañ-bsañ-lugs present several most important and interesting features, primarily *the very idea of an origin from the The'u-brañ, the connection with sPo-bo or sPu-yul, and the fundamental importance attached to sugs or sugs-pa*.

This tradition states that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po originated from the The'u-brañ, and actually was a The'u-brañ himself, more specifically the youngest of the nine The'u-brañ brothers, originally carrying the name (*Ma*) *U-be-ra* or *U-pe-ra*. The original nature and significance of the The'u-brañ, The'u-rañ, The-brañ, or The-rañ have not been clearly defined as yet, so that we have had little or no idea of their position and importance in the pre-Buddhist, or possibly even pre-Bon-po, religious concepts of the Tibetans. Their frequent occurrence and their rather prominent role in the Buddhist pantheon, where they are closely related to the likewise little-known rGyal-po class of demons or protective deities, seem to indicate a former prominence of these deities. As pointed out by H. Hoffmann (162.143–44), the The'u-brañ were in certain cases regarded as “devil-like” demons already at the time of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, and we have every reason to believe that G. Tucci is right when he refers the The'u-brañ to a theogonic system, the real significance of which had been more or less forgotten already at the time when our sources were written (194.718–19).

The principal deities of this ancient system were undoubtedly the *The* or *Te*, represented by three individual deities or by three classes of deities, who were the supreme lords of the three cosmic spheres, viz. gNam-the dkar-po, Bar-the khra-bo, and Sa-the nag-po, as described by the 'Dzam-gliñ Gañs Ti-se'i dkar-chag (109.2.34) or by the Baiqūrya dkar-po (162.144).

The element The'u of The'u-brañ forms a derivative from The, obtained by the addition of the suffix -'u, generally having the function of a diminutive, but here having the function of the particles -po or -bo.<sup>82</sup> The interchange between The- and The'u- in the designations of the deities in question, naturally leads to the idea of a real relationship between the The and the The'u-brañ. As far as this matter has been subjected to examination, there seems to be a general agreement with regard to such a relationship.

A passage of the Ri-rab brtsegs-mdos (137.15):

gNam-lha dkar-po man-chad-nas / rGyal-po  
The'u-rañ yan-chad-kyi / snañ-srid lHa'dre

*lHa'dre* of the Middle World, from *gNam-lha dkar-po* down to the *rGyal-po* (and) *The'u-rañ* . .

quite naturally leads G. Tucci (194.719) to define the The'u-brañ as minor deities in the lower regions of Heaven, inferior to the The, as gNam-lha dkar-po may here be conceived as a synonym to gNam-the dkar-po. As the text quoted is a rÑiñ-ma-pa text, and the traditions originate from a time when cer-

tainly only reminiscences of the original theogony were preserved, an estimate as to the original significance of either category of deities, or to an eventually contemporary occurrence of both of them, cannot be based on these considerations.

If, however, we regard the problem of the significance of the The and the The'u-brañ and their mutual position in the light of the general experience of religious history, we might be fairly justified in assuming that the *The'u-brañ are the reminiscences of the The, their "degenerated" representatives in a religious system of a later time*, and this assumption finds diverse support in the tradition.

In a rÑiñ-ma-pa work (128.8v-9v; see 172.268), in a list enumerating the various classes of deities and their leaders, the chief of the The'u-brañ is named gNam-the'u dkar-po. According to the extensive study made by R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (172.97) the gNam-the'u dkar-po or gNam-the dkar-po, also named gNam-sde, gNam-rde'u, gNam-thib, gNam-thel,<sup>88</sup> or gNam-lha dkar-po, in the Buddhist pantheon signifies the Dharmapāla Pe-har, the chief of the rGyal-po deities, whose retinue comprises numerous The'u-brañ. Among these we also find the nine The'u-brañ brothers, The'u-brañ spun-dgu (skyes-pa).

Quite particularly important among the companions of Pe-har are, however, the two deities Bar-the, Bar-thel, or Bar-thil khra-bo and Sa-the, Sa-thel, or Sa-thil nag-po.<sup>89</sup> The analogy between gNam-the'u or gNam-the dkar-po and his two companions Bar-the khra-bo and Sa-the nag-po, on one side, and the supreme lords of the three spheres in the theogonic system of the The, named gNam-the dkar-po, Bar-the khra-bo, and Sa-the nag-po, on the other side, seems unmistakable.

In consequence of this analogy gNam-the'u dkar-po or gNam-the dkar-po, generally known from the Buddhist pantheon as Pe-har, represents, and ultimately is identical with, the supreme The of Heaven, gNam-the dkar-po. The fact that, in the later tradition, he occurs as the chief of the The'u-brañ then becomes a natural consequence of his original dignity.

In relation to the question of the origin of the Yar-luñ kings, the tradition of Yañ-bsañ presenting gÑa'-khri-btsan-po as the descendant of the The'u-brañ or, according to our conclusions, the The, seems in fact identical in essence with the Bon-po tradition of his descent from the lHa. The former tradition seems merely to represent a more ancient stratum of tradition, and a more ancient, probably pre-Bon-po, system of theogony. The very circumstance that Yañ-bsañ-lugs is characterized as the tale of subjects and ministers, i.e. the people, immediately seems to give Yañ-bsañ-lugs the priority of age. It appears in the degraded quality and prevails in the popular plane to which an old religious system and its traditions are reduced, when officially abandoned and substituted by a new system. More weighty than these theoretical and generalized arguments is, however, the fact that the *central feature* in Yañ-bsan-lugs, viz. the ancestor's quality of being sugs-pa, and his connection with sPu-yul or sPo-bo, which *fundamentally qualify him as the ruler of the Tibetans*, is more or less obliterated in the known versions of the Bon-po and Buddhist traditions, or it occurs as a relic of apparently no particular importance or relevance to the actual version or tradition.

The pre-Buddhist deity, who in Buddhism became personified as Pe-har in his various aspects, must have been an ancient deity of primordial importance. His high position among the Chos-skyoñ, the Protectors of the Doctrine, in the dGe-lugs-pa school even as the King of the Chos-skyoñ, carries testimony of a previous rank that is compatible with the idea of the former supreme lord of Heaven, gNam-the dkar-po.

Besides being the chief of the The'u-brañ, Pe-har is known in the Buddhist pantheon particularly as the chief of the rGyal-po, rGyal-po chen-po or Pe-dkar chen-po, as he is generally addressed in this capacity. This deity is therefore not only, by the intermediary concept of the The'u-brañ, specifically connected with the Yar-luñ kings, but as rGyal-po chen-po in principle connected with the idea of King, rGyal-po, or royalty in general.

In a particular Bon-po concept Pe-har appears in the capacity of Guardian Deity of Žañ-žuñ, Žañ-žuñ-gi sruñ-ma, which in itself implies no special significance, as in the aspect of gNam-the dkar-po he was connected with the sacred mountain Ti-se or Te-se in Žañ-žuñ. The significant feature with regard to the present study, is to be found in the circumstance that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, if related with

gNam-the dkar-po or with the The or The'u-brañ, is brought into connection with Žaň-žuň. Several features in the other traditions, above all in the Bon-po tradition, point more or less distinctly in exactly the same direction, as we shall outline later (see p. 268 ff).

A most important connecting link between Pe-har and the Royal House is finally to be found in the fact that he became the first guardian deity or Sruñ-ma of bSam-yas. Such a connection is far from being obvious, because the problem of the sacral status of the Tibetan kings and the deeper significance of the foundation of bSam-yas have not as yet been generally realized. The wider implication of the favours bestowed upon Buddhism by King Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, and of the building of the bSam-yas Monastery has, however, been briefly outlined by G. Tucci (194.727–28):

The king, i.e. the intermediary between the country and the bTsan, the controller of the forces ruling all-powerful, though unseen upon Tibet, having accepted Buddhism, the country remained helpless against those demons; this is one of the chief reasons of the hostility which Buddhism found in its beginnings. This is also the reason why there was strife between the old and the new religion; the aboriginal deities overran Tibet with all sorts of diseases and epidemics. It was therefore necessary first of all to placate the national demons, and this is hinted at by the rÑiñ-ma-pa legend which tells us the real *digvijaya*, the triumph of Padmasambhava over the local demons. This meant that the country had changed its patrons; Buddha took the place of the bTsan, but the ruler equally remained the intermediary between his people and the new religious world. That is why bSam-yas was built; it was built as a cosmos, with its four great continents, . . . It was a new world substituted for the old one; it was a rebuilding of the universe which did not exclude, but contained as subordinates, the ancient gods. It centered round the king who was newly invested by a baptism with water miraculously procured by Padmasambhava.

G. Tucci has further outlined his ideas on this subject in an essay, *The Symbolism of the Temples of bSam yas*, East and West VI, Roma 1956, 279–81. But from the results of our present study we may give a further outline of these fundamentally important points of view.

Primarily we must see something more and deeper in the uproar of the aboriginal deities and demons than mere hostility towards and resistance against the new religion. The state of revolt, which broke out at the foundation of bSam-yas, and was gradually suppressed by Padmasambhava, was, in reality, a temporary relapse to the state prevailing before the foundation of the Dynasty, that state which presented the religious and deeper motive for the appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po (see p. 231 ff.). By forsaking the old religion, in which the Tibetan royalty was believed to have its roots and real foundation, the king lost his sacral status, which he and his predecessors had hitherto inherited as successive incarnations of the royal ancestor. He was no more the equal and master of the powers of the earth (see p. 316), and no more the protector of his people against them. These powers, the whole world of the Tibetan demons and gods, were free and unbound again, and it was this world of deities that revolted. By fighting and successively subduing all the aboriginal Tibetan deities, and subjecting them to the new religion of Buddha, Padmasambhava re-established the sacred status of the king. The previous incarnation of lHa became an incarnation of Buddha, and Grag-s-pa Bon-lugs was substituted by gSañ-ba Chos-lugs. The visible manifestation of this profound change of the religious state in general was the building of bSam-yas. This monastery became the symbol of the new religion, and its material and spiritual centre. As a microcosmos, built as a mañḍala, bSam-yas was centered around Buddha, and as the symbol of the new Tibetan religion it was centered around the king. Where bSam-yas in its immediate appearance and significance of a sanctuary was concerned, it became the seat of a special guardian deity or Sruñ-ma. According to the legend it was on the advice of the tantric master Padmasambhava that such a guardian was attached to the monastery, probably because the idea of a sanctuary without its own special guardian deity was inconceivable to both tantric ritual and also the Tibetans. The deity on whom the guardianship of bSam-yas might be bestowed, should, however, be possessed of quite particular rank and qualities, because he was to be a reflection of the supreme essence of the king,



and ultimately of Buddha. The legend, as it is known in the late Buddhist version (see 194.734), narrates that Padmasambhava at first applied to the king of the kLu named Zur-phud-lña, but the kLu declined. Finally the deity known from rñiñ-ma-pa and Buddhist traditions at large as Pe-har was appointed Sruñ-ma of bSam-yas. By this choice of Sruñ-ma, it is most remarkable that this deity, the ancient gNam-the dkar-po, of all the others should be chosen. Nothing would, however, be more natural, if gNam-the dkar-po represented the supreme deity of the ancestral line of the king in agreement with the tradition of Yañ-bsañ.

We may, perhaps, have the objection that the choice primarily might have fallen on Zur-phud-lña, the king of the kLu, but valid arguments can be given against this objection. First we have actually no idea of the original nature of the Tibetan kLu and their relationship with other classes of deities in the ancient Tibetan concept. It seems that the kLu obtained their paramount importance by the introduction of Buddhism, when they were identified with the Indian concept of the Nāga. In the legend just referred to, Zur-phud-lña proposed as a guardian “a king called *Hu* who descended from a *kLu*, in the family of *dMu*.” Therefore, even when choosing a kLu the choice might fall within the ancestral line of the king. Where Zur-phud-lña in particular is concerned, we seem to be dealing with no kLu in a proper sense, but with the great lHa generally known as gñan-chen-Thañ-lha,<sup>84</sup> the son of 'O-de-guñ-rgyal. Secondly it must be borne in mind that the protecting deity sent to protect gñā'-khri-btsan-po and his father according to Grags-pa Bon-lugs, is named kLu'i-mched-bdun or sKu-bsruñ-kLu'i-bu-phyed-bdun. The original intention to choose a Sruñ-ma among the deities to whom the protectors of the ancestral line belong, is in no way contradictory to the actual choice among the ancestral deities themselves, on the contrary it seems to lead to this choice as a natural consequence.

According to Yañ-bsañ-lugs the The'u-brañ, and consequently gñā'-khri-btsan-po, were procreated by a female deity named either Mo-bya-btsun-bya or sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal. As to the possible significance concealed in these names, we shall first turn our attention to the element Guñ-rgyal. It means king or ruler of Guñ, and occurs in a few names of ancient Tibetan deities besides the name of the king sPu-de-guñ-rgyal. The term guñ itself has survived in idioms of chronology based on the fundamental sense of the middle or centre (ñin-guñ, mtshan-guñ, guñ-gñis, nam-guñ), but with regard to its cosmological or theogonical significance beyond the fact that it somehow refers to or signifies Heaven, particularly in the expression Guñ-thañ signifying the abode of the gods, it has hitherto had the character of an absolute term. It may be a derivative of goñ, above. In the synopsis of the ancient Tibetan cosmology and theogony, in his Tibetan Painted Scrolls, G. Tucci (194.719), with reference to sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal, identifies Guñ with the supreme and central part of Heaven, saying:

*Guñ rgyal* is the god of heaven, *gNam*. *gNam* is distinct from the *mTho-ris*, the paradise or rather paradises in which the various gods dwell; nor should *gNam* be taken as a synonym of *Nam mkha'*, the space where the stars and planets are located. *gNam* like the *Tängri* of the Turks and of the Mongols is the God of Heaven 天神 as it is called in the *T'ang shu*, ch. 196; Heaven here as with the Turks indicates the deity as well as *the highest celestial sphere, above all other planes and heavens and their very centre (guñ)*. This celestial god is simply called *gNam gyi guñ rgyal (kLu 'bum* p. 103); probably his wife was *A phyi* (the grandmother) *gnam gyi guñ rgyal* who by the fifth Dalai Lama (life of *bSod nams rgya mtsho* p. 181 ) is identified with *dPal ldan lHa mo*.

G. Tucci here actually evades a direct explanation or identification of sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal, and lets the idea of Guñ-rgyal be absorbed in a general concept of a supreme celestial god gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal and his consort A-phyi gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal. By inference from another passage quoted below (see p. 229) it appears that sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal is without comment identified with A-phyi gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal.

For want of precise material the definition of Guñ is conjectural, and it becomes, in fact, somewhat modified by G. Tucci's description of a Tibetan cosmos of a quite special nature (194.719):<sup>86</sup>

The atmosphere is like a tent pitched upon the universe: "The wheel of the sky is a tent with eight ribs" (*IJañ gliñ 7ff*). The pole is Mount *Te-se, Ti-se Sumeru*. On the top there is a hole through which the summit of this mountain-pole passes. This is the centre of the higher plane of the atmosphere. It is a window (*dkar-khuñ*) and a centre (*guñ*).

This seems to imply that above heaven there is the infinite luminous space from which, through that very hole, sun, moon and the stars receive their light; this is probably *sPu-yul*.

This image of the world is in itself different from what we otherwise know of Tibetan concepts of the world. We cannot dismiss it as being not Tibetan, for one thing because the idea of the *rTsibs-kyi-lha*, the God of the Ribs, *dKar-ma-yol-sde* may refer to it, but we may venture to characterize it as being not specifically Tibetan. It is a version of the image of the world generally known among the nomadic, tent-abiding peoples of Central and Northern Asia. It may therefore really represent the concept of the nomadic Tibetans, the 'Brog, which in the traditions in general has been overshadowed by the cosmology of the settled community of the Central Tibetans.

None of the explanations given above enables us to obtain a satisfactory definition of Guñ or Guñ-rgyal, or to state precisely the relation between Guñ and gNam. It seems questionable whether at present we may reach so far, even when taking into consideration the material that has been made available since then.

We have seen that the sense of middle or centre may still be involved by the cosmologic aspect of the term Guñ, but it appears that Guñ, besides having a specific significance of the middle of, or the entrance to, Heaven, may be conceived in a more general sense of Heaven and thus identically to gNam. The latter occurrence may, however, be nothing but a wider or generalized concept deriving from the specific significance. The main question seems therefore to be, whether Guñ, in the sense of Heaven or a celestial sphere, is to be conceived as a synonym to gNam, or it originally expressed an idea which in some way or other differed fundamentally from that generally connected with gNam. In close connection with this question we may further ask whether the use of Guñ was originally separated locally, or with regard to epoch, from that of gNam.

The question of a possible local origin of either of the terms cannot be answered, while certain circumstances speak in favour of answering the question of different epochs in the affirmative. Corresponding to what is said above of the The, Guñ also seems to belong to a cosmologic and theogonic system, the significance of which had partly been forgotten at the time in which the written sources originate. Not only the obsolete character of the term Guñ itself points in this direction, but also the circumstance that the small number of deities characterized as Guñ-rgyal, viz. 'O-de-guñ-rgyal, lDe-bla-guñ-rgyal, gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal, A-phyi gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal, Phyi-byi gNam-phyi-guñ-rgyal-mo, Srid-pa'i-rGyal-mo gNam-phyi-guñ-rgyal, and sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal are very little known and, with the exception of 'O-de-guñ-rgyal, only known from a very few sporadic occurrences. The main question, that of an eventually fundamental difference as to the significance of the terms, may therefore be linked together with the question of different age.

In the India Office Mss from Tun-huang, published by F. W. Thomas, the term Guñ occurs several times, partly in the direct sense of Heaven, partly as Guñ-rgyal in the name of deities. The passages in question, accompanied by the translations given by F. W. Thomas, read as follows:

I. 11.11, lin. 41:

rtā.bžugs.ni.Gnam.la.bžug.  
rmañ.bžugs.ni.Dguñ.la.bžu(gs).

As to the horse's abode, he abode in *Gnam*;  
As to the steed's abode, he abode in *Dguñ*.

II. 11,11, lin. 42–3:

rtā.bab.ni.Gnam.nas.bab.

The horse descending, from *Gnam* was his descent;

rmañ.bab.ni.Dguñ.nas.bab.

The steed descending, from *Dguñ* was his descent.

III. 11.12, lin. 58–64:

hbroñ.g-yag.Skar-baḥi.mchid. nas. / “na.  
ni.gze.niñ.sañ. / Gnam.gyi.ya.bla.Dguñ.gi.  
ya.steñs.nas.rje.yab.bla.bdag.drug. / Mgon-  
tshun-pywas. / ḥis.bskoste. /

Said Yak-bull Skar-ba: “Yesterday, to-day, to-morrow, by appointment from the high summit of *Gnam*, from the high level of *Dguñ*, by the six highest lords-fathers, the revered protector *Fates*,

rtā.yul.ni.hbrog.yin.baḥi.rigs.  
g-yag.yul.ni. / byañ.yin.baḥi.rigs.  
na. / phu.Yid-kyi-gdañ-pyam.ga.la.gar.bžud  
”.ches.mchi.na. // phu.Yid-kyi-gdañ-pyam.  
gyi.žal.nas. / “rje.ya.bla.bdag.drug.Mgon-  
tshun-phywas.bskoste. /  
rtā.yul.hbrog.yin.kyañ.bden.  
g-yag.yul.pyañ.yi(n).gyañ.bden. /

Horse-country of right is the Wilds;  
Yak-country of right is the north-plain.  
Elder-brother Yid-kyi-gdañ-pyam, go where you will.” Said Elder-brother Yid-kyi-gdañ-pyam: “Though by appointment of the six highest lords-fathers, the revered protector *Fates*, Horse-country is the Wilds—’tis true! Yak-country is the north-plain—’tis true!”

IV. 11.18, lin. 70–1:

Gnam.ḥgi.pa.mtha.Dguñ.ḥgi.pha.hbrum.  
sa.Phug.tir.paḥi.nañ.na.Phy(i)-byi.Gnam.-  
phyi.Guñ.rgyal-mo.

—in the land Phug-tir-pa, at a place where the further end of *Gnam* and the further edge of *Dguñ* meet, was *Phyi-byi Gnam-phyi Guñ-rgyal-mo* . . .

V. 11.65, lin. 126–27:

Gnam:kyi:pa:mth(a): / (Dgu)ñ.kyi:pa:  
ḥ(bru)m:na: /:

On the far limit of *Gnam*, on the far shore of *Dguñ* . . .

To these passages containing both *Guñ* and *gNam*, we may further add the following one, which is the immediate continuation of II:

VI. 11.11, lin. 43–5:

bab.gañ.du.bab.na.yul.lha.yul.Guñ-dañ.  
gyi.nañ.du.bab.te.dkor.su.ḥi.dkor.na.Lha.  
za.Guñ.tshun.gyi.dkor.dañ.dad.du / bab.ste/

Where did they descend? In a god country, *Guñ-dañ*, descending, the province, whose province was it? In the province and estate of *Lha-za Guñ-tshun* descending . . .

*Lha-za Guñ-tshun* is named *Lha-za Guñ-mo-tsun* a little later in the text (lin. 47).

Finally the Mss contain the names 'O-de: *Lha-dpal: Guñ-(rgya)* and 'O-de: *Guñ-rgyal* (11.69, lin. 186–87 and 192.)

This material led F. W. Thomas to define *gNam* and *Guñ* as two different, an upper and a lower, celestial spheres (11.45): “The dual heaven (*Gnam*, the highest heaven of the gods, *Dguñ*, the lower heaven, prospective abode of the pious) . . . . belong as we have seen, to Bon cosmology.”

This distinction and conclusion with regard to *gNam* and *Guñ* is hardly justified directly by the texts at hand. The constant occurrence of *Guñ* after *gNam* may indicate an inferior rank of *Guñ* in an antithesis *gNam-Guñ*, but we may also be dealing with a matter of convention in the order of two

terms actually of the same value. Even the expression Gnam. gyi.ya.bla.Dguñ.gi.ya.steñs.nas. (III) and a separately occurring Gnam: Dguñ:du, "to Gnam or Dguñ" (11.62, lin. 44), gives no conclusive evidence of an idea of two different celestial spheres. Such an idea is provided in the translation of passage IV with regard to the meeting ends or edges of Gnam and Guñ, but we are here dealing with an interpretation of F. W. Thomas beyond the content of the Tibetan text, which does not contain any verbal sense indicating a meeting. Rather the structure of the sentence indicates an identity of the two expressions.

Nevertheless F. W. Thomas seems to be right in principle, when distinguishing between two different celestial spheres. Conclusive evidence seems, however, to be found in the difference between the two groups of deities, who in passage IV seem to be connected with gNam and Guñ respectively. The rJe Ya(b)-bla-bdag-drug connected with gNam represents the (rJe) Yab-lha-bdag-drug known from the genealogy of the Srid-pa gods and the myth of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. The mGon-tshun-phywa belong to the mGon-po class of deities, who are numerous known from the Buddhist and later Bon-po pantheons, but practically unknown where their original nature and significance is concerned. In the dictionary of Ch. Das (150.286; see 11.24, note 3) mGon-btsun-phya'i groñ-khyer is mentioned, from sources not stated, as the name of a city in the paradise of the Bon-po.

We are informed by the Tun-huang Ms 249 Paris (Appendix III, A) that the Yab-lha-bdag-drug were located in the High Heaven of lHa or in the uppermost part of the widely expanded Heaven (Appendix III, B). Moreover the bŠad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (Appendix II, section Vi-k) relates that Yab-lha-bdag-drug was one of the Four lHa-rab Brothers, who, by the division of the earth or the world, got the highest rank as the ruler of the lHa of the thirteen spheres of Heaven, and resided on these spheres. The brother who got the next highest rank, was Cha-lha-byam-chen, who became mGon-btsun-cha'i lHa, the lHa of the country of the mGon-btsun.

A rather evident distinction with regard to rank and location of the Yab-lha-bdag-drug and the mGon-btsun appears from this division. A corresponding distinction may consequently apply to gNam and Guñ, which in passage IV are connected with these two groups of deities. The collateral occurrence of Yab-lha-bdag-drug and mGon-btsun in both sources is a consequence of a mutual relationship, and the conclusion with regard to the mutual rank of these deities and their location may be considered formally, notwithstanding the apparent irrelevance caused by the occurrence of 'O-de-guñ-rgyal, as the fourth lHa-rab Brother of lower rank.

It seems, however, as if the formal distinction of rank covers rather a relative evaluation of the elements of two different systems than a concrete distinction within one and the same system. We have pointed out that various circumstances indicate a superior age of the idea of Guñ than that of gNam, but the same idea of different ages seems to apply also to the mGon-btsun and the Yab-lha-bdag-drug (see p. 317 f.).

*We are therefore inclined to regard Guñ and gNam as the terms of Heaven in an older and a younger cosmologic (and theogonic) system, and when occurring together, of two different spheres of Heaven, separated not in space but by the different value and significance ascribed to them.*

It appears that this rather vague definition of Guñ itself, which may be derived from the material known at present, contributes little to a further explanation of Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal beyond emphasizing a relatively high age of the concept connected with her. Her quality of a Guñ-rgyal and a Mo-btsun or bTsun-bya may, however, lead us a little further.

As mentioned above when quoting G. Tucci, the Fifth Dalai Lama identifies A-phyi gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal with dPal-ldan-lHa-mo, the most prominent guardian goddess in Tibetan Buddhism. The original nature of this goddess, which is the most important among the aboriginal female deities adopted by Buddhism, may partly be deduced from various names given her in the rÑiñ-ma-pa works. In several cases she is called Srid-pa'i-rgyal-mo, e.g. as mistress of the Ma-mo (172.267), and in a particular form in company with Pe-har or Tshañs-pa-dkar-po, she is Drag-chen Srid-pa'i-rgyal-mo (172.152). By the Bon-po Srid-pa'i-rgyal-mo is used of the goddess Srid-pa'i-rgyal-mo gNam-phyi-guñ-rgyal who, with her male companion Mi-bzad gNam-gyi-lha-rgod-thog-pa, became the genitrix of nine eggs, the dBal-

gyi-sgo-ña tha-ma dgu, from which one of the three series of nine dBal-goddesses protecting the Bon religion were hatched.

Now the Srid-pa'i-rgyal-mo dPal-ldan-lHa-mo, as stated above, is identified with the primary celestial goddess A-phyi gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal, whose male companion, as presumed by G. Tucci, is the celestial god gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal mentioned by kLu-'bum-dkar-po.

The bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig (40.44v) mentions a third couple of ancient deities characterized as primary beings: Srid-pa'i-khri-rgyal Khugs-kyi-thugs and Srid-pa'i-phyi-mo Miñ-dgu-sriñ-dgu. From the immediate context it appears that the goddess is also characterized as Ma-gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal, from whose womb gSen-rab-Mi-bo appeared.<sup>86</sup>

A fourth couple of deities, who are important in the present connection, is moreover mentioned by the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig (40.7r) immediately after the account of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's origin from sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal, only separated from it by a line, the sense of which cannot be interpreted. It is the couple Khri-rgyal-ba and Dri-dmu-tri-btsan whose son (sras) is said to be gÑa'-khri-btsan-po (see 162.151).

We may be inclined to believe that in all these cases we are dealing with various versions of the same fundamental idea of a primary couple of celestial deities, the female party of which has survived in the general aspect of dPal-ldan-lHa-mo.

The surmised survival of the idea of the *goddess* seems to be connected with a special circumstance indicated by the sparse and fragmentary traditions of the divine couples considered. It seems as though the goddess, the female party of the couples, is the superior party. Even in the ancient reminiscent tradition rendered by our sources we find only a Phyi-byi gNam-phyi-guñ-rgyal-mo and a A-phyi gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal, and no or no definite indication of their male partners. Most significant, however, is the fact that with regard to offspring, the role of the god is quite inferior. We have to consider not a *genitor*, but a *genitrix*. The Tibetan goddesses characterized as Srid-pa goddesses or as rGyal-mo seem to belong to an ancient matriarchal system of theogony. The idea of an origin from blood-eggs (see p. 161) or eggs, such as the three series of nine eggs, the dBal-gyi sgo-ña dgu or the Srid-pa'i sgo-ña dgu, which give a particular prominence to the female element in the act of procreation, seems to be rather closely connected with the idea of such a matriarchy.

Just as the Srid-pa'i-rgyal-mo gNam-phyi-guñ-rgyal became the genitrix of nine goddesses, the Byin-te dgu or Khri'i-'a-mo, which in reality represents a theogonic system, the gNod-sbyin gDoñ-dmar-ma, the daughter of the ancestor of the bTsan, bTsan-gyi-mes-po, became the genitrix of the bTsan deities by producing one, or seven, blood-eggs. This myth of the origin of the bTsan, which is particularly connected with the origin of the leader or leaders of the bTsan, Tsi'u-dmar-po or the bTsan-rgod 'Bar-ba-spun-bdun (130.7v; see 172.170 ff.), represents an idea of origin, which is fundamentally different from the generally known idea of the descent of the main classes of the Tibetan deities within the patriarchal system of the Srid-pa gods (see p. 226 ff.). In consequence the fact that the Tibetan king was bTsan-po and, according to the sacral name, bTsan, the myth of the origin of the bTsan may somehow prove significant with regard to the ideas of the origin of the Tibetan kings.

The primary importance of the female element clearly appears also from the third couple mentioned above. gSen-rab-Myi-bo was in fact supernaturally conceived by his mother, without the agency of the person who is generally named his father.

These considerations may immediately appear as both tedious and irrelevant to our study, but they are indispensable for any attempt to find indications as to the original concept of Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal and, in a further sense, as to the original significance of Yañ-bsañ-lugs. With some certainty two indicative circumstances already seem to appear, viz. a high age and a matriarchal nature of the concept. The mutual compatibility of these circumstances is strongly supported by various historical evidence. Within the whole period from which we have knowledge of the Tibetan peoples as a whole, the existence of matriarchy or matriarchal institutions can be stated. At the time of the historical Yar-luñ Dynasty several Tibetan states had a direct matriarchy. This applies particularly to the two states called Women States, Nü-kuo by the Chinese: Sum-pa or Tung-Nü-kuo and the small mountain state Nü-kuo in

South-western Tibet, but it also seems to apply to the Tibetan people of 'A-za. The Tibetan Empire, the state of the Yar-luñ kings, appears as a patriarchy, but it may actually be discussed whether this appearance is not more a formal than a real one, when the importance of certain matriarchal institutions are taken into consideration.

The matriarchal features revealed from the royal names in the former groups of the representation of the Dynasty have already been mentioned (p. 139). A feature of further significance appears from the mentioning of the subjects of the Queen, thus the Tun-huang Ms. 250 Paris (1.111/147) reads:

<p>bTsan-po Sroñ-brtsan-sgam-po'i riñ-la // Yab-'bañs ni 'khus / Yum-'bañs ni log /</p>	<p>At the time of <i>Sroñ-brtsan-sgam-po</i> the subjects of (his) father became hostile (and) the subjects of (his) mother revolted.</p>
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The same testimony of individual sovereignty of the two parties of the royal couple appears from the expression Yab-'bañs pha-dgu' / Yum-'bañs tshan-gsum (Appendix I, section IIIa).

Far the most remarkable sign of matriarchy during the Yar-luñ Dynasty are, however, the fact that the queen, who was the mother of the heir to the throne, took part in the government of the realm (157.161 ff.; 1.17/36,18–21/39–43), together with the fact that the guardianship of the heir and the government on behalf of the infant king were matrilinear, represented by the institution of Žañ-blon (see p. 165 ff.).

The matriarchal element in the concept of Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal further appears, in a quite specific sense, from her being a Mo-btsun. In the ideas and belief of the Tibetans with regard to the defunct or the ancestors, a side of the ancient Tibetan culture and religion which has been almost entirely neglected, because any written testimony in this respect seems to have been meticulously shunned by Buddhist authors, the general concept of the defunct or rather their "spirits" is expressed by the term mtshun or synonymous derivatives as tshun, btsun, or mes-btsun. They represent both the individual "manes" of the defunct and the generalized concept of the ancestors, either more concretely as the tutelary deities of the family or more abstractly as the deified exponents of the defunct. The idea of the mtshun forms the central one in the ancient cult or rites connected with the dead.

The mtshun are divided into two groups, pha-mtshun(-btsun) and ma-mtshun(-btsun) or mo-mtshun(-btsun), representing the male and the female ancestors respectively. In the deified sense the mo-btsun or ma-mtshun therefore represent female deities of a female ancestral line. In the Buddhist pantheon the reminiscences of such female ancestral deities are still preserved in the goddess Ma-mtshun-rgyal-mo-mthiñ-go, also named Mo-btsun-rgyal-mo-theñ-ge or Mo-btsun-rgyal-mo-mthiñ-ge.

These ancestors of the female ancestral line are directly represented in the Dynasty in the person of the Queen, the bTsun-mo, the female counterpart to the King, the bTsan-po (see p. 317). But we are unfortunately at present deprived of further material to carry our investigation beyond this statement concerning the person of the queen.

From these considerations we should feel justified in defining sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal as a goddess issuing from the idea of the female ancestors and belonging to ancient strata of Tibetan religious, theogonic, and cosmologic concepts, which, moreover, has some specific connection with an idea of sPu-yul or sPo-bo. *The Yañ-bsañ-lugs may consequently be characterized as an origin tradition of matriarchal nature, leading the Dynasty back to an ancestral genitrix.*

Furthermore, this genitrix is not ancestral in the general sense of the word. She is an exponent of the Tibetan concept of the world of the defunct. Beside its matriarchal side Yañ-bsañ-lugs also in this respect *seems* to differ fundamentally from the tradition of the Bon-po, the Grags-pa Bon-lugs. In the following we shall, however, show that the Bon-po tradition of a descent from the Srid-pa gods in reality covers the idea of a descent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po from the deified, male ancestors or exponents of the world of the male defunct. By this new aspect of the origin traditions a special quality seems imparted to the progenitor king of the Dynasty in his human appearance, viz. that of *an incarnation or re-incarnation emanating from the realm of the dead.*

This special quality of the progenitor seems to be what is actually signified by *his being bŚugs or Śugs-pa*, and *his coming from sPu-yul or sPo-bo*.

Throughout the versions of the different traditions of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po it is manifest that he was possessed by quite special qualities with regard to appearance or intrinsic nature. In fact, we may distinguish between two different concepts of these qualities, one connected with his immediate appearance because of his miraculous signs (see p. 197 ff.), the other connected with his particular nature as bŚugs-pa, and ultimately these two concepts seem to be of mutually independent origin.

The miraculous signs, which we interpret as the characteristics of a clan totem connected with the idea of Bya (see p. 210), are mentioned in both the Bon-po and the Buddhist traditions, and in Yañ-bsañ-lugs. We may even marvel why the various versions of the Buddhist tradition ostensibly emphasize these signs, but this occurrence may be explained from two different points of view, one, as outlined above, that they might be interpreted either as the signs of a Cakravartin or as those of Buddha, in both cases qualifying their possessor as a king in accordance with the fundamental idea of the Buddhist tradition. The other that the idea of these miraculous signs might substitute a pre-Buddhist idea of other, less preferable characteristics of the progenitor's superior nature.

The quality of being Śugs, bŚugs, or bŚugs-pa, which distinguishes the progenitor before all others in sPo-yul, appears from the text above to be an intrinsic quality, not immediately perceptible, for which reason any one of the sons in sPo-yul might possess the same quality. This agrees with the lexicographically adopted sense of bśugs-pa, viz. inherent strength, power, or energy, but it does not cover the specific sense of the terms applying to the present occurrence. This specific sense may be inferred from, and is so far directly indicated by, the version of gSañ-ba Chos-lugs given by the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (Appendix II, section IVe). Here gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, in the appearance of Ru-pa-skyes, says: "I am Śugs-pa," which the Buddhist tradition interprets in the sense that he is an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. Though formulated in Buddhist ideology, this interpretation clearly indicates that an *idea of incarnation is connected with the expression śugs-pa*. In his human appearance gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was conceived as the incarnation of supernatural essence. How the nature of this supernatural essence, or of the supernatural being or beings, thus embodied in him, originally was imagined, remains now to be stated. In the Bon-po concept of his origin, which we may regard as representative of an ideology younger than that laid down in the Yañ-bsañ-lugs, gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and the Yar-luñ kings clearly appear as incarnations of lHa, 'Phrul-gyi-lha, and *their inherent power is that of lHa*. In the concept of Yañ-bsañ the origin of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is on one side connected with the *idea of the Te or The*, and the nature of his essence may correspond in principle to that appearing from the Bon-po concept. On the other side he is related with the deified ancestral "spirits", and his supernatural nature may therefore possibly be explained from the *ideas of the world of the defunct*.

In this connection we may mention as a significant occurrence that dPa'-bo gTsug-lag and bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan take quite special pains to give an etymology or etiology of the name sPu-de-guñ-rgyal which, because of the expression sPu and its bearer's connection with sPo-bo, has a special relation to the present problem. In the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan attempts to explain the name in a way which states the superior nature of the king, but at the same time serves to avert the thoughts from any idea that a special significance be ascribed to either sPu or his coming from sPo-bo (see p. 149):

Yum-gyi-sras Bya-khri-la 'jug-nas / lha-la  
dmod-po rags / nam-mkha'-nas sgra-byuñ-ste /  
Khyod-kyi bu-de kun-las rgyal-bar 'gyur-ro /

/ Bu-de kun-las rgyal zer kyañ sPu-de-goñ-  
rgyal-du grags-so /

When the *son of the mother* went to *Bya-khri*, he conjured *lHa*, and a voice came from Heaven: "That son of yours shall be superior (victorious) to all others!"

From the saying: "That son of yours shall be superior to all others," he is known as *sPu-de-goñ-rgyal*.

The same is repeated by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag in the quotation p. 146 above.

By playing with the expressions *Bu-de* and *(s)Pu-de*, and with *kun-las rgyal* and *(goñ)guñ-rgyal*, the authors succeed in eliminating almost completely the original meaning of the name. *bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan* even goes as far as modifying *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal* into *sPu-de-goñ-rgyal*. This modified form purports “This son, the supreme victor” or “ruler”, and immediately involves the idea of the Universal Monarch, Cakravartin. We may ask with some reason why such elaborate measures have been taken as to the name *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*.

A study of the significance of the localities occurring in the tradition of *Yañ-bsañ* may, however lead us a step further towards an explanation of the particular nature of the progenitor king according to this tradition.

In the version of the *bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig* his mother and his origin are connected with *sPu-yul*, while in the version of the *bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu* they are connected with *sPo-bo*, *sPo-bo'i-yul*, or *sPo-yul*, and the progenitor king himself is characterized as *sPo-bo'i-mi*, the Man from *sPo-bo*.

Combining this with the fact that *sPu-yul* and *sPo-yul* are almost homophonous, we might a priori assume that the country names in question represented one and the same locality. A further examination shows, however, that although the tradition tends to state such an identity the matter is considerably more complicated.

*sPo*, *sPo-bo*, or *sPo-yul* represents a geographically known district of Tibet to the east of *Dwags-po*, bordering on the north-eastern parts of Assam.<sup>87</sup>

Chandra Das (150.800–01) mentions *sPo-bo* *Brag-thog* as the palace of the chieftain of *sPo-bo*, and relates that King *Gri-gum-btsan-po* made the town of *sPu'o-brag* his capital, and was called King of *sPu*, i.e. *sPur-rgyal*. In this connection we should remember that *sPo-bo* was one of the three countries of refuge for the sons of *Gri-gum-btsan-po*, and that the son who succeeded him came, or was recalled, from *sPo-bo*. In the above account of Das, based on the *rGya-Bod-yig-tshañ*, we are no doubt dealing with an etymology founded on the tradition of the three sons, which should explain the significance and origin of *sPu(r)-rgyal* from the country-name *sPo-bo*. As the name *sPu-yul* is known only from the single occurrence studied here, the endeavours to interpret the element *sPu*, which is found in a presumably identical significance in *sPu-yul* and *sPu-rgyal*, have hitherto been centred on the latter expression, though still without success. A modern attempt to give an etymology of *sPu-rgyal*, also based on a toponym, but leading us to a locality in Tibet far from *sPo-bo*, has been made by A. H. Francke, in his “Notes on Khotan and Ladakh,” *India Antiqua* 1930, p. 65. L. Petech (177.21) comments on this etymology with the following words:

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

An explanation of *sPu-yul* and *sPu(r)-rgyal*, or, in intimate connection with them, the terms *sPu(r)-rgyal-Bod*, *bTsan-po sPu(r)-rgyal*, *'O-lde-spu-rgyal*, *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, and *sPus-kyi-bu*, all containing the element *sPu*, may only be expected as the issue of a comparative study, which comprises all the available occurrences of these terms and the significant features connected with them, together with any otherwise relevant material. A study along such lines has been attempted within the general study



of the myths, and the procedure and results are given later in this paper, in chapter 14, p. 301 ff. These results should permit us to state in connection with the present discussion that the sPu-yul occurring in Yañ-bśań-lugs represents a concept quite alien to that of the Tibetan districts sPo-bo or sPo-yul, and that sPo-bo and sPo-yul occurring in both Yañ-bśań-lugs and the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons represent substitutions for the sPu-yul just mentioned.

When discussing the various versions of the myths of Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons, we found an apparent confusion with regard to correspondence between the names of the sons and their countries of refuge (see p. 152 f.). From this apparently confused material it appears, however, that with the exception of the self-contradictory notes to Bu-ston's Chos-'byuń all sources naming sPo-bo, name it exclusively as the refuge of that son which afterwards became king as sPu-de-guń-rgyal, regardless as to whether it was Bya-khri, as mentioned by the majority of the sources, or Ńa-khri or Śa-khri, as related by the deviating versions of Sanang Sečen or the rGyal-po bka'i-thań-yig. Moreover, this son was always the supernaturally conceived or born one in the tradition of three sons Bya-khri, Śa-khri, and Ńa-khri.

These facts establish an indisputable, close connection between the supernaturally born sPu-de-guń-rgyal and the locality sPo-bo signifying his country of refuge, but particularly the country from where he came.

If, as a result of the previous study and in accordance with A. H. Francke and L. Petech (see p. 109 ff.), we regard sPu-de-guń-rgyal as an independent form of the progenitor of the Yar-luń kings, *sPo-bo becomes the country from where the progenitor originated. This sPo-bo has, however, consciously or by misunderstanding or misinterpretation, been substituted for sPu-yul.*

The tradition of sPu-de-guń-rgyal, who was born in a way corresponding to that which apparently characterizes the matriarchal theogony, and who originated from sPu-yul, thus presents a certain similarity to the tradition of Yañ-bśań.

It has previously been stated that the tradition of Bya-khri or sPu-de-guń-rgyal is to be regarded as an independent tradition without any original connection with that of Gri-gum-btsan-po and his two sons, or, as expressed by L. Petech (177.24): "Gri-gum-btsan-po (here conceived by the author merely as a name) has no other importance except in so far as it plays a prominent part in the legend of Spu-rgyal." We have also mentioned the possibility that the separate tradition of Bya-khri may somehow be connected with the idea of the clan of Yar-luń. On the background of this possibility, we may here call attention to the circumstance that the very idea of Bya, beside that of sPu-yul, establishes a connecting link between the tradition of Bya-khri or sPu-de-guń-rgyal as the progenitor, and the tradition of Yañ-bśań, according to which the progenitor originated from sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guń-rgyal, who is also named Mo-bya-btsun-bya, the (Deified) Ancestral, Female Bird.

But, the very significance of sPu-yul, whether regarded as the origin place of sPu-de-guń-rgyal or as that of gŃa'-khri-btsan-po, as related in Yañ-bśań-lugs, still remains to be interpreted.

Depending on the version of the bLon-po bka'i-thań-yig both G. Tucci and H. Hoffmann give tentative definitions of sPu-yul. G. Tucci (194.733) is inclined to seek it in the infinite luminous space beyond Heaven, assuming an equivalence between *sPu* and *phu*:

The chronicles of Ladakh place as first ancestor sPu-rgyal who is evidently the same person (as 'O-lde-spur-rgyal and 'O-de-guń-rgyal). On the other hand the 5. Dalailama as well as Śa-kya rnam-s-kyi rgyal-rabs begin their lists with Ńa-khri-btsan-po and the 5. DL states that 'Od-lde is the same as Ńa-khri-btsan-po. On the other hand sPu guń-rgyal is by the same author identified with Bya-khri which is implicitly the opinion of the author of Śa-kya rnam-s-kyi rgyal-rabs since he knows a single ldeń (for the usual steń) while Ladakh chronicles and Bu-ston distinguish between them. This sPu-rgyal can hardly be separated from sPu-yul mo-btsun guń-rgyal whom we already met and is probably related, so far as his entity is concerned, with gŃam-gyi guń-rgyal the heavenly space.

As regards this name I think that sPu is the same as phu viz. the upper part i.e. of the sphere of existence.

H. Hoffmann remarks (162.149):

Mo-brtsun guñ-rgyal aus dem Spu-Lande gebar neun Kinder und zwar neun The'u-brañ-Dämonen, woraus man wohl schliessen darf, dass Mo-brtsun guñ-rgyal selbst eine The'u-brañ war und dass "Spu-Land" eine Bezeichnung für das Land der The'u-brañ ist.

and (162.152):

Wie wir oben gesehen haben, ist das Land Spu, nach dem der König benannt wird, wohl ein himmlisches Land, wahrscheinlich als Land der The'u-rañ selbst zu interpretieren.

Although one single case of Phu-rgyal instead of sPu-rgyal (11.69), and Pho-yul instead of sPo-yul (194.608) can be noted from the sources, the otherwise consequent occurrence of sPu or the derivatives sPur, sPus, Pu, sPo, sBu, and Bur makes it objectionable to assume a general equivalence with Phu. Moreover, certain features make us doubt that the Guñ-rgyal deities, even when considered celestial deities, are actually to be located in Heaven in a proper sense. At the sa-ru-dgos (see p. 214) 'O-de-guñ-rgyal got the most inferior lot as Mi-lha-med-rnams-kyi lha, and we may question whether the land Phug-tir-pa "at the far end of gNam, the far edge of dGuñ," where Phyi-byi gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal-mo was located, actually indicates a celestial abode.

The assumption that sPu-yul is located in the celestial regions, is based merely on the assumption that the Guñ-rgyal and the The'u-brañ were located in these regions.

In the definition of sPu-yul, issuing from the material studied in this paper (see chapter 14), *it is not the location, but the singular nature of this "country" which lays claim to our interest. It appears that sPu and sPur represent particular concepts or aspects of the defunct, and that sPu-yul signifies the realm, or the collective concept, of these defuncts.*<sup>88</sup>

## The myth of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po

### *The mythical etiology of the origin of the Yar-luñ Dynasty*

It appears throughout Tibetan literature and even in the official formula of the sovereign status of the Tibetan kings that the founder of the Dynasty “came to be the ruler of men” (mi-yi rjer gśegs-so, myi'i rgyal-por gśegs-te, etc.), and in this connection *men* means the Tibetans or, more correctly, Bod-mi, the Men of Bod.

Moreover we learn—identically about gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal (Bya-khri)—that the founder of the Dynasty came because of his affection or compassion for the black-headed people. Thus the gTer-ma rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.18v) relates:

rJe-gcig gÑa'-khri-btsan-po bya-ba-de :

The venerable Lord, *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* by name,

mGo-nag mi dañ-srog-chags rkyen-du byon :

He came because of his affection for the black-headed men,

and the Tun-huang Ms (1.100/128):

/ bŚos-na ni sPu-de-guñ-rgyal /  
Groñs-na ni Grañ-mo-gnam-bse' brtsig /  
'Greñ-mGo-nag-gi rJe /  
Dud-rdog<sup>3</sup> chags-kyi rkyen-du gśégśo //

When he was born, (he was) *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*.  
When he died, *Grañ-mo-gnam-bse'* was built.  
The ruler (*rJe*) of the black-headed 'Greñ'<sup>1</sup>  
Went (to them) because of his affection for  
the *Dud-rdog*.<sup>2</sup>

Without ample modification these narratives of philanthropy can hardly be taken at their face value. Admittedly the myth, in the version given by the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (Appendix II, section Vn-p) contains in itself a motive for general divine compassion for the people of Bod or Mi-yul, but nevertheless gÑa'-khri-btsan-po himself came unwillingly, and in this connection we may remember that according to the indications of certain sources the advent of the progenitor king had an aggressive character.

The motive for his advent has, however, a much more tangible nature, also in the representation given by the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu, and is to be found in the *inner disintegration among the Tibetan peoples and in the danger menacing them from outside*.

The oldest source alluding to these circumstances which can be dated, a fact that by no means characterizes it as the oldest piece of tradition preserved for posterity, is an epic glorifying the King *Mes-ag-tshoms* as the incarnation of the ancestral kings and the personification of the Dynasty. It was composed in 751-2 A.D. on the occasion of an act of homage paid to this king by Tuan Ts'uan-ko on behalf of Ko-lo-fêng, the king of Nan-chao (Yün-nan). Tuan Ts'uan-ko was the commander in chief of Ko-lo-fêng who at that time, for the purpose of obtaining the help of the Tibetans against the Chinese Emperor, declared himself vassal of the Tibetan king. The epic begins in the following way (1.113/151):

/ dGuñ-sño ni bdun-rim-gyi /  
 / lHa-yul ni Guñ-dañ-nas /  
 / lHa-sras ni myi'i mgon /  
 Myi-yul ni thams-chad dañ /  
 Myi-mtshuñs ni myi-'dra'-ste /  
 / Yul-mtho ni sa-gtsañ-bas /  
 / Bod-yul ni gŚañ-du gśegs /  
 / Myi-yul ni kun-kyi rgyal /  
  
 / Chos-bzañ ni gtsug-che-bas /  
 / rGyal-phran ni kun kyañ 'dus /  
 / Na-niñ ni gže-niñ sña /

From *Guñ-dañ*,<sup>4</sup> the Land of the *lHa*,  
 The seven spheres of the blue Heaven,  
 Came *lHa-sras*, the Protector of Men,  
 Hither to *gŚañ*,<sup>5</sup> the Land of the Tibetans,  
 The great country, the exalted realm,  
 That is neither alike nor equal  
 To (other) countries of men.  
 By the sovereign (*rgyal*) of all countries of  
 men,  
 By good laws<sup>6</sup> and great faculties,  
 All the petty kings (*rgyal-phran*) were united,  
 Last year, the years past, and still heretofore.  
 ... ..

These lines, which otherwise deserve particular notice because they unequivocally state the *idea of continuity in the divine identity between the Yar-luñ kings and their divine ancestor*, mention as the most distinguished achievement of the progenitor the *union of the petty kings* or rGyal-phran, which on that occasion got a special actuality and significance. By the act of vassalage performed, which meant a union between the Tibetan Empire and Nan-chao, the Tibetan king continued or shared the achievements of the ancestor king.

In this allusion to the union of the rGyal-phran the real motive for the appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is *partly* indicated.

The term rGyal-phran is indefinite and relative, signifying chieftains, minor kings, petty kings, local princes, etc. At the time of the Tibetan Empire it apparently signified in general the princes or kings subjected to the suzerainty of the Tibetan king. Thus the vassal princes or kings of 'A-ža, Koñ-po, and Myañ are characterized as rGyal-phran in the edict of Sad-na-legs (64.Ja.130r). In all Tibetan literature dealing with the origin of the Dynasty or related subjects rGyal-phran has, however, a specific significance, indicating the chieftains or petty rulers of the Tibetans immediately before, or rather at, the advent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. Generally they are referred to as the Twelve rGyal-phran, rGyal-phran bcu-gñis (37.18r; 51.15v; 57.28r,31r; 64.4v, 5r; 68.28; 92.10r; 143.112), and it is directly told that their reign meant suppression (92.10r; see 143.112 and 68.28; see p. 179). Indirectly their reign, or rather the period before the appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, shows all the signs of a progressive disintegration among the Tibetan peoples, which is finally characterized by the statement that *there was no ruler of Bod at that time*. The state of disintegration is further emphasized by various sources which name the petty rulers as twelve, sixteen, or many small or scattered chieftains, or describe the progressive disintegration according to the statement of the Deb-ther-dmar-po (51.15r) that the Tibetans, before gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, were ruled successively by twenty-five and twelve rGyal-phran, and forty rGyal-phran Sil-ma or Sil-ma (see p. 293 ff.).

It is this state of misery among the Tibetans without a common ruler which awakes the compassion of the gods and causes the divine interference leading to the appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po according to the tradition of the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu, and these features are reflected in the orthodox Buddhist tradition. It is the general state of misery in the Snowy Country which awakes the compassion of Avalokiteśvara and makes him create the six kinds of Tibetans from the Ape and the Rock-demoness, keeping in view the future propagation of the Doctrine. It is the obstacle to this propagation, arising from the circumstance that the Tibetans have no ruler, which causes the birth of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po by the interference of the Supreme Grace.

As stated above the inner disintegration under the rGyal-phran only provides a motive for the appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po when taken together with the failing ability of the Tibetans to resist the *enemies from the four quarters of the world*, Phyogs-bži-dgra (see p. 233) or, as they are generally called in this connection, the (Great) Kings of the Four Quarters, Phyogs-bži rGyal-po (chen-po).<sup>7</sup>

The idea of the Phyogs-bži rGyal-po or the mTha'-bži'i rGyal-po at the time of the Yar-luñ Dynasty still represented a most tangible reality. They personified the four great powers or empires surrounding the territories of the Tibetan peoples, in the directions of the four quarters:—*India*, *Ta-zig* or *sTag-zig(s)* (the realms to the west, *Persia* and later the Caliphate), *Hor* or *Ge-sar* (the Turks and the Uighurs to the north), and *China*.

In the introduction to the legends of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, the bŚad-mdzod-yid-bžin-nor-bu (57.28r) describes these four powers in the following manner (Appendix II, section II):

Phyogs-bži'i dgra ma-thul /  
 Bod-la rGya-gar rgyal(-p)o  
 (Śiñ-la) sBrul-ltar brtas-su 'khril ('khri) /  
 rGya-nag rgyal(-p)o  
 Lug-la spyañ 'jab 'dra /  
 sTag(-g)zig brgyal-po  
 Bya khyuñ khra-žur ('dzum or rgyug) 'dra /  
 Ge-gser brgyal-po  
 Śiñ-la rtar mtshad ('tshab) 'dra /

This description of the Phyogs-bži rgyal-po depends on an ancient prototype. In the seventh chapter of the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (see 37.18r) these four kings, under the influence of the Buddhist concept of the four principal Lokapālas, are defined as Phyogs-bži bskos-pa'i rGyal-po, and individually as rGya-nag gTsug-lag-rgyal-po, the China King of Wisdom, rGya-gar Chos-kyi-rgyal-po, the Indian King of the Law, Ta-zig Nor-gyi-rgyal-po, the Ta-zig King of Wealth, and Ge-sar dMag-gi-rgyal-po, the Ge-sar King of the Army. Correspondingly the four kings are enumerated in the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig (40.12) and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.5r). In all the sources their attitude towards Tibet is described in a way almost literally identical with that of the text quoted above, only the order and the attitudes of the two first kings have been permuted. The verbal forms used in the various versions differ a little, and the variants are given in parentheses in the text quoted above. The translation of it reads:

They (the rulers before *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*) could not tame the enemies of the four quarters.  
 The king of *India* wound into *Bod* like a snake (sitting enthroned in a tree).  
 The king of *China* was like a wolf lying in wait for a sheep.  
 The king of *sTag-gzig* was like the *Khyuñ*-bird *Khra-žur*.  
 The king of *Ge-gser* was like an axe cutting a tree.

This piece of text strikingly illustrates the position of the Tibetan peoples in the geography and politics of Central Asia as far back as we are able to trace their history, and they obviously considered it valid until the Tibetan Empire, under Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, reached the climax of its power, subduing all the enemies of the four quarters, as described in the passage of the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig referred to above.

The legendry of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po quite clearly relates that the Tibetans, in their state of inner weakness and disintegration, were seriously endangered by, and unable to resist, the aggression of the four great powers. The situation before the founding of the Yar-luñ Dynasty is described very clearly in the seventh chapter of the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.18r), immediately after the account of the Phyogs-bži bskos-pa'i rGyal-po, referred to above, and before the various accounts of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po:

Phyogs-bži'i rGyal-po phyogs-nas dar-ba'i tshe :	When the Kings of the Four Quarters of the World spread from their quarters,
De-dus Bod-khams mi-la rje med-pas :	At that time, there was no ruler of the people of <i>Bod-khams</i> .

Ri-bran brag-mkhar-kun-la rdzoñ yañ bcas :	Therefore, fortresses ( <i>rdzoñ</i> ) were made on (of) all the rocky castles of the mountains;
Gos dañ kha-zas bcen mkhar nor-bu bcug :	Clothes and food, good provisions were stored as the treasures of the castles.
rGol-du mi-thub dmag-graṅs ñuñ-ba'i dus :	At that time, (the people) were <i>unable to resist the aggressors</i> , the number of soldiers was small.
Raṅ-la dbaṅ-med tshogs rgyab sraḅ-pa'i dus :	At that time, they were <i>under no sovereignty</i> , the reins lay loosely on the back.

At this place in the text of the gTer-ma, a retrospective of the various categories of rulers, who according to the general tradition possessed the power in Tibet before gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, has been interposed (see p. 291 f.). After this interpolation, which ends by mentioning the era of the twelve rGyal-phran, the text continues:

gŽug-tu sPur-rgyal-btsan-pos dbaṅ-byas-te :	Finally, <i>sPur-rgyal-btsan-po</i> ruled.
Miñ yañ Bod-khams-ru-bži bya-bar btags :	The name was determined to be <i>Bod-khams ru-bzi</i> .
Bod-kyi bTsan-po 'O-de-spur-rgyal de :	The <i>bTsan-po</i> of <i>Bod</i> , ' <i>O-de-spur-rgyal</i>
gNam-gyi-lha-las mi-yi-rje-ru gšegs :	Came from the <i>lHa</i> of Heaven to be Ruler ( <i>rJe</i> ) of Men.

By these text lines two new elements, 'O-de-spur-rgyal and sPur-rgyal-btsan-po, are introduced into the discussion. From the context it immediately appears that 'O-de-spu(r)-rgyal is conceived as identical with gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. This identity is generally accepted, at any rate in the formal sense that both of them represent the founder of the Dynasty. The deeper significance of this double personality of the founder is, however, to be discussed in the following section of the paper, in connection with the question of historical reality behind the origin myth. With regard to sPu(r)-rgyal-btsan-po or merely sPu(r)-rgyal we may state that these terms have been interpreted in several different ways. They signify, however, the rulers of the Dynasty in general, although they seem to apply particularly to the kings of the former part of the dynastic line (see p. 308).

While there seems to exist a general agreement between the various versions of the myth, even in the main between Bon-po and Buddhist traditions, that the prevailing state of helplessness and distress among the Tibetans, primarily due to the absence of a common ruler, presents the *immediate reason* or  *motive* for the appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and, in a further sense, for the institution of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, they do not quite agree with regard to the question of *initiative*. The Bon-po tradition of the bŠad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu and the orthodox Buddhist tradition, as it is represented by the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Pakṭa-yā together with dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, leave it entirely to *the divine providence*. The rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi-'byuñ-gnas speaks of a *prophecy*, but the later tradition of the prophecy of the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra may possibly account for the idea of a prophecy in general. At any rate, most of the various sources of the myth reveal a certain air of *expectancy* among the men meeting gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and accepting him because of *his prodigious features* or *his apparent origin from the celestial gods*. Contrary to all these cases three different versions narrate that *the people themselves took the initiative* to get a real ruler. The Buddhist tradition of the bŠad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (see p. 191) relates that *the six Yab-'bañs-mi were looking for a ruler*, and Yañ-bsañ-lugs (see p. 217) correspondingly relates that *the people of Bod went to seek a ruler*, while the bLon-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig, as quoted just below, relates that *the six Rus of Subjects implored a ruler*.

The events connected with the divine interference with the god sKar-ma-yol-sde as an intermediary, a main theme within the Bon-po tradition according to dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (see p. 169f.), of which Grags-pa Bon-lugs according to the bŠad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu gives an account (Appendix II, section Vn-p), have for a long time been known from the gTer-ma bLon-po-bka'i-thaṅ-yig (40.7r-v) as a fragment

without any obvious connection with the hitherto known general tradition of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*. In the last part of the second chapter of the *gTer-ma*, entitled “*Mi'i-rgyal-po ji-ltar byon-pa, How the King of Men appeared,*” we read:

Dus-de-tsa-na Bod-la rGyal-phran byed :  
Phyogs-bži'i rGyal-po-chen-po bži ma-thub :

Žaṅ-gsum bLon-bži Yab-'baṅs-rus-drug-gi :

Śes-pa mkhan mi-gñis-kyis rJe btsal-bas :

rJe sKar-ma-yol-sde'i žal-nas-su :  
gNam-sa rim-pa-lha-yi-sdeṅ bžugs-pa :

gÑa'-khri-btsan-po bya-ba lHa-yi-sras :  
dMu-yi dbon-po<sup>9</sup> yod-bas spyān-droṅs gsuṅs :  
gÑa'-khri-btsan-po Dogs-drug yod gsuṅs-pa :

rKu yod :  
sDaṅ yod :  
dGra yod :  
g'Yag yod :  
Dug yod :  
Byad-stems yod :

gSuṅs-so :  
rTsibs-lha sKar-ma-yol-sdes Bod-'dir :

rKu-la lan yod :  
sDaṅ-la byams yod :  
dGra-la gñen yod :  
g'Yag-la mtshon yod :  
Dug-la sman yod :  
Byad-stems 'grol-thabs yod

sMras-so :  
dMu-chas-bcu daṅ-bcas-nas byon :

At that time the *rGyal-phran* were active in Tibet. They could not match the Four Great Kings of the Four Quarters of the World.

The three *Žaṅ*, four with the *bLon*, and from the six *Rus* of Subjects

*The two wise and skilful men*, they implored a ruler.

Therefore, *rJe sKar-ma-yol-sde* pronounced: “He who dwells in the five-partitioned Heaven-Earth,

The son of *lHa* called *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, Invite him because he is a *nephew of dMu!*”

*gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* said: “There are six things to dread,

There is *Theft*,  
There is *Hate*,  
There are *Enemies*,  
There is the *Yak*,  
There is *Poison*,  
There are *Curses.*”

He said (so).

*rTsibs-lha sKar-ma-yol-sde* (answered): “Here in *Bod*

There is *Punishment* for Theft,  
There is *Love* against Hate,  
There are *Friends* against Enemies,  
There are *Weapons* against the Yak,  
There is *Medicine* against Poison,  
There is *Release* against Curses,”

He said.

He (i.e. *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*) came with the *Ten Requisites of dMu* (*dMu-chas-bcu*).

Besides the difference with regard to the initiative, mentioned above, the present version also in some respects differs from that of the *bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu* where the definition of the evils in the human world are concerned. All the terms of the former version, indicating the evils and the remedies against them, can be interpreted in a general sense as *Theft, Hate, Enemies, Yak, Poison, and Curses, or Punishment (Retaliation), Love, Friends, Weapons, Medicine and Release*. The latter version mentions, however, among the evils *Theft, Poison, Enemies, Sri, and gDon*, where the latter ones are special terms signifying two classes of ancient Tibetan deities. As we are undoubtedly dealing with one and the same fundamental idea represented in two different versions, this circumstance together with several other features seems to indicate that a special significance is to be found behind the apparently general sense of the single terms for evils and remedies, and that consequently a special significance is to be found in the passage as a whole.

Preliminarily it seems strange that the *Yak*, which was probably the most important game and domestic animal of the Tibetans, is characterized as something to be dreaded, and remarkable that more than

half of the terms involved directly point to classes of Tibetan deities, most of which definitely belong to ancient strata of Tibetan theogony, viz. *dGra*, *Dug*, *Lan*, *gÑen* homophonous with *gÑan*, *sMan*, *Byad-Items*, *Sri*, and *gDon*. There seems to exist a certain connection between the tradition of the evils and that of the rulers of Tibet before the advent of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* (see p. 291 ff.). It seems likely that the two traditions depend on one and the same idea of *the deities or demons having hitherto had the sway of Bod, Tibet, or Mi-yul, the Human World*.

The immediate evil, which caused the appearance of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, was the misreign of the variously counted and defined *rGyal-phran*, who in several cases are mentioned as the *rGyal-phran* of the *bDud* and the *gNod-sbyin*. In the *lHa-'Dre bka'i-thaṅ-yig* (see below) the appearance of *Bod*, conceived in its narrowest sense as the three central provinces particularly connected with the myth of *sPu-de-guṅ-rgyal*, is compared with that of the Black *bDud*, while the *Srin*, according to various accounts play a predominant role in the concept of the deities or demons who, inimically minded towards the human rulers, dominated the Tibetan provinces (*yul*).

The Bon-po work *gZer-myiḡ* (138.II.72a) describes the arrival in Tibet of the founder of the Bon religion *gSen-rab-Myi-bo* in the following way:

Śa-zan gdoṅ-dmar Srin-po Bod-kyi-yul ṅNaṅ-  
srin rKoṅ-srin Dags-srin yul-du 'oṅ-ba /

You come into the country of the Flesh-Eating,  
Red-Faced *Srin-po*, the country of the *ṅNaṅ-srin*,  
the *rKoṅ-srin*, and the *Dags-srin*, the country of  
*Bod*.

Here the Country of *Bod* is conceived as the realm of the *Srin*, and the three local *Srin* of *ṅNaṅ-po*, *rKoṅ-po*, and *Dags-po* are particularly mentioned. From the Tun-huang Ms. catalogued as India Office Library Ms, Stein Collection, vol. 69, foll. 76–83 and published by F. W. Thomas (11.52–102), it appears that the Tibetans imagined such local *Srin* dominating all provinces (see p. 241). These *Srin* were appeased by substitute sacrifices or scapegoats, *glud*, from the local rulers. The relationship between the ruler and the *Srin* presents a feature of essential importance in the Bon-po tradition of the arrival of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* in Tibet. Thus it is told in the representation of the *Grags-pa Bon-lugs* according to the *bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu* (see p. 215) how the enemy aspect of the *Srin* appeared to oppose *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* on his arrival. The two *Srin*, *Byaṅ-srin* and *Koṅ-srin*, were disguised as a red Yak, but were killed with the miraculous *rMu*-weapon of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* by the interference of his protecting deities, his *sKu-bsruṅ*. The cryptic allusion to the Yak and the miraculous weapon, and the fight related in the myth of *Gri-gum-btsan-po* and *Lo-ṅam* (see p. 331) are more or less distorted reflections of these events.

Two of the terms describing the evils which made *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* only grudgingly follow the appeal to become the ruler of *Mi-yul*, viz. *dGra* and *g'Yag*, thus occur in the account of the fight with the *Srin*, and signify actual evils which he had to encounter.

Another evil was *Byad-stems*, which in later Tibetan signifies curse or malediction. In ancient Tibetan it has had a more specific sense, signifying a now practically unknown group of malicious and inimical demons. These demons, the *Byad-Items* are classified by *kLoṅ-rdol bLa-ma* (102.Ya.14r) as one of the eighteen groups of *gDon*, *gDon-chen-bco-brgyad*.

The *gDon* themselves, together with the *Sri*, are expressly mentioned among the evils by the *bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu*. The *gDon* are comparatively little known, while the *Sri* are known in numerous aspects. Both of them are considered as most dangerous to man and even to the unborn child. The general nature of these demons, who belong to the deepest layers of popular belief, and especially the close connection between the *Sri* and the earth and burial places, seem to indicate that these demons represent a reminiscent concept of the defunct.

Therefore it seems fairly justified to assume that the evils, which made *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* hesitate, though perceivable in a quite common sense, in reality signify the *inimical, demonical or supernatural powers ruling the earth or Mi-yul, whom gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was to subdue and command*.



This assumption is further substantiated by the fact that one of the terms of the evils, *Dug*, appears in a modified form and sense characterizing Bod before the advent of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*. In the *lHa'-'dre bka'i-thañ-yig* (36.21v) the country is described in the following way:

Yi-dwags Pre-ta-pu-ri Bod-kyi-yul :	In the land of the <i>Yi-dwags</i> , <i>Pretapuri</i> <sup>9</sup> (or) <i>Bod-kyi-yul</i> ,
De-yi-nañ-nas gDug-pa-can-gyi-yul :	There is the <i>land of the noxious beings</i> ( <i>gDug-pa-can-gyi-yul</i> ),
Dwags-po Koñ-po Ñañ-po gsum-gyi-yul :	The three countries <i>Dwags-po</i> , <i>Koñ-po</i> , (and) <i>Ñañ-po</i> .
Later in the same text we read (36.40v):	
gDug-pa-che-yul Ñañ-Dwags-Koñ-gsum yin :	The Land of the Most Noxious Beings is the three (countries) <i>Ñañ</i> , <i>Dwags</i> , (and) <i>Koñ</i> .
De-gsum gdug-che Koñ-rje-dkar-mar yin :	Those are the three Most Noxious Ones, the White and Red <i>Koñ-rje</i> ,
Koñ-po ri-nag lHa-ri Byañ-rdor-che :	And the black mountain of <i>Koñ-po</i> , <i>lHa-ri Byañ-rdor-che</i> ,
De-na mar-gségs mi-nag mched-po 'dul :	Where ( <i>Padmasambhava</i> ) descended and converted the <i>Mi-nag mched-po</i> (Black Brother-Peoples).
rGyal-po gÑa'-khri-btsan-po'i babs-sa yin :	It is the place where <i>gÑa'-khri-btsan-po</i> came down.

The reference to *Padmasambhava* follows from the context of the quotation, but we may, indeed, question whether the text-line did not originally apply to *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, just as does the following line. The fact remains, however, that the parallel, which this text establishes between the descent of *Padmasambhava* and that of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, corresponds perfectly with the analogy between the achievements of these two persons. The former re-established that status of the Tibetan kings in relation to the aboriginal deities, which the latter had originally established by his descent.

In both quotations from the *gTer-ma* the three provinces of Central Tibet, *Ñañ-po*, *Dwags-po* or *Dags-po*, and *Koñ-po* are characterized as the Land of the Noxious Beings (or Things) *gDug-pa-can-gyi-yul* or *gDug-pa-che-yul*, and as particularly noxious, *gdug-pa-che*, the text mentions two local demons or deities of *Koñ-po*, one of which is probably identical with *Koñ-rje dkar-po* (see p. 274f.), and furthermore the black, sacred mountain *Byañ-rdor*.

Temporarily leaving out of account the significant fact that Bod is identified with the Land of the *Yi-dwags*, we find that the three provinces called *gDug-pa-can-gyi-yul* and their evils, besides representing the idea of the evils prevailing in Bod before *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, have a quite specific connection with the progenitor myths. The circumstance that *Dwags-po* geographically more or less coincides with *sPo-bo*, makes *gDug-pa-can-gyi-yul* identical with the three countries, to which the sons of *Gri-gum-btsan-po* took refuge. Where *Koñ-po* in particular is concerned, we have already stated the close connection between *gÑa'-khyi(-khri)* or *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* and this country and its ruler *Koñ-rje-dkar-po* in his different aspects. The occurrence of a *Koñ-rje-dkar* in our text leads us to suspect that *Koñ-rje-dkar-po*, from before *gÑa'-khri(-btsan-po)* until late in historical time, represented the very idea of the human and the supernatural ruler of *Koñ-po*, and that *gÑa'-khri*, of whom it is told that he became *Koñ-rje-dkar-po*, originally fought this local demon of double nature and took over his position. It is remarkable that the principal enemies opposing *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* were a *Koñ-srin* and a *Byañ-srin* and that the mountain in *Koñ-po*, where he descended according to the general tradition, *Gyañ-mtho*, in the present text is named *Byañ-rdor* and represents a particular evil. The word *Byañ*, which commonly means north, apparently had a special significance in connection with *Koñ-po* in the ancient tradition, and the very mountain, *lHa-ri Gyañ-mtho* or *Byañ-rdor*, is in various ways connected

with the religious history of Tibet. In the legend of gSen-rab-Myi-bo, as related by the gZer-myig (138.II.71r-v), it is told that when he came to Koñ-po, the entrance to the black ravines was blocked by a bDud-kyi-Gyad-po by means of a black bDud-mountain, bDud-ri-nag-po. gSen-rab-Myi-bo removed it with his little finger and placed it elsewhere in Koñ-po, where it was named lHa-ri Gyañ-mtho instead of Ri-nag-Gyad-rdo. Immediately afterwards it is told of gSen-rab-Myi-bo that "As he went further downwards, there were, on a great black mountain, the *Myi-nag-mched-po* (De-nas mar-gsëgs-na / ri-nag chen-po-la / Myi-nag mched-po 'dug)." This account closely corresponds to that told of Padmasambhava above, and what we assumed also applied to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. Taken as a whole, the accounts of Padmasambhava, gSen-rab-Myi-bo, and gÑa'-khri-btsan-po present obvious parallels in the fight and submission of the local and aboriginal deities and demons, and in certain cases the Grags-pa Bon-lugs of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and the legend of gSen-rab-Myi-bo present features of a very close correspondance. This applies to particulars of the equipment of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, and of those occurring in the Bon performed by gSen-rab-Myi-bo after the submission or conversion of Koñ-rje-dkar-po.

Whether we look at the legends of Padmasambhava and gSen-rab-Myi-bo or the somewhat disparate accounts of the nature of the Tibetan country and its evils before the advent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, we get a most vivid picture of the world of supernatural powers which, in the imagination of the people, inhabited and ruled the country, opposing any foreign intrusion and submitting only to superior miraculous forces. In the written tradition this world of supernatural powers is generally personified in various individual deities or demons, or in groups or classes of such beings, whose original nature in most cases is comparatively little known. From this circumstance we may infer in general either that they belonged to fairly ancient strata of the popular religion, or that the ideas of their nature have been suppressed by the later tradition. We have reason, however, for believing that these individualized or classified demons haunting the Tibetan country are the exponents of the idea of a demon world, which has still deeper and older roots in the Tibetan concept of world and life, in fact the world of the defunct.

We have seen above that Bod was characterized as the Land of the Yi-dwags, or Pretapuri, which synonymously signify the *land or the abode of the errant, unsatisfied manifestations of the defunct or the ancestors*. The Yi-dwags were the unsatisfied, in Tibetan concept particularly "hungry", spirits or forms of the defunct, whose abode, according to Buddhism, was Pretapuri, the Town of the Preta, i.e. the Yi-dwags. It appears that the Yi-dwags represent the Tibetan concept of what at a certain stage of culture has almost universally been or is imagined as the manifestations of those deceased to whom the sacrifices have been omitted or neglected by the survivors or descendants, and who therefore, evil and mischievous, haunt the human world. The description of Bod as the Land of the Yi-dwags, within which we find gDug-pa-can-gyi-yul, expresses that ultimately there is no essential difference between the idea of gDugs-pa-can-gyi-yul, the Land of the Noxious, Vicious, or Mischievous Beings, and Bod in general as the land of the roaming manifestations of the deceased, who are inimical and dangerous to living beings.

It appears that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was to be the ruler, not only of a country *endangered by human controversies*, but also of a country *ridden by demons and supernatural beings*. As hinted above, the distress in the human world, Mi-yul, for human reasons presents only part of the general mythical motive for the appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. *The remaining part of the motive is to be found in the helplessness of the people against the supernatural world, the powers of the earth who haunted and threatened it.*

This aspect of the motive, though hardly conspicuous from what has hitherto been known of the myth, proves, however, to be the *main aspect* of it. As we shall further outline in the following, it provides the *religious* and, in a proper sense *mythic*, basis of the myth in general, while that aspect of the motive which is connected with the idea of inner and outer enemies of human nature, seems to be founded to a certain extent on *realities*.

As we have realized, the expression *progenitor* or *ancestor of the Yar-luñ Dynasty* is ambiguous (see

p. 159f.), because we are, in fact, dealing with two different traditions, one of the *ancestor of a local dynasty*, mainly represented by the myths of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons or sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, and one of a *primary ancestor or primogenitor in the form of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, as he is conceived in the authorized Buddhist tradition and its representation of the royal pedigree.

Therefore the idea of the mythical etiology of the origin of the Yar-luñ Dynasty becomes correspondingly ambiguous, and eventually we may distinguish between etiologies of the origin of both the local and the primary ancestor. Such a distinction seems to be in close correspondence to the distinction between the two aspects of the motive discussed above. *The religious and particularly mythic aspect of the motive seems mainly to represent the etiology of the origin of the local dynasty, while that aspect of it which is founded in the world of realities seems to represent the etiology of the origin of what we have called the primary ancestor.*

In the preceding discussion we have avoided calling special attention to a particular feature of the myths of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, which decidedly complicates the whole question of his position and capacity as a progenitor or ancestor of the Dynasty.

According to our general concept and historically founded knowledge of the Yar-luñ Dynasty of historical time, it had developed from a small local dynasty under the immediate predecessors of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, and the picture of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po as the ancestor of a local dynasty is therefore conformable to this concept. The picture of him as the primary ancestor of more local dynasties already appears alien to our general concept of the traditional ancestor of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, although it is ultimately compatible with it, and with the historical development as far as it is known to us.

Features far more alien and apparently incompatible with any historical background are, however, to be found in the various accounts of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po given in the preceding sections of this paper. With regard to the motive for his appearance, it has been related that *six Yab-'bañs were looking for a ruler* or that the *six Rus of Subjects implored a ruler*. The La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.29/77) correspondingly relates that he was *invited by the six Rus of Subjects* to be their king, and moreover, that it was in agreement with *the Twelve rGyal-phran who decided to recognize him as their suzerain*. Sanang Sečen (146.8r.19-25) relates that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po *submitted the Four Groups (Rus?) and became ruler of the 880,000 Tibetans*. If we finally add the account of Grags-pa Bon-lugs (see p. 215f.) that *he chastised the Kings of the Four Quarters and the Twelve rGyal-phran he made into his subjects*, we may safely state that we are dealing with *no tradition of the ancestor of a small local dynasty*, as far as these accounts are concerned, but with *the tradition of a ruler of all Tibetans, a sovereign of the Six Rus, gathering all the small states under his sovereignty*.

In all versions of the tradition of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po which refer to the Six Rus or the Twelve rGyal-phran, we are in fact, as far as these elements of the tradition are concerned, dealing with gÑa'-khri-btsan-po in this new capacity of an *All-Tibetan Sovereign*. These versions mostly belong to that category of traditions which also represent him as the *primary ancestor*, which by an immediate consideration may appear contradictory. In all those versions of the myth, where gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is conceived as the divine or miraculously appearing being who descended from Heaven or otherwise came to Bod to be ruler of Mi-yul or Bod, he is conceived as *the primary ancestor with which the Tibetan royalty was instituted, but it is the royalty as represented by the kings of the Tibetan realm of historical time*. This special circumstance applies above all to the Buddhist versions originating from that time, when the Tibetan king and realm were at the acme of power, and it explains how the *primary ancestor* can appear as an *All-Tibetan Sovereign*. This will be further outlined in the discussion of the historical reality behind the myth.

Thus the study of the motive for the appearance of the ancestor gÑa'-khri-btsan-po actually leads us to two different kinds of motives, one being *mythic-religious*, the other *realistic* or *quasi-historical*, and to three different concepts of the ancestor himself, viz. *the ancestor of a small local dynasty*, *the primary common ancestor of more local dynasties*, and *the primary ancestor of the Tibetan kings, in the capacity of an All-Tibetan Sovereign*.

If considering the possibility, hitherto hardly taken into account, that the tradition of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po might be more than a mere legend or myth representing "a rather clumsy adaption of the Chinese ones" (183.203), and that it might ultimately be based on historic, or pre-historic, reality, three circumstances may beforehand prove significant to us.

*First*, the accounts of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po taken as a whole present a rather striking contrast between mythic-legendary and realistic features. As shown above, one of the aspects of the motive for the appearance of the ancestor king is definitely realistic, and so is particularly the description of the situation prevailing before his advent, given by the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (see p. 233). The legendary reminiscences of the rGyal-phran quite clearly reveal to us a former state within the realm of the Tibetans, when inner schisms among their clans, tribes, or greater groups had weakened them, and scattered them under the reign of a number of petty rulers.

*Second*, the identity between gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and 'O-lde-spu(r)-rgyal, involved by the gTer-ma just mentioned and confirmed in various ways by Tibetan sources (see p. 309), demands a satisfactory explanation, above all because certain sources present 'O-lde-spu(r)-rgyal as a historic personality.

*Third*, the accounts of the origin of the Yar-luñ Dynasty present two essentially different aspects, one, that of local myths or legends connected specifically with a quite narrow part of Central Tibet around Yar-luñ, the other that of myths and legends common to, and concerning all the Tibetan peoples. We must here in some cases make allowance for the dimensional relativity or flexibility characterizing Tibetan legends and myths, but the all-Tibetan character of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po forces us to recognize the existence of a general Tibetan tradition besides the local tradition of Yar-luñ.

In connection with the last item we might add that several features show the existence of chronologically different strata in the general corpus of traditions delivered to us through the literature of the historical Tibetan Empire. With particular regard to the two aspects of the tradition just mentioned, the local aspect seems to represent a more ancient, the all-Tibetan aspect a more recent stratum, which in some way seems to have a connection with the events which took place at the threshold of historical time in Tibet.

As to the realistic features referred to in the first item, which so far are closely connected with the all-Tibetan character of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po mentioned in the third item, we might eventually disregard the references to the Six Rus as possible exaggerations on account of the relativity of dimensions occurring in Tibetan myths, but not the references to the rGyal-phran.

The idea of the rGyal-phran is a fundamental feature in the tradition, even in the later Buddhist versions where the Twelve rGyal-phran have been reduced to twelve peasants, herdsmen, or excellent men receiving gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. The rGyal-phran of the tradition, whether twelve or twenty-five, are no merely indefinite or fictive element in the composition of it. They belong to a specific tradition of the prehistoric, and partly historic, individual states within the Tibetan realm.

This tradition of the rGyal-phran and their countries appears from manuscripts found in Tun-huang.<sup>10</sup> One is the Tun-huang Ms. Paris 249 published by J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint (1.80–2/83–9), the other is the India Office Ms., Stein Collection, vol. 69, foll. 76–83, published by F.W. Thomas (11.52–102). The only later rGyal-phran list known to us is included in the note-text of dPa'-bo gTsong-lag (64.4v–5r). These sources enumerate seventeen or fourteen states and their rulers, and Ms. Paris 249 directly characterizes these states by the introductory lines as rGyal-phran-yul, the Countries of the rGyal-phran:

rGyal-pran-yul yul-na /

mKhar-bu re-re-na gan<sup>11</sup>-ste /

rGyal-pran bgyid-pa dañ /

rGyal-pran-gyi blon-po bgyid-pa'i rañ-la //

In the countries, the countries of the *rGyal-phran*,

In each of the castles there is one in charge.

As to those who act as *rGyal-phran* and

Act as ministers of the *rGyal-phran*, they are:

After the following list of seventeen rGyal-phran and their countries, we find references to the Twelve rGyal-phran and the merits of 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, and to the origin tradition of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po including the text rendered in Appendix III. In the other Ms. from the Stein Collection, here referred to as Ms. IV, the names of the countries and their rulers occur in connection with a more complicated religious-ritual context.

In spite of their different character the two manuscripts obviously depend on one and the same previous tradition of the rGyal-phran countries and their rulers, which is rendered by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag at a much later time, as will appear from a comparison of the lists given below. This primary tradition seems to have had the form of an epic enumerating for each country its name, ruler (rje), castle (mkhar), minister(s) (blon-po), Srin, gSen, lHa, etc. As far as the texts permit an attempt at reconstruction, the general formula seems to have been

<i>Yul rTsañ-yul mTho- . . . /</i>	or <i>Yul sKyi-ro lJañ-sñon /</i>
<i>rJe rTsañ-rje Pva-ha /</i>	<i>rJe sKyi-rje rMañ-po /</i>
<i>mKhar (Myañ-ro'i Pyed-kar) /</i>	<i>mKhar ?</i>
<i>bLon-po (gNañ . . . ) /</i>	<i>bLon-po Śe'u dañ Sug gñis /</i>
<i>Srin rTsañ-srin Po-da (or Pod-de) /</i>	<i>Srin sKyi-srin Tsa-luñ-ža /</i>
<i>gSen rTsañ-gsen sNal-nag /</i>	<i>gSen sKyi-gsen rGyan-ñar /</i>
<i>lHa rTsañ-lha Pu-dar /</i>	<i>lHa sKyi-lha Pya-mañs /</i>

thus employing a line of five or six syllables, beginning with a non-accentuated syllable followed by a trochaic metre.<sup>19</sup>

The seventeen names of the rGyal-phran countries and their rulers found in the Paris Ms. 249 are given in the following (Paris 1 ff.). The ten cases of corresponding names from Ms. IV are given in the second place with references to the lines of the manuscript (IV 299 etc.). The corresponding fourteen names from dPa'-bo gTsug-lag are given in the third place, their sequence noted by Arabic numbers (dPa' 1 etc.).

Paris 1.	<i>Žaň-zuň ñar-pa'i rJo-bo Lig-sña-śur /</i>
dPa' 2.	<i>Žaň-zuň-yul-na ni / rGyal-po Lig-sña-śur / sMa-dBaň-Saňs blon /</i>
Paris 2.	<i>Myañ-ro'i Pyed-kar / rJe rTsañ-rje'i Thod-kar /</i>
dPa' 3.	<i>Myañ-ro Phyoň-dkar-na gTsañ-rje Thod-dkar bLon-po gNañ</i>
Paris 3.	<i>Yul gNubs-gyi gLiň-dgu'-na rJe gNubs-rje'i Sris-pa /</i>
IV 299.	<i>Yul gNubs-śul gLiň-dgu'-na / rJe gNubs-rje Srib-s-pa bZugs /</i>
dPa' 4.	<i>gNubs-yul gLiň-dgu'-na sNubs-rje dMigs-pa bLon-po rMe'u dañ 'Bro /</i>
Paris 4.	<i>Yul Myañ-ro'i Śam-po-na / rJe Loň-ma-byi-brom-tsha /</i>
dPa' 5.	<i>Ñaň-ro Śam-bor Lo-ñam rDzi-'brom bLon-po Śe-Sug gñis /</i>
Paris 5.	<i>Yul sKyi-ro'i lJaň-sñon-na / rJe sKyi-rje'i Mañ-po /</i>
IV 315.	<i>Yul sKyi-ro lJaň-sñon-na / rJe sKyi-rje rMañ-po /</i>
dPa' 6.	<i>sKyi-ri lJon-sñon-na Kyi-rje rMañ-po bLon-po Ñam dañ 'Bro</i>
Paris 6.	<i>Yul Ńas-po'i Khra-sum-na / rJe dGug-gri'i Ziň-po-rje /</i>
IV 309.	<i>Yul Ńas-po Khra-sum-na / rJe Draň-rje rNol-nam žig /</i>
dPa' 7.	<i>Ńas-śod Khra-snar Ziňs-rje Khri-'phran-gsum bLon-po mGar dañ gÑan</i>
Paris 7.	<i>Yul dBye-ro Yul-bzi-na / rJe dBye-rje'i mKhar-po /</i>
IV 324.	<i>Yul dBye-mo Yul-drug-na / dBye-rje Khar-ba žig /</i>
dPa' 14.	<i>g'Ye-mo Yul-drug-na g'Ye-rje mKhar-ba bLon-po rBa dañ sTug</i>
Paris 8.	<i>Yul 'O-yul-gyi sPaň-kar-na / rJe 'Ol-rje'i Zin-braň-tsha /</i>
IV 331.	<i>Yul 'Ol-pu Dag-daň-na / rJe 'Ol-rje Zin-praň bZugs /</i>
dPa' 8.	<i>'Ol-phu sPaň-mkhar-du Zin-rje Thon-phreň bLon-po rÑog dañ sBas</i>
Paris 9.	<i>Yul rÑegs-yul-kyi Gru-bzi-na / rJe rÑegs-rje'i La-braň /</i>

- IV 327. Yul rÑegs-śul gLiñ-brañ-ce'u-na / rJe rÑegs-...-G...-brañ-tse'u bźugs /  
 dPa' 15. Se-mo Gru-bźi-na gÑags-rje Gru-'phrañ Se dañ Ńaň gñis bLon  
 Paris 10. Yul kLum-ro'i Ya-sum-na / rJe Nam-pa'i bu gSeñ-ti /  
 Paris 11. Yul Sribś-yul-kyi Ral-mo-goň-na / rJe Draň-rje'i rNol-nam /  
 dPa' 9. Kṛṣṇa Rol-mo-goň-du Braň-rje Goň-nam bLon-po sPrad dañ Žugs  
 Paris 12. Yul rKoň-la Bre-snar-na / rJe rKoň-rje'i dKar-po /  
 IV 343. Yul rKoň-yul Bre-snar-na / rJe rKoň'di dKar-po bźugs /  
 dPa' 10. Koň-yul Bre-sna-na Koň-rje Kar-po Tug dañ mKhar-ba bLon  
 Paris 13. Yul Myaň-yul-gyi rTa-gsum-na / rJe Myaň-tsun sLaň-rgyal /  
 IV 340. Myaň-yul Śiň-sňon-na / rJe Myaň-tsun rGyal-po-dog cig bźugs /  
 dPa' 11. Ńaň-yul rNam-gsum-na Ńaň-btsun gLaň-rgyal bLon-po Bug dañ Ńo-rje  
 Paris 14. Yul Dags-kyi Gru-bźi-na / rJe Dags-rgyal-gyi sProg-zin /  
 IV 333. Yul Dags-yul Śiň-nag-na / rJe Dar-rgyal sProg-zin /  
 Paris 15. Yul mChims-yul-gyi dGu'-yul-na' / rJe mChims-rje'i Ne'u /  
 IV 336. Yul mChims-...-kyi dGra-sul / -na / rJe mChims-rje Ne'u bźugs /  
 dPa' 1. mChims-yul Gru-śul-na / mChims-rje ni Gu-yod / bLon-po sNaň dañ / Diň  
 Paris 16. Yul Sum-yul-gyi Ya-sum-na' / rJe 'Bal-lji-mañ-ru-ti /  
 Paris 17. Yul 'Brog-mo sNam-gsum-na / rJe Se-re-khri /  
 dPa' 13. 'Brog-mo rNam-gsum-na / rGyal-po Se-mi-ra-khriñ bźugs / De-yi bLon-po Ka-re-nag

Besides, Ms. IV and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag contain the following names not occurring in Paris Ms. 249:

- IV 291. Yul rTsaň-śul mTho-...-na / rJe rTsaň-rje Pva-ha žig /  
 IV 320. Yul Yar-khyim Sogs-yar-na' / Yul-rje 'O-lde-spu-rgyal bźugs /  
 IV 345. Yul mDo-ro ...-luň-... / rJe mDo-rje 'On-braň bźugs /  
 IV 348. Yul rGya-yul gDan-bzaňś-na / rJe rGya-rje Mye-mtshaň rMaň-po bźugs /  
 dPa' 12. Śas-yul Gru-bźi-na dGa'-rje Maň-po-rgyal bLon-po rLaňś-sKam gñis

The differences between these three versions are mostly due to orthographic errors. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag with one exception renders the version of the Paris Ms. 249. The occurrence of Draň-rje rNol-nam in Ńas-po of Ms. IV but in Sribś-yul of Paris, and the occurrence of text-fragments concerning kLum-ro in connection with Ńas-po must be ascribed to a certain corruption of Ms IV, so that both the Tun-huang Mss actually have had Sribś-yul and kLum-ro, and thus *a total of twelve countries in common*.

In Paris Ms. 249 the list of the countries is followed by this sequence of verses:

rGyal-pran bcu-gñis-na /	Twelve rGyal-phran,
Se-re-khri dañ bcu-gsum /	With <i>Se-re-khri</i> thirteen.
bLon-po Ńi-śu-rtśa-bźi-na /	Twenty-four Ministers,
sKyaň-re-gnag dañ Ńi-śu-rtśa-lña /	With <i>sKyaň-re-gnag</i> twenty-five.
mKhar bcu-gñis-na /	Twelve castles,
dBu-lde-dam-pa dañ bcu-sum /	With <i>dBu-lde-dam-pa</i> thirteen.
Yul bcu-gñis-na /	Twelve countries,
Byaň-gi sNam-brgyad dañ bcu-gsum /	With <i>Byaň-gi sNam-brgyad</i> thirteen.
rGyal dgu' sŃo bcu /	Nine rGyal, (with) <i>sŃo</i> <sup>13</sup> ten.
bLon dgu' mChims bcu Žes-bya-ste //	Nine bLon, (with) <i>mChims</i> <sup>14</sup> ten. So it is said.
De yan-chad ya-yogs ni /	Before that was <i>Ya-yogs</i> , <sup>15</sup>
gDod byi(d) rum-gyi ni rkyen	The cause ( <i>rkyen</i> ) of the <i>Rum</i> <sup>16</sup> of Beginning (Birth, <i>gdod</i> ) <sup>17</sup> and End (Death, <i>byid</i> ). <sup>18</sup>
Žes-bya-ste /	So it is said.
gNa'-yul yul-na rGyal-pran dañ bLon-po 'di-ltar bab-ste //	In the country, the country of yore, the rGyal- phran and Ministers descended this way.

These lines contain an unmistakable reference to a special tradition of Twelve rGyal-phran. Unfortunately they are not specified among the seventeen names of the list, but we are inclined to believe that they are represented by the following twelve countries: *gNubs*, *Myañ*, *sKyi-ro*, *Ñas-po*, *dBye-ro*, *'O-yul*, *rÑegs-yul*, *kLum-ro*, *Sribs-yul*, *rKoñ-yul*, *Dags-yul*, and *mChims-yul*. It may in itself be significant that they are countries common to both manuscripts, but it is a more important fact that these countries, with one or two exceptions, can be approximately localized within the central part of Tibet, along the valley of gTsañ-po and its affluents, which formed the nucleus from which the Tibetan Empire developed. Almost all these countries occur in the records of the events in the period before Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, when they successively submitted to the suzerainty of the Yar-luñ kings (1.100–08), and the creation of the Empire took its beginning. If we add to these twelve states forming the central part of Tibet, the surplus five countries mentioned by Paris Ms. 249, viz. *Žañ-žuñ*, the two *Myañ*, *Sum-yul*, and *'Brogmo*, we get approximately the Tibetan territory which Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po took over from his father in about 600 A. D.

While it is far from being improbable that the Paris Ms. 249 actually gives a picture of the territorial extent of the Tibetan realm at that time, the picture to be obtained from Ms. IV is somewhat different and probably refers to an earlier period, as apparently is the case with regard to the manuscript as a whole. For the greater part the latter manuscript mentions the countries of Central Tibet and among those, as a unique occurrence, Yar-khyim Sogs-yar with the ruler 'O-lde-spu-rgyal. The remaining two countries, mDo-ro . . .-luñ and rGya-yul gDan-bzañs, point, however, towards East or Northeast, towards the ancient settlements of the Ch'iang.

The list of the rGyal-phran in Paris Ms. 249, even if it possibly or probably represents a stage during the rise of the historically known Tibet, actually serves to create the background for the origin myth of the Dynasty, as it appears from the continuation of the text. The first nine lines constitute fragments of an originally tetrasyllabic epic of varying metre, which has been inserted in the text in a broader form suiting its present purpose:

Myi-mañ-gi rje /  
 Yul-che'i bdag *byed-byed-pa-las* /  
 rGyal-po btsan-ba dañ /  
 bLon-po 'dzañs-pa dku'-bo-che-rnams-kyis /  
 gChig śes gchig brlag-ste /  
 'Bañs-su bkug-na /  
*mTha'-ma* 'O-lde-spu-rgyal-gyi dbu-rmog ma-  
 thob /  
 Mar ni lHa-nar-gyis-mnard /<sup>21</sup>  
 Thun ni rJe-thun-gyis bthun<sup>22</sup> -te *bgug-go* //  
 // lHa-gnam-gyi steñ-nas gśegs-pa' /

The rulers of many men  
 Acting as lords of great countries,  
 By the mighty kings and  
 Their wise and artful ministers  
 They were destroyed, one by one,  
 And made subjects.  
 But the last of them, 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, his *dBu-rmog*<sup>19</sup> they did not get hold of.  
 They suffered the sufferings<sup>20</sup> inflicted by *lHa*,  
 They were mastered by power, the Power of the Ruler, and were vanquished.  
 He who came from the High Heaven of *lHa*,...

(Continuation see Appendix III A.)

Besides stating the existence of divine power behind the King 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, this piece of text in connection with its following context unequivocally states an identity between 'O-lde-spu-rgyal and gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, as mentioned above in item two.

From the material just quoted and from the versions of the origin myth in general, it appears that the idea of the rGyal-phran is an integral part of the myth of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, quite specifically connected with him in the capacity of 'O-lde-spu-rgyal. The same observation applies to the idea of the Great Kings and the progenitor king's relations to them. Moreover, the idea of the rGyal-phran involves the further idea of a previous state of disintegration and weakness among the Tibetans, which changes into union and strength by the interference of the progenitor king. *The whole picture given by*

*the myth in this regard appears as the reality at the foundation of the historical Tibetan Empire, but the myth itself refers it to the foundation of the Dynasty in prehistoric time.*

These apparently contradictory circumstances seem somehow to be linked together with the double identity of the progenitor as gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, and with his double character as primary ancestor and All-Tibetan ruler. The greater part of the problem would immediately find its solution if we presumed that the actual events in connection with the foundation of the historical Empire simply have served as a background for the creation of the general myth. Then the All-Tibetan aspect of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is immediately explained, and the local and primary aspects of the progenitor would appear as the remains of the original and natural elements of the myth. On the other side such a presumption may give rise to new problems as difficult to solve as the original one.

We are therefore also obliged to consider the possibility hinted above that the development in Tibet at the beginning of historical time has had its *prehistoric precedent*, i.e. *that the Tibetan states or tribes have been united under one single sovereign at two different times, but under similar inner and outer conditions*, and the Chinese sources seem to prove that such a development *has actually taken place as a prehistoric precedent*.

Chinese sources, primarily the T'ung-tien, the Chiu T'ang-shu and the T'ang-shu give us accounts of the Tibetans, partly anterior to the 6th-7th centuries, including a record of the foundation of a Tibetan dynasty in the fifth century A. D. In spite of the fact that certain details of these accounts directly connect the dynasty in question with the historical Dynasty of Yar-luñ, no particular significance has as yet been ascribed to these accounts. On the background of our present knowledge of early Tibetan history, a more serious consideration of them seems advisable.

The various general accounts of Tibet occurring in Chinese literature since the T'ang Dynasty (when Tibet was first recognized as a particular state) T'u-fan, among the Ch'iang, seem to depend on the same, now unknown primary source or sources. The oldest of these accessible accounts with regard to the age of publication, is that given by Tu Yu in 801 A. D., in his T'ung-tien. As to our actual problem the T'ung-tien (224.190.8r7-8v3) and, entirely depending on this source, the T'ung-chih (233.3132a22-3132b1) and the Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2624a23-2624b2) relate:

T'u-fan live to the West and South of the T'u-yü-hun. We do not know from which country they have come. Some say that T'u-fa Li-lu-ku had the son Fan-ni, whose suzerain Ju-t'an was overthrown by Ch'i-fu-Ch'ih-p'an. Fan-ni submitted the remaining tribe(s) to Chü-ch'ü Mêng-hsün. During the time of the Western Wei Dynasty his descendants became sub-prefects (chün-ch'êng) of Lin-sung.

He (Fan-ni) won entirely the hearts of all the chu-pu (see below).

On account of the disturbances in China at the end of the Wei Dynasty he pacified the Ch-iang tribes, thus called because they were very strong (ch'iang).

Thereupon he altered his surname to Su-p'o-yeh (*sPu-rgyal*), and (T'ung-chih adds: because he was chün-ch'êng) therefore the people up to now use it as a designation of their sovereign, who is called Tsan-fu (*brTsan-po*).

The subjects of high rank are called chu-pu (*Jo-bo, rJe-bo*).

There are also some who say that as the ancestor Tsan-p'u (*brTsan-po*) originated from the gods of High Heaven and had the designation Hu-ti-hsi-pu-yeh ('*O-lde-spu-rgyal*); this was regarded as a surname (hsing).

Note: Su-po-yeh is right, while Hsi-pu-yeh is an incorrect expression. Some say that the original surname is Ch'i-su-nung (Khri-sroñ).

The Chiu T'ang-shu (213.196A.1r5-1v4) gives a less confused account:

T'u-fan is 8000 li to the West of Ch'ang-an. Originally, at the time of the Han Dynasty, it was the territory of the Hsi-Ch'iang. We do not know from which seed they have issued.



Some say that they are the descendants of T'u-fa Li-lu-ku of the Nan-Liang Dynasty.

Li-lu-ku had the son named Fan-ni. When Li-lu-ku died, Fan-ni was still young, and Ju-t'an the younger brother (of Li-lu-ku) succeeded, while Fan-ni became General of An-hsi (An-hsi Chiang-chün).

The first year Shên-jui of the Hou-Wei Dynasty (414 A. D.) Ju-t'an was overthrown by Ch'i-fu-Ch'ih-p'an of the Hsi-Chin Dynasty. Fan-ni gathered together all the rest of the people and gave allegiance to Chü-ch'ü Mêng-hsün. Mêng-hsün made him Military Commander of Lin-sung (Lin-sung t'ai-shou).

When Mêng-hsün died, Fan-ni led his people towards the West, fled across Huang-ho beyond Chi-shih, and founded a state among the Ch'iang, extending over a territory of 1000 li.

Fan-ni, who early had displayed authority and kindness, was liked by all the various tribes of the Ch'iang. He brought them all under his command, and they loyally returned his grace by following him wherever he went.

Thereupon he altered his surname (hsing) to Su-p'o-yeh (*sPu-rgyal*) and made T'u-fa the designation of his state, which with an incorrect expression is called T'u-fan.

His descendants, who became numerous and prosperous, did not leave off invading and submitting new territories, but gradually widened their country.

During the Chou and Sui Dynasties they still separated all the Ch'iang from China, so that they did not communicate with it.

The T'ang hui-yao (219.1729.2-3) follows the Chiu T'ang-shu, relating:

T'u-fan live 8000 li to the West of Ch'ang-an. Originally, at the time of the Han Dynasty, they were a tribe of the Hsi-Ch'iang. We do not know from which country they have come.

Note: Some say that a son of Nan-Liang T'u-fa Li-lu-ku named Fan-ni fled westwards after his state had been destroyed, and founded a state among the Ch'iang and was liked by them all. Hence the surname Su-po-yeh (*sPu-rgyal*). Some say that he used T'u-fa as the designation of his country, and that with an erroneous expression it is called T'u-fan. During the Wei and Sui Dynasties they separated all the Ch'iang from China, so that they did not yet communicate with it.

The account of the T'ang-shu (220.216A.1r5-1v1) reads:

T'u-fan originally belonged to the Hsi-Ch'iang who comprised all the fifty scattered tribes living at Ho, Huang, Chiang and Min. There were Ta-ch'iang, T'ang-mao, etc.

They had not yet begun to communicate with China and lived to the West of Hsi-chih-shui.

Their ancestor named Hu-t'i-p'o-hsi-yeh (*'O-lde-spus-rgyal*) was a strong warrior and very prudent, who gradually gathered all the Ch'iang and took possession of their territories.

As Fan sounds nearly like Fa, his descendants were called T'u-fan, and their surname (was) P'o-su-yeh (*sPus-rgyal*).

Some say that Nan-Liang T'u-fa Li-lu-ku left two sons called Fan-ni and Ju-t'an. Ju-t'an succeeded but was overthrown by Ch'i-fu-Ch'ih-p'an. Fan-ni raised his beaten tribe and gave allegiance to Chü-ch'ü Mêng-hsün, and became Military Commander of Lin-sung.

When Mêng-hsün died, Fan-ni led his soldiers westwards, crossed Ho, and went beyond Chi-shih. Then he subjected all the Ch'iang tribes.

Various later Chinese sources refer to the account of the Chiu T'ang-shu. The T'ai-p'ing yü-lan (218.798.1r8-1v3) quotes the whole account given above, while the Wu-tai hui-yao and the Chiu Wu-tai-shih give almost identical, short extracts from it, and the Wu-tai shih-chi simply refers to the T'ang records. The short notice of the Chiu Wu-tai-shih (214.138.1r4-5) reads:

T'u-fan was originally, at the time of the Han Dynasty, the territory of the Hsi-Ch'iang. Some say that the descendants of Nan-Liang T'u-fa Li-lu-ku used T'u-fa as the designation of their state, which with an erroneous expression has become T'u-fan.

The commented edition of the Tzū-chih t'ung-chien contains the following notes regarding T'u-fan (225.194.14r6-14v1):

T'u-fan originally belonged to the Hsi-Ch'iang who comprise in all fifty scattered tribes living at Ho, Huang, Chiang, and Min. There were Ta-ch'iang, T'ang-mao, etc.

They had not yet begun to communicate with China and lived to the West of Hsi-chih-shui.

Their ancestor named Hu-t'i-p'o-hsi-yeh (*'O-lde-spus-rgyal*) was a strong warrior and very prudent, who gradually gathered all the Ch'iang and took possession of their territories.

T'u-fa sounds alike (T'u-fan). Hence his descendants were called T'u-fan, and their surname (was) P'o-su-yeh (*sPus-rgyal*).

Some say that Nan-Liang T'u-fa Wu-ku left two sons called Fan-ni and Ju-t'an. When they were overthrown by Ch'i-fu-Ch'ih-p'an, Fan-ni raised his beaten tribe and gave allegiance to Chü-ch'ü Mêng-hsün.

When Chü-ch'ü died, Fan-ni led his soldiers westwards, crossed Ho, and went beyond Chi-shih. Then he subjected all the Ch'iang tribes.

As they usually called someone strong and brave tsan (*brtsan*) and called a man p'u (*pho*), the designation of their chief was Tsan-p'u (*brTsan-po*). Their country was one thousand li from Ch'ang-an and five hundred li from Shan-shan.

Liu Chü says that T'u-fan are the descendants of the T'u-fa clan (shih), with an erroneous expression called T'u-fan.

Sung Pai says that when Fan-ni fled to Chü-ch'ü Mêng-hsün, he<sup>1</sup> was appointed Sub-prefect of Lin-sung (Lin-sung chün-ch'êng), and when Chü-ch'ü died, he founded a state in the West and altered his surname to P'o-su-yeh (*sPus-rgyal*).

Although both of the T'ang Annals have been generally known from the translations given by S. W. Bushell (147.439-40) and P. Pelliot (176.1,79), no attempt has as yet been made to examine whether the maintained connection between the T'u-fa clan and the Tibetan Dynasty has any foundation in reality. The main reason for this is probably the circumstance that little interest has been paid in general to the history of the small dynasties and to the history and importance of the western foreign peoples in China. In his note to the Nan-Liang Dynasty Bushell remarks (147.527-3): "The connexion with Tibet would seem to be a myth based only on similarity of sound," and might indeed be right where the question of connection with Tibet is concerned, but without a shadow of proof either way. Any argument based on similarity of sound may be interpreted in both a positive and a negative sense, as long as no immediately acceptable explanation of the name T'u-fan and its origin is otherwise given.

The designation T'u-fan seems unknown until the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty, when Tibet and the Tibetans, who had hitherto not been distinguished as a separate people from the great mass of tribes or peoples generally named the Ch'iang, entered the history of Central Asia as a factor of rapidly increasing importance. Therefore the accounts of T'u-fa Fan-ni refer to the Ch'iang in general and only indirectly to the Tibetans.

Fan-ni who was the ancestor of the Tibetan kings according to the Chinese sources given above, belonged to the T'u-fa clan or tribe of the Hsien-pi peoples, who at the time of the Han Dynasty invaded Ho-hsi (Shên-hsi) from the North. Through a common ancestor P'i-ku they were related to the To-pa clan which founded the Pei-Wei Dynasty in 386 A. D., and ethnically they were related to the T'u-yü-hun. About 397 A. D. their chief T'u-fa Wu-ku founded the little local Nan-Liang Dynasty in the Liang-chou territory of Kan-su. Wu-ku had two sons Li-lu-ku and Ju-t'an. When he died shortly afterwards in 399 A. D. (the 3rd year Lung-an of the Tung-Chin Dynasty), he was succeeded as Liang-Wang

by his elder son T'u-fa Li-lu-ku, who, however, also died after a few years in 402 A. D. (the 1st year Yüan-hsing).

As Li-lu-ku's son Fan-ni was too young to succeed his father, Ju-t'an the younger brother of Li-lu-ku succeeded instead of him. After a reign of thirteen years Ju-t'an and the dynasty were overthrown by Ch'i-fu-Ch'ih-p'an of the Hsi-Chin Dynasty in 414 A. D. (the 1st year Shên-jui of the Hou-Wei, or 10th year I-hsi of the Tung-Chin Dynasty). As Ch'ih-p'an moreover killed the heir Hu-t'ai, Ju-t'an's younger son Pao-chou sought refuge among the P'o-ch'iang, and the other members of the family, including Fan-ni, fled to Chü-ch'ü Mêng-hsün of the Pei-Liang Dynasty, to whom their tribe gave allegiance.

Fan-ni was appointed Military Commander (t'ai-shou) or Sub-prefect (chün-ch'êng) of Lin-sung, an outpost in Kan-su near Chi-shih. When Mêng-hsün died in 433 A. D. and the dynasty began to dissolve, Fan-ni led his tribe westwards beyond Chi-shih, crossing Ho as described by the sources quoted above.

The territory, in which Fan-ni and his tribe lived both before and after he crossed Ho, had for a very long time been the territory of various Ch'iang peoples. It may appear rather strange that the chief of a tribe, which, in reality was alien to the Ch'iang tribes, should be able to acquire the leadership of them and even unite them in a greater measure. The explanation may, however, be found in the two following circumstances. On one side the T'u-fa tribe and the Ch'iang had lived together under similar conditions in the provinces Shên-hsi and Kan-su for almost half a millenium, on the other side Fan-ni apparently possessed such natural qualities which might appeal to the Ch'iang. Since his youth he had been a warrior and displayed at the same time majestic authority and grace, and these qualities would under the right circumstances make him a natural leader of the Ch'iang.

From the descriptions of these peoples and their customs it appears that ordinarily they attached no particular importance to a social order with regularly established institutions of government and administration. Thus Tu Yu says (224.189.1v5-6): "Of old they did not install rulers or ministers and were without a common government. When therefore a separate group had a brave chief, then the weaker peoples adhered to him. The tribes mutually plundered one another." Besides, the historical records of the Nan-Liang Dynasty themselves show that various Ch'iang tribes directly adhered to the dynasty (e. g. see 225.110.20v9-10).

The fact which appears from these accounts, seems to be that T'u-fa Fan-ni gathered a greater part of the Ch'iang peoples outside China, to the West of Chi-shih, under his suzerainty towards the middle of the fifth century A. D. The conditions which might make the creation of a greater unit of these peoples possible have been considered just above, but the actual reason for it does not appear from the records. It was probably the ordinary reason for the Ch'iang to give up their usual mutual isolation and unite, viz. *a menace against their existence*. Attacks and warfare were the events which above everything else were able to gather the Ch'iang even within the single tribes. In their descriptions of the Tang-hsiang, the Tang-ch'ang, and the Têng-chih, some of the most fully described Ch'iang tribes, the Wei-shu (101.16v8-9), the Chou-shu (49.9-10), the Sui-shu (217.83.5v2-3), the Pei-shih (96.21r3-4; 22v5-6), and the T'ung-tien (224.190.6r4-6; 7r10) relate in almost the same terms: "They generally esteem martial strength. They have no laws or ordinances, nor have they compulsory service or taxes. By attacks or warfare, on such occasions they gather together in camps, otherwise everyone attends to his own business without mutual intercourse."

The question which naturally arises is whether a situation endangering the Ch'iang enough to cause a union of a greater mass of them actually was at hand during the period in question, the former half of the fifth century A. D. With certain reservations this question can be answered in the affirmative. It was a period when great events took place in Central Asia, and more or less menaced the territory of the Tibetan peoples taken as a whole.

Towards the east the Chinese and the Ch'iang fought each other periodically as they had done for centuries, and the Ch'iang were exposed to an increasing pressure from the east, which in the sixth century, by the final defeat of the Têng-chih Ch'iang, led to a considerable displacement of their power

centre towards the west. With the strong Ch'iang tribes in China as a barrier, the general menace from China against the Ch'iang outside was in itself less important in the beginning of the fifth century. More important, however, was the circumstance that a number of their tribes to their general disadvantage became involved in the numerous fights between the minor local dynasties, particularly in the province of Kan-su.

A far greater danger menaced, and had already for some time seriously endangered the Ch'iang from the north, from the T'u-yü-hun. The Chinese Annals generally state that this people, which is considered the descendants of the Hsien-pi formerly living in Liao-hsi, became powerful from the end of the period Yung-chia (307-13 A.D.), and in the following centuries the extremely mobile, mounted hordes of the T'u-yü-hun became a terror to great parts of Central Asia, and a dangerous enemy even to the Chinese Empire. By their advance they gradually occupied the ancient territories of the Ch'iang in parts of Kan-su and around Koko-nor, expelling or subjugating the tribes who of ancient time had lived here. From their base by Koko-nor they raided the Tibetans and other peoples far to the east, south and west. It was consequently the tribes living in the whole north-eastern part of Tibet, who were particularly molested by the T'u-yü-hun, i.e. *the very tribes who gathered under the dominion of Fan-ni*.

To the south and west the Tibetan peoples living in these directions had dangerous neighbours at the same time. In India the Gupta Dynasty reached the height of its power and the greatest extent of its Empire in the first decennaries of the fifth century, penetrating into the regions of the Himalayas. To the west the Huns pursued their advance, invading in the same period all the western neighbour countries of the Tibetans and shortly afterwards India.

If we accept as a historical fact that T'u-fa Fan-ni succeeded in uniting a considerable number of Tibetan peoples or tribes under his command, we are, in fact, dealing with a situation, prehistoric in the sense of Tibetan history, which rather closely corresponds to that described in the accounts of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, and according to the Chinese representation we should be dealing with one and the same situation. The events under Fan-ni are connected with the Tibetans by being related in the special records of T'u-fan, but this rather formal connection assumes a more concrete character by the accounts that Fan-ni was the *founder of a dynasty and adopted a surname which was a specific dynastic name or title of the Tibetan kings*.

As appearing from the records given above, the T'ung-tien relates separately that Fan-ni changed his surname (hsing) to Su-p'o-yeh, and that the primary ancestor of the Tibetan kings (tsan-p'u) was Hu-ti-hsi-pu-yeh, which afterwards was regarded as a royal surname. In a note to this name, Tu Yu remarks that -hsi-pu-yeh erroneously stands for -su-p'o-yeh. The Chiu T'ang-shu correspondingly relates that Fan-ni changed his surname to Su-p'o-yeh after having submitted the Ch'iang. Some editions of these Annals have Tsai-p'o-yeh, evidently due to a mistake caused by the great similarity between the characters for su and tsai.

The T'ang-shu does not mention Fan-ni, but identifying the Tibetans with the Hsi-ch'iang of the Han Dynasty, it relates that their ancestor was named Hu-ti-p'o-hsi-yeh. Furthermore the text, which has become corrupt by the abbreviated rendering of a previous source, states that the surname of his descendants was P'o-su-yeh. The comments to the Tzū-chih t'ung-chien follow for the greater part the T'ang-shu and give the same statements.

P. Pelliot (174.10-13) has discussed these surnames as they occur in the T'ang Annals, and reconstructed their original Tibetan forms. Apparently without knowledge of the text of the T'ung-tien, and later works directly depending on this source, he proposed the forms Hu-t'i-hsi-p'o-yeh and Hsi-p'o-yeh as the correct ones, thus correcting the metathesis in the T'ang-shu. The Tibetan names (see below) make it, however, more probable that the correct forms are Hu-ti-su-p'o-yeh and Su-p'o-yeh as maintained by Tu Yu. Pelliot reconstructed these names as 'O-lde-spu-rgyal and sPu-rgyal, and the correctness of this reconstruction seems perfectly substantiated by the material of Sino-Tibetan transliterations which has become known since Pelliot's reconstruction.

The two names 'O-lde-spu-rgyal and sPu-rgyal are specifically connected with the Yar-luñ kings and their Dynasty, the *former being at the same time a synonym for gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and the general*

*official name of the kings, while the latter expresses a particular quality of the Yar-luñ kings in their capacity of sPu(r)-rgyal bTsan-po.*

'O-lde may possibly have the significance of a surname (hsing) as stated by the T'ang-shu (220.216B.1v) when saying of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan that he had the surname of the family (or clan) Hu-lu-t'i, where Hu-lu-t'i is a more elaborate transliteration of 'O-lde than Hu-t'i or Hu-ti.

sPu-rgyal is a special title or designation of the Dynasty, as most clearly formulated by the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.22/68; see p. 170): "The king from whom the Dynasty developed is sPu-rgyal, the King of Bod."

Bearing in mind that besides applying to the historical kings, 'O-lde-spu-rgyal applies to the ancestor of the Dynasty, i.e. it is a synonym for gÑa'-khri-btsan-po in his appearance as the All-Tibetan sovereign, we may realize the real importance of the fact that the Chinese records connect the origin of the Tibetan Dynasty with Fan-ni and his history.

The realistic aspect of the myth of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, his appearance as an All-Tibetan sovereign, which is incongruous to any concept of the progenitor of a small local dynasty, seems to find its explanation in this connection of the events, established by the Chinese records.

Assuming, as we may rather safely do, that the events in the former half of the fifth century connected with Fan-ni have created the memory of glorious and remarkable happenings in the common tradition of the Tibetan peoples, such a memory, perhaps still more glorified in the course of time, would present a natural and proper background for the dynasty which, about two centuries later, after having submitted the rGyal-phran and united almost all the Tibetan peoples outside China, destroyed the T'u-yü-hun and recovered the ancient territories of the Ch'iang.

*This paralleling of historic and prehistoric events in the creation of the origin tradition of the Dynasty, is what actually seems to lie behind the Chinese accounts.* We do not know the age of the tradition of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po in its all-Tibetan aspect, but we have reason to believe that it developed rather late as a modification of the original tradition of local and religious significance. Therefore the Chinese representation of Fan-ni, directly or indirectly, as the ancestor or founder of the Dynasty need not mean that he was the real founder of the Tibetan Yar-luñ Dynasty or was in any way personally related to it. On the other hand we cannot reject such possibilities with absolute certainty. A continuous prehistoric line of the Dynasty cannot be traced for any considerable length of time in the past, and various details of the origin tradition of the Dynasty, such as 'Gren mgo-nag-gi rJe employed of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal (see p. 231) and the Buddhist tradition of an Indian origin of the kings, seem to suggest the possibility that the Yar-luñ Dynasty was of foreign origin or was no auchthotonous dynasty.

In any attempt to clear up the real origin of the Dynasty, or give a definite statement with regard to the amount of reality which may be found behind the origin myths, the occurrences of the name 'O-lde-spu-rgyal present the greatest obstacle. The circumstance that it is in a somewhat devious way connected with Fan-ni by the Chinese records, permits no conclusions. It may simply be a result of the paralleling of events as mentioned above.

Far more significant are the circumstances that 'O-lde-spu-rgyal occurs in the official documents from the time of the Yar-luñ Dynasty *as the name of both the ancestor and the actual historical kings*, while the name gÑa'-khri-btsan-po *seems used of the ancestor almost exclusively by the Buddhist literature of a later time*, as already observed by H. E. Richardson (180.47-8). However, in his further remarks concerning the occurrence of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po as a royal ancestor in the Tun-huang Mss from the middle of the ninth century or later, Richardson bases his deductions on the erroneous assumption that "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 Buddhist interference with the Tibetan traditions, including that of the Dynasty, took its beginning at a much earlier time, during the latter half of the eighth century.<sup>23</sup> Of all times, it was during the later period of the Dynasty,

when Buddhism was a political means in the hands of the kings to make the royalty independent of the Bon-po hierarchy, that a revision of the tradition founded in Bon concepts was essentially important. After the restoration of Buddhism the revision was much more a mere matter of principle and formality.

It is therefore, indeed, only the incompleteness and the inconsequence of the revisions together with the inferences found in the fragmentary quotations of the original tradition, occurring here and there within an extensive number of sources, particularly the Tun-huang Mss and the gTer-mas, which enable us to penetrate the Buddhist tradition and get an idea of the pre-Buddhist ones.

*The name gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is, in fact, only found as yet in one single authentic document from the time of the Dynasty itself, viz. the rKoñ-po inscription (see p. 154), and there gÑa'-khri-btsan-po occurs in the capacity of a common or primary ancestor of more dynasties, while Śa-khyi is expressly mentioned as the ancestor of the Yar-luñ kings. Admittedly gÑa'-khri-btsan-po may therefore equally with 'O-lde-spu-rgyal have expressed the idea of the royal ancestor at the time of the Dynasty. On the other hand we also possess evidence, e.g. from the inscription at lHa-sa gTsug-lag-khañ (see p. 307) and from the Tun-huang Ms Paris 249 (see quotation p. 243), that fundamental elements apply to 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, and the very nature of all Tibetan sources concerned in this respect excludes by no means the ultimate possibility that the name gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, in all these cases, is a substitute for an original 'O-lde-spu-rgyal. The idea of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was so far founded in Bon concepts, that the reason for such a radical suppression of 'O-lde-spu-rgyal would in a lesser degree be that it might be "an undesirable relic of the Bon religion" as stated by Richardson (loc.cit.). The reason would in a higher degree be that 'O-lde-spu-rgyal as sPu-rgyal involved fundamental ideas of the kings and royalty, which were absolutely incompatible with the Buddhist Doctrine (see chapter 14).*

Even though the authentic material from the era of the Dynasty is sparse, it appears as though the historical kings considered the personality of 'O-lde-spu-rgyal as their ancestor, in accordance with the Chinese records. Richardson writes in this connection (180.49): "Assuming that the two names stand for one figure, there is no obvious explanation as to 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"."

If, according to the royal tradition, 'O-lde-spu-rgyal was the royal ancestor, then he must originally have been a *minor, local king or ruler* in consequence of the historical facts concerning the development of the Dynasty. Moreover, his particular authority was founded not primarily on secular power, but on a *special religious status*. If we therefore regard the various pictures of 'O-lde-spu-rgyal obtainable from the Tibetan and Chinese sources, those representing him as the All-Tibetan royal ancestor directly contradict these demands. This contradiction may, however, still be explained by the relatively late formulation of the tradition connecting the ancestor with the general historic development and its events. This explanation, which may immediately appear rather hypothetical, is strongly substantiated by authentic documents from the era of the Dynasty, such as the lHa-sa gTsug-lag-khañ inscription which in reality identifies the actual King Ral-pa-can and his predecessors with the ancestor 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, and connects the whole glorious development of the Tibetan realm with the idea of the ancestor, and this concept of identity is no casual occurrence. On the contrary we are dealing with a fundamental feature of the Bon-po or pre-Buddhist concept of the sacral status and nature of the Tibetan kings of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, which prevailed until the end of it in spite of Buddhism. In accordance with G. Tucci (196.18-19) we may formulate it thus that *the royal lineage formed a continuous incarnation of the divine ancestor, the divine presence of the ancestor being reintegrated in each link of it at the age of maturity*.

In this generalized identity the figure of 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, the ancestor himself, still remains remote and unreal, and has hitherto been accepted without any serious attempt at explanation as synonymous and identical with gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. By studying and publishing the India Office Mss from Tun-huang, F. W. Thomas has, however, made a text material available, which eventually may lead to an explanation.

As previously mentioned, the India Office Ms., Stein Collection, vol. 69, foll. 76–89 (referred to as Ms. IV) expressly mentions 'O-lde-spu-rgyal as the local king of Yar-khyim Sogs-yar (see p. 242), i.e. as a local ruler in Yar-luñ. Moreover it mentions the local god, Yar-lha, by the name of Šam-po (11.75/94). Earlier in the same text (11.69/86) we find the name 'O-de lHa-dpal Phu-rgyal in immediate connection with the form 'O-de lHa-dpal Guñ-rgyal, and shortly afterwards 'O-de-guñ-rgyal.

Primarily this text thus, contrarily to all hitherto known sources, presents 'O-lde-spu-rgyal as the ruler of a small country, in fact as a rGyal-phran of Yar-luñ, and meets the former demand made above for accepting him as the royal ancestor in a sense compatible with historical facts. Secondly the text seems to indicate an identity between 'O-lde-spu-rgyal and 'O-lde-guñ-rgyal, a possibility already suggested by G. Tucci (194.727) from less tangible evidence, but the text may furthermore prove suggestive as to a possible connection between 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, 'O-(l)de-guñ-rgyal on one side, and the maintained identity between 'O-lde-spu-rgyal and gÑa'-khri-btsan-po on the other (see p. 308 ff.).

Where the latter demand, that of a primary and special religious status for accepting 'O-lde-spu-rgyal is concerned, it is fulfilled by the texts in a broader measure than the former. His particular status is so far inferred by Ms. IV in the title lHa-dpal, and it is directly stated, for example in the lHa-sa gTslug-khañ inscription, which relates that he descended from lHa and possessed the qualities generally ascribed to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.

### *The genealogy of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*

Without regard to the form and name of the royal ancestor, all versions of the myth of his origin agree that by birth or by nature he was a superhuman, supernatural, or divine being. According to the Bon-po tradition, Grags-pa Bon-lugs, he originated from the lHa, while according to the heretic or popular tradition, Yañ-bsañ-lugs, he originated from the The'u-brañ, i.e. the Buddhist world of the demons or, in its original sense, the world of the dead or the spirits of the dead. The Buddhist tradition, gSañ-ba Chos-lugs, though maintaining a descent from kings, i.e. a human origin, states, and even emphasizes, the superhuman nature imparted to him by the miraculous signs with which he was born. While discussing the concepts of the origin of the ancestor who, in the traditions mentioned above, appears in the form of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, we must, however, in general leave the Buddhist tradition out of consideration as an artificial tradition created for a particular religious purpose, except for the details and features, which its various versions have adopted from the aboriginal concepts and traditions.

The tradition which presents sPu-de-guñ-rgyal as the actual ancestor of the Dynasty, depends in a corresponding way on differing ideas as to the nature and origin of the ancestor. According to what we have characterized as the probable original tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons, the ancestor was in his primary appearance the son Ša-khyi or Ša-khri, who in the Tun-huang version is identified with lHa, and in the rKoñ-po inscription with lHa-bTsan-po, while the son Ña-khyi or Ña-khri is identified with rKoñ-dkar-po. This version provides an origin from lHa and seems to depend particularly on a concept of the lHa in the capacity of "mountain"-gods, which beyond all is reflected in the accounts of the ancestor's descent from a mountain.

In the modified versions of the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons, which identify sPu-de-guñ-rgyal with a third son Bya-khri, the origin or nature of the ancestor is not so immediately obvious because of the Buddhist formulation of them. We have, however, seen that in some cases either the idea of a Cakravartin, or the idea of a supernatural conception or birth is connected with Bya-khri, while the idea of the ancestor's origin from the realm of the dead, sPu-yul, is disguised in the persistent accounts of his coming from sPo-bo.

Moreover we have seen that the very idea of Bya-khri leads to two different concepts of his nature and origin. On one side Bya leads us to the idea of the clan characteristics of the royal lineage, while on the other side it leads us to the idea of the three mythic ancestors of the Tibetan tribes.

Thus the question of the original concepts of the nature and origin of the ancestor is sufficiently complicated to present difficulties when we confine ourselves to studying merely the accounts of the ancestor's origin. It becomes, however, much more difficult if we attempt to follow the indications which some of the sources give us with regard to the opinions of his own ancestral lineage or his genealogy. The obstacles arise from the fact that we are dealing in general with unknown and unexplored concepts of ancient Tibetan mythology, and in particular with a more or less confused tangle of origin myths of all kinds. We feel ourselves in the same situation as Sum-pa mKhan-po, when he wrote that "It is difficult to get hold of the real idea of the origin of the Tibetans in dBus and gTsañ, which has become like the changing moon hunting a rainbow" (75.149).

The myth of the divine origin of the royal house is far from being a unique phenomenon. Frequently it serves simply as an etiology of the special status and prerogatives, which separate the royal persons from the common people. It therefore does not call for any special interest, unless the idea of the divine origin in itself has some further significance with regard to the status and nature of the individual kings of the dynasty in question.

In the general representation of the Tibetan sources, the ancestor of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, whether defined as gÑa'-khri-btsan-po or 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, is merely characterized with the indefinite terms lHa (or lDe) and lHa-sras (or lDe-sras), which identically mean lHa according to the particular concept of yab-sras which, at any rate where the Dynasty was concerned, signified the identity of divine essence between the ancestor and the following continuum of royal generations.<sup>24</sup> Only in a very few cases, is his more direct connection with the world of the Tibetan gods indicated or outlined. From this sparse information as to the genealogy of the ancestor, it appears that *he descended from the Srid-pa gods, or within the lineage of the Srid-pa'i-lHa*, of whom we have hitherto, however, had little or no knowledge. A valuable supplement of text, which in various ways permits a better understanding and interpretation of the few sources referred to, is found in the representation of the origin of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and the genealogy of the Srid-pa gods according to Grags-pa Bon-lugs, given by the bŚad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu (Appendix II).

The texts on which we have as yet been dependent with regard to the genealogy of the ancestor, without means to interpret their real significance or their mutual relationship, are:

A. The Tun-huang Ms. 249 Paris (Appendix III, section A, lin. 1 and 3):

lHa gnam-gyi steñ-nas gśegs-pa' //  
Yab-lha-bdag-drug bźugs-pa'i sras //

AI. with the interpolation (ibid., section B):

gNam-lhab-kyi bla-na //  
gCen-gsum gcuñ-gsum-na /  
Khri-'i-bdun-tshigs dañ bdun /  
Khri-'i-bdun-tshigs-kyi sras /  
Khri Ñag-khri-btsan-po //

BI. rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.18r-v):

gŽug-tu sPur-rgyal-btsan-pos dbañ-byas-te :  
Miñ yañ Bod-khams-ru-bzi bya-bar btags :  
Bod-kyi bTsan-po 'O-de-spur-rgyal de :  
gNam-gyi-lha-las mi-yi-rje-ru gśegs :

BII. (ibid., fol. 18v):

Chañs-phyag-nas gNam-lha-then-dgur brgyud :  
gNam-then sPrin-then Char-then dgur byon :



BIII. (ibid.):

rTags-chags-wal-wal sras-po-mched-bži-la :  
rJe-gcig Yab-lha-bdag-drug bya-ba byon :  
De-la Sras-mchog-spun-bdun 'khruñs-pa-las :  
Bar-lha-tshigs-bdun yab-yum-mched-la gnod :  
Yab-yum skor Bon Žaṅ-po'i-yul-du spyugs :  
dMu-gza' lŃa-me-bcun daṅ gśos-pa'i sras :  
gŃa'-khri yaṅ 'khruñs Srid-pa'i-lHa-rabs yin :

To these texts, which have a direct relation to the origin of the ancestor, we may add the following texts concerning the origin of the lHa. They present creation or origin myths of more or less composite character in which both the origin of the gods and that of the Tibetan tribes are involved, but, in spite of their comparatively late time of composition, the single sections and details from which they are composed give us valuable contributions to the study of the origin and genealogy of gŃa'-khri-btsan-po.

CI. Oral tradition rendered by M. Hermanns (160.294):

De'i lHa-rus-kyi bśad-na:  
Dus-da-lta Yab-lha-mda'-drug zer-khi.  
De-dag-gi-naṅ-la 'khruñs-ba'i lHa-rje O-de-goṅ-rgyal.  
De'i sras lHa-tsha-mched-dgu 'khruñs-zig.

CII. (ibid):

De'i gduñ-rabs lo-rgyus bśad-na:  
Yab-miñ lDoṅ-sTag-bTsan-gsum žiñ-bo lHa-chen Tshaṅs-pa.

CIII. (ibid.):

lHa-gzigs lHa-ri'i-rtse-nas 'khruñs-pa'i mi-rabs lo-rgyus bśad-nas:  
dPal-lidan bdag-po bKa'-brgyud nor-bu Phag-mo-grub-pa'i gduñ-brgyud.

CIV. (ibid.):

De yaṅ gduñ-rabs maṅ-du soṅ-ba'i dus gnam tho-reṅs-la skar rjen śar 'dra'i sras Rig-lidan  
sum-cu-so-lṅa 'khruñ-zig.

CV. (ibid.):

Du<sup>26</sup>-da-lta Bod-kyi-rus-mdzod ltar bśad-na: Bod lHa-tsha sum-bcu-so-lṅa-po 'di yin zer-gi.  
De-las rgyas-pa'i Bod daṅ Bod-chen rtsa-ba'i rus-chen-bcu-brgyad naṅ-tshan Ra-'Bru-  
lDoṅ-gsum . . . . .

The main features of this oral tradition derive from a creation myth given in a work which is ambiguously named Po-ti-bse-ru.<sup>26</sup> Both the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.68v) and Sum-pa mKhan-po (75.148–49) quote this myth in abbreviated form, and in his "Tibetan Painted Scrolls," G. Tucci (194.632,730) render the representations given by these two authors. In its most complete rendering, the myth seems, however, to be found in M. Hermann's work, "Schöpfungs- und Abstammungsmythen der Tibeter" (160.295–7):

DI. Po-ti-bse-ru-las /  
'Baṅs-kyi mi-rabs-la /  
'Byuñ-ba sNa-lṅa'i sñiñ-po-la /  
sGoṅ (70: sgo-ṅa) chen-po gcig yoṅs-pa /

Phyi'i sgoñ ſun-la lHa-brag dkar-po chags /  
 Nañ-gi sgoñ chu-la duñ-mtsho dkar mer 'khyil /  
 Bar-gyi sgo-ña'i ñar (70 and 75: dar) cha-la /  
 Rigs-drug sems-can kun-du (70: tu) grol //  
 sGoñ 'phrum-gyis (70 and 75: gyi) bco-brgyad chags //  
 'Phrum-gyis (70: sGo-ña) bco-brgyad 'briñ-po de //  
 Duñ-sgoñ gcig-tu yar-nas byuñ //  
 Žes bsad-pa ltar /

DII. Duñ-gi-sgoñ de-la dbañ-po-lña dañ

Yañ-lag-rnams so-sor-dad-pa.  
 De mtshar sdug-gi khyi'u yid-la  
 sMon-pa lta-bu byuñ-bas  
 Miñ Ye-smon-rgyal-por btags.  
 De'i jo-mo Chu-lcags-rgyal-mo-la  
 'Phrul-sras dBañ-ldan 'khruñ.  
 Des Duñ-bza' Dul-mo blañs-pa-la  
 Kwo-sras-sKyes-gcig 'khruñ.  
 De'i sras mi-rabs-mched-gsum-la  
 Chuñ-ba sTag-tshal-al-ol-gyi  
 Jo-mo 'Tshams-bza' Khyad-khyud-la  
 Sras mGur-lha-mched-bži byuñ.

DIII. Chuñ-ba'i sras Yab-lha-sde-drug-gi

Chuñ-ba O-de-guñ-rgyal-gyi  
 Jo-mo lHa-mo-la lHa-tsha-mched-dgu byuñ  
 Jo-mo gÑan-mo-la gÑan-tsha-mched-dgu  
 Jo-mo rMu-mo-la rMu-tsha-mched-dgu  
 Jo-mo kLu-bza'-la kLu-tsha-mched-brgyad byuñ  
 Kun-bsgril-bas sras gsum-cu-tsha-lña byuñ.

DIV. De-rnams-kyi chuñ-ba

sNe-khrom-lag-khra'i  
 Jo-mo lHa-lcam-la  
 La-kha-rgyal-po 'khruñ.  
 De'i jo-mo Luñ-kha-hril-mo-la  
 Sras-gsum-gyi che-ba mThiñ-gi  
 De'i jo-mo lHa-lcam-dkar-mo-la  
 Sras Bod-'joñs-la brañ-gi  
 rMu-bza' mThiñ-bsgril khab-tu-bžis-bar  
 rGya-khri-la-žañ 'khruñ.  
 De-la sras rgyal-po che-chuñ-gsum brgyud  
 brGyad<sup>27</sup>-yod-pa-la chuñ-ba'i  
 Jo-mo mThiñ-mo-la sras-gsum byuñ-ba'i  
 Khri-rje gÑan-thañ-gi sras dPal-lha.

DV. De sras A-mi-mu-zi-khri-do'i

Jo-mo gÑan-bza' Śa-mig-la sras-gsum  
 Dañ rMu-bza' sras-gcig  
 Srin-bza-la sras-gñis-te  
 Drug-tu byuñ.

DVI. 'Di-dag-las mched-pa Rus-chen-bco-brgyad  
'Bras-la dkar-nag-khra-gsum sogs dañ  
Bod-mi'u-gduñ-drug byuñ-tshul śen<sup>98</sup>-tu-mañ-ziñ.

In translation these texts read:

- A. He who came from the High Heaven of *lHa*  
(Was) the son of *Yab-lha-bdag-drug* dwelling there.
- AI. In the uppermost of the widely expanded Heaven,  
Among the three elder and the three younger ones,  
Seven together with *Khri-'i-bdun-tshigs*,  
(Dwelled) the son of *Khri-'i-bdun-tshigs*,  
*Khri Ńag-khri-btsan-po*.
- BI. Finally, *sPur-rgyal-btsan-po* ruled.  
The name (of the country) was determined to be *Bod-khams-ru-bzi*.  
The *bTsan-po* of *Bod*, '*O-de-spur-rgyal*  
Came from the *lHa* of Heaven to be Ruler of Men.
- BII. (This quotation may be interpreted in two different ways as discussed on p. 264).
- BIII. To the fourth brother among the sons of *rTags-chags-wal-wal*  
Came (was born) the venerable Lord called *Yab-lha-bdag-drug*.  
To him were born the *Sras-mchog-spun-bdun*, with one of whom,  
*Bar-lha-tshigs-bdun*, the father, mother and brothers were annoyed,  
And the father and mother, and their followers expelled him to *Bon Žañ-po'i-yul*.  
The son (whom *Bar-lha-tshigs-bdun*) begot with the *dMu* queen *lŃa-me-bcun*,  
Was *gŃa'-khri*, who belongs to the lineage of the *Srid-pa'i-lHa*.
- CI. When speaking of the *lHa-rus*,  
It is nowadays said to be *Yab-lha-mda'-drug*.  
*lHa-rje O-de-goñ-rgyal* was born as one of them, and,  
As his sons, were born the *lHa-tsha-mched-dgu*.

In this text *lHa-rus* signifies the *lHa*-family in the special sense of the ancestor or progenitor of the *lHa*. '*O-de-guñ-rgyal* is here regarded as one of the *Yab-lha-bdag-drug*, and his sons, characterized as the Nine *lHa*-Nephew-Brothers, are the nine *lHa* who were his progeny with *lHa-mo* (see below DIII).

- CII. When speaking of the history of the generation(s),  
The *Yab* (ancestors) were named as these three, *lDoñ*, *sTag*, and *bTsan*.
- CIII. When speaking of the family of men who, (according to) *lHa-gzigs*, were born from the  
top of *lHa-ri*,  
It is the family of *dPal-ldan bdag-po bKa'-brgyud nor-bu Phag-mo-grub-pa*.

This text alludes to the tradition that the family of *Phag-mo-grub-pa* descended from the gods, and their ancestor, just like *gŃa'-khri-btsan-po*, descended from the sacred mountain, *lHa-ri*. The history of the *Phag-mo-grub-pa* family was written by *sPyan-sna rin-po-che* also known as *sPyan-sna lHa-gzigs*.<sup>99</sup>

- CIV. When many generations had passed, the son *Rig-ldan* (or: a talented son) was born as the thirty-fifth one, like the Morning Star rising in heaven in the early morning.

The son mentioned here is the thirty-fifth and last son of 'O-de-guñ-rgyal, the kLu-tsha who is considered the source of the human generations (see below DIII-DIV). The same meaning is expressed by the following part of the text:

- CV. When speaking (of it) nowadays, then according to the *Bod-kyi-rus-mdzod* (Po-ti-bse-ru), he is said to be the thirty-fifth *Bod lHa-tsha*.  
From him spread the fundamental (*rtsa-ba*) eighteen Great *Rus* of *Bod* and Great *Bod*.  
The inner class was these three: *Ra*, *'Bru*, and *lDoñ*.

This text fragment, which has no immediate connection with the genealogical problem at hand, will be commented on in the discussion of the significance of ru and rus (see p. 282):

- DI. According to *Po-ti-bse-ru* (it is told):  
As to the human generations of subjects:  
From the five elements  
One great egg was created.  
From the outer shell of the egg, the White Rocks of *lHa* arose.  
In the inner waters of the egg, the White *Duñ-mtsho* (Origin Lake) encircled *Mer* (the red (yolk)).  
In the intermediate, diffusive parts of the egg,  
The *rigs-drug* separated into all those of intellect.  
From the yolk of the egg, eighteen eggs were created.  
The eighteen eggs in the middle (or of middle size),  
Separately appeared as *Duñ-sgoñ* (Origin Egg(s)).  
Thus it is told.

The translation of this text is difficult, and demands a considerable amount of interpretation, for which reason the translations given by G. Tucci from the version of the Fifth Dalai Lama (194.632), and by M. Hermanns (160.295), differ in various respects from the present one. With regard to this translation, we may primarily state that the text comprises, in reality, two separate origin myths, one of a more general cosmogonic character, having a cosmic egg as its point of departure and leading to the appearance of the rigs-drug, the six principal tribes; the other of a more special nature, departing from the idea of a *duñ-gi-sgo-ña*, a particular origin egg from which the human generation(s) issued (see the following text quotations). The combination of these two separate myths has caused a certain inconsistency in the whole representation of the creation, given by DI, although this inconsistency is less apparent from the previous translations.

The drama of creation is visualized as a magnified picture of the quite naturalistic act of breaking or crushing an egg, and the newly created world is imagined in the appearance of a broken egg. This naturalistic picture of the created world is presented by the myth in the description of the three principal constituents of the egg, its outer, inner and intermediate parts, *phyi'i-*, *nañ-gi-*, and *bar-gyi-sgoñ*. In the very description of them, as the myth has hitherto been interpreted, one of the principal constituents, the red or yolk of the egg is, however, missing. This is due to the avoided translation or interpretation of the word *mer*. We have already seen (p. 139) that *mer* interchanges with *me* in the names used of the fifth king of the Dynasty, *Mer-khri* or *Me-khri*, where it undoubtedly has the fundamental meaning of fire, *me*. We have moreover shown that *me* metaphorically signifies red colour (see p. 345), in accordance with a close etymological relationship between *me*, fire, and *dmar*, red, long since assumed, and we may give this relationship a wider range comprising the words *me*, *mer*, *mar*, and *dmar*.

*Mer*, as occurring in DI, encircled by the *Duñ-mtsho dkar*, the White Origin Lake, which obviously signifies the white of the egg, is the metaphoric term for the main constituent of *Nañ-gi-sgoñ*, the red or the yolk of the egg. The picture of the created world, which is actually imagined and described in the

myth, is that of the egg broken open, lying with the pieces of the crushed white shell as a frame; in the middle of it is the yolk surrounded or encircled by the inner part of the white, the White Duñ-mtsho, with parts of the white spread into the intermediate area and between the fragments of the shell. These fragments are imagined as the white rocks of the lHa, i.e. as the glacier mountains conceived as the abode of the lHa, and as a frame or fence of the world of the Tibetans, Gañs-ri ra-ba (see p. 200). The white as a whole is conceived as the origin medium of the living beings. The central part of it is characterized as Duñ-mtsho dkar, the White Duñ-mtsho, where duñ does not signify conch in the sense of white as a conch, but signifies the idea of the beginning, the origin, or the primeval source, from which the generations, gduñ, derive. In the expression Bod-mi'u-gduñ-drug, which indicates both the primeval ancestors of the principal tribes, and these tribes themselves, gduñ expresses, in fact, both the idea of duñ and gduñ.<sup>30</sup> The principal tribes, who lived in the various parts of the Tibetan world, at the foot of the glacier mountains and mutually separated by their formations, were naturally conceived as deriving from the various parts of the white which spread into the intermediate space of the world of the egg, bar-gyi sgo-ña'i dar-cha.

The fact that the white of the egg is imagined as the origin medium of man, or the six families of beings, in the former part of DI, shows definitely that the first eight lines of it represent a myth which is fundamentally different from that represented by the remaining part of the text, where the origin of the eighteen rus-chen, the branches developing from the six families, is referred to the yolk of the egg, 'phrum. The former myth is *cosmogonic, having a cosmic egg as the primary source of creation*, while the latter myth is *a particular myth of the origin of mankind*, or the Tibetan tribes, *from a Duñ-gi-sgo-ña, an origin egg with eighteen individual yolks*. This myth may be a product of later imagination, serving to combine the idea of Duñ-gi-sgo-ña with that of the cosmic egg. The representation of the eighteen Rus-chen as a primary issue of creation disagrees with the general mass of traditions, which describes them as the descent or differentiation of the Six Families or Rus. The following parts of the text considered are, in fact, an elaborate representation of this common concept of the origin and development of the Tibetans from Duñ-gi-sgo-ña.<sup>31</sup>

The separation of DI into two different myths deprives the yolk of the cosmic egg of any significance to the creation in the present appearance of the text. This may be due either to the circumstance that we are dealing merely with a fragment of the myth pertinent to the origin of the Tibetans, or that the cosmic significance of mer was once obvious, in which regard we cannot ignore that mer, in its inherent sense of fire, may be a cosmic constituent in a similar way to that hinted by the cosmic aspect of the name Mer-khri-btsan-po.<sup>32</sup>

DII. In the Origin-Egg (*Duñ-gi-sgoñ*) the five organs of sense and

The separate limbs developed.

A wonderful and beautiful being (baby)<sup>33</sup>

Appeared, as wished for.

He got the name of *Ye-smon-rgyal-po*.

By his consort *Chu-lcags-rgyal-mo*,

The '*Phrul-sras dBañ-ldan* was born.

He took as wife *Duñ-bza' Dul-mo*, by whom

The *Kwo-sras-sKyes-gcig* was born.

He had the sons *Mi-rabs-mched-gsum*,

The youngest of which was *sTag-tshal-al-ol*,

By whose consort '*Tshams-bza' Khyad-khyud*,

The sons *mGur-lha-mched-bzi* were born.

Where the origin of *Ye-smon-rgyal-po* is concerned, the interpretation of this quotation is facilitated by the phrasing used by Sum-pa mKhan-po in his extract (75.148–49):

Duñ-gi-sgo-ña de-la dbañ-po yañ-lag ñiñ-lag  
dod-pa-las khye'u-zig byuñ-ba ni Ye-smon-rgyal-  
po-ste

The organs of sense, the *yañ-lag* (primary mem-  
bers of the body), and the *ñiñ-lag* (secondary or  
minor members of the body) developed in the  
*Duñ-gi-sgo-ña*, Origin Egg. From them a boy  
(baby) appeared, who was *Ye-smon-rgyal-po*.

*Ye-smon-rgyal-po*, in whose name *Ye-smon* signifies the primary or perfect wish, is conceived as the primary being, equipped with senses and body, who broke the shell of the egg from which the human beings are imagined to have derived, as related thus (160.276):

rGoñ<sup>84</sup> phug-pa Yes phug /  
Ye-smon-rgyal-po'i riñ-la phug /

The hole of the egg was pierced by *Ye*,  
In the life-time of *Ye-smon-rgyal-po* it was pierced.

R.-A. Stein summarizing the Po-ti-bse-ru (189.92) characterizes *Ye-smon-rgyal-po* as “Premier Homme et Ancêtre.”

In the two generations following *Ye-smon-rgyal-po*, there is a distinction in nature between 'Phrul-sras and Kwo-sras. The former is characterized as 'Phrul, which signifies something differing from normal, while the latter is characterized as Kwo, which signifies skin or hide, possibly indicating a quasi-human nature, in accordance with which the Kwo-sras is named sKyes-gcig, which means that he was a being (first?) born in the normal human way of birth. In reality, sKyes-gcig is therefore to be regarded as a *primogenitor of the Tibetans*.

From Kwo-sras-sKyes-gcig descended, *in the sense of ancestors of the Tibetans, three Brother Generations of Men* or *Mi-rabs-mched-gsum*, *four mGur-lha Brothers* or *mGur-lha-mched-bzi*, and after them, as told in DIII, the *Yab-lha-bdag-drug*:

DIII. The son of the youngest of them was *Yab-lha-sde-drug*,  
The youngest of which were *O-de-guñ-rgyal*.  
By his consort *lHa-mo* were born the nine *lHa-tsha Brothers*,  
By his consort *gÑan-mo* were born the nine *gÑan-tsha Brothers*,  
By his consort *rMu-mo* were born the nine *rMu-tsha Brothers*,  
By his consort *kLu-bza'* were born the eight *kLu-tsha Brothers*.  
When summing up, *thirty-five sons* were born.

The transition from DII to DIII marks the introduction of a new, in fact theogonic, myth. DIII describes the origin and mutual relationship of the four principal classes of deities in the systematic theogony of the Bon-po. While *Yab-lha-sde-drug* or *Yab-lha-bdag-drug*, in the representation of DII, occur as a stage in the development of the human generations, they, or more specifically, 'O-de-guñ-rgyal, who is imagined either as the youngest *Yab-lha* or as the youngest son of *Yab-lha-bdag-drug* (see p. 224), in DIII are made the origin of the whole system of gods comprising *lHa*, *gÑan*, *rMu*, and *kLu*. These four beds of deities, who are still known from the Buddhist pantheon as the Great Ones, are particularly characterized as *tsha*, both in the brief representation as thirty-five *Bod lHa-tsha* in CV, and in the specified representation of DIII. The word *tsha*, *tsha-bo*, or *sku-tsha*, has two meanings, grandchild or nephew, a brother's son. In the present case it certainly means grandchild, or in a more general sense, offspring. Thereby the deities of *lHa*, *gÑan*, *rMu*, and *kLu* are connected with the Dynasty through the person of 'O-de-guñ-rgyal.

The text pieces DIV–DVI give the following elaborate representation of the descent of the Tibetan tribes from the youngest son of 'O-de-guñ-rgyal, the *kLu* named *sNe-khrom-lag-khra*:

DIV. The youngest of them  
Was *sNe-khrom-lag-khra*.  
By his consort *lHa-lcam*,

*La-kha-rgyal-po* was born.  
 By his consort *Luñ-kha-hril-mo*,  
 Three sons (were born), the eldest being *mThiñ-gi*.  
 By his consort *lHa-lcam-dkar-mo*,  
 A son was born in the country of *Bod (Bod-'joñs)*.  
 He took<sup>35</sup> as wife *rMu-bza' mThiñ-bsgril*, and  
*rGya-khri-la-žan*<sup>36</sup> was born.  
 He had sons, the families of the three great and small kings.  
 The youngest of which was his descendant,  
 His consort *mThiñ-mo* had three sons, among which  
 Was *Khri-rje-gÑan-than*, whose son was *dPal-lha*.

DV. His son was *A-mi-mu-zi-khri-do*.  
 His consort *gÑan-bza' Śa-mig* had three sons;  
 And *rMu-bza'* one son;  
*Srin-bza'* had two sons;  
 There were six.

DVI. From these (six sons), the *eighteen mChed-pa Rus-chen* (developed).  
 The white, the black, and the piebald '*Bras*, these three and all the others.  
 The ways in which the *six tribes of the Tibetans (Bod-mi'u-gduñ-drug)* developed are innumerable.

In DIV, the most remarkable feature is the statement that Men or the Tibetans originate from the *kLu*, the deities of the underworld (see p. 221). We possess no means to make further comment on the content of DIV, but we may observe that various features vaguely indicate that the genealogical representation is possibly part of a more extensive representation of the origin of various Asiatic nations beside the Tibetans, such as represented by the *La-dwags rgyal-rabs* in its genealogy of the human races or peoples descending from the *lHa* (see p. 282 ff.).

The text of DIV actually leads us to a new representation of the ancestor of the six principal tribes, in the form of *A-mi-mu-zi-khri-do*. In DV the generation of the six sons of this ancestor, belonging to three different beds, gives a mythic etiology of the particular way in which the six principal tribes are usually defined by the Tibetan sources (see p. 279 ff.).

In DVI, we find one of the versions of the further development of Tibetan tribes from the six principal ones, according to which each one of them was differentiated into three subordinate tribes, making a total of eighteen tribes or clans, the *Rus-chen-bco-brgyad*. The middle line of DVI gives as an example the principal tribe '*Bras*, from which the White, the Black, and the Piebald *Rus-chen* separated (see p. 287).

Most of the contents of the texts given above, which apply to the origin of the Tibetan tribes, do not immediately concern the actual problem of the present section of the paper, but proves most valuable for our later discussion of *Ru* and *Rus*. It is, however, necessary to present a mythic complex, such as that given by the *Po-ti-bse-ru*, as a whole, to realize the significance of its single constituents, and trace the basic ideas of the Tibetan origin traditions.

If we arrange the contents of these texts schematically, as far as it is pertinent to the question of the ancestor's origin and descent, we obtain the genealogical schemes reproduced in Table VII: The genealogies of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, A, B, C, and D (see p. 260–61).

While, in connection with the translation we have mentioned the general significance of the single fragments of text and explained various details of their content, we shall, before comparing the texts with the *bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu*, here call attention to certain features proving especially important to our following considerations.

First of all we shall point out that, in spite of all variance, the genealogical schemes have a *common link formed by the Yab-lha-bdag-drug(-sde-drug), among which the god 'O-de-goñ-rgyal is particularly specified. The Yab-lha-bdag-drug take up a central position in the origin myths, as we shall further outline in the following. In the genealogical schemes we have therefore indicated this generation of deities as a zero-generation (0), and indicated the preceding and succeeding generations in negative and positive sequences reckoned from this zero point, -1, +1, etc.*

Next we shall point out that the generation of the Yab-lha formally comprises six members, although in most occurrences it is conceived as a single personality or a *tantum plurale*. While the numbers of seven or nine individual members in groups of deities, such as e.g. in the following generations the Sras-mchog-spun-bdun, Bar-lha-tshigs-bdun, or Khri'i-bdun-tshigs, and lHa-tsha-mched-dgu, the number of six individual members seems to occur exclusively in Yab-lha-bdag-drug and in the various concepts of the principal groups of Tibetans, the Rus-drug, or their progenitors, the Bod-mi'u-gduñ-drug.

Finally we shall point out the traces of a most significant *sequence of numbers, viz. (one)-three-four-six, which is fundamentally characteristic of the concepts of the origin and number of the principal tribes or ethnic groups of the Tibetans* (see p. 279 ff.). In the scheme DI-DVI this sequence is represented by the generations -3, -2, -1, and 0, viz. sKyes-gcig, the Three Brothers of Human Generation(s), the Four mGur-lha Brothers, and the Six Yab-lha-bdag. In the same scheme, the description of the origin of the Six Generations (Families) of Tibetan Peoples, Bod-mi'u-gduñ-drug, serves as a direct etiology of the persistent definition of the Six gDuñ or Rus as consisting of *three plus one making four, plus two making six.*

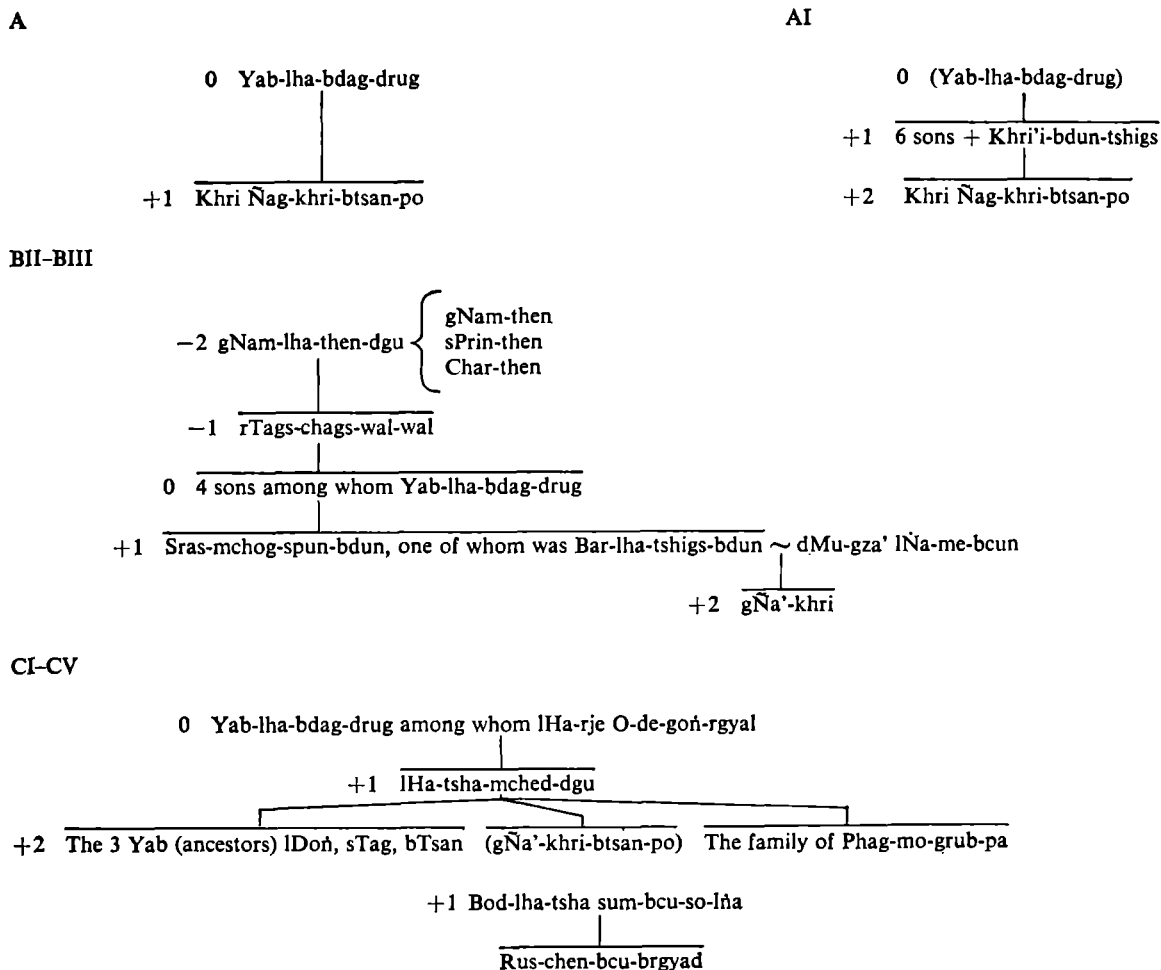


Table VII: The genealogies of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, A, B, and C.



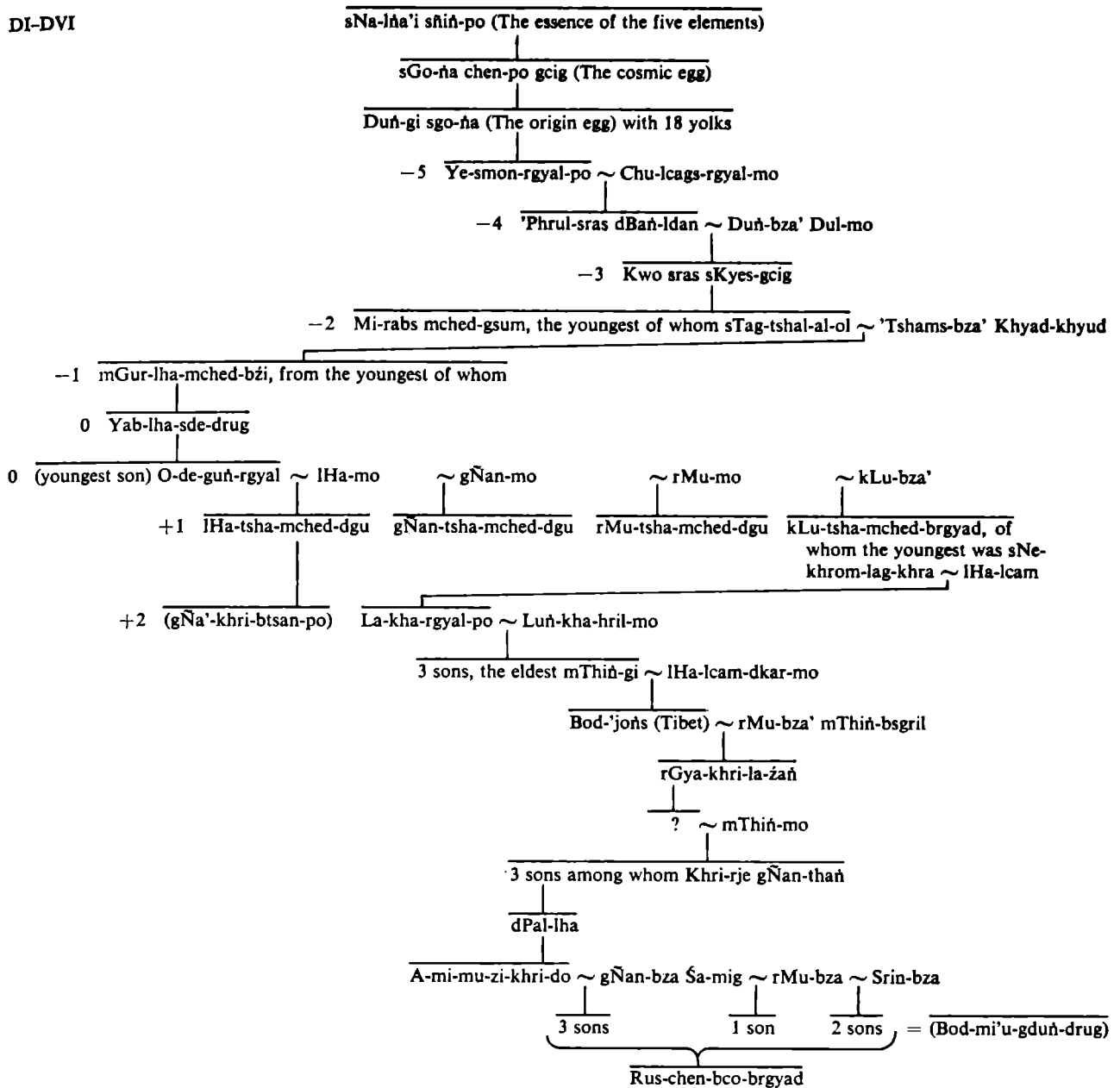
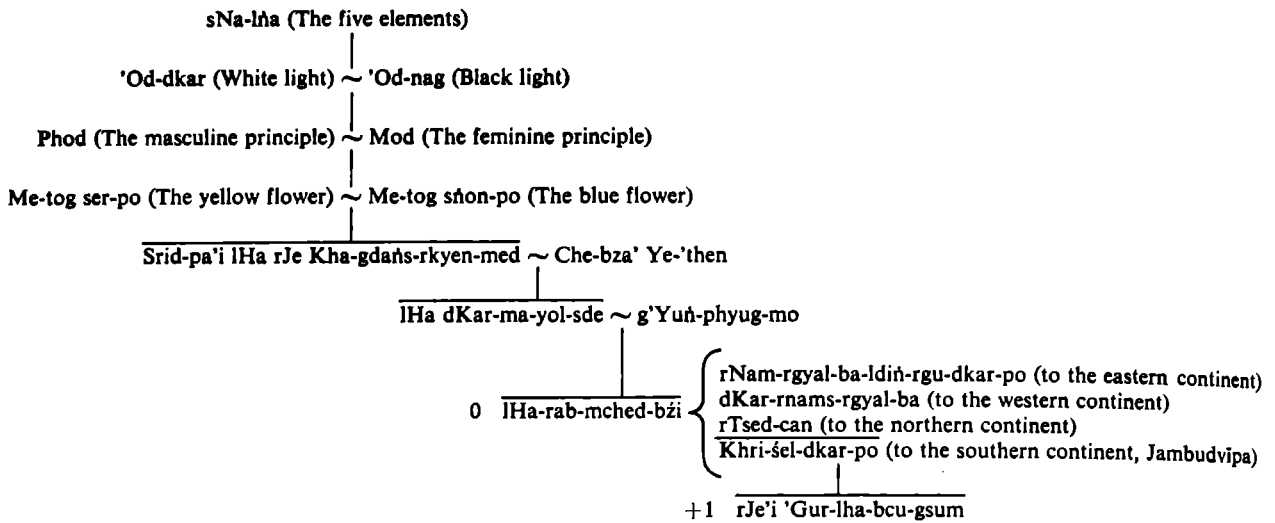


Table VII: The genealogies of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, D.

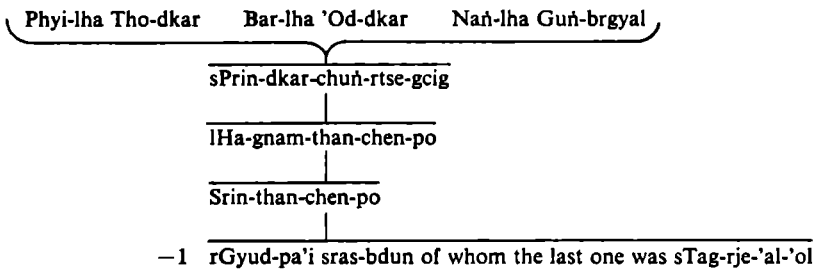
These three features, and the schemes in general, show that the *Yab-lha-bdag-drug* form a common ancestral link—and perhaps the very origin—of the theogony (lHa, gÑan, rMu, and kLu), the royal and princely lines (gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and dPag-mo-grub-pa), and the Tibetan tribes (the Three Yab or the Bod-mi'u-gduñ-drug). Before drawing further conclusions from this observation, we shall, however, proceed to the discussion of the genealogy presented by the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu.

The cosmo-theogonic introduction to the Bon-po tradition of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, given in this text (Appendix II, sect. Va-n; see p. 213–14), serves to explain the origin of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po from the Five Elements (sNa-lña) or the Yog-lha (see below). At the same time it gives us a representation of the so-called Srid-pa Gods, their genealogy, and their relationship with the royal lineage. Unfortunately this representation, just as most sources to Tibetan mythology, is composed from various, though

E I



E II



E III

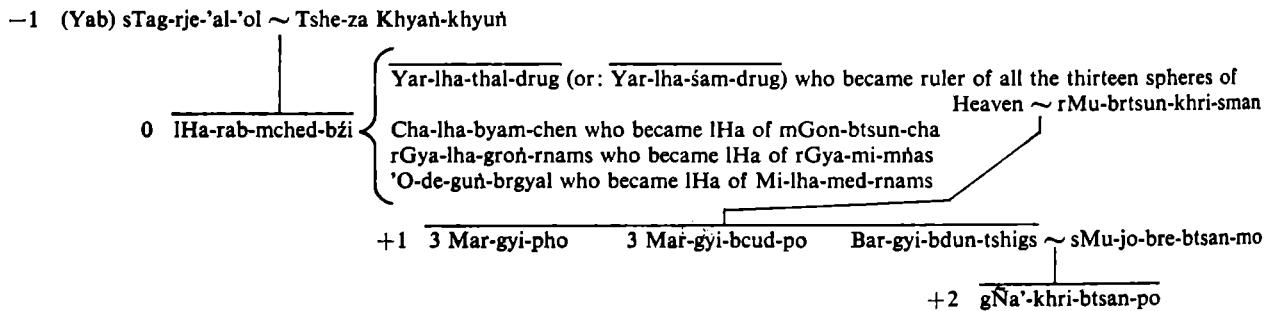


Table VII: The genealogies of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, E.

related, mythic traditions which have been influenced to a wide extent by Buddhist cosmogony. Nevertheless it contains so many apparently genuine details, that it provides us with means to make out from the total material the basic ideas of the ancient concept of the origin and genealogy of the ancestor of the Dynasty.

From the Tibetan text in Appendix II, and the translation given above (p. 213-14), we may give the genealogical or theogonical schemes EI, EII, and EIII, corresponding to the main divisions of the text contained in the sections Va-e, Vf-i, and Vi-n; these schemes are reproduced above in Table VII: The genealogies of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, E.

Scheme EI. As far as the idea of the *four different families of lHa*, one belonging to each of the four continents of the Indian-Buddhist cosmology, and descending from *four brothers*, the lHa-rab-mched-bži (see also Scheme EIII), is concerned, this theogonic system has been adapted to Buddhist concepts.<sup>37</sup> In the lineage from Khri-šel-dkar-po, belonging to Jambudvīpa, we may, however, expect to find a connection with the ancient, pre-Buddhist theogony.

The part of the system which precedes the lHa-rab-mched-bži, seems on the contrary to derive from Bon-po, or at any rate from non-Buddhist, concepts. It contains the initial stages of a creation myth, and G. Tucci (196.201–02) has formerly traced a closely corresponding version of the same myth:

Some books, held in great reverence by the Bon-po, state that in the beginning there was an undifferentiated principle, the inert potential of the elements, from which two eggs are by spontaneous generation, the one white the other black. From the white egg came the beneficent father (*phan-byed*); from the black the maleficent one (*gnod-byed*); the former lives in the light, the latter in darkness that spreads as far as the edge of the light; the former is white; the latter black and armed with a spear. The former, the beneficent, is called the king of positive (*yod*) existence; the latter, the king of negative (*med*) existence. The former is light and is therefore called the luminous manifestation, *snang ba 'od ldan*, or simply the luminous one, *'od zer ldan*, but he is also called *Khri rgyal khug pa*, which may very well mean “the throne, the king, the recalled”; in which case the last epithet might well remind us of the Manichæan *akrostag*. The latter is darkness and is called *myal nag po*, “the black torment”. Everything good,—the good creation—comes from the former. Everything evil, the bad creation, comes from the latter, from whom comes death and the malevolent demons, while the former teaches how to overcome the powers of darkness.<sup>38</sup>

The inert potential of the elements corresponds to sNa-lña-srid-pa of our version. The *generatio spontanea* of a white and a black egg has its more elaborate parallel in the creation of the white and black light within the closed Ga'u, which metaphorically signifies gNam-Sa (see p. 314 f.), and the following generation of the male and the female principles, and the yellow and the blue flowers. In the following development of the myth, we cannot state how far the two versions mutually correspond, by means of the material at hand, but both of them are quite particularly characteristic because of the *universal dualism*, which appears as a fundamental and distinctive feature of the total creation.

Admittedly, the idea of dualism is involved as a basic feature in the idea of creation when considered as the result of a union between the opposite sexes. Likewise, the idea of a universal dualism is clearly reflected in the principal Buddhist myth of the origin of the Tibetans from sPre'u and Brag-srin-mo, where the good and noble sides of character are ascribed to the male, the bad and malevolent ones to the female principles of origin. Still, the conspicuous way in which the dualism is presented, and the significance of light as a symbol of the good, undoubtedly reveal an Iranian influence upon the Bon-po concepts, as suggested by G. Tucci (*loc.cit.*).

The Scheme EI leads us, through an apparently logical sequence of developments, to a group of deities named the Thirteen rJe'i mGur-lha. The subsequent part of the text and the corresponding Scheme EII represent the *Thirteen mGur-lha* in a cosmological sense as the *Thirteen Spheres of Heaven*, gNam-rim-pa-bcu-gsum. This second “genealogy” has been composed from elements of a quite different origin, and has therefore a pronounced artificial appearance.

This scheme, EII, which purports to represent the Thirteen Spheres of Heaven as an explanation of, or expression for, the Thirteen rJe'i mGur-lha, carries all the signs of being the product of a comparative-late time, when the idea of the mGur-lha was no longer clear (see p. 224). The text itself is in various ways ambiguous. Thus it does not clearly appear whether the Little White Cloud With One Peak, sPrin-dkar-chuñ-rtsa-gcig, is to be conceived as a separate link in the lineage, or simply to indicate the whereabouts of the Primary Male With A Plaided Tuft of Turquoise Hair, Duñ-gi mi-pho g'yu'i-thor-tshugs-can, also called lHa-gnam-than-chen-po. Moreover, the expression applying to the last link, “de-nas

rgyud-pa'i sras bdun-gyi mtha'-ma-la / sTag-rje-'al-'ol byon," may be conceived in various ways. sTag-rje-'al-'ol may come either as *the last of the seven sons* or as *the son of the last of them*, and the seven sons, characterized as rGyud-pa'i sras bdun, may be conceived either as *seven consecutive generations* or as *seven consecutive sons within one and the same generation*. We possess, in fact, no means to indicate the right interpretation, because it proves possible to obtain a total of thirteen links, regardless of how we choose the interpretation in each single case.

We are inclined to conceive the whole lineage as a composition of three mutually independent constituents, viz. *the group of the three lHa who form the first three links, a lineage of nine Then*, and *sTag-rje-'al-'ol forming the thirteenth link*. Under this assumption, the Little White Cloud forms no individual link, and the *nine Then* comprise *lHa-gnam-than-chen-po*, *Srin-than-chen-po*, and *seven consecutive generations of sons*. Our assumption is based on a certain feature in the accounts of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's descent from above, and on the text BII quoted above p. 252.

The myth relates that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was equipped with, or descended by means of, the rMu-skas which, in the Tun-huang Ms. (Appendix I, sect. IVb), is mentioned as the dBu-skas steñ-dgu, the *Head-Ladder With Nine Steps*. In the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu (Appendix II, sect. Vu) it is characterized as sMu-skas-rim-dgu-sMu-'phreñ, the *sMu-Ladder With Nine Sections, the sMu-Chain*, involving a possible interpretation of *a lineage of nine rMu*. The Deb-ther-dmar-po (51.15v) relates that according to the Bon-po, he descended from the top of the thirteen stages of Heaven by the sMu-thag or sMu-skas (see p. 177). This connects his descent with the thirteen mGur-lha mentioned above in EI (see p. 263).

The text fragment BII (see p. 252) of the rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig is translated in the following way by H. Hoffmann (162.245):

Mit der Hand knüpfte er sich an den neun Stufen der Götter des Himmels fest  
Und kam über die Himmels-stufe, die Wolkenstufe, die Regenstufe, (insgesamt) neun Stufen.

This translation, including the interpretation of chañs(-pa) phyag-nas, is undoubtedly correct, as far as it expresses the sense apparently intended by the editor of the gTer-ma. The descent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po may, however, be conceived in two quite different ways. It may be conceived in the quite material sense which appears from the versions of the Fifth Dalai Lama or Sanang Sečen (70.10r; 146.7v), that, step by step, he moved down the nine steps of the rMu-skas. In this case, the text of BII has been regarded as an immediate continuation of BI. The descent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po may, however, be conceived also in the sense of *his divine descent through a lineage of divine ancestors*, as involved by the expression sMu-skas-rim-dgu-sMu-'phreñ above.

gNam-lha-then-dgu, which Hoffmann translates with "neun Stufen der Götter des Himmels", actually signifies *nine ancestral links* or *nine successive generations of ancestral lHa*, who are characterized by or connected with, nine different cosmic spheres. They correspond to a *lineage of nine Then* in the text and Scheme EII. The text BII has no immediate connection with BI, on the contrary it is closely connected with BIII. Together with that it gives exactly the same representation of the genealogy as EII and EIII, viz. a *continual lineage* consisting of the Then, sTag-rje-'al-'ol (or rTags-chags-wal-wal), and the Yab-lha-bdag-drug.

As appearing from these considerations, the definition of the nine ancestor lHa, gNam-lha-then-dgu, in BII has led us to the assumption that the lHa-gnam-than-chen-po, the Srin-than-chen-po, and the Seven Sons in EII represent fundamentally the same concept of genealogy as gNam-lha-then-dgu. From the formulation of the text EII, i.e. from the occurrence of the terms lHa-gnam-then and Srin-then, we may possibly be obliged to define the thirteen links of EII in a slightly modified way. The reason is that an ancient Bon-po classification of the gods of the total universe refers these to eight classes, lHa-Srin-sde-brgyad, among which lHa and Srin as two single classes, just as they occur as two single generations in EII, exclusively represent the gods of Heaven (steñ). The idea of the lHa-gnam-then-chen-po and the Srin-then-chen-po may therefore derive from this Bon-po classification, in which case the Little White Cloud must be the fourth link of the lineage, sTag-rje-'al-'ol the last of the Seven Sons.

The text of the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu (sect. Vg-h) adds still a fourteenth and a fifteenth celestial sphere to those represented by the Thirteen rJe'i mGur-lha; but these two additional spheres may be left out of consideration, as the text continues its systematical representation from the thirteenth sphere or mGur-lha sTag-rje-'al-'ol, as reproduced in Table VII, Scheme EIII.

Apart from the differences of names, the two schemes EIII and BIII immediately prove to represent one and the same genealogy, and the corresponding texts even supply each other with regard to the account of the banishment of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's father to Žaṅ-po'i-Yul. Taking the preceding remarks concerning the nine Then into consideration, we should now hardly need further comment to realize the general identity between the genealogies given on one side by EII-III in the lineage from lHa-gnam-then-chen-po to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, and on the other side by BII-III comprising a lineage from gNam-lha-then-dgu to gÑa'-khri. The two lines in BII are therefore to be interpreted according to the literal sense of the Tibetan text, as given above. The significance of chaṅs(-pa)-phyag, and the allusion contained in this expression remain, however, still obscure, as is the case with phyag in other connections (see p. 292).

Taken as a whole, the genealogy of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, given by the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu and represented by the Schemes EI-III, is an artificial composition, where various classes of deities, cosmological and theogonical concepts from different times, and Bon-po and Buddhist systems have been brought together with the object of forming one of those greater units of tradition which are commonly known from Tibetan literature. Where such artificially composed genealogies or origin traditions are concerned, the general rule of composition seems to be that various versions of the same fundamental concept, depending on difference in time, locality, or religious idea, and/or various versions of fundamentally different, but similar or apparently related concepts are linked consecutively together, when necessary by interposing special connecting links of varying nature and origin.

Depending on this rule, we should expect to find within the total representation of the ancestral genealogy, given by the manuscript, certain vestiges of different ideas as to the origin of the progenitor king, and actually do so. But the unfortunate fact that ancient Tibetan mythology is still a practically unknown quantity makes a distinction between different elements and the interpretation of their significance extremely difficult. We are here, as in our study in general, working on virgin soil. The general uncertainty thus prevailing is, however, in the present case lessened to some degree by the simultaneous occurrence of the separate versions quoted above, and a number of allusions to the origin of the ancestral lineage, found elsewhere in Tibetan literature.

In the text corresponding to Scheme E we find elements pointing to three ideas of the nature of the divine lineage of the ancestor king. One connects his origin with the *Gods of Light* (EI), the second one with the *rMu class of deities* (EIII), and the third one with the *Srid-pa Gods* (EII).

The existence of a special tradition regarding gÑa'-khri-btsan-po as a descendant of the *Gods of Light*, 'Od-kyi-lha, 'Od-gsal-lha or 'Od-gsal-gyi-lha, appears from two Tibetan sources. dPa'-bo gTsong-lag (64.5r and 6v; see p. 175) on two occasions mentions this descent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po:

/ 'Di-ñid mi-yi yul-du byon-tshul ni /  
/ gNam-gyi rim-pa bcu-gsum steṅ žes-pa /

The way in which he came to the Country of Man:  
From the "Top of The Thirteen Spheres of  
Heaven" called

/ gZugs-khams 'Od-gsal-gyi ni lha-ris-nas /  
/ sPyan-ras-gzigs-kyis byin-gyis-brlabs-pa'i mthus /  
/ Thugs-rjes sa-steṅ gšegs-ste mi-rje mdzad /

Abode, from the *lHa-ris* (Heaven) of 'Od-gsal,  
By force of the Grace of *Avalokiteśvara*,  
*Thugs-rje* came upon Earth and acted as Ruler of  
Men (*Mi-rje*).

and shortly afterwards:

/ 'Od-gsal-lha-las babs daṅ Śākya-yi /  
/ rGyal-rgyud yin-pa'aṅ 'gal-ba ma-yin-ste /

He descended from the 'Od-gsal-lha and a Śākya  
Royal descendant he was. There is no mistake  
about that.

The sNar-thañ Kanjur also mentions his origin from the 'Od-gsal-lha (90.13; see p. 182), adding a quotation from some other source, presumably a Padma-thañ-yig:

... the ruler *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* came from the Land of the Supreme lHa (*sTeñ-lha*), taking hold of the *dMu-thag* and using the path of the clouds. Therefore he came as a member of the lineage of 'Od-gsal-lha.

However, the *Great Ācārya* told that  
In the lineage of 'Od-gsal-lha, the reverend source of the high (noble) family,  
Not in the lineage of *Mu-khri-btsan-po*, was he born.

It may also be considered significant that the Fifth Dalai Lama and following him the Pakṣa-yā (93.282v; see p. 184) remark of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, that "In the Deb-ther-sñon-po (*gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*) is identified with the one called *Khri-btsan-po 'Od-ldan*." He refers to Deb-ther-sñon-po Ka, 19r (see p. 172), but here this first king of the Dynasty is called *Khri-btsan-po 'Od-lde*.

Beside the fact that no other Tibetan sources except the above mentioned ones and therefore in a proper sense only the Deb-ther-sñon-po connects the idea of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* directly with that of 'O(d)-lde, the circumstance that the Fifth Dalai Lama interprets 'Od-lde as 'Od-ldan deserves some notice. This interpretation seems to indicate that the Fifth Dalai Lama had in mind a certain connection between *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* and *sNañ-ba-'od-ldan* (see p. 263). If so, then the idea of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*'s origin from the Gods of Light is connected with the cosmogonic ideas expressed by the *bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu* (Appendix II, sect. Va-b) and the similar version referred to by G. Tucci (see p. 263).

We have no knowledge of an ancient Tibetan concept of Gods of Light, if such a concept has ever originally and genuinely developed among the Tibetans. 'Od-gsal-lha was according to the quotation above from the sNar-thañ Kanjur, the "source of the high family". *Dra-ba-nag-po'i bsgrub-thabs Drag-po gnam-lcags thog-'bebs* (194.712) specifies the descendants from 'Od-gsal-lha as: lHa, Gar, bsTen, dMu, bDud, gTshams, Phya, sTod, sKos, 'Dre, Srin, Byur, Mi, sMra, and gSen. This enumeration of gods, demons, clan-deities, shaman and human beings points in a remarkable degree to a later time of co-existent Bon and Buddhism. It is characteristic of being a haphazardous combination and classification of deities and other concepts, without any clear understanding of their original nature. In the same way the princes of 'Ol-kha are considered as descendants from 'Od-gsal-lha by the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.101v; see 194.646), and according to the rGyal-rabs Bon (190.58–59) are the *gNam-gyi-'then-dgu*, a series of dMu, descending from 'Od-gsal-lha.

The Deb-ther-dmar-po (51.1v) connects the origin of Man with 'Od-gsal-lha, when describing the beginning of this aeon of existence:

Dañ-por stoñ-gsum-gyi 'jig-rten-gyi khams-'di  
chags-pa-na / 'Dzam-gliñ-gi chu'i-rgya-mtsho-  
chen-po-'di'i steñ-du rluñ-gi spris-ma mar-sar  
lta-bu sa-chen-po-'di chags-šiñ /

'Od-gsal-gyi-lha-las 'ga'-žig ši-'phos-nas der  
mi-ru skyes-te / rañ 'od-gsal-žiñ mkha'-la 'gro-ba /  
dga'-bde'i-zas-kysis 'tsho-žiñ tshe dpag-tu-med-pa  
thub-pa byuñ-ño /

At first, when this region among the three thousand parts of this world originated, appeared the foam (caused by) the wind upon the great ocean of water of *Jambudvīpa*, that which is the big country, looking like a country of butter.

Some of the 'Od-gsal-gyi-lha (Gods of Light-Bright) died and were born as *Men* there. They were 'Od-gsal by nature and lived in (or went to) Heaven (*mkha'*). They lived on the food of joy and happiness and acquired an immeasurable span of life.

The La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.29/78) connects 'Od-kyi-lha (God of Light) with the first group of the Dynasty, the Seven Celestial Khri:

Žes de-dag-la dbu-la 'Od-kyi-lha-dag yod-  
pas / dguñ-lo mañ-du bžugs-ñiñ /

Thus, for those (the *Seven Celestial Khri*) who  
had the *Gods of Light* ('*Od-kyi lHa*) as their first  
(*dbu*), there were many years (of life).

and in the description of the genealogy of the human races (see 68.20/64; Table VIII F and p. 282) it establishes a connection between the Gods of Light ('*Od-gsal-gyi lha*) and the human beings:

The life-time and authority of the Gods of Light ('*Od-gsal-gyi-lha*) dwindled away. (There) was the so-called *lHa Nam-kyer-rgyal-po Ye-mkhyen-chen-po*, it is told. . . . (Continues with the genealogy).

The third descendant is *lHa 'Od-gsal*, and the seventh *lHa rGyal-srid*, a denominator for the kings.

This connection of the '*Od-kyi-lha*, '*Od-gsal-lha* or '*Od-gsal-gyi-lha* with the origin of mankind, immediately points towards a connection with the concept of that place or state of existence for all creatures during interim periods between the world aeons, after the destruction of one and before the re-creation of a new world of existence, which is known e.g. from the *Mahāvastu* (see 152.II.99). The name of this state or place is *ābhāsvara* and corresponds to '*Od-gsal*. *This Buddhist-Indian concept of ābhāsvara perfectly explains the position of 'Od-gsal in all the above quoted sources.*

We may therefore at present doubt that concepts founded in general on the idea of Gods of Light are genuinely Tibetan, although no definite proof can be given either way. Even where the idea of '*Od-lde* or '*O-lde* in its variants, occurring in connection with the ancestor king or his immediate divine ancestry ('*O-de-guñ-rgyal*) is particularly concerned, we can hardly be safe in adopting the idea of Light, '*Od*, as the original or fundamental one.<sup>39</sup>

Without some consideration we cannot dismiss the possibility that '*O(d)* in the connection concerned may have a different and actually toponymical origin.—Any consideration in this regard is, however, closely connected with a satisfactory interpretation of *lde* as it occurs in connection with 'o(d) in '*O(d)-de-guñ-rgyal* and '*O-(l)de-(s)pu(r)-rgyal*, or in (s)*Pu-de-guñ-rgyal*, and in royal names as *Khri-lde* or *Khri-sde*. It can hardly be questioned that a significance of divinity is involved by *lde*, as in the expression *lDe-sras* it actually substitutes that of the more commonly occurring prerogative of the *Yar-luñ* kings *lHa-sras* (see p. 108, 212, 252; see also 196.201). The most definite statement in this regard we find in *dPa'-bo gTsub-lag* quoted above (64.9r-v; see p. 120):

Thereafter *lHa-sras* was known as *lDe-sras*.

After relatives and subjects mingled, they were called *lDe-sras*.

As a substitute, *lHa-sras* was called *bTsan-po*.

As to the origin and specific sense of *lde*, no reasonable explanation other than connecting it with *Te*, *lTe*, *The* (see p. 78, 218 ff.), seems present. If, however, we accept the idea of a deity being involved by *lde*, the expression '*O-lde* may be interpreted as "the *lDe* from or of '*O*". The interchange of *lde* and *sde* together with the occurrence of *de* furthermore makes it possible that the correct form should be *de*, thus even more closely related with *Te*. In this regard it is remarkable that the names of the deity rather persistently, and independent of the age of the sources, are written '*O-de(di)-guñ-rgyal* or, anticipating *de*, '*Od-de-guñ-rgyal*, while the royal name is almost as persistently written in the form '*O-lde-spu-rgyal*. In the latter case, however, the sources written in ancient, not normalized Tibetan, present exceptions and variations, e.g. '*O-(d)e-lHa-(dpal)-Phu-rgyal* (11.IV 186, p. 71), but later in the same text '*O-lde-spu-rgyal* (11.IV 321, p. 75).

In the consideration of '*O* and '*O-lde* another name, viz. that of the *kLu-mo* guarding the corpse of *Gri-gum-btsan-po* attains a certain significance. This female water demoness is the *kLu-mo* called '*O-de-bed-de-riñ-mo*, '*Od-de-bed-de-riñ-mo*, '*O-de-riñ-mo* or *kLu'i-de-riñ-mo* (p. 343, 403, 404, 405),

who according to the Fifth Dalai Lama (p. 150) is called Chu-srin Bye-ma-lag-riñ (Sand-Hands-Long). In dPa'-bo gTsug-lag the last mentioned name is the name of the maidservant of the kLu-srin Ho-te-re (p. 144). In the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ she is called Ñaṅ-žu-skya-mo (p. 148), which dPa'-bo gTsug-lag identifies as Ñaṅ-chu-skya-mo (Ñaṅ-River-Pale-White), the name of the river running through Koṅ-po (p. 144). All sources connect her with the province of Koṅ-po, and her name seems originally to have been 'O-de-riñ-mo. The name of this otherwise unknown kLu-mo does not help us towards any solution of the 'O-(l)de, besides the fact that 'O-de is connected through the name of this kLu-mo with the origin of mankind (see p. 343). As pointed out by H. E. Richardson (180.49), a toponymical relation is, however, probable through the name of 'O-de-guñ-rgyal. This name is applied to the mountain in the district of 'O-yul or 'Ol-kha in Central Tibet (see also 190.83 and note 226; 194.733). 'O-yul or 'Ol-pu(phu) is one of the twelve rGyal-phran (see p. 241, 243). The expression 'O-(l)de may therefore be interpreted as the lDe from 'O-yul, or as translated by Richardson "the God of 'O Yul". G. Tucci (196.201) considers 'O-lde a title, derived from the term lDe "divine creature" with a prefixed 'O, of which he gives no interpretation.

As a toponymical origin of 'O, we cannot exclude the possibility of a connection with 'Ol-mo-luñ-riñs, the valley in Žaṅ-žuñ, intimately connected with the origin of Bon and the birth-place of gŠen-rab-Myi-bo. (see 162.212 ff.). Finally we must take into consideration the possibility that 'O is a respectful form of the prefix 'a, employed in a denominative sense. This prefix we find for instance in the name 'A-ža and in the Nam language (see F. W. Thomas, Nam, London 1948, pp. 118–22, 163).

*The descent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* from the deities called *Mu, dMu, rMu, sMu*, is stated by the bLon-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig (see p. 235), when letting the god sKar-ma-yol-sde say that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is a Nephew of dMu, dMu-yi dbon-po (interpreted by Tucci as dMu-yi dbaṅ-po, Lord of the dMu; see 194.732).<sup>40</sup> The rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig (see p. 252–255) and the bŠad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (see p. 214) both relate that the father of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po was expelled to Bon Žaṅ-po'i-yul or Žaṅ-po sMu'i-yul, the Country of the Maternal Uncle, of Bon or sMu. Here he married a d(s)Mu-Queen, who bore gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, who is therefore characterized as a Grandson of sMu, sMu'i-tsha. The dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ (see p. 218) tells that he descended from rMu-yul according to the tradition of Yaṅ-bsaṅ. The sNar-thaṅ Kanjur (see pp. 182, 266) quoting a gTer-ma, relates that he did not come in the lineage of Mu-khri-btsan-po but in that of 'Od-gsal-lha. Mu-khri-btsan-po is the name of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's immediate successor in the royal lineage (see p. 34 ff, Table III, 1 and 2) but is here most probably identical with (r)Mu-rje-btsan-po, the first of the pre-dynastic rulers of Tibet according to the Deb-ther-dmar-po (see p. 295, Table X) and the Notes to Bu-ston's Chronicle (see p. 296, Table X). Furthermore the kLu were rulers of Tibet before the advent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po according to both dPa'-bo gTsug-lag and the dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ (see Table X). Through dMu-thag or dMu-skas, the Rope or Ladder of dMu, through his descent from above, and through his connection with Heaven, gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is connected with dMu (see pp. 100, 101, 119–120, 144, 148, 177, 179, 182, 184, 214, 264, 331; see also 194.716, 733), besides through his Self-acting Weapon (dMu-chas) employed against the Evils upon Earth, which were given to him by Žaṅ-po sMu, his Maternal Uncle the sMu, or by his parents (see p. 214, 235, 331, Appendix I, sect. III d).

Mu, dMu, rMu or sMu is one of the original four tribes of the Tibetans, the Rus-chen-bži, and a class of deities almost unknown today, having connections with the upper spheres of the universe (see pp. 127, 139, 141, 221ff., 281f.; see also 190.50–66; 194.714; 196.200). They are considered as malignant and noxious to Man, alternatively connected with the deities bDud, bTsan, gÑan, and kLu (see 194.714). They are divided into groups, rMu-rje and rMu-btsan, when considered as bTsan (see 194.714), or dMu-chen and dMu-phran (see 172.281). They are now chiefly known from their connection with the disease dMu-chu or dropsy and with dMus-loñ, a kind of blindness. Furthermore dMu is behind the conception of rMug, the magic power especially exercised in relation to the chthonic powers (funeral rites; see 196.200). As shown above (p. 105) the primary form of Bon, introduced under gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, is in some cases called the Bon of d(s)Mu-rgyal or dBu-rgyal.

Through the connection of Mu, dMu, rMu or sMu with the country of Žaṅ-žuñ, a relationship between



the words and concepts of Mu and The in the The'u-rañ is to be expected. Such a relationship is also suggested by the dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ (see p. 218), which connects gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's descent from rMu-yul, the Country of dMu, with the tradition of Yañ-bsañ The'u-rañ. A closer relationship between the Mu and the The is also suspected by H. Hoffmann (see 162.143).

According to the studies of R.-A. Stein (190.64 ff, 83) the word Mu, dMu, rMu or sMu is related to the Ch'iang word for *Heaven* and *God of Heaven*. In 1961 a dictionary of the Žaň-zuň language in the dialect of sMar appeared.<sup>41</sup> Collecting and comparing all cases where we find *Mu* or *dMu* in the Žaň-zuň words, we obtain the following meanings of this word:—*Space, Sphere; Centre; Front side; Heaven, Sky, Heavenly Sphere; Place, Spot.*<sup>42</sup> Therefore, the word *Mu, dMu, rMu* or *sMu* occurring in the Tibetan texts, is most likely identical with the Žaň-zuň word *Mu-dMu* meaning *Universe or World of Existence*. Its meaning is not restricted to that demonstrated by Stein.

Therefore *Mu* probably signifies the whole system of deities, which is older than the introduction of *Bon*, as intimated through the connection between the first stage of *Bon* and dMu-rgyal. In this system of *Mu* deities, the *The* is most likely the principal group. Therefore, allusions to a descent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po from the *Mu*, is the same as indicating his descent from the *The'u-rañ* according to the tradition of *Yañ-bsañ*, the tradition described above p. 217 ff.

gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's origin from the lHa, and especially from the *Srid-pa'i lHa*, is the fundamental concept behind the tradition of Grags-pa Bon-lugs (see p. 136, 212 ff., 252–56, 261 ff., 317, 318), and the descent of the Tibetans themselves is also connected with the *Srid-pa'i lHa* (see p. 282 ff., Table VIII F). dPa'-bo gTug-lag characterizes a dead king as *Srid-kyi-bu*, a Son of *Srid* or a *Srid-Son* (see p. 145). The dogs sent to kill Lo-ñam with their fur rubbed with poison, are called *Srid-khyi*, *Srid-Dogs* (see p. 403).

The term *srid* is known from the concept *Chab-srid*, the integral idea of the royal authority (see p. 106–07), and rGyal-srid, kingdom or state. In a later Buddhist time *srid-pa* means existence, universe, cosmos, to be, to exist, to grow. These meanings are perfectly adapted for the ideas and concepts of the *Srid-pa'i lHa* as expressed through the Grags-pa Bon-lugs: Gods of the Universe or Existence. H. Hoffmann (162.142) suggests a connection with an earlier stratum of *Bon*, but does not proceed beyond this suggestion.

But a significance of *srid*, other than that of universe and existence is present. It is indicated by an obvious etymological connection between *Sri-Srid-Srin*, *Sri* and *Srin* being parts of a pre-Bon-po substratum of demonology originating from the idea of the world of the Dead (see p. 112, 322), indicated by the late composition of the theogony of the *Srid-pa'i lHa* originating from the deified ancestors of the Tibetans (see p. 225, 226, 317, 318), and indicated by the use of *srid* in a verbal position as *srid-pa* and *bsrid-pa* in the *Srid-pa* genealogy of the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu (see pp. 213–15; Appendix II, sect. Va ff.). There we have preferred to translate *srid-pa*, *bsrid-pa*, as “to come into existence” instead of “to exist, etc.”, based on the following considerations of the word *srid*.

The words *Sri* (Demon)<sup>43</sup>, *Srid-bSrid*, and *Srin* (Demon)<sup>43</sup> suggest a basic form \*s+√ri. The root *ri* we find represented in the following short word-forms: *ri-mo* (picture, drawing, line), *rim-pa* (series, row, order), and *ris* (figures, form, part). Furthermore it is known in the separate meaning of *ri* (mountain).

We find derivatives of \*√ri in:—\*g+√ri: *gri* (knife), *khrid* (row, order), *khriḡs* (arranged in order), *gral* (row, range, series), *gras* (order, series), *khriḡs* (laws, orders);—\*d+√ri: *dra-ba* (cut with a knife, tailoring); and—\*b+√ri: 'bri, 'bris, *bris* (to write, design).

All these forms suggest a fundamental meaning of \*√ri as “having an outline, having a definable, concrete outline and appearance”.

The fact that the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu, instead of employing the words *skyes-pa* (be born < yi(d), yod), *ltams-pa* (be born < lta-ba), 'byuñ-ba (appear < yoñ-ba), or 'khuñ-pa (be born < khuñs) to characterize the birth or appearance of the single members of the *Srid-pa* genealogy, employs *srid-pa* and *bsrid*, in connection with the just demonstrated meaning of \*√ri, immediately leads us to translate it as “to come into existence”, in the special meaning of “taking a form, taking a definable form”. In

*the connection with birth as expressed through the Srid-pa genealogy, srid-pa has the even more specific meaning of "to be conceived, become pregnant". This specific meaning leads us to a female conception of the process of Life's beginning, Conception in a female sense being the beginning of Life, Birth, skyes-pa etc., being the male counterpart.*

*Therefore, Srid-pa'i lHa expresses the idea of the late, systematical Bon tradition of the lHa, which is based on a tradition of an older female system of theogony, that represented by the tradition of Yañ-bsañ The'u-rañ described above p. 217 ff. (especially p. 226).*

## The ancient Tibetan image of the world and the significance of the terms ru and rus

### *The territorial concept of Tibet connected with the origin legends of the Yar-luñ Dynasty*

We have already mentioned the vertical projection of the ancient Tibetan image of the world containing three different spheres or strata, and its reflection in the representation of the Dynasty (see p. 134 ff.). Judging, however, from the majority of generally known Tibetan sources, a genuine Tibetan conception of the horizontal image or projection of cosmos hardly seems to exist. The image appearing to us from the Tibetan literature is the image of the world common to a vast number of Asiatic peoples, comprising a central mountain of the world, surrounded by a more or less complexly conceived world consisting of four principal parts or continents which correspond to the four cardinal points or directions. An image of this type, most probably originating from India, is found both in Bon-po and Buddhist literature. Since the time of predominant Buddhist influence it represents the Tibetan concept of the world, but it may be questionable beforehand whether it coincides with the ancient Tibetan concept belonging to a time before Buddhist influence and before the existence of a systematical Bon-religion.

From several facts revealed by the study of the ancient traditions, we get the definite impression that a particular type of world image which may be regarded as specifically Tibetan, is to be found behind the ideas of the ancient traditions. Whatever the real structure of this image of the world may have been, one characteristic feature of it immediately appears, its *dimensional relativity*, permitting the same fundamental idea to range from a single locality with its immediate surroundings, evidently the prototype of the image, to the comprisal of what to Tibetan knowledge might be the total extent of the world. Another characteristic feature may be derived from the fact that the origin conceptions connected with the different quarters of the world are identical in principle.

The occurrence of fundamental ideas and elements in Tibetan myths and legends, particularly in the origin legends, shows a remarkable quasi-ubiquity with regard to local reference. This peculiarity quite clearly appears from the traditions of Gri-gum-btsan-po and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal. Thus the residence of Gri-gum-btsan-po is generally referred to Yar-luñ, but the local tradition presented by the Myañ-chuñ (74.139), apparently in accordance with the Tun-huang Ms., refers it to Śam-bu-rtse-dgu or rTse-chen in Ņañ-po, and the disposal of the corpse of this king is referred both to rTsañ-chu and to rKoñ-chu. The three sons of the king fled to rKoñ-po according to some traditions, and to Ņañ-po, rKoñ-po, and sPo-bo according to others, the latter category contradicting the tradition of Myañ-chuñ which locates the residence of the usurper in Ņañ-po.

Altogether four different districts or principalities of Central Tibet, viz. Yar-luñ, Ņañ-po, rKoñ-po, and sPo-bo, are involved in the legendry of Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons, and within the limits given by the known versions of it these localities alternatively occur in the same functions. We might in this regard be facing nothing more than the results of a general confusion in the tradition, but several circumstances seem definitely to disprove this explanation. On the contrary, we shall advance the suggestion that *the four districts Yar-luñ, Ņañ-po, rKoñ-po, and sPo-bo (or Dwags-po) constitute one of the most ancient territorial ideas of Tibet and, in a further sense, the prototype of the Tibetan image of the world.*

The definition of Tibet, which seems to have the most ancient origin known to us is found in the lHa-'dre bka'i-thaṅ-yig (36.21v):

Yi-dwags Pre-ta-pu-ri Bod-kyi yul :	(In) the Land of the <i>Yi-dwags</i> , <i>Pretapuri</i> or Tibet
De-yi naṅ-nas gDug-pa-can-gyi yul :	There is the Land of the Mischievous Beings ( <i>gDug-pa-can-gyi yul</i> ),
Dwags-po Koṅ-po ṅNaṅ-po gsum-gyi yul :	The three countries of <i>Dwags-po</i> , <i>Koṅ-po</i> , and <i>ṅNaṅ-po</i> .

A little later in the same text (36.40v) we read:

gDug-pa-che yul ṅNaṅ Dwags Koṅ gsum yin :	The three (countries of) <i>ṅNaṅ</i> , <i>Dwags</i> , and <i>Koṅ</i> are the Lands of Great Mischief ( <i>gDug-pa-che yul</i> ).
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In the gZer-myig (138.II.72r) we find the following passage:

Śa-zan gdoṅ-dmar Srin-po Bod-kyi yul ṅNaṅ- srin rKoṅ-srin Dags-srin yul-du 'oṅ-ba	You come into the <i>Tibetan country</i> of the carnivorous, red-faced <i>Srin-po</i> , the country of the <i>Srin-po</i> of <i>ṅNaṅ</i> , the <i>Srin-po</i> of <i>rKoṅ</i> , and the <i>Srin-po</i> of <i>Dags</i> .
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Postponing the discussion of why Tibet (Bod) is connected with the Yi-dwags and Pretapuri, a fact which has no direct connection with our present subject, we learn, however, that according to these ancient traditions *Tibet* (Bod-kyi yul) *originally consisted of the three districts ṅNaṅ-po, rKoṅ-po, and Dwags-po.*

As sPo-bo and Dwags-po, which in modern time are known as two neighbouring districts to the east of Yar-luṅ and to the south of Koṅ-po, in ancient times were probably identically conceived in a territorial sense, the three districts just mentioned are identical with the three refuge countries of the sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po. In fact, only these three countries are directly mentioned in connection with Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons, while references to Yar-luṅ only are indirect and occur only in some of the versions of the tradition. The fact, though, that the legendary traditions of ancient Tibet and its kings has become the tradition of the kings of Yar-luṅ, makes Yar-luṅ an integral part of Ancient Tibet according to the legendry of Gri-gum-btsan-po, while according to traditions independent of the conceptions of the Dynasty, Yar-luṅ did not belong to it.

In reality we are thus dealing with two different concepts of ancient Tibet, *one defining it as gDug-pa-can-gyi yul consisting of three parts, ṅNaṅ-po, rKoṅ-po, and Dwags-po*, which is obviously the original conception, *the other defining it as these three parts plus one additional part, Yar-luṅ.* For this reason Yar-luṅ takes up a separate position in relation to the three other countries, being without importance from one point of view, while of primary importance from another.

If our suggestion that Tibet consisted of the above-mentioned four countries according to the traditions of the Dynasty and consequently to the generally prevailing tradition is correct, we may expect to find confirmatory evidence from the traditions of gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po. By the study of the religious conceptions forming the basis of the traditions of this progenitor king (see chapter 14) we find, in fact, evidence which together with that already given establishes proof to our suggestion, as far as proof can be established in matters of this kind at all.

We have already called attention to the circumstance, indicated by the various versions of the tradition of gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po, that *the fundamental feature of the tradition*, viz. the descent of the king upon a sacred mountain, *applies to various localities in Tibet.* According to the general idea of the tradition, gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po descended from high heaven to a mountain, and from there upon earth, and the locality where he finally appeared is unanimously specified by all the sources as bTsan-thaṅ sgo-bṅzi, the Plain of the bTsan with Four Gates, and some of them again refer this place to Yar-luṅ. In a local

tradition the place is even indicated in the vicinity of Yar-kluñs Śel-brag. The idea that bTsan-thaṅ sgo-bḥi applies to a definite locality may, however, be subject to some doubt, because the possibility is immediately at hand that it is a metaphor for Earth. The earth or the middle sphere was the abode of the bTsan, and sgo-bḥi may signify the four quarters of the earth.<sup>1</sup>

The mountains connected with gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po are: *Gyaṅ-mtho*, *Rol-pa'i-rtse*, *Yar-la-śam-po*, *Po-ta-la-ri*, and *lHa-ri Yol-ba*.<sup>2</sup> Three of these mountains can be identified beyond doubt. *Gyaṅ-mtho* is the famous sacred mountain in Koṅ-po, Koṅ-po lHa-ri Gyaṅ-tho (65.161r) or Koṅ-po ri-nag lHa-ri Byaṅ-rdor-che (40.40v; see 138.II.71v). *Yar-la-śam-po* is the equally famous and sacred mountain to the south of Yar-luñ.<sup>3</sup> As to *Po-ta-la-ri* of lHa-sa, its identity, so far, needs no comment, but its appearance in the origin legends of the Yar-luñ Dynasty must be regarded with definite scepticism. Most probably *Po-ta-la-ri*, the metropolitan mountain, has for obvious reasons been introduced into the legend at a later time.

The identity—and the reality—of *Rol-pa'i-rtse* and *lHa-ri Yol-ba* are problematic. Possibly *Yol-ba* and *Rol-pa* are identical terms. The localization of *Rol-pa'i-rtse* in Yar-luñ by Chandra Das in his "Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet," London 1902, p. 232 f., seems to be a deduction based only on the local tradition of bTsan-thaṅ sgo-bḥi. The very significance of *Rol-pa* seems, if anything, to indicate that *Rol-pa'i-rtse* is a metaphor for Heaven or the Sacred Mountain, the latter being originally meant in a general sense, later in the particular sense of *Ri-rab* or *Sumeru*.

Thus from the list of the mountains involved in the progenitor legends of gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po, only two districts of Tibet, *Yar-luñ* and *Koṅ-po* can be ascertained.

The ways in which the different sources describe the mountains upon which gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po descended, and the descent itself, present some interesting features. The majority of the sources (1; 36; 68; 70; 64; 85; 90; 93; 120; 145) connect the descent of gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po with lHa-ri Gyaṅ-mtho, in accordance with the Bon-po tradition of the 'Dzam-gliṅ gaṅs Ti-se'i dkar-chag (109). Four of these sources, viz. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64), Sanang Sečen (145), and the Fifth Dalai Lama (70), which gives an interesting account which is adopted by the Pakṭa-yā (93), contain the strange statement that gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po first came to (lHa-ri) Gyaṅ-mtho, but proceeded to (lHa-ri) *Rol-pa'i-rtse* from where he descended upon bTsan-thaṅ sgo-bḥi. The occurrence of a second mountain, which is perfectly irrelevant to the idea of the tradition, is obviously due to a misunderstanding of the significance of *Rol-pa'i-rtse* or due to a conscious combination of two versions. The misunderstanding may arise from the circumstance that the versions of ancient sources only mentioning *Rol-pa'i-rtse*, such as that of the Maṅi-bka'-'bum (34), have been combined with versions specifying the sacred mountain as Gyaṅ-mtho. In the Maṅi-bka'-'bum (34.E.187v) the mountain is described as Yar-luñ lHa-ri *Rol-pa'i-rtse*. In the Deb-ther-dmar-po (51.15v) it is related that gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po descended upon Yar-luñ lHa-ri *Rol-po'i-rtse*, and in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ upon *Rol-po'i-rtse* (58.24v). From here he saw Yar-lha-śam-po and the good country of Yar-luñ, and then he descended from "the mountain". The Fifth Dalai Lama, repeated in the Pakṭa-yā (93.282v), introduces Gyaṅ-mtho as the first and real mountain for the appearance of the king, and gives an elaborate account of the amenity of Yar-luñ and Yar-lha-śam-po, which the king observed from Gyaṅ-mtho before he proceeded to lHa-ri *Rol-pa'i-rtse* to descend from this mountain to bTsan-thaṅ sgo-bḥi.

The general picture of the descent is further confused in the later sources. In the sNar-thaṅ Kanjur (90.13) the mountain is described as Yar-kluñs lHa-ri Gyaṅ-tho and in the dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ (75.149) as Yar-kluñs-kyi gaṅs-ri Yar-lha-śam-po'i lHa-ri *Rol-rtse*.

The confusion caused by the misunderstanding or the misunderstood use of *Rol-pa'i-rtse* may be regarded as accounted for, but the question still remains, whether we are to recognize the existence of two independent traditions, one claiming that gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po descended from Yar-lha-śam-po in Yar-luñ, the other that he descended from Gyaṅ-mtho in Koṅ-po. The fact that we are dealing with the origin of the kings of Yar-luñ, would *a priori* make the former alternative plausible, but for the same reason the persistent maintenance of the majority of sources that he descended from Gyaṅ-mtho, definitely goes to show the genuineness of the latter alternative. If the original, genuine tradition was con-

nected with Yar-lha-śam-po, there would be no reasonable explanation whatever for transferring it to Gyañ-mtho in Koñ-po; but on the other hand, if the tradition was originally connected with the latter mountain and country, a modification of the tradition for the benefit of the history of the Yar-luñ kings, would hardly be too difficult to explain. Therefore, we are compelled either to accept the actual existence of two traditions connecting the progenitor of the Yar-luñ Dynasty with two different localities in Tibet, or to decide which tradition is to be regarded as the original and genuine one.

The acceptance of two or more different traditions of the gÑa'-khri-btsan-po type presents no particular difficulty, and we actually possess evidence of the existence of such a multiple of traditions, but the acceptance of traditions, which connect gÑa'-khri-btsan-po with different parts of Tibet, as genuine in general, is hardly possible so long as gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is to be specifically conceived as the progenitor of the local Dynasty of Yar-luñ.

As we have seen above, only two sources directly connect the descent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po with Yar-lha-śam-po. Some sources connect the appearance of the king with Yar-luñ by locating Rol-pa'i-rtse or bTsan-thañ sgo-bzi there, or by dislocating Gyañ-mtho to Yar-luñ or Mar-Sog-kha, while other sources involve Yar-luñ and Yar-lha-śam-po by mentioning their amenity in an immediate connection with the narrative of the descent. Yar-luñ and Yar-lha-śam-po quite obviously appear as elements of secondary importance to the tradition, or as features introduced to give it a local connection with Yar-luñ.

In agreement with H. Hoffmann (162.146–48), we shall therefore maintain that *the legend of the first Tibetan king, named gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, was originally locally connected with Koñ-po*. As a particularly important argument, Hoffmann quotes the three lines of the lHa-'dre bka'i-thañ-yig (36.40v):

Koñ-po ri-nag lHa-ri Byañ-rdor-che :  
De-na mar gśegs mi-nag mched-po 'dul :  
rGyal-po gÑa'-khri-btsan-po'i babs-sa yin :

The interpretation of the middle line presents some difficulty. Hoffmann regards it as an allusion to Padmasambhava, translating it:

“Dort ging (Padmasambhava) hinab und bekehrte die “Schwarzen Männer-Brüder”.”

The real significance of 'dul is to subdue or to subject to discipline, rules etc., not to convert (bekehren), but the main problem is how to interpret *mi-nag mched-po*. This expression may allude either to demons, e.g. the Nag-po bDud or the Sa-the nag-po related with the The'u-rañ, the subjugation of which is described in the chapter of the gTer-ma concerned, or to the human population, the *mi mgo-nag*. In the former case, the line most probably refers to Padmasambhava, in the latter case, however, it refers to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, and the three lines may then be interpreted in the following way:

1. The black mountain in *Koñ-po, lHa-ri Byañ-rdor-che*,
3. Is the place where the King *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* descended,
2. (He who) went down to this (world) and subdued the black-men-brothers (or: the black men who increased in number).

At any rate these lines definitely connect gÑa'-khri-btsan-po with Koñ-po, and are so much more important as they occur in a direct text-connection with gDugs-pa-che yul defined as Ñañ-po, Dwags-po, and Koñ-po.

We may in this connection point out that while according to the general conception of the Tibetan sources, gÑa'-khri-btsan-po descended from Heaven to be a protecting ruler of the people, according to this interpretation he appears in a more severe form. In the record of Sanang Sečen (145.22/23) saying that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po became the ruler of Tibet after he had subdued the four kindred peoples, he directly appears as a conqueror or usurper.

From the hardly disputable circumstance that *the legend of the descent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is locally connected with Koñ-po*, we may be naturally inclined to infer that the progenitor king particularly characterized by the concept involved by the significance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, was the progenitor of the local dynasty of Koñ-po. Moreover, this idea together with the circumstance that *Ña'-khri*, in the tradition of the Dynasty of Yar-luñ is said to have become the White Prince of Koñ-po, Koñ-rje dkar-po, signifying both the princes of the local dynasty and the god, who, at any rate in historical time, was the supreme deity of Koñ-po, seems strongly to support our suggestion of identity between gÑa'-khri and Ña'-khri. The connection between the concepts of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and Koñ-rje dkar-po, which thus would be established, seems otherwise indicated, as we are going to learn when dealing with the special traditions of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.

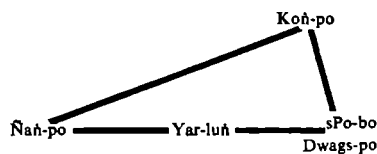
The result which in the present connection is the most important one, is however, that with regard to their *local references*, the legends both of *the three sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po* and of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* are closely connected with the concept that *Tibet originally consisted of the three parts Ña'i-po, Dwags-po, and Koñ-po*, and that in both cases *Yar-luñ* occurs as an additional fourth part, solely involved by the connection of the legends in question with the authorized representation of the Dynasty of Yar-luñ and the coordinated traditions of its origin.

### *The evolution of the Tibetan image of the world*

On several occasions we have met the ideas of the Tibetans concerning the image of the world, primarily in relation to its vertical dimension, but also in relation to its horizontal dimension, usually with regard to the idea of the quarters of the world. We have noticed the existence of several concepts of the dimensions of the Tibetan world, ranging from the Rus-bži to the guardians of the four quarters (see p. 162). As these different concepts are very often mixed together in one and the same context, we are going to consider them separately.

At first we shall consider what we have described above as the archetype of the Tibetan image of the world, closely related to the foundation of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, i.e. that comprising the three refuge countries of Ña'i-po (Mya'i-po), Koñ-po, and Dwags-po (sPo-bo).<sup>4</sup> Adding Yar-luñ as the final country to be governed, we obtain the fundamental idea of three plus one making four, an idea known from several occasions above.

Geographically the four districts are all placed in Central Tibet around the river gTsañ-po as shown on the map of Tibet (Plate X). Considering the geographical distribution of these countries under the aspect of three plus one, Yar-luñ being the one added, we obtain the following general picture of the world comprising the area constituting the beginning of the Yar-luñ Dynasty and its confederates:

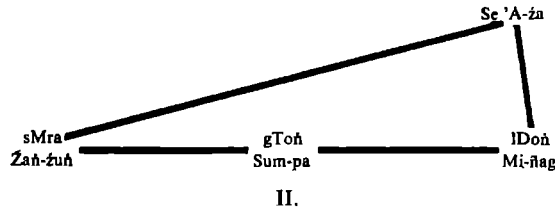


We obtain an image of the world where the three refuge countries Koñ-po, Ña'i-po, and Dwags-po (sPo-bo) constitute the three angles in a triangle. The fourth element, Yar-luñ, is geographically placed on that side of the triangle which connects Ña'i-po and Dwags-po. This image of the world, therefore, has only three cardinal directions, but is constituted by four components.

This image of the world corresponds to the idea of the ancestor of the small local Dynasty (see p. 239). Connected with the idea of an ancestor of the Tibetan king in the capacity of an all-Tibetan sovereign we find the idea of the Rus (see p. 281). As demonstrated below, the increase in the number of the Rus

is characterized by a development from three plus one to four, plus two to six.<sup>5</sup> The initial and fundamental group is thus again characterized as three plus one making four.

The four Rus in question are the Se 'A-ža, sMra Žaň-žuň, IDoň Mi-ñag, and gToň Sum-pa. The geographical locations of these well-known Tibetan peoples are indicated on the map of Tibet (Plate X).<sup>6</sup> Considering the geographical distribution of these four peoples we obtain the following general picture of the world:



This image of the world, based on the geographical distribution of the Rus, is also triangular, having 'A-ža, Žaň-žuň, and Mi-ñag as the three angles. Geographically Sum-pa is located on the line connecting Žaň-žuň and Mi-ñag. We thus obtain an image of the world similar to the preceding one, a triangle constituted by four components. This triangular image of the world lies to the north of the preceding one.

The only Tibetan historical text giving a comprehensive, systematic description of the world including elements other than the quadri-continental Indo-Buddhist image of the world is the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.21). It describes the twelve rGyal-phran, the four Rus, the four countries of refuge, and the four Kings of the Quarters, too. The La-dwags rgyal-rabs describes the four Rus as Naň-gi mi'u rigs-bži, the four interior human families, and adds a corresponding series of mTshams-kyi mi'u rigs-bži, four human border families, the Gam-šaň rGya, Gyim-šaň Hor, Ha-le Mon, and sPu-rgyal Bod.

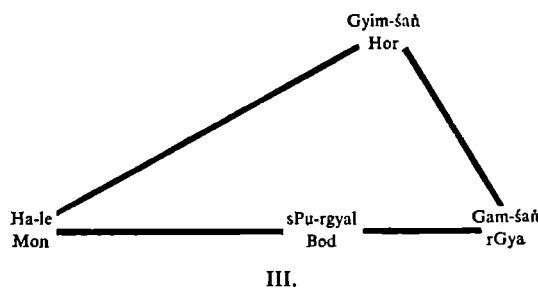
These geographical descriptions of the La-dwags rgyal-rabs have been explained as mañđalas by Petech (177.13–15). But this cannot be correct, because the centre of the inner families, which is Tibet, is not mentioned, and because sPu-rgyal Bod constitutes a fourth member of the four border peoples. A reduced mañđala has five components. If these descriptions are to be understood as four outer points around a common centre, a description of the four quarters or cardinal points, then the position of sPu-rgyal Bod is inexplicable.

rGya are the Chinese and Hor the peoples to the north of the Tibetan plateau. Gam-šaň and Gyim-šaň are Chin-ch'êng at Lan-chou and Kan-ch'êng (Kan-chou?) (190.69).<sup>7</sup>

Ha-le Mon is the Mon population in the Himalayas, especially employed for the border peoples at Nepal, Kumaon, and Tawang. Ha-le may as suggested by Petech (177.15) be identical with bsKal-Mon, the non-Tibetan people of Gu-ge.

sPu-rgyal Bod is Tibet conceived as the country where the ancestor came to be ruler. It is therefore identifiable with the first image of the world presented above.

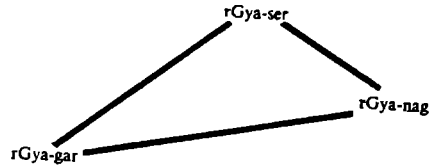
Considering the geographical locations of these four border families as indicated above, we obtain an image of the world as follows:





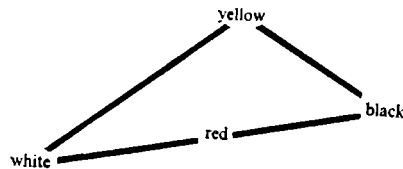
Through the geographical locations we again obtain a triangle as the image of the world, constituted by four components. Hor, Mon, and rGya are the three angles, and geographically Bod is placed upon the line between Mon and rGya. This image of the world corresponds to the image of the all-Tibetan empire, having moved the frontiers outside the Tibetan table-land.

Through these images of the world, especially the last one, we obtain the explanation of the three rGya, viz. the Black rGya (rGya-nag), the White rGya (rGya-gar), and the Yellow rGya (rGya-ser), terms describing China, India, and Central Asia in all later Tibetan literature. No fourth rGya exists, describing a rGya in the West. This occurrence is explained by placing rGya-nag as Gam-śaṅ rGya, rGya-gar as Ha-le Mon, and rGya-ser as Gyim-śaṅ Hor, all of them being border peoples or countries:



IV.

The position of rGya-gar corresponds to the ancient route of contact with India through Nepal. In this image of the world we observe that the colours of the triangular Tibetan image of the world are black, white, and yellow. Tibet itself, never mentioned with a colour, lies as the centre of this image, and has perhaps been conceived as being red, dmar or mar, as employed in the expression of old gDoṅ-dmar, Red-faces, employed by the Tibetans for themselves. The triangular world-image expressed through colours, i.e. four colours, is thus:<sup>9</sup>

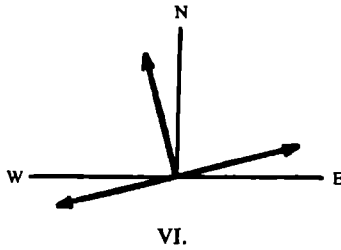


V.

In this connection we may mention that rGya may be related to rHya,<sup>9</sup> which is possibly the name of the non-Tibetan frontier peoples in N.-E. Tibet (11 passim). rGya may therefore simply mean “frontier people” in that special area. With the expanding frontiers of the Tibetan empire this expression has been supplanted to other frontiers with non-Tibetan peoples, and supplied with colours indicating the directions of the frontier. Thus rGya-nag developed into the name of China, rGya-ser into the name of the Turks or Uighurs of Central Asia, and rGya-gar probably first into the name of the Nepal-Kashmir area and later into India.

These images of the world indicate that the Tibetans operated with only three cardinal points, roughly corresponding to East, West, and North, or more precisely to a N.-E., S.-W., and N.-W. direction, as represented in image VI, p. 278.

This image corresponds to the general distribution of the population within the Tibetan area, especially the area situated between the Himalayas and Trans-Himalayas. Here the mountain-ridges and the routes of transport follow these three main directions. This means that the Tibetans ignored the direction towards the Himalayan ranges, which presented an almost unbroken ridge, in most places impassable. A similar concept of the image of the world and the cardinal points we find in the Old Norse area, excluding East, being unimportant because closed by the forests and ridges of Kjölen.



Besides these images of the world, Tibetan literature usually employs the Indo-Buddhist one operating with a quadrangular image, with four cardinal directions or points. These are expressed through the four Kings of the Quarters (see p. 232 f.) and the four continents.<sup>10</sup> These are outlined by the La-dwags rgyal-rabs together with the above six images, and when we combine all these images of the world, taking due consideration of their geographical distribution, we obtain the composite picture shown in Plate II below.

This composite picture of the Tibetan image of the world is a good example of the nature of most Tibetan traditions, demonstrating the geographical and chronological flexibility characteristic of all the subjects under study here.

Image I and II reflect the initial stages of the Tibetan image of the world, in its triangular form expanded to image III and IV. These images were then replaced by the quadrangular form of the Indo-Buddhist image of the world, Plate II, under the impact of Indian culture and the broader knowledge of the world acquired by the Tibetans.

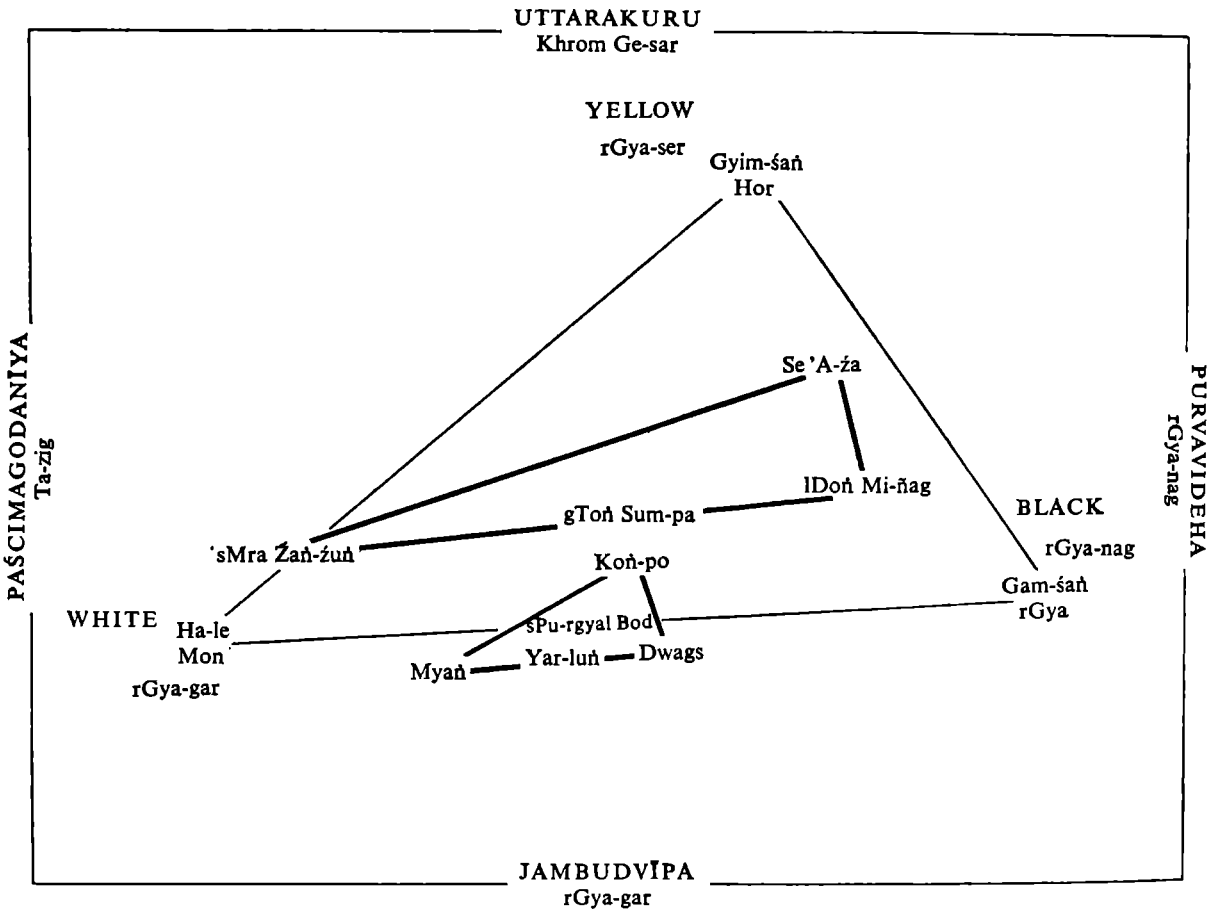


Plate II: The evolution of the Tibetan image of the world.

## *The significance of ru and rus*

The concept of Tibet, connected with the traditions of the Dynasty, that it consisted of *four parts*, is expressed in a particular way by the rGyal-po bka'i-thaŋ-yig (37.18r-v; see p. 234) when defining the country which was taken into possession by the divine progenitor king:

miñ yañ Bod-khams ru-bži bya-bar btags :                      And (the country) got the name of *Bod-khams-ru-bži*.

The name Bod-khams-ru-bži is generally interpreted as *Tibet with, or consisting of, the Four Ru, or The Four Ru of Tibet*. In reality it signifies *those parts of Bod which are called or consisted of the Four Ru, or more shortly The Four Ru in Bod*, Bod itself comprising the territory of Tibetan peoples as a whole (see p. 289). The main problem at present is, however, how to interpret *ru-bži* signifying the four constituents of original Tibet.

The word *ru* has two principal senses, that of *horn* and that of *part* and *division*. Undoubtedly it is related etymologically to another Tibetan word, that of *rus*, signifying a *bone* or a *family, lineage* or *tribe*. These two words, *ru* and *rus*, taken in the sense of *district* and *tribe* respectively, are generally conceived synonymously, but this synonymity, although permissible to a certain extent, has given cause for a misconception, or, rather, for the *failing of a real understanding of the Tibetan definition and idea of Tibet as a country, and of Tibetans as a people in prehistoric time*. The two terms, Tibet and Tibetans, as generally used in Western literature, and, in many cases, their equivalents in Tibetan literature, are most equivocal, because their quantitative significance may vary within a very large range. In our first approach to a solution of the problem at hand, however, we shall ignore this element of quantitative relativity, until the necessary material for a further discrimination has been established.

Bod-khams-ru-bži in historical time means four particular districts of Central Tibet,<sup>11</sup> and a major part of the confusion originating from the terms *ru* and *rus* arises from the following facts. According to a certain school of tradition, particularly depending on the gTer-ma bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma, *the Tibetans originate from four original tribes having as progenitors four deities Se, rMu, lDoñ, and sToñ*. These four deities, and synonymously the corresponding four tribes, are designated as the *rus-bži* or, more specifically, *rus-chen-bži*, the Four Great Families or Tribes. An obvious occasion for conceptional-ly identifying *ru-bži* and *rus-bži* is thus created.

In 1959 R.-A. Stein (190) published a study on these original tribes, collecting a very large amount of material on their legends, locations, and history. In the following we are nevertheless going to repeat some of the material also quoted by Stein in an attempt to build up a foundation to understand the original tribes in their connections with the subjects under discussion here.

The tradition depending on the bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma is rendered in the following way by dPa'-bo gTsong-lag in his note text (64.4r):

Ka-bkol-ma-las dañ-po phru-gu gcig-du bsad-la bKa'-chems spyi-las drug-du snañ-žiñ gañ-na-'aň phyis mañ-du 'phel-ba dum-bu bžir chad-ster sod-pas Bod-kyi-mi-bu-rigs-bži žes Se dañ rMu lDoñ dañ sToñ-gi Rus-chen-bži byuň-bar grags-žiñ yañ dBra dañ 'Dru bsnan-nas mi-bu-rigs-drug-du'aň grag-go /

According to the *Ka-bkol-ma* there was first one child but according to all *bKa'-chems* there were six. However it may be, later they increased very much (in number). They separated into four groups and because of quarrels, they developed into the so-called Four Families (of) the Tibetan Peoples (*Bod-kyi mi bu-rigs bži*), who were known as *Se, rMu, lDoñ, and sToñ*, the Four Great Rus (*Rus-chen-bži*). When also adding *dBra* and *'Dru* they are known as the Six Human Families (*mi-bu-rigs drug*).

Meanwhile, the tradition of four original tribes of Tibetans is only one of two prevailing traditions, the other one maintaining the existence of *six original tribes*. In the Yig-tshañ of sPyan-sna lHa-gzigs,

quoted in the biography of bSod-nams-mchog-ldan-rgyal-mtshan (see 194.739), the names of these six tribes are given in a most significant manner:

dGa' lDoñ 'Bru gsum dGa' dañ bži Nu-bo  
dPa'-mda' gñis-ste drug-tu gsuñ

*dGa', lDoñ, (and) 'Bru (are) three—with dGa'  
(there are) four—(and with) Nu-bo (and) dPa'-  
mda', these two, (there) is said (to be) six (tribes).*

The enumeration of the names is given in a peculiar manner, *dividing the six members into groups of three, one, and two members respectively, apparently indicating a successive development from three to four, and finally to six members.* We are here dealing with no individual, literary way of expression, because this particular way of dividing the six tribes occurs repeatedly in Tibetan sources, and the following example from the bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig (40.7r) unequivocally states an individual significance of each of the three subdivisions:

Žañ gsum blon bži yab-'bañs rus-drug-gi :

*The three Žañ, four (with) the bLon (minister),  
and the two wise and skilful men*

Šes-pa mkhan-mi gñis-kyis rje bcal-bas :

*Of the Six Tribes of paternal subjects implored a  
ruler.*

In these lines which refer to the legend of gñā'-khri-btsan-po and the reason for his appearance, the three subdivisions of the six original tribes, the rus-drug, are represented or personified by *three Žañ* (see p. 165 f.), *one bLon*, and two *šes-pa-mkhan-mi*, belonging to a decreasing order of rank. This feature of different rank of the original tribes also appears from the circumstance already mentioned that the first four tribes are named the *great tribes*, rus-chen.

The tradition of six original tribes seems to belong to a less ancient stratum of tradition than that of four tribes, and it seems by preference to be adopted by Buddhist sources. A contributory cause to the latter occurrence may, perhaps, be found in the circumstance pointed out by G. Tucci that the idea of four tribes had a sacral significance in the Bon religion, being analogous to the division of the Bon-po deities into *four rus* or *four ru* (!).<sup>12</sup>

Considering the two terms *ru* and *rus*, it must be stated as a general rule that *ru*, in the origin legends and myths as well as in the specific expression *ru-bži*, indicates the *districts* or *provinces of original or Central Tibet*, while in the general use in the later literature, *ru-bži* still means *Central Tibet*, whereas *ru* serves as a *term of administration*, particularly of the *military administration*,—and that *rus* indicates the idea of “*tribe*” in its widest sense, from a family to an ethnic group, its occurrence in every case calling for an individual distinction, while *any interpretation in a territorial sense should be avoided*.

The value of our word *tribe* is relative in the same measure as Tibetan *rus*, and therefore it is difficult or impossible to express the actual significance of *rus* by using *tribe* as a general equivalent. When used of the greater, more or less independent groups of the Tibetan peoples, the Ch'iang in Chinese conception, *rus* corresponds to Latin *gens* or *natio*, or to Greek *ethnos*, and therefore should be rendered by *ethnic group* or any equivalent term. When used, on the contrary, of inferior units within Central Tibet or the various ethnic groups, thus having a formal resemblance to Latin *tribus* or to Greek *phyle*, we may in general be justified in using *tribe* as a translation, if a more adequate term cannot be established. A disadvantage of using this word or its German equivalent *Stamme*, arises from the fact that in modern times these terms have acquired a pronounced pejorative quality.

The question of adequate terms is at the same time both complicated and simplified by the circumstance that the term *clan* is often used almost as a synonym to *tribe*. The idea of a clan, in itself, is a most indefinite quantity. When conceived in the sense of a *totem-clan*, the clan comprises a greater or smaller number of individuals having in principle only one thing in common: the idea of a common, “divine” ancestor or a particular protecting deity. In the usually known concept, a clan means a *family- or blood-clan*, comprising only individuals related by blood or adoption. The Tibetan *rus*, both in the

*ethnic groups and the minor tribes within them, all of them claiming particular divine ancestors, are in fact totem-clans, though, perhaps, of a different order.* The Tibetan language apparently has no term which specifically signifies a *family-clan*. The terms which almost approach this significance are *gduñ* and *rabs* or their combination *gduñ-rabs*, all of them indicating the existence of blood-relationship. The membership of a family-clan only appears from the particular clan- or family-designation generally found in the beginning of Tibetan titles or names. The members of a single family-clan may individually belong to any existing totem-clan, and therefore, with regard to the Tibetans, the appurtenance to a particular family of family-clan is no criterion of the religious or tribal appurtenance of the single member, nor are territorial whereabouts of him or of his family-clan a criterion of his tribe, i.e. totem-clan, although in either case some mutual dependency may, and in fact generally does, exist. These circumstances are the reason for which *ru* in principle cannot be identified with *rus*, and in practise only under special conditions. Thus, the Sum-pa peoples, though belonging to the same *rus* or totem-clan, were spread over a vast territory, partly divided into widely separated territorial groups.

If we examine the tradition of the four great, original *rus*, we learn that in the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.20–21/65–66) they are characterized by the following fundamental names, *Se*, *lDoñ*, *sMra*, and *(g)Toñ*.

These are the names of the ancestor deities or, more correctly, the ancestor classes of deities of the four great *rus* or totem-clans, indicating in fact the totems of the clans, while the more general and explicit names of the four *rus* are *Se-'A-ža*, *lDoñ-Mi-ñag*, *sMra-Žaň-žuň*, and *(g)Toñ-(g)Sum-pa*. This shows us the very important fact that *the four great rus*, the *rus-chen-bži*, *are identical with four great ethnic groups of Tibetan peoples*, '*A-ža*, *Mi-ñag*, *Žaň-žuň*, and *Sum-pa*. These names, which are the proper names of the four groups of people, are used just as often of their corresponding countries or provinces, and the clan-names *Se*, *lDoñ*, *sMra*, and *Toñ* are used synonymously with these names. Thus, in the epic relation of the events under gNam-ri-sroň-btsan, when great parts of the territories of these four Tibetan peoples were brought under the supremacy of Yar-luň (1.107–08/141–42), both *lDoñ*, *(s/g)Toñ*, and *Se* are named, and these names of the principal clans frequently occur in personal names or in the names of the queens. In several cases we find a special determinative added to the name, specifying particular subdivisions of the clans, such as *Thaň-chuň-lDoñ* or *sToň-rGyal*.

According to dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.4r), the dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaň (75.148), and the sNar-thaň Tanjur (92.10v) the *rus-chen-bži* were *Se*, *lDoñ*, *(r)Mu*, and *sToñ*. These sources all refer to the bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma, which furthermore narrates that the outcome of the coupling of the progenitor Ape and the Bragsrin-mo was four Apes, sprel-phrug, whose offspring again got the name of 'thab-pa-mi, "men of struggle". They were divided into four groups on the earth and placed in the four quarters of the world, and in this manner the *rus-chen-bži* came into existence. These *rus* again divided into twelve branches. Correspondingly, other sources maintain that four families, rigs-bži, developed from the four *rus* (75.148), or that four realms or territories, khams-bži, developed from them (70.10). The branching of the four great *rus* is described in various ways by Tibetan sources.

The circumstance that different names are used of the third *rus*, viz. *sMra* and *rMu*, *dMu* or *Mu*, means nothing as demonstrated by R.-A. Stein.<sup>13</sup> The two names are either identically conceived or they refer in their territorial conception to neighbouring regions or to regions, one of which is part of the other one.

The tradition of *six original rus* presents a more complicated picture because of the existence of several versions which apparently correspond to different conceptions and belong to different times. A comparative list drawn from nineteen sources has been compiled by R.-A. Stein (190.18–19), and the results of his investigation show that the six *rus* comprise the same ethnic groups as the four mentioned above, plus some extra, all of which may be placed in the eastern parts of Tibet.

It appears that *the traditions of four or six rus are the traditions of the different ethnic groups which constituted the Tibetan people in the ethnographical sense of the word. Therefore, neither the tradition or concept of four rus, nor that of six have anything to do with Tibet or the Tibetans, conceived as the Tibetan kingdom or its subjects. We are dealing with fundamental traditions of the Tibetan peoples as a whole, who*

considered themselves divided into four or six principal groups. We may rather safely consider the tradition of the four rus the older tradition, and that of six rus the younger one.

The division of the Tibetans into six groups is etiologically described in one of their origin myths. This myth, which in itself forms only a section of one of those great complexes of myth, composed in a later time by combining various myths of similar character into one apparent unit (70; 75.149; see 194.730), explains that the rus-drug descended from the six sons of A-mi-mu-zi-khri-do, or Bod-mi Khri-tho-chen-po (190.5), who in fact belongs to another myth. These six ancestors of the rus, called *Bod-mi'u-gdoñ-drug*, the six heads of the Tibetan people, belonged to *three different beds*: the *first three* of them were born from a gÑan-bza', the *fourth one* was born from a rMu-bza', and the *last two* of them were born from a Srin-bza'. The descent of the Bod-mi'u-gdoñ-drug is described as the eighteen great clans or tribes, *rus-chen-bco-brgyad*. This etiological myth is particularly interesting, because it emphasizes the characteristic division into *three, one, and two rus*, and also indicates the above mentioned decreasing rank of these groups by the quality of the bza' or queens.

In the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (68.20–21/64–66) a genealogy of the Tibetan peoples and tribes descending from the Srid-pa'i lha is preserved, thus giving the Tibetan peoples and their kings the same divine origin. As some sections of this genealogy bear some resemblance to the above quoted pedigrees of the kings (see p. 252 ff.), we shall quote it in the following together with a new translation, the translation by A. H. Francke and F. W. Thomas not being close enough to the text. This genealogy is reproduced in Table VIII in the same way as the genealogies of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po are in Table VII A.-E. A summary together with some notes has previously been published by R.-A. Stein (190.3 ff.).

De-ltar phyi-snod-kyi 'jig-rten mar-nas yar chags / nañ-bcud-kyi sems(-can) yar-nas mar-la bab-pa'i tshul ni /

I. 'Od-gsal-gyi lha tshe dañ dbañ-thañ dman-pa / lHa Nam-kyer-rgyal-po Ye-mkhyen-chen-po bya-ba lags skad /

De'i bu lHa-Srid-ber-chen-po /

De'i bu lHa Nam-ber-chen-po /

De'i bu lHa 'Od-gsal /

De'i bu lHa Khar-gsal /

De'i bu lHa Char-byed /

De'i bu lHa Bar-lha-bdun-tshigs /

II. De'i bu lHa rGyal-srid bya-pa-la bu brgyad skyes-pa'i / nañs-kyi phu-bo lHa sKar-chen dañ sKar-la-rogs-gzís<sup>16</sup> / śar Lus-'phags-por babs /

De'i 'og-ma 'Od-chen dañ 'Od-la-rogs-gzís / byañ sGra-mi-sñan-du babs /

De'i 'og-ma sMan-bu dañ sMan-la-rogs-gzís / nub Ba-glañ-spyod-la babs /

De'i nañs Ri-rab-kyi lho-phyogs be-durya sñon-mo'i 'od-kyis khyab-pa / stoñ<sup>17</sup> 'khor-los-sgyur-ba'i Li-tsa-tsi / thar-lam bsgrid-pa'i gliñ rDo-rje-gdan byañ-chub-kyi-sñiñ-po-can śiñ-rta'i dbyibs-su snañ-ba / gliñ-gi sñiñ-po dus-gsum-gyi

Now about the way in which the outer physical world arose from below upwards (and) the living beings descended from above downwards:

The life-time and authority of the 'Od-gsal-gyi lha dwindled away. (There) was the so-called *lHa Nam-kyer-rgyal-po Ye-mkhyen-chen-po*, it is told.<sup>14</sup>

His son was *lHa Srid-ber-chen-po*.

His son was *lHa Nam-ber-chen-po*.

His son was *lHa 'Od-gsal*.

His son was *lHa Khar-gsal*.

His son was *lHa Char-byed*.

His son was *lHa Bar-lha-bdun-tshigs*.

His son was the so-called *lHa rGyal-srid*.<sup>15</sup>

To him were born (*skyes*) eight sons: the two elder brothers of the Morning, *lHa sKar-chen* and *sKar-la-rogs* (Companion to *sKar*), came to the eastern (continent) *Lus-'phags-po*.

The next two, 'Od-chen and 'Od-la-rogs (Companion to 'Od), came to the northern (continent) *sGra-mi-sñan*.

The next two, *sMan-bu* and *sMan-la-rogs* (Companion to *sMan*), came to the western (continent) *Ba-glañ-spyod*.<sup>18</sup>

That morning the southern side of Sumeru was covered by light, blue like lapis lazuli. *lHa Śed-can* and *Śed-la-rogs* (Companion to *Śed*), these two came, joyfully praising the *Licchavi*, the supreme *Cakravartin*, *rDo-rje-gdan*, the place

bde-bar-gsęgs-pa 'byuñ-ba'i gnas / 'di śin-tu-  
ñams dga'-bar stod-de / IHa Śed-can dañ Śed-la-  
rogs gñis babs-so / . . . . .

De'i dus-su IHa gŚed-bu'i spyi-bor lba-ba  
gcig byuñ / De rdol-bas / Mi-dkar-po gcig byuñ /  
de rgyal-rigs-su byas / IKog-ma-nas Mi-dmar-po  
gcig byuñ / de bram-ze'i-rigs-su byas / sñiñ-ka-  
nas Mi-gser-po gcig byuñ / de rje-rigs-su byas /  
Bol-goñ-nas Mi-nag-po gcig byuñ / de dmañs-  
rigs-su byas-so / De-tshe rGya-gar-pa'i mi-rigs  
yin-no /

III. Nu-bo gŚed-la-rogs-las chad-pa ni / Gyiñ-  
gi-stiñ dañ gNod-sbyin-gdoñ-dmar gñis byuñ /

Gyiñ-gi-stiñ-la yañ bu gñis / phu-bo rLuñ-  
rje-bam-pa dañ / nu-bo Brag-srin gñis /  
rLuñ-rje-bam-gyi bu-brgyud ni / Kha-che /  
Bal-yul / Za-hor / O-rgyan / Ta-zig / Khrom-Ge-  
sar 'Dan-ma / rNa-nam / Thon-mi Gru-gu /  
Rag-śi la-sogs rGa'i rigs / Mi'u-rigs-bźi'i žañ-pa  
yin-no /

Nu-bo Brag-srin-la bu gñis / phu-bo Thar-  
rje-thon-pa dañ / nu-bo sPre'u-su-tiñ-ño /

sPre'u-su-tiñ-la 'Bog-'chol-gyi mi-sde bco-  
brgyad /

De-las chad-pa mTha'-'khob dgu-bcu-rtsa-  
gñis-su chad-do /

Phu-bo Thañ-rje-thon-pa-la bu gñis / phu-bo  
Brañ-mi-skyin-pa dañ / nu-bo 'Brañ-rje-yam-  
dad gñis /

Nu-bo-las chad-pa (mTha'-'khob drug-bcu'i  
mi lags skad /

Phu-bo Brañ-mi-skyin-pa-la bu bźi / nañs-  
kyi phu-bo sMra Žañ-žuñ-gi mes-po sKyin-pa-  
thañ-rje /

De'i 'og-ma Se 'A-ža'i mes-po gLiñ-śer-thañ-  
rje /

De'i 'og-ma Toñ gSum-pa'i mes-po Riñ-rje'u-  
ra /

Thañ-chuñ IDoñ Mi-ñag-gi mes-po sKu-rje-  
khrug-pa dañ bźi'o //

bŽi-po de-las mi-rigs phal-cher-gyes-so /

sKu-rje-khrug-pa-la sras bźi-ste / sKu-gzugs-  
kyi-thog-ta dañ / sMad-ma-rje dañ / Gur-bu-  
rtsi dañ / Khal-rje dañ bźi-ste /

where the road to salvation was trodden, (which)  
is the essence of *bodhi* appearing in the shape of  
a cart, the essence of (all) places, the place where  
appeared the *Sugata* of *trikāla* . . .

At that time an excrescence appeared on the  
crown of *IHa gŚed-bu*. When it broke, a *White  
Man* appeared. He acted as the royal race. From  
the throat a *Red Man* appeared. He acted as the  
Brahman race. From the heart a *Golden Man*  
appeared. He acted as the noble race. From the  
leg, below the knee, a *Black Man* appeared. He  
acted as the common race. At that time these  
were the human races (classes) of the Indians.

As descendants from the younger brother  
*gŚed-la-rogs* appeared *Gyiñ-gi-stiñ* and *gNod-  
sbyin-gdoñ-dmar*, these two.

*Gyiñ-gi-stiñ* had two sons, the elder *rLuñ-  
rje-bam-pa* and the younger *Brag-srin*, these two.

The descendants of *rLuñ-rje-bam* are: *Kha-  
che*, *Bal-yul*, *Za-hor*, *O-rgyan*, *Ta-zig*, *Khrom-Ge-  
sar*, 'Dan-ma, *rNa-nam*. *Thon-mi*, *Gru-gu*, *Rag-śi*,  
and the other *rGa*-tribes, which are the maternal  
uncles of the four human classes (*mi'u-rigs-bźi'i  
žañ-pa*).

The younger son *Brag-srin* had two sons, the  
elder *Thar-rje-thon-pa* and the younger *sPre'u-  
su-tiñ*.

*sPre'u-su-tiñ* had the eighteen human classes  
of 'Bog-'chol.

From those descended the ninety-two *mTha'-  
'khob*.

The elder, *Thañ-rje-thon-pa*, had two sons, the  
elder *Brañ-mi-skyin-pa* and the younger 'Brañ-  
*rje-yam-dad*, these two.

The descendants from the younger are told  
to be the people of the sixty *mTha'-'khob*.

The elder, *Brañ-mi-skyin-pa*, had four sons,  
the elder of the morning, *sKyin-pa-thañ-rje*, an-  
cestor of *sMra Žañ-žuñ*.

The next was *gLiñ-śer-thañ-rje*, ancestor of  
*Se 'A-ža*.

The next was *Riñ-rje'u-ra*, ancestor of *Toñ  
gSum-pa*.

Four together with *sKu-rje-khrug-pa*, an-  
cestor of *Thañ-chuñ IDoñ Mi-ñag*.

From those four proceeded the *human race*  
far and wide.

*sKu-rje-khrug-pa* had four sons, *sKu-gzugs-  
kyi-thog-ta*, *sMad-ma-rje*, *Gur-bu-rtsi*, together  
with *Khal-rje* four.

sKu-gzugs-kyi-thog-ta-la bu gsum / rTse-mi  
dañ / rJe dañ / rJe-mi dañ gsum /

sMad-pa(-ma)-rje-la bu lña / Khra-mo dañ /  
rTsogs-mi dañ / Drag-rje dañ / Zas-rje dañ /  
Žañ-rje-btsan dañ lña /

Gur-bu-rtsi-la bu lña-ste / Yañ-rje Riñ-rje  
dañ / sMon-rje dañ / Ya-ya dañ / rTso-dkar-rje  
dañ lña rgyal-rigs yin /

bLon-rigs-la / lDoñ-po-che-yoñs-tu dañ /  
Ya-chen lDoñ dañ / Nam-chen lDoñ dañ / Thog-  
rgyud lDoñ dañ bži'o /

rJe-rigs-la / Thog-rgyud lDoñ-gis chuñ-ma  
blañs-pas / bu bco-brgyad skyes /

De lDoñ-ru-chen bco-brgyad dañ / Ņes lDoñ  
la-sogs-pa mi-rigs bsam-gyis-mi-khyab-pa žig  
chad-do /

De yañ spyir 'Dzam-bu-gliñ-na / yul chen-po  
lña / mTha'-'khob drug-bcu-rtsa-gñis / Yañ-  
'khob drug-bcu 'Bog-chol-gyi mi-sde chen-po  
bco-brgyad / rGyal-phran phra-mo ñi-šu-rtsa-  
bži / 'O-skol-gyi lho 'Dzam-bu-gliñ-na mchis  
so /

This genealogy represents an attempt to build up a divine, coherent pedigree of the human races and peoples, and makes up an analogy to the ancestries of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po studied above and reproduced in Table VII A–E. Analysing the above ancestry of the La-dwags rgyal-rabs we reduce it similarly into a Table VIII, called F, and divide it into groups indicated above in the quotations in Latin numbers, e.g. FII.

FI: According to the genealogical Tables BII–III above, Bar-lha-bdun-tshigs was the father of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. FI thus connects him with the 'Od-gsal-lha, as discussed above (see p. 265 ff.). lHa Nam-kyer-rgyal-po Ye-mkhyen-chen-po is probably the same as Ye-smon-rgyal-po in DI–VI, the first creature coming out of the origin egg.

FII: The eight sons of lHa rGyal-srid two by two took over the four main continents of the world, corresponding to the similar idea expressed in the Srid-pa genealogy of EI above. The southern continent, Jambudvīpa was taken over by Śed-can, the Tibetan equivalent to Manu or Manava, the forefather of the human beings according to Indian traditions. This identification is further emphasized in the description immediately following of the well-known Indian legend of the origin of the four principal castes from the body of Brahma or Manu (see 190.6).

FIII: From the brother of lHa-gŚed-bu, gŚed-la-rogs continues the genealogy ending with the peoples bordering on to the Tibetans, peoples characterized as maternal relatives, and with the four Rus of the Tibetans. These four are characterized as mi-rigs, human race, to be interpreted in the sense of Bod mi-rigs. This part of the genealogy branches off in two directions, in the gNod-sbyin-dmar-po and the human beings. gNod-sbyin-dmar-po are the noxious beings referred to on several occasions, which populated Tibet on the arrival of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. The four principal tribes, represented by their ancestors, descend from Brag-srin, Rock-demon. This, perhaps, explains why the Brag-srin-mo, Rock-demoness, was chosen as ancestor by the Buddhist tradition of the origin of the Tibetans. The remaining part of the genealogy is concerned with only one of the four rus, that of lDoñ Mi-ñag, explaining the branching of the tribes of the king, the ministers, nobles, and commoners.

In the Buddhist representations of the origin of the Tibetans or the human beings in general, the old

sKu-gzugs-kyi-thog-ta had three sons, rTse-mi, rJe, together with rJe-mi three.

sMad-ma-rje had five sons, Khra-mo, rTsogs-mi, Drag-rje, Zas-rje, together with Žañ-rje-btsan five.

Gur-bu-rtsi had five sons, Yañ-rje, Riñ-rje, sMon-rje, Ya-ya, together with rTso-dkar-rje five. These are the *Royal tribes*.

To the *Minister tribes* belonged lDoñ-po-che-yoñs-tu, Ya-chen lDoñ, Nam-chen lDoñ, together with Thog-rgyud lDoñ four.

Concerning the *Noble tribes*: Thog-rgyud lDoñ took a wife, who gave birth to eighteen sons.

They developed into the eighteen lDoñ ru-chen, the Ņes lDoñ, and the other human tribes which are inconceivable in number.

So, generally speaking, there are five great countries in Jambudvīpa, the sixty-two mTha'-'khob, the sixty Yañ-'khob, the eighteen great Mi-sde of 'Bog-chol, and the twenty-four small rGyal-phran. (These) are in our, the southern (continent) Jambudvīpa.



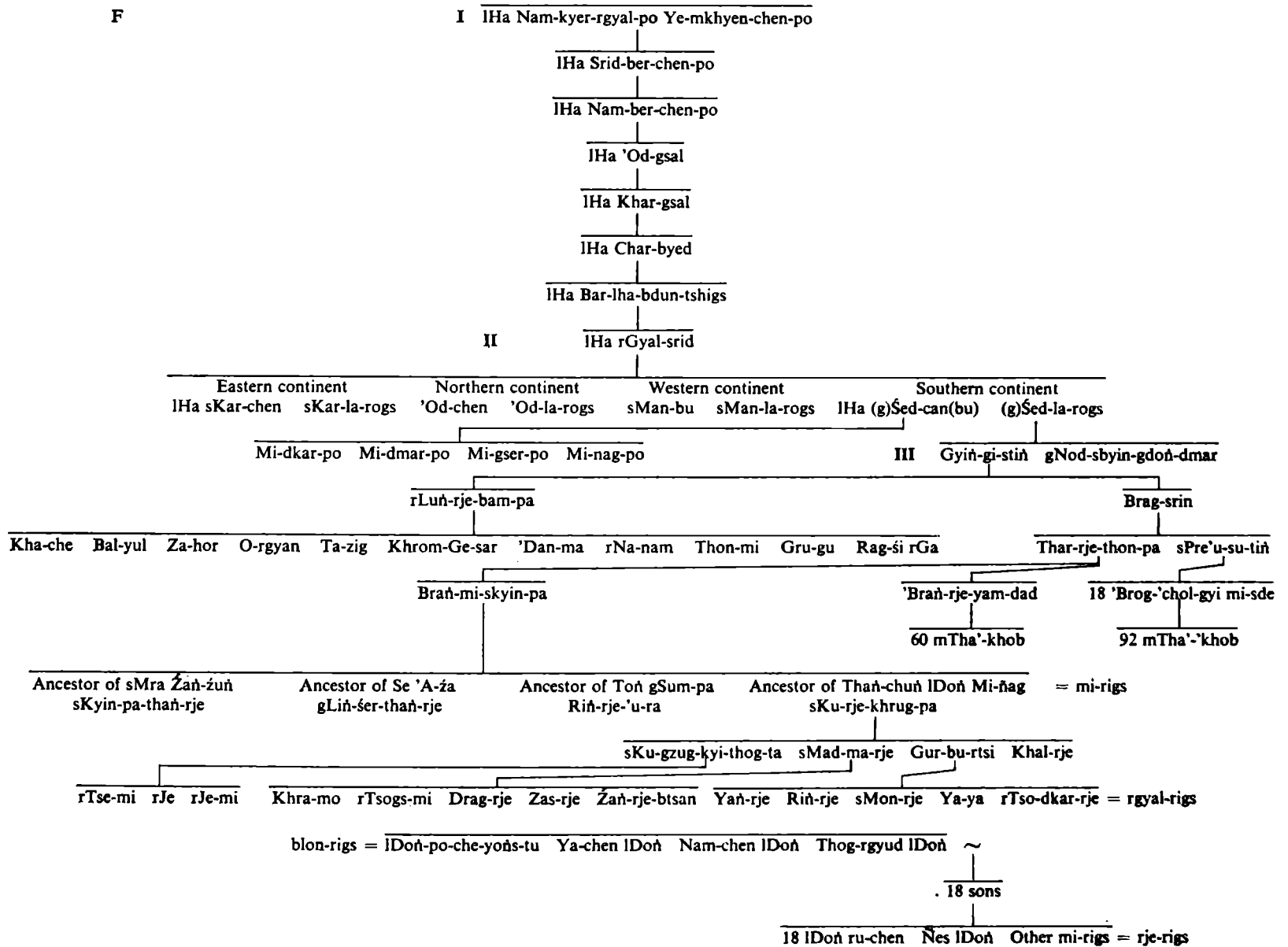


Table VIII: The genealogy of the Tibetans, F.

traditions of the rus-bzi or rus-drug are still reflected. According to the Deb-ther-dmar-po (see 194.717) and the bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma (see above) the Tibetans developed from four descendants of the Ape and the Rock-demoness, while the majority of the Buddhist versions depending on the prototype account of the 34th chapter of the Maṅi-bka-'bum (see p. 182, 355–61) count six descendants of the primary ancestor couple. In the Buddhist versions, the significant term for the great ethnic groups rus is generally substituted by less characteristic terms, such as rigs or gduñ, eventually gdoñ.

It has been hinted above that the time element seems involved in the division of the four rus into three and one, and the six rus into three, one, and two rus, in the sense that a *successive development from three original rus, through four rus considered as the principal ones, to a final total of six rus seems indicated*. Such a chronological succession through the same numerical stages is variously intimated or stated by certain theogonical concepts which are narrowly connected with those of the rus. Apparently various classes of Tibetan deities, which in the later Bon-po and Buddhist representations comprise a multitude of individuals and groups, originally only comprised a limited number corresponding to that of the rus, so that each rus had its particular deity within the class of deities concerned. Thus the reminiscences of these small, original groups of deities corresponding to the rus seem to be found e.g. in the two groups of dGra-lha named Mi-thub dGra-lha spun-gsum and Mi'u-gduñ-drug dGra-lha (see 172.324–25). The correspondence between the groups of deities and the divisions of the rus is, however, much more pronounced in certain concepts of the genealogy of the Srid-pa'i lHa. Various representations of this genealogy, being in principle identical, are given above in connection with Table VII. One of them, Table VII D, enumerates the following three generations which immediately precede gNa'-khri-btsan-po, viz. Mi-rabs mched-gsum, the *three* brothers of human generations, mGur-lha mched-bzi, the *four* mGur-lha brothers, and Yab-lha sde-drug, the *six* Yab-lha. As the Yab-lha were the deified personifications of the ancestors, as explained below, the idea of a genealogy, a lineage of their "ancestors" would be an absurdity unless this "genealogy" had a special symbolic significance. In the ancient cosmogonic and theogonic concepts of the Tibetans, heaven and earth, gods and men were catoptric images of one another. Therefore the three groups of ancestors or the three stages of the concept of them, which are symbolized in a general development, are the reflections of corresponding groups in the human world or stages of the concept of them. The first link of the ancestor genealogy, the Mi-rabs mched-gsum, reflects the first three rus; the middle link or the mGur-lha mched-bzi, where mGur-lha in itself reflects a more ancient concept of the deified ancestors than the Yab-lha, reflects the stage of four rus; and the last link, the Yab-lha sde-drug, where Yab-lha represents the common concept of the ancestors, reflects the final stage of six rus. The number of six is an exceptional number of the members of a group of deities, both in the Bon-po and Buddhist pantheon. It only occurs where the idea of the group is connected with that of the rus (or rigs), the mi-rabs, and the mi'u-gduñ.

In the numerous myths or legends of the origin of the Tibetan peoples and the development of their clans, created at different times, a series of common fundamental features can quite evidently be stated. Some time, when the whole available material has been thoroughly explored, this should enable us to get a fairly clear picture of the origin concepts and the main features of the prehistory of the Tibetan peoples which, hitherto, have appeared as a confused mass of contradictions. The task of clearing up the entanglement of traditions originating from various times and locations, and mixed up with foreign elements or modified by Buddhism, will certainly prove worth while, though demanding a most painstaking study such as done by R.-A. Stein (190;191). The difficulty of finding the real concept of the origin of the Tibetans in dBus and gTsañ has been strongly emphasized by Sum-pa mKhan-po who says that the attempts to do it "have become like the changing moon hunting the rainbow" (75, 149).

Owing to the fact that most of the available sources date from the time of Buddhism, the accounts of the very origin of the Tibetan rus as previously conceived are very few. The Buddhist explanation of their origin from the offspring of the Ape which came into existence by the interference of Avalokiteśvara considering the further propagation of the Doctrine, has prevailed to such an extent that even Western representations of this subject regard the Buddhist tradition of the Ape ancestor as proof that the Tibetans actually considered themselves the descendants of apes. This assumption

cannot be accepted. The ancestor Ape is an invention of the Buddhists, made possible and supported by the common imagination of zoo-anthropomorphous beings, and the particular significance of the apes (spre'u) in the Tibetan ideas of the various facies of nature, fauna, and population in their country (see p. 117f.).<sup>19</sup>

A most interesting example of non-Buddhist origin conception is found in a cosmogonical myth rendered by the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.68v) and, in an abbreviated version, by Sum-pa mKhan-po (75.148–49). The former author indicates as his source the rLañs Po-ti-bse-ru, the latter Bod-kyi rus-mdzod Po-ti-bse-ru, thus referring to the same source. The version of the Fifth Dalai Lama has been quoted above, p. 327/330, section DI:

1. Po-ti-bse-ru-las /
2. 'Bañs-kyi mi-rabs-la /
3. 'Byuñ-ba sna-lña'i sñiñ-po-la /
4. sGo-ña chen-po gcig yoñs-pa /
5. Phyi'i sgoñ sun-la lHa brag dkar-po chags /
6. Nañ-gi sgoñ chu-la duñ-mtsho dkar mer 'khyil /
7. Bar-gyi sgo-ña'i dar-cha-la /
8. Rigs-drug sems-can kun-tu-grol /
9. / sGo-ña 'phrum-gyi bco-brgyad chags /
10. / sGo-ña bco-brgyad 'briñ-po de /
11. / Duñ-sgoñ gcig-tu yar-nas byuñ /
12. / Žes bśad-pa ltar /

Excluding the first two lines and the last line (1,2, and 12) added by the Fifth Dalai Lama, we can safely state that we are dealing with no original composition, but with either a re-edited version or a composition of fragments of separate origin. Thus lines 3–4 and 7–8 have the same rhythmic pattern,  $\acute{x}xI\acute{x}xI\acute{x}x/ \acute{x}xI\acute{x}xI\acute{x}x(I)x/$ , and lines 9–11 also the same  $\acute{x}xI\acute{x}xI\acute{x}xIx$ . Lines 5 and 6 both contain two verse lines with this rhythmic pattern:  $\acute{x}xI\acute{x}x/ \acute{x}xI\acute{x}xIx/$ . This lack of uniformity in the composition makes the interpretation of texts of this kind particularly difficult, because we do not know to what extent a logical continuity or conformity may be expected.<sup>20</sup> In his extract from the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama, G. Tucci (194.632) has given an interpretation from which the following one deviates only where certain details are concerned:

1. According to *Po-ti-bse-ru* (it is told):
2. As to the human generations of subjects:
3. From the five elements
4. One great egg was created.
5. From the outer shell of the egg, the white rocks of *lHa* arose.
6. In the inner waters of the egg, the white *Duñ-mtsho* (origin lake) encircled *Mer* (the red(yolk)).
7. In the intermediate, diffusive parts of the egg,
8. The *rigs-drug* separated as all those of intellect.
9. From the yolk of the egg, eighteen eggs were created,
10. The eighteen eggs in the middle (or of middle size),
11. Separately appeared as *Duñ-sgoñ* (origin egg(s)).
12. Thus it is told.

In the picture of creation<sup>21</sup> painted by this text, the white rocks of the *lHa* or the white glacier mountains undoubtedly conceived synonymously with the *lHa*, were created from the shell of the egg. Inside

them the rigs-drug, the six species of the intellectual beings developed from the white of the egg, described as Duñ-mtsho, "the lake of origin or generation", which encircled the yolk in the middle of the egg. From the yolk itself eighteen separate eggs appeared as Duñ-sgoñ, eggs of origin or generation, from which the eighteen generations or clans issued. Here the origin of the eighteen clans seems independent of the rigs-drug, while they are generally conceived as the branching or descent of the six major groups, e.g. the Bod-mi'u gduñ-drug mentioned above.

## The conception of Bod and the rulers of Tibet before gÑa'-khri-btsan-po

The idea of the Yar-luñ Dynasty is inseparably linked together with the idea of Bod, Bod-yul, or sPu-rgyal Bod, the Tibetan realm, such as it is illustrated by the royal titles or prerogatives, Bod-kyi bTsan-po, bTsan-po sPu-rgyal, Bod-kyi sPu-rgyal, sPu-rgyal Bod-kyi bTsan-po, or in the later time of the Dynasty, sPu-rgyal Bod-kyi rgyal-po.

It can, however, be stated at once that there is no hope of finding any direct or satisfactory definition or explanation of *Bod* in the Tibetan literature. Even the most ancient authors of Tibetan history do not seem to have had any precise idea of the significance and origin of *Bod*. In the literature on Tibet composed especially by Western authors a remarkable silence prevails respecting the word *Bod*. Only M. Lalou, "Tibétain ancien Bod/Bon", J. A. 1953, 275–76, has demonstrated a possible solution by pointing out an etymological connection between *Bod* and *Bon*. The word *Bon* has been the object of semantic studies on several occasions, most recently by G. Uray (198), who sums up the results of previous and his own studies by stating the meaning of *bon-pa* as, *to ask and give*, and by stating the probable meaning of *bon* as, *to summon and invoke*. He thus supports W. Simon's proposal of 1955 ("A note on Tibetan Bon", A. M. 1955, 5–8) that the word *Bon-po* means *an invoker* and *Bon-chos* the *religion of invocation*.

The stem is *\*bo*, which has two different meanings, *\*to swell or expand* (bo, byo, bros, 'bros, dbo, 'bo, 'bos, phos, 'bod, 'byo, phyo, phyos, sbo, sbos, sbod) and *\*to call, cry out, swear* (bos, 'bod, bro). We are inclined to find the last meaning behind the word *Bod*, just as it is behind *Bon*. The actual and theoretical derivatives of *\*bo* are *bod*, *bon*, and *bos* in the sense of verbal noun, and *'bod*, *\*'bon*, and *\*'bos* in the sense of verbal action, *bod* stressing the aspect of the action itself, and *bon* stressing the aspect of the subject and aim of the action (see p. 27). *Bos* stresses the aspect of the end, and result, of the action.

*Bod* may therefore mean "those who invoke" and *Bon* "that which is connected with invocation, the invocations." *Bod* and *Bon* thus have almost identical meanings, "the invokers" and "those of the invocations = the invokers," but are different with regard to aspect, as outlined immediately above. Accepting this meaning of *Bod*, the name *Bod* of the Tibetans and the country Tibet must be intimately connected with the Bon-religion and therefore, at the earliest, employed when this religion, in one of its many forms, was introduced among the peoples calling themselves *Bod-pa*. This seems supported by the extensive use of names of nationalities, tribes, clans, and landscapes for Tibetans in all periods and by the fact that *Bod* under the Yar-luñ Dynasty seems to have been used mainly to indicate the peoples of its empire, as expressed by the terms sPu-rgyal Bod and Bod-'bañs.

We have seen in the preceding chapter that already in the ancient terminology, *Bod* has a relative territorial significance. On one side, in the expression Bod-khams-ru-bźi, it signified a few principalities of Central Tibet, which became the nucleus of the future Tibetan Empire almost corresponding to Ru-bźi or dBus-gTsañ Ru-bźi, the administrative and military areas of Central Tibet in historical time, g'Yas-ru, dBu-ru, g'Yo-ru, and Ru-lag. On the other side, as we have seen from the legends, *Bod* signified the integral idea or territory of all the ethnic groups among the Tibetan peoples.

Particular attention must be paid to the latter concept of *Bod* that conspicuously appears from the majority of the origin legends, because it involves one of the fundamental conditions for under-

standing the historical development, the rise and existence of the Tibetan Empire of the Yar-luñ kings. We have already maintained that the ideas of Tibetan history and of the position of Tibet in the history of Central Asia, in the sixth and following centuries, which have until now been generally adopted, are due for a radical revision. Tibetan history of these centuries, such as it has been presented, has been the history of an outward appearance, a symptom, disregarding the inner as well as important outer causes and conditions, from which the historical development received its impulses and explanations. It must be granted that, until lately, some quite important material has not been available for the study of the early phases of Tibetan history. On the other hand, the Tibetan sources available for more than a century in the West and the significance of the ancient traditions have been too far neglected, the conceptions of Tibet and Tibetans of ancient historical or of prehistorical times having by preference been founded on sparse information available from Chinese sources.

Not taking into consideration the general question of the competence or qualifications of the various Chinese authors, the descriptions given by these authors can in any case hardly be considered as quite objective or universal, – partly because their judgments and their points of view were influenced by Chinese cultural and political supremacy, and impressed by philosophical and political, social and dynastic principles of long standing, – partly because they ultimately served the political aims and purposes of the Chinese Empire. Therefore, nothing ought to be deduced *e silentio* from the Chinese sources.

Far from maintaining that the Chinese sources neglect the facts of ethnic relationship between the various peoples of the Western Countries, we should still emphasize that their predominant principle of dynastic discrimination, which distinctly appears from the records of the tributaries, and which has had a disintegrating effect upon modern conceptions of ethnic problems of ancient Central Asia. Speaking concretely of the Tibetan peoples, we find in the Chinese sources a vaguely defined group of western peoples, called *Hsi-Ch'iang* 西羌, to whom the origin of the Tibetans, the T'u-fan 吐蕃, is referred, and with whom the Tibetans are more or less identified. The Chinese sources, however, give us little or no impression of the extent to which the T'u-fan, who rather suddenly appeared on the scene of Chinese history, are to be identified with the Hsi-Ch'iang, nor, in fact, how many or which of the groups of Tibetan peoples are to be considered as Hsi-Ch'iang. They give us no information of a further relationship, if any, between the Yang-t'ung, the Ch'iang, the Tang-hsiang, the Su-p'i, or the population of P'o-lü, Bru-za, not to speak of the 'A-za, who disappeared almost completely behind the dynastic supremacy of the T'u-yü-hun. Nevertheless, these ethnic groups from ancient times were considered by the Tibetans as members of one great unit, defined as Bod. The bonds between the various peoples, including, also, the groups mentioned before in the discussion of the rus-chen-bzi, were similar ethnic characteristics, related languages, and religious concepts and traditions of fundamentally the same nature.

The Chinese term T'u-fan, which seems to have appeared during the Sui-Dynasty as a name of an organized state among the Tibetan tribes, was employed during the T'ang as the name of the realm of the Yar-luñ Dynasty. But still there is no definite proof that this Chinese term has always described this Tibetan realm of the Yar-luñ Dynasty.

Though not wanting to resume the centuries old discussion of the names *Tibet*, *T'u-fan*, and *Bod*, we nevertheless wish to point out the following observations.

The Chinese sources connect T'u-fan 吐蕃 with the clan of T'u-fa 秃髮, from which came Fan-ni, who united the Ch'iang to the West of China (see p. 244ff.). T'u<sup>3,4</sup>, to vomit, spit or disclose, is employed as a phoneme. T'u<sup>1,5</sup>, 秃, means bald, and fa 髮 hair of the head, thus together meaning the Bald-headed. Whether this meaning imparted by the Chinese characters has any connection with the name as expressed in the language of the T'u-fa clan, we cannot tell.

蕃 is generally transcribed as fan<sup>2</sup>, a character interchanging with 蕃, also transcribed as fan<sup>1</sup>, meaning foreigner, barbarian, probably derived from the meaning of warlike. The T'ang pronunciation has been reconstructed as b'ɿwən.<sup>1</sup> This rendering of these two characters as fan, is always employed in Western works when talking about the Tibetans. In no case does the transcription po<sup>1</sup>, em-

ployed by the Chinese for these characters when talking about the Tibetans, seem to have been accepted. But we believe this transcription must be accepted when talking about the Tibetans.

Accepting 吐蕃 in the transcription of T'u-po, T'ang Chinese T'ou'-\*pi<sup>w</sup>et,<sup>2</sup> we obtain a perfect point of departure for the understanding of the contemporary Turkish name for the Tibetans, Töböt, as employed in the Orkhon inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

If we accept that Töböt derives from Chinese T'u-po 吐蕃, then it has the meaning of "the Bod of T'u", i.e. "the Bod of T'u-fa," indicating the Tibetans under the rule of the T'u-fa clan, the Tibetans united under Fan-ni, the first organized state of the Bod-mi, encountered by the Chinese.<sup>4</sup> This name was then later employed for the Tibetan state organized around the Yar-luñ kings, thus combining the concept of Fan-ni's state with that of the Yar-luñ kings.

The areas of Central Asia which are now inhabited by a population which is ethnographically described as Tibetan, in their general confines correspond to the territory which was occupied by the above-mentioned ethnic groups at the dawn of Tibetan history. Therefore, the rise or rather expansion of the Tibetan Empire at about the beginning of the seventh century, was a unification of closely related peoples, tribes or clans, as we have already stated. If we realize that these individual groups of Tibetans had been separated mainly for temporarily varying political reasons, and furthermore that some of them in themselves had proved dangerous enemies to the Chinese Empire, then we may more clearly imagine the potential power of a union of these peoples, and understand the impetuous manifestation of power actually displayed by the Tibetans under the aegis—the dBu-rmog<sup>5</sup>—of the bTsan-po, which appears almost incomprehensible, as long as the narrow territory of Central Tibet, the cradle of the Dynasty, is considered the sole basis and origin of the Tibetan Empire.

Employing the general terms, Tibet and Tibetans, we are obviously dealing with ideas that are even as ambiguous as the Tibetan term, Bod. The exact definition of the latter term, however, is the presupposition for the definition of any interpretative term in our languages. An important question, which arises in this respect is whether Bod originally signified the central nucleus of the Tibetan Empire and subsequently, by the expansion of the realm, was transferred to it, or it originally signified the total territory or the total number of the Tibetan peoples, of which Bod-khams-ru-bzi only constituted a separate part. If so, an original name of the central territory or the country, which in the narrowest sense might be considered as the country of the Tibetans, might possibly exist.

The old Tibetan literature contains a number of different names of what we indiscriminately call Tibet. In the Tun-huang Ms 249 Paris (1.81/86), in connection with the narrative of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, we find the expression Bod-ka g'yag-drug, "Bod of (with) the six Yak-oxen", and in the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (69.831) Bod-ka gliñ-drug, "Bod of (with) the six Islands (Parts)". Both these cases apparently refer to the division corresponding to the Six Rus, but still more appellatives and ways of division are known, especially from the origin myths of the Tibetans. Such an instance we find in the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.18r) immediately following the quotation on p. 234:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>Bod-yul gañs-ri rtse-dgu'i ljoñs 'di-ru :</p>   | <p>In this <i>Bod-yul</i> (Tibetan country), the country between the nine (or: all) summits of glacier mountains,</p>       |
| <p>sPur-rgyal goñ-du mña'-mdzad-drug-tu byuñ :</p>   | <p>Before <i>sPur-rgyal</i>, the six rulers (executors of power) came into existence:</p>                                   |
| <p>A. Dañ-po gNod-sbyin-nag-pos dbañ-byas-te :<br/>Yul-miñ bDud-yul Kha-rag-mgo-dgur btags :</p> | <p>At first the <i>gNod-sbyin-nag-po</i> ruled, And the country name was determined as <i>bDud-yul Kha-rag-mgo-dgu</i>.</p> |
| <p>sÑa-rtags gÑan-po btsan-pa de-nas byuñ :</p>  | <p>The sign of yore, <i>gÑan-po btsan-pa</i> thence appeared.</p>   |
| <p>B. De-nas bDud dañ Srin-mos dbañ byas-te :<br/>Miñ yañ lHa-Srin-gñis-kyi-yul-du btags :</p>   | <p>Then the <i>bDud</i> and <i>Srin-mo</i> ruled. The name was determined as <i>lHa-Srin-gñis-kyi-yul</i>.</p>              |

- sÑa-rtags Śa-za-gdoñ-ba-dmar-ba byuñ :
- The sign of yore, *Śa-za-gdoñ-ba-dmar-ba* appeared.
- C. De-nas kLu dañ bTsan-gyis dbañ-byas-te :  
Yul-gyi-miñ-la Bod-khams-gliñ-dgur  
btags :  
sÑa-rtags dKar-bu-chu-la-spyod-pa byuñ :
- Then the *kLu* and *bTsan* ruled.  
As the name of the country, *Bod-khams-gliñ-dgu* was determined.  
The sign of yore, *dKar-bu-chu-la-spyod-pa* appeared.
- D. De-nas Ma-saṅs-spun-dgus dbañ-byas-te :  
Yul-miñ Bod-khams-g'ya'-drug bya-bar  
btags :  
sÑa-rtags mDa'-mjuñ-mtshon-cha de-nas  
byuñ :
- Then the *Ma-saṅs-spun-dgu* ruled.  
The country name was determined to be *Bod-khams-g'ya'-drug*.  
Hence the sign of yore, *mDa'-mjuñ(mduñ)-mtshon-cha* appeared.
- E. De-nas Zar-ma-skyes-drug dbañ-byas-te :  
Yul-miñ sToñ-sde-bco-brgyad bya-bar  
btags :  
sÑa-rtags rTa-žon-rna-cha-'dogs-pa byuñ :
- Then the *Zar-ma-skyes-drug* ruled.  
The country name was determined to be *sToñ-sde-bco-brgyad*.  
The sign of yore, *rTa-žon-rna-cha-'dogs-pa* appeared.
- F. De-nas rGyal-phran-bcu-gñis dbañ-byas-te :  
Yul-gyi-miñ ni Swa-ka-brgyad-du btags :
- Then the *rGyal-phran-bcu-gñis* ruled.  
The country name was determined as *Swa-ka-brgyad*.
- G. sÑa-rtags Phyag-dañ-ža-sa de-nas byuñ :  
gŽug-tu sPur-rgyal-btsan-pos dbañ-byas-te :  
Miñ yañ Bod-khams-ru-bži bya-bar btags :
- The sign of yore, *Phyag<sup>6</sup>-dañ-ža-sa* appeared.  
Finally, *sPur-rgyal-btsan-po* ruled.  
The name was determined to be *Bod-khams-ru-bži*.
- Bod<sup>7</sup>-kyi bTsan-po 'O-de-spur-rgyal de :  
gNam-gyi-lha-las mi-yi-rje-ru gšegs :
- The *bTsan-po* of *Bod*, 'O-de-spur-rgyal,  
Came from the *lHa* of Heaven to be Ruler (*rJe*) of Men.

Another version supplied with more details is given by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag in his note text (64.3r), quoting as his source the Lo-rgyus-chen-mo. This version is also in verses, with one note added:

- I. Dañ-por gNod-sbyin-nag-pos dbañ-byas-ste //  
Yul-gyi-miñ yañ bZañ-yul rGyan-med zer //
- At first *gNod-sbyin-nag-po* ruled.  
The name of the country is said to be *bZañ-yul rGyan-med*.
- II. mTshon-cha mda' gzu de-yi-dus-su byuñ //  
De-nas Re-te-mgo-g'yag-bdud-kyis byas //  
Miñ yañ bDud-yul Kha-rag-roñ-dgur  
btags //  
sTa-ri dgra-sta de-yi-dus-su byuñ //
- Weapons, arrow, and bow, appeared at that time.  
Then *Re-te-mgo-g'yag-bdud* acted.  
The name was determined as *bDud-yul Kha-rag-roñ-dgu*.  
Adze and battle-axe appeared at that time.
- III. De-nas Srin-po gÑa'-reṅs-khrag-mig byas //  
Yul-miñ Srin-po-nag-po dgu-yul zer //
- Then *Srin-po gÑa'-reṅs-khrag-mig* acted.  
The country name is said to be *Srin-po-nag-po dgu-yul*.  
*Srin-mo* appeared as the two instruments in infantry and catapult.<sup>6</sup>
- IV. bŽi-pa dMar-'jam-lha-yis dbañ-byas-ste //  
lHa-yul Guñ-thañ lag-char chu-gri byuñ //
- The fourth, *dMar-'jam-lha* ruled.  
*lHa-yul Guñ-thañ* and the instrument *Chu-gri* appeared.



- V. IÑa-par rMu-rgyal-kho-rje žes-byas bzuñ // As the fifth, *rMu-rgyal-kho-rje* by name, took over.  
 Ña-'phrañ cañ-'phrañ lag-char žags-pa 'phen // Camel<sup>9</sup> tracks, horse<sup>10</sup> tracks, the instrument to throw, the noose (appeared).
- VI. Drug-par Krog-krog-'dre-yis dbaň-byas-ste // As the sixth, *Krog-krog-'dre* ruled.  
 Laň-taň liň-taň ber-kha 'ur-rdo 'phen // Single hunting and battue,<sup>11</sup> *Ber-kha* and sling to throw (appeared).  
 The seventh, *Ma-saňs-rus-dgu* ruled.
- VII. bDun-pa Ma-saňs-rus-dgus dbaň-byas-ste // (The nine *Ma-saňs-rus* are:) 1. *gÑan g'Ya'-sbaň-skyes*, 2. *Gar-tiň-nam-tsha* /2 *gLe-ňan-lam-tsaň-skyes* /3 *Ru-tho-gar-skyes* /4 *Še-do-ker-tiň-nam* /5 *Me-padma-skyes* /6 *gSaň-ge-'phrul-po-che* /7 *Draň-ba-draňs-ma-mgur* /8 *bKoň-stoň-nam-tsha* /9  
 Yul-gyi-miň ni Bod-kha-ña-drug zer // The name of the country is said to be *Bod-kha-ña-drug*.  
 Lag-char doň-ral go-cha phuň-chuň byuň // As instruments appeared *doň-ral*,<sup>12</sup> armour, and *phuň-chuň*.<sup>13</sup>
- VIII. brGyad-pa kLus bzuň Bod-khams-gliň-dgu btags // The eighth, *kLu* took over. (The name) was determined as *Bod-khams-gliň-dgu*.
- IX. dGu-pa rGyal-pos dbaň-byas Dem-po-tse// The ninth, *rGyal-po* ruled. *Dem-po-tse* (it was called).
- X. bCu-pa 'Goň-po-spun-dgus dbaň-byas-ste // The tenth, *'Goň-po-spun-dgu* ruled.  
 Yul-gyi-miň yaň sToň-sde-bco-brgyad zer// The name of the country was said to be *sToň-sde-bco-brgyad*.

The *rGyal-po bka'i-thaň-yig* mentions six successive stages of rulers before the advent of the first king from the IHa, in the quotation numbered A–F. *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* mentions ten stages, numbered I–X in the quotation above. In the following Table IX the two versions are placed together with regard to the names of the rulers and the names of the country. Both versions seem to be related to the same original tradition, the *gTer-ma* representing a shorter version. Only in one case has the country name been transposed to another stage of ruler when comparing the two versions.

The *rGyal-po bka'i-thaň-yig* enumerates six successive categories of mythic or prehistoric rulers of Tibet before *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, together with the corresponding names of the country and the cultural signs, characterizing each period of ruler. *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* correspondingly enumerates ten categories and seven names together with the cultural achievements. This apparently simple representation of six or ten periods of development, is in reality a most complicated compilation of various myths and conceptions, for the disentanglement of which we possess only limited material. The mythical part, in fact, is based on the myths of the origin of mankind, particularly that of the Tibetans, and comprises the rulers A–C, I–VI, and VIII–X. We can immediately separate F as belonging to the part which has a historical foundation, that of the *rGyal-phran*. A number of sources, dealing with the same matter, which we are immediately going to quote, however, seem to corroborate the opinion that some of the previous periods, ultimately all the periods D–F and VII, belong to the historically founded part of the texts. The decision in this regard depends on the interpretation of the original nature of the groups of rulers, the *Ma-saňs-spun(rus)-dgu* (D, VII), and the *Zar-ma-skyes-drug* (E) maybe identical with *'Goň-po-spun-dgu* (X), the country names connected with these two names of rulers being identical.

Before the quotation of the other sources necessary for a more detailed discussion, we should call attention to the definition of *sPu-rgyal*. The second line in our quotation above of the *rGyal-po bka'i-*

Rulers		Country Names	
gNod-sbyin-nag-po	A = I	gNod-sbyin-nag-po	bDud-yul Kha-rag-mgo-drug
	II	Re-te-mgo-g'yag-bDud	
bDud Srin-mo	B = III	Srin-po gÑa-reñs-khrag-mig	IHa-Srin-gñis-kyi-yul
	IV	dMar-'jam-lha	
	V	rMu-rgyal-kho-rje	
	VI	Krog-krog-'dre	
Ma-saṅs-spun-dgu	D = VII	Ma-saṅs-rus-dgu	Bod-khams-g'ya'-drug
kLu, bTsan	C = VIII	kLu	Bod-khams-gliñ-dgu
	IX	rGyal-po	
Zar-ma-skyes-drug	E = X	'Goñ-po-spun-dgu	sToñ-sde-bco-brgyad
rGyal-phran-bcu-gñis	F		Swa-ka-brgyad
sPur-rgyal-btsan-po	G		Bod-khams-ru-bži
			bZañ-yul rGyan-med
			bDud-yul Kha-rag-roñ-dgu
			Srin-po-nag-po-dgu-yul
			Bod-kha-ña-drug
			Bod-khams-gliñ-dgu
			Dem-po-tse
			sToñ-sde-bco-brgyad

Table IX: The names of Tibet before the advent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.

thañ-yig expressly states that *sPu* or *sPur-rgyal* (see below the significance of the alternately occurring -r) is a general term, indicating the rulers or those executing the power in *Bod-yul*.<sup>14</sup>

The account of the former rulers of Tibet that most closely corresponds to the above two versions is found in the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (57.28r):

De-nas Bod-kyi-yul-'dir mÑa'-khri-btsan-po'i goñ-du / dbañ-mdzad brgyad byuñ-ba ni / gNod-sbyin Srin-po / Mi-ma-yin / 'Dre dañ kLu-rtzan / Ma-bsaṅs / Za-ra-skyes-drug / rGyal-'phran-bcu(-gñ)is-kyi mdzad /

Ma-bsaṅs-dpun-dgu riñ-la mda'-mduñ-mtshon-cha byuñ / Za-ra-skyes-drug riñ-la / rta-bžon-brgyan-'dogs-pa-rnaṅs byuñ / De-ltar dbañ-mdzad byuñ-kyi byas kyañ /

Then here in *Bod-yul* (Tibet) arose the eight *dBañ-mdzad* (executors of power, rulers) before *mÑa'-khri-btsan-po*: 1. *gNod-sbyin*, 2. *Srin-po*, 3. *Mi-ma-yin*, 4. *'Dre*, 5. *kLu-rtzan*, 6. *Ma-bsaṅs*, 7. *Za-ra-skyes-drug*, and 8. *rGyal-'phran-bcu-gñis* ruled.

At the time of the *Ma-bsaṅs-dpun-dgu*, weapons, arrow and spear, appeared. At the time of the *Za-ra-skyes-drug*, to ride horses with ornaments and harness appeared. So the execution of power developed.

All the other versions which have been available are more or less modified under the influence of Buddhism. The fundamental feature of this modification is the substitution of the original Tibetan conception of the origin and descent of mankind from the world of the aboriginal deities or demons, by the Buddhist doctrine of its descent from a Bodhisattva-Ape and a Rock-demoness. The object of this substitution, which is analogous to the substitution of the divine descent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po by a descent from some Indian king, was that of shaking off the ancient traditions and their general exponent, the Bon religion. These measures taken by the Buddhists apparently from the very beginning of their influence in Tibet, almost as the suppression of the cult of the ancestors, mentioned above, may possibly appear rather innocent in view of the religious tolerance that generally seems displayed in the adaption of the Tibetan pantheon to Buddhism. The Buddhists, however, by these measures aimed at some of the gravest obstacles to Buddhism, *endeavouring to destroy the central foundation of the religious and universal conception of the Tibetans*. They tended to loosen the dependence on the family, the clan, and the ancestors, to whom the Tibetan felt related and obligated as a link in the continuum of his kin, by imparting to him the idea of an individual, continuous existence of his own self. They equally tended to undermine the authority of the paternal and local gods, to whom he felt personally related. Buddhism, however, seems to have had little success, as long as the Tibetans felt united by the

sense of the religious authority of the bTsan-po, and the general reaction against the intrusion of Buddhism, though allegorical, is most clearly demonstrated in the uproar of the Tibetan gods and demons against Padmasambhava. When finally the Tibetan kings favoured and recognized Buddhism and abandoned the aboriginal gods, they not only forfeited the religious authority, on which their royalty was based, and thus caused the fall of the Dynasty itself, but they left the Tibetan people at the mercy of those gods and demons whose master and ruler they had been in their capacity of lHa-sras and Lord of the Earth and Ruler of Men, Sa-yi-bdag-po mi-yi-rje. *Once deprived of the common symbol of religious and political unity by the fall of the Dynasty, the Tibetan people became a fairly easy prey to Buddhism, as proved by the historical development.*

In his compilation of origin legends in the dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ (75.148), Sum-pa mKhan-po relates:

Yañ de-dag dañ-bstan-pa'i Si-tu dGe-blo'i  
Tshal-ba Deb-dmar sogs-su sPre'u-de-las 'phel-  
ba'i 'bañs-la Ma-sañs-spun-dgu rGyal-phran-  
ñer-lña dañ bcu-gñis Sil-ma-bži-bcus dbañ-byas  
zer /

Yañ 'ga'-zig-gis gNod-sbyin bDud Srin-po  
kLu bTsan lHa dMu 'Dre 'Goñ-po-spun-dgu  
Ze-ram-skye-rgu rGyal-phran Sil-ma bcu-drug  
sogs-kyis rim-par dbañ-dus zer-ba dañ / ...

In the *Tshal-pa Deb-ther-dmar-po* by *Si-tu dGe-ba'i-blo-gros* and other texts conforming to it, it is said that from that Ape the subjects (*'bañs*) developed, among whom the power was executed by the *Ma-sañs-spun-dgu*, the 25 *rGyal-phran* and the 12, and the 40 *Sil-ma*.

But it is said by others, that the chronological order of power was: *gNod-sbyin*, *bDud*, *Srin-po*, *kLu*, *bTsan*, *lHa*, *dMu*, *'Dre*, *'Goñ-po-spun-dgu*, *Ze-ram-skye-rgu*, *rGyal-phran*, 16 *Sil-ma*, etc., and ... ..

The Gangtok edition of the *Deb-ther-dmar-po* (51.15r-v) renders this as follows:

sÑon-gyi yig-tshañ-rnams-las byuñ-ba / Bod-  
kyi-yul-'dir dañ-por mi med / Mi-ma-yin du-mas  
gañ-bar-gyur-pa-la / srid-pa phyi'i-dbañ rjes byas  
skad /

De-nas rim-gyis rMu-rje-btsan-po / bDud-po  
Ma-trañ Ru-dra Srin-po Yak-śa De-ba rnams-  
kyis dbañ-byas /

De-nas sPyan-ras-gzigs-kyi sprul-pa sPre'u  
Byañ-chub-sems-dpa' dañ / sGrol-ma'i sprul-pa  
Brag-srin-mo-las Bod-kyi-mi-rnams byuñ-ste /  
Ma-sañs-spun-dgu / rGyal-phran ñi-śu-rtsa-lña /  
rGyal-phran bcu-gñis / rGyal-phran Sil-ma bži-  
bcus rim-gyis dbañ skad-do / / De -nas Mi-rje  
lHas mdzad

It appears from the old historical sources, that in the beginning there was no man in this *Bod-kyi-yul* (Tibet). It was filled up by many *Mi-ma-yin* (non-humans), and it was said, that *srid-pa*<sup>16</sup> and *phyi'i-dbañ*<sup>16</sup> shall be executed by a *rJe*, ruler.

Then, *rMu-rje-btsan-po*, *bDud-po*, *Ma-trañ*, *Ru-dra*, *Srin-po*, *Yak-śa*, and *De-ba* successively executed the power.

Then, the Tibetans appeared from the incarnation of *Avalokiteśvara*, the *Ape-Bodhisattva*, and the incarnation of *Tārā*, the *Rock-demoness*. *Ma-sañs-spun-dgu*, the 25 *rGyal-phran*, the 12 *rGyal-phran*, and the 40 *rGyal-phran Sil-ma* successively executed the power. Then the *lHa* acted (in the capacity of) *Mi-rje*, ruler of men.

The Fifth Dalai Lama in his biography of bSod-nams-mchog-ldan-rgyal-mtshan (100.6r, see 194.739) repeats this as follows:

sPre'u dañ Srin-mo-las mched-pa Ma-sañs-  
spun-dgu rGyal-phran ñi-śu-rtsa-lña bcu-gñis  
Sil-ma bži-bcus rim-kyis dbañ-byas

The sons of the *Ape* and the *Srin-mo*, the *Ma-sañs-spun-dgu*, the 25 and the 12 *rGyal-phran*, and the 40 *Sil-ma* successively executed the power.

It is briefly related in the Pakṭa-yā (93.281), that

Bod-'dir sPre'u dañ Brag-srin-mo lhan-cig-  
tu-'dus-pa'i phru-gu gDoñ-dmar Śa-zan-gyi rigs-  
las chad-pa bśad-pa ltar /

Here in *Bod*, it is told that the issue of the union between the *Ape* and the *Rock-demoness* were the *gDoñ-dmar*, Red faces, who are the offspring of the family of the carnivora (*Śa-zan*).

In the same way as the Bon tradition combines the myth of the origin of the human beings, i.e. the Tibetans, with the legend of the divine descent of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, the Buddhist tradition, the gSañ-ba-chos-lugs, connects its versions of the human origin with the descent of the progenitor king from the Indian dynasties. As an illustrative example we may mention the account of the sNar-thañ Tanjur quoted above (p. 179–80). This account partly corresponds to that of Bu-ston, contained in the edition of the Chos-'byuñ, which has served as the basis of the translated edition of Obermiller (173. 181–82), but in the Nor-gliñ-bskal-bzañ Pho-brañ edition of it (53.Ya.123r) we find the following note to the text, corresponding to the version of the Deb-ther-dmar-po quoted above:

Bod-'dir dañ-po mi med / Mi-ma-yin-gyis  
gañ-ba-la srid-pa phywa'i mkhan rjes dbaň-byas /  
De-nas Mu-rje-btsan-po bDud Ma-tram Ru-tra /  
Srin-po Yag-śa Ra-wa / kLu-rgyal gañ-po-rnams-  
kyi dbaň-byas / De-nas sPre'u dañ Brag-srin-las  
mi-rnams byuñ / Ma-saňs-spun-dgu / rGyal-  
phran ñi-śu-rtsa-lña / rGyal-phran bcu-gñis /  
rGyal-phran Sil-bu bži-bcus dbaň-byas-so /

At first there were no men here in *Bod*. It was filled by *Mi-ma-yin* and the power was executed by rulers, *rje*, who were experienced in *srid-pa* and *phywa*. After them, the power was executed by *Mu-rje-btsan-po*, *bDud*, *Ma-tram*, *Ru-tra*, *Srin-po*, *Yag-śa*, *Ra-wa*, and by some *kLu-rgyal*. Then the *human beings* came into existence from the *Ape* and the *Rock-demon(ess)*. *Ma-saňs-spun-dgu*, the 25 *rGyal-phran*, the 12 *rGyal-phran*, and the 40 *rGyal-phran Sil-bu* executed the power.

The Deb-ther-dmar-po and this note present an ingenious endeavour at combining the Bon and the Buddhist traditions, by interposing the Ape and the Rock-demoness, together with the creation of mankind, into the Bon sequence. This interpolation might possibly give us an indication as to how to distinguish between the mythic and the historically founded parts of the line of rulers, or, more correctly, between supernaturally and humanly conceived rulers according to the pre-Buddhist tradition.

Before going into details, we may finally mention the most exclusive Buddhist version, which is found in the seventh chapter of the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (199). According to this the issue of the coupling of the Bodhisattva Ape and the Rock-demoness was six apes, belonging to different stages of existence, viz. to those of hell, the abode of the Pretas, the animals, men, the Asuras, and the gods. Their descendants were two different races of Tibetans, having adverse qualities of character. Finally, when the country had become inhabitable, gÑa'-khri-btsan-po became king of the country.

These versions of various Tibetan sources should serve us as supplementary material for the understanding of the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig and dPa'-bo gTzug-lag, primarily with regard to our original problem, the ancient name of Tibet, and further with regard to the general or particular features involved. As stated before, the distinction between myth and historical reminiscence is of primary importance, and depends upon the interpretation of the nature of the rulers, corresponding to the groups D–F, VII and X of the rulers in the above quoted texts.

Before starting the interpretation, we shall combine the information about the lines of rulers as these appear from the sources in the following Table X. The names of the rulers, in the left-hand column, are reduced to their shortest forms. The numbers in the other columns indicate the sequence of the rulers within each source or tradition. Zero, 0, indicates those cases where *Mi-ma-yin* is employed to indicate the whole period before gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.

Table X shows the existence of four traditions representing two main versions, in the Table indicated by AI, AII, BI, and BII. *Tradition BII* represents the Buddhist version, incorporated in BI, be-

	rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig	bŚas-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu	dPa'-bo gTsug-lag	dPag-bsam-ijon-bzañ	Deb-ther-dmar-po Gangtok edition	Note to Bu-ston's Chos-'byun	Deb-ther-dmar-po in quotations	sNar-thañ Tanjur
	37	56	64	75	51	53	75,100	92
Mi-ma-yin .....		3	0		0	0		
gNod-sbyin .....	1	1	1	1				
bDud .....	2		2	2	2	2		
Srin .....	2	2	3	3	5	5		
lHa .....			4	6				
rMu .....			5	7	1	1		
'Dre .....		4	6	8				
kLu .....	3	5	8	4		8		
bTsan .....	3	5		5				
rGyal-po .....			9			8		
'Goñ-po .....			10	9				
Ma-trañ .....					3	3		
Ru-dra .....					4	4		
Yak-śa .....					6	6		
De-ba .....					7			
Ra-wa .....						7		
sPre'u + Brag-srin-mo..					8	9	1	1 <sup>17</sup>
Ma-sañs-spun-dgu .....	4	6	7		9	10	2	3
Za-ra-skyes-drug .....	5	7		10				
rGyal-phran .....				11				
25 rGyal-phran .....					10	11	3	4
12 rGyal-phran .....	6	8			11	12	4	5
40 Sil-ma .....					12	13	5	6
16 Sil-ma .....				12				
		AI		AII		BI		BII

Table X: The rulers before gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.

ginning with the Ape and the Rock-demoness. *Tradition BI* begins with rMu, an allowance for the tradition of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's descent from the rMu (see p. 268f.), and may be called the tradition of the Deb-ther-dmar-po. Traditions AI and AII are closely related. *Tradition AII* comprises more links than AI and may be called the tradition of the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig. It is characterized by not including the Buddhist tradition of the Ape and the Rock-demoness and by beginning with the gNod-sbyin. *Tradition AI* is probably a shorter version of AII.

We observe that the *Ma-sañs-spun-dgu* in traditions BI and BII are placed after the creation of Mankind. In the sNar-thañ Tanjur they are placed after the appearance of the rus-chen-bzi or the (Bod-) mi'u-gduñ-drug, in the presentation of a tradition similar to that previously quoted from the bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma. These circumstances should give us some justification for classifying the *Ma-sañs-spun-dgu* as *originally human beings*.

In an apparent contradiction to this opinion, the *Ma-sañs-spun-dgu* occur in the Buddhist pantheon, and various *Ma-sañs* deities occur sporadically in Bon-po, rÑiñ-ma-pa, and other Buddhist literature. Yet it is difficult to get a clear idea of the original nature of the Nine *Ma-sañs Brothers*, *Ma-sañs-spun-dgu*, from these sources. According to the genealogical tradition of the Sa-skya bLa-mas they originate from *Ma-sañs-spun-bdun* (194.625,679,732), two of whom are known by the names Thog-tsha-dpa'-bo and *Ma-sañs-spyi-rje*; but among the nine names listed by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag<sup>18</sup> we find no corresponding one. Besides this list, the *Ma-sañs-spun-dgu* are best known, perhaps, from the traditions

of the Dharmapāla rDo-rje-legs-pa, whose parents, according to Nebesky-Wojkowitz (172.156), are accompanied by the nine brothers in the appearance of “powerful warriors who carry quivers of tiger-skin and bow-cases made from the skin of a leopard. This group of deities is said to have taken its origin from nine brothers, who once lived in the Tsang (*gTsang*) province. One of them was a monk of a monastery called 'U-yug-bu-mkhar dgon near Shigatse (*gZhis ka rtse*). He and his eight brothers were killed by enemies, and their spirits changed into harmful demons, the spirit of the monk becoming their leader. They were later on bound by an oath and placed in the *parivāra* of *rDo rje legs pa*.” Disregarding the obvious Buddhist embellishment of the tradition, we still get the impression of the human origin of the nine brothers. In their deified appearance they have the character of ancestral spirits, and in the same capacity they occur in the retinue of 'O-de-guñ-rgyal among the pha-mtshun and the dGralha (121.80r; 172.208). rDo-rje-legs-pa himself is also called Ma-saṅs rDo-rje-legs-pa or Ma-saṅs g'Ya'-spaṅ-skyes-gcig, a name appearing in the list of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag above. Through this name he is possibly somehow related to the mountain deity Ma-saṅs g'Ya'-spaṅ-rdza-rgyal, who is the protecting deity of the lHo-zla-sgañ ridge (172.225). The protective god residing on the mountain Khyuñ-duñ-sgaṅs, carries the name of Pho-lha chen-po Ma-saṅs Khyuñ-duñ, and thus combines the qualities of an ancestor deity and a mountain god. The general character of the Ma-saṅs deities consequently seems to be similar to that of the Yab-lha or the lHa-chen, but as to the particular group of the Ma-saṅs-spun-dgu, the reminiscence of their individual, human existence, which appears both directly and indirectly from the sources, seems to indicate that in their deified state, they may be regarded as heroes. This is also hinted at through the reference of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.8v-9r) to the Ma-saṅs-kyi sgruñ (see p. 103).

The *Zar-ma-skyes-drug* following the Ma-saṅs, are only known from the Bon versions, viz, as *Zar-skyes-drug* in the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu and as *Ze-ram-skye-rgu* in the version of Sum-pa mKhan-po, apart from the gTer-ma. The only indication of the nature of this group of rulers which we have so far been able to find appears from the occurrence of a group of deities, named *Zur-ra-skyes-drug*, who, similarly to the Ma-saṅs-spun-dgu, accompany the parents of rDo-rje-legs-pa and have a character and appearance almost identical to those of the Ma-saṅs (172.156). Providing an actual identity exists between the two groups, we may thus have reason to regard the nature of the *Zar-ma-skyes-drug* as similar to that of the Ma-saṅs-spun-dgu. Together with the country name of this group, sToñ-sde-bco-brgyad, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag mentions the 'Goñ-po-spun-dgu instead of the *Zar-ma-skyes-drug*. They belong to the Dregs-pa demons of the Buddhist pantheon, related to the rGyal-po class of deities, being part of the retinue of Pe-har (172.283-85). They are connected with all three spheres of the universe, gNam, Bar-snaṅ, and Sa. In the traditions accessible to us there is no trace of a connection with the Ma-saṅs-spun-dgu or the *Zar-ma-skyes-drug*.

The last group F of the rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig, and, correspondingly, the last group in the version of the bŚad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu, comprise the twelve petty kings, *rGyal-phran bcu-gñis*. In the general concept, such as it appears from the majority of the origin myths of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, as mentioned before, these immediately precede this king. The version BII in Table X, which omits *Zar-ma-skyes-drug*, however, has three groups of rulers before gÑa'-khri-btsan-po instead of one, viz. rGyal-phran ñer-lña, 25 petty kings, rGyal-phran bcu-gñis, 12 petty kings, and Sil-ma bži-bcu, 40 Sil-ma. The version of Sum-pa mKhan-po, Table X AII, which includes the *Zar-ma-skyes-drug*, has only two groups, viz. rGyal-phran, petty kings, and Sil-ma bcu-drug, 16 Sil-ma, which are possibly to be understood as one single group, rGyal-phran Sil-ma bcu-drug.

The idea of the *rGyal-phran*, the petty kings, in itself needs no further comment, but that of the *Sil-ma* presents a hitherto unsolved problem, further complicated by the circumstance that sil-ma is also applied to the fourth group of the kings in the representation of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, in the appellation Sil-ma-bdun. A. H. Francke (68.80) has tentatively interpreted it as “the seven tinkling sounds”, evidently thinking of the tinkling sound of the cymbal, sil. The explanation of Sil-ma, however, is to be found in that sense of sil-ma which indicates “separate pieces, particles, dust, fragments” (150.1269), derived from the form gsil-ba, to split, divide, separate. Sil-ma, therefore, may be interpreted as either

the *separated, split, or scattered kings*, or the *small kings*, thus signifying a conception *analogous to rGyal-phran* but on an even smaller scale. The latter interpretation is sustained by the designation *rGyal-phran sil-bu bži-bcu*, used in the Note to Bu-ston's Chronicle, where *sil-bu* (or *gsil-bu*) signifies "little" or "a little" (see 150.1269).<sup>19</sup>

At any event, the reality behind the various representations of the last group or groups of rulers before *gŃa'-khri-btsan-po*, is a state of extreme disintegration of the Tibetan peoples, such as the very background for the advent of this king appears from the sources.

Having established, with all probability, the human nature of the successive groups of rulers reckoned from the *Ma-saŃs-spun-dgu*, we may advance the question as to whether this succession is imagined as a chronological continuity. In the various versions just considered, it is certainly represented in this sense, but from some special features it seems implied that we are dealing with a compilation of traditions referring to different territorial and tribal contingents. The most significant feature appears from the different *names of the country* listed in Table IX.

With regard to these names, those of A–C, I–VI, and VIII–IX, in consequence of the considerations above, refer to legendary or mythic conceptions, while those of the other periods, at least formally, refer to quasi-historical traditions.

The name A, *bDud-yul Kha-rag mgo-dgu*, may be interpreted as "the Land of the *bDud* with the Nine Summits of *Kha-rag*". *Kha-rag* or *-reg* is a Tibetan toponym, and one of the great *gNod-sbyin* among the *bsTan-ma* goddesses, *rDo-rje-dpal-gyi-yum*, carries the title of *mKha'-reg khyuŃ-btsun* or *Kha-rag khyuŃ-btsun* and resides (102.Ya.6r–v) at *Ru-mtshams Jo-mo Kha-rag*. Her secret name, *RoŃ-gi jo-mo kha-rag* together with the *khyuŃ* and the bear from *Mon* attributed to her, clearly locate her in the regions of the deep valleys of the Himalaya, in the *RoŃ-yul* or *Mon*. This is reflected in the corresponding version of the name II, *bDud-yul Kha-rag roŃ-dgu*, "the Land of the *bDud* with the nine *RoŃ* of *Kha-rag*". *gNod-sbyin nag-po*, who was the ruler of A and I, is particularly well-known as *gNod-sbyin ŚiŃ-bya-can*, one of the five *Dharmapālas* in the rites of the *dGe-lugs-pa*. He is equally situated to the south and intimately connected with the idea of the *KhyuŃ* (see 172.109 ff., 182 ff.). *Re-te-mgo-g'yag-bdud*, the ruler of *bDud-yul Kha-rag-roŃ-dgu* according to II, is the King of the *bDud* (162.140; 172.274), who in other connections is called the ruler of *KoŃ-po*, *KoŃ-rje BraŃ-dkar* (172.288).

The name B, *lHa-Srin-gŃis-kyi yul*, "the Land of the *lHa* and the *Srin*, these two", needs no further explanation. The corresponding name III, *Srin-po-nag-po dgu yul*, "the Land of the Nine Black *Srin-po*", simply refers to the *Srin-po*. The mistress of the *Srin-po* is *Yum Srin-mo sBal-mgo Khrag-mig* (172.280), the last part of which name we meet in the name of the ruler III, *Srin-po gŃa'-reŃs-khrag-mig*.

IV, V, and VI are only characterized with their ruler-names. IV, *dMar-'jam-lha* cannot be interpreted beyond the term *lHa*, owing to a complete lack of relevant material. V, *rMu-rgyal-kho-rje*, one of the *dMu* deities known under the name of *dMu-rje Ko-loŃ-tho-loŃ* (172.282), connects this stage with the *dMu*, from whom *gŃa'-khri-btsan-po* by certain sources is said to come. VI, *Krog-krog-'dre* characterizes this ruler as a 'Dre, the wide and unspecified world of demons in Buddhist mythology.

The country names corresponding to C–G, VII–VIII, and X, present the same peculiarity. Each of them has its individual number of divisions, viz. nine, six, eighteen, eight. This seems to imply strongly that we are dealing with different territorial ideas.

The name C and VIII, *Bod-khams-gliŃ-dgu*, may be translated as "the Nine Islands (parts or divisions) of *Bod-khams*". The numeral *dgu*, however, besides its specific meaning of *nine*, frequently signifies the more or less indefinite idea of *many* or *all*, so that the name most probably means "All the parts of *Bod-khams*". The word *khams* signifies the elements or constituents, constituting a thing or the nature of it, in the present case the various regions, parts or divisions that constitute *Bod*, which consequently is and can be nothing but the total territory which the Tibetans considered their soil. *Bod-khams* in this manner is a tantum-plural expression, signifying *Bod* or *Tibet*, in the sense of all its constituent parts, while one or more of these parts may be characterized as *Bod-khams-ru-bži*, *Khams Mi-Ńag*, *mDo-khams*, etc.

The name D, *Bod-khams-g'ya'-drug*, is to be seen in relation to the above mentioned name, *Bod-ka-*

g'yag-drug (1.81/86), because an original identity between these two names may possibly exist. g'Ya' and g'yag are probably two spellings of the same word. Admittedly, we may be dealing with two different names, the former signifying "the Tibetan country of the Six Slate-Mountains", the latter "Tibet of the Six Yak-Oxen". The component g'ya' of the former name is the usual name for the higher or highest parts of the Tibetan mountains (see p. 117). If we interpret the name as "Tibet of the Six Yak-Oxen" it can have a particular relation to the Sum-pa peoples, because the idea of these peoples seems closely connected with that of the Yak. The corresponding name VII, Bod-kha-ña-drug, "Tibet of the Six Ña" turns the relationship in the same direction, when recalling that Ña(g)-chu is the Ya-lung River in Ñag-roñ of the Mi-ñag country. It may signify "Tibet of the Six Fishes".

We cannot interpret the name IX, *Dem-po-tse*. at present, but through the name of the ruler rGyal-po, a class of the 'Dre, it may have some religious significance.

The name E and X, sToñ-sde-bco-brgyad, according to the general terminology, is to be translated into "the Eighteen Thousand-Districts", stoñ-sde being a well-known term of the military administration of Tibet in historical time. It is, however, most improbable that the institution of the stoñ-sde as military divisions existed before the rise of the Tibetan Empire. At any rate, the use of stoñ-sde in this sense, in the nomenclature of the country in a prehistoric period, has too much of the appearance of an anachronism. A more satisfying explanation of the name may otherwise be found from the fact that stoñ, besides the meaning of thousand, also signifies one of the great ethnic groups of the Tibetans, the Sum-pa or sToñ-Sum-pa. Accepting this, the name of the country means "the Eighteen Districts of Sum-pa". This interpretation may be sustained by the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (Table VIII) stating in the description of the four great rus and particularly of the branching of lDoñ-Mi-ñag, the branching of eighteen clans, the lDoñ-ru-chen-bco-brgyad. The lDoñ being the central object of the pedigree of the La-dwags rgyal-rabs, we are inclined to conceive the sToñ-sde-bco-brgyad as the synonym to a "sToñ-ru-chen-bco-brgyad". This interpretation being correct, we are dealing with the northern and north-eastern parts of the Tibetan territory. An indication pointing in the same direction is given by the sign, rtags, of this period, rTa-zon-rna-cha-'dogs-pa, "riding horses bound at the muzzle", which took its beginning in this period. The Tibetans undoubtedly became acquainted with horses and the riding of them from the Turkish peoples, and from the beginning of historical time in Tibet, the territories to the north-east, at Koko-nor and in Lung-yu (Kansu), were the most important districts of horses and horse breeding. Here the horse parks, liu-hsien, of the Chinese army were established under the T'ang Dynasty (see Yüan-ho chün hsien t'u-chih 3.4r and T'ang hui-yao 219.16v-20r).

The name F, *Swa-ka-brgyad*, means "the Eight Provinces". The expression Swa-ka is identical to so-kha and so-ka, which occurs occasionally in the ancient literature, distinctly signifying a district or a province. The significance of the name remains indefinite so long as a special meaning of so-ka cannot be proved.

As a general result of the study of the country names in the various prehistorical periods, indicated by the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig and dPa'-bo gTsong-lag in particular and by the traditions in general, it may be stated that even if the interpretations given above cannot be fully substantiated, *there is no foundation for considering the country names as those of a prehistorical Tibet*, in the proper sense of the word. The names are of a *temporary and local character, apparently referring to different localities within the area inhabited by the Tibetan peoples. They give us no indication with regard to the primeval name of that Tibetan country, from or in which the Empire of the Yar-luñ kings developed.*



## The significance of *spu* and derivatives of this term as occurring in the traditions of the Dynasty

On several occasions, above all in connection with the occurrence of the names *sPus-kyi-bu* (Ñar-las-kyes) and *sPu-yul* (Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal), we have mentioned that an interpretation of various names and terms depends on a satisfactory interpretation of the words *spu* and *spur*. In fact, a paramount importance is to be attached to this interpretation, because *spu(r)*, as it occurs in a number of names and terms closely connected with the myths or legends, or serving to characterize Tibet and its kings in historical time, expresses some fundamental concept as to the origin and nature of the Tibetan kings.

We have already seen that the *rGya-Bod-yig-tshan* (see p. 228) gives an explanation of *spu* as it occurs in *sPu-yul*, and that the *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ* and other sources (see p. 227 f.) present an etymology for the name *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*. Even if considered plausible in their separate application, neither of these two mutually different interpretations explains in any way the significance of *spu* when occurring in several other expressions, which obviously derive from the same fundamental concept as *sPu-rgyal* and *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*. In Western literature on Tibet and its ancient history, various interpretations or attempts at interpretation are to be found, so that we are at present confronted with a number of mutually diverging opinions with regard to the significance of the terms containing the vocable *spu(r)*.

The general significance of *spu* is hair, and that of *spur* is corpse. Any interpretation based solely on lexicography is therefore bound by the choice between these two fundamental meanings. The alternating use of *spu* and *spur* in one and the same name or term, which clearly appears from the examples given below, eliminates, however, the possibility of immediately discerning which of the two meanings, if either of them, we are to adopt.

In his notes to the translation of the *La-dwags rgyal-rabs*, E. Schlagintweit (69.830, referring to I. J. Schmidt (185.213)), gives the following comment on *sPu-rgyal*:

*sPu-rgyal* "Haarkönig" = S. Romarāja ist fol. 14a *sPu-de-gung-rgyal* genannt "Tiger-Haar-König". Der Name enthält wohl eine Anspielung auf die Sage von der Abstammung der Tibeter, die sich von einem Affenpaare ableiten. "Die Schwänze der Affen und ihre Haare (*spu*) verkürzten sich zusehends und verschwanden endlich ganz, die Affen fingen zu reden an, wurden Menschen und bekleideten sich mit Baumblättern, sobald sie ihre Menschheit bemerkten".

Although far-fetched, the explanation given by E. Schlagintweit, quoting I. J. Schmidt, seems to be the only one which may impart a faint cast of plausibility to the interpretation "Haarkönig" or Hair-king. Two principal objections may, however, be raised. One, that the Buddhist legend of the origin of the Tibetans from an Ape (see p. 296) is within all probability a Buddhist invention of a much later date than the origin tradition of the Dynasty; the other that, even provided that the Buddhist legend of the Ape has some foundation in ancient Tibetan concept, the concept of the Ape, *sPre'u*, must be taken in a quite different significance on the background of the common use of zoomorphous characteristics for tribes, clans, or ethnic groups among the Tibetans (see p. 286f.). When interpreting *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal* as Tiger-Hair-King, Schlagintweit conceives *guñ* in its sense of tiger, but even if we adopt this meaning of *guñ*, we can only forcibly derive his interpretation.

While Schlagintweit thus adopts as the fundamental meaning that of hair, other authors prefer that of corpse. In his dictionary, Chandra Das makes an attempt to explain sPur in its occurrences in names of historical significance, saying s.v. sPur-rgyal (150.800):

*Spur-rgyal* an ancient name of Tibet. Acc. to some historians Tibet was called *Spur-rgyal*, i.e. the kingdom of the dead, and as such it was known to the Buddhists of India who believed that a heaven was located on the snowy peaks of Himalaya, while somewhat below it was the intermediate region between heaven and earth called Bardo where the soul of the departed rested before entering a new destination. King Yudhiṣṭhir the model of piety before being conducted to heaven was made to visit this region. Hence in all probability he had a glance at Tibet or the terrestrial Pretaloka. The Tibetan history of the term is that king *Gri-gum btsan-po* had made the town of *Spu'o-brag* his capital and was called the king of *Spu*, i.e., *Spur-rgyal* and from that circumstance Tibet became known as *Purgyal* or *Bod-kyi Rgyal-Khams* (*Yig.*).

The source *Yig.* referred to is rGya-Bod-yig-tshañ, but it does not appear whether the reference applies to more than the account of *Gri-gum-btsan-po* and *sPu'o-brag* dealt with above (see p. 228). While for the present we shall refrain from commenting on the preceding part of the explanation, we may, however, observe that Das is wrong in principle when defining sPur-rgyal as a name of Tibet. As appearing from the discussion below, sPur-rgyal definitely signifies the ruler, viz. the Ruler of sPu, while the country is sPu-rgyal-Bod. sPur-rgyal may only, and exceptionally, signify Bod when the ruler is conceived as the personification of the country.

J. Bacot and G.-Ch. Toussaint (1.135) prefer the explication of the rGya-Bod-yig-tshañ, given by Das, to that of Schlagintweit, by defining sPu in sPur-rgyal as “nom d'une ancienne capitale” and in this manner, in fact, they evade the problem of the fundamental significance of sPur and sPu, although the very work, with which the authors are concerned, provides in reality the master key to the whole problem.

L. Petech (177.20–21) takes both sPu and sPur, and the two corresponding meanings of hair and corpse into consideration:

The name *Spu-rgyal* means “hairy king” and is probably connected with the legend of Tibetans having descended from monkeys, a more ancient tale to which the entire eighth chapter of *GR* (rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ) is devoted.

It is remarkable that no document of the period of the monarchy (VII–IX century), at least none of those as yet published, give the name of gÑa'-k'ri-btsan-po, while on the contrary, none of the later chronicles mentions 'O-lde-spu-rgyal as the ancestor of the Tibetan kings. It follows from this that during the monarchical period the legend of 'O-lde-spu-rgyal was the only recognized version of the origin of the kingdom and the nation. It is exactly this monarchical, laic, and Bon-po character that might account for its disappearance from the later Buddhist sources. But before it disappeared, it was so widely known that it gave a nickname to Tibet: *Spu-rgyal-Bod* (*Spu-rgyal's Tibet*).

In the texts of a much later period, another form is sometimes to be found: sPur-rgyal, “king of the lemurs”.

H. Hoffmann (162.151–52) follows in general the points of view of L. Petech, saying with regard to the alternating occurrence of the forms 'Od-de-spur-rgyal and 'O-lde-spu-rgyal:

Die Schreibung 'O-lde spu-rgyal ist zweifellos die ältere und korrektere, während spur-rgyal “König der Leichname” als spätere etymologisierende Schreibung zu gelten hat. Wie Petech sehr richtig bemerkt, ist die im La-dvags rgyal rabs und anderen Texten gelegentlich vorkommende Bezeichnung Tibets *Spu-rgyal Bod* als “Tibet des (Königs 'O-de) spu-rgyal” zu interpretieren. In diesem Namen hat sich also eine Erinnerung an die alte Version der Sage vom

ersten König erhalten, die im übrigen in den offiziellen Darstellungen der späteren Chroniken keine Verwendung mehr fand, sicher wegen ihres unbuddhistischen Charakters, ihrer Verwurzelung in den Vorstellungen der alten Bon-religion. Wie wir oben gesehen haben, ist das Land *Spu*, nach dem der König benannt wird, wohl als himmlisches Land, wahrscheinlich als Land der *Te'u-rañ* zu interpretieren.

We observe that both authors adopt, in reality, the old interpretation of Schlagintweit where *sPu* in *sPu-rgyal* is concerned, while they adopt the interpretation of Das in the forms king of the lemurs or König der Leichname where *sPur-rgyal*, regarded by both authors as a younger occurrence, is concerned. Though deducing from a comparatively limited material, the authors seem to be right with regard to the relative age of the sources using *sPu* and *sPur* respectively. The same seems to apply to Hoffmann's suggestion that *sPur-rgyal* represents a later, etymologically modified form of *sPu-rgyal*. The reasons given for this Buddhist modification are fully acceptable, provided that *sPu-rgyal* in its original sense implied something which, from a Buddhist point of view, was far more sinister than "König der Leichname". Therefore "the old version of the legend of the first king," from which *sPu-rgyal* should be a reminiscence, cannot refer to any other version studied by Hoffmann than that of *Yañ-bsañ* given by the *bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig*, or the account of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*'s descent from the *Yab-lha*, given in the *rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig*. The remaining material used by Hoffmann with regard to the origin tradition of the first king, represents variants of the Buddhist tradition.

It appears that in all the cases mentioned above the lexicographically given meanings form the basis of the attempts at interpretation. We are, in fact, dealing not with interpretations but with translations which do not reveal the particular sense behind *sPu*, the existence of which is quite clearly hinted by Hoffmann. Moreover, the general interest is directed towards the expression *sPu(r)-rgyal*, with little or no regard to the name *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*.

As previously shown (see p. 229), G. Tucci, basing his considerations particularly on an identity, or alternatively a relationship of *sPu-rgyal* and '*O-lde-spu(r)-rgyal* with '*O-de-guñ-rgyal*, *sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal*, and *gNam-gyi-guñ-rgyal*, actually attempts to interpret *sPu* in a quite particular way, by regarding *sPu* as identical to *Phu*, the *upper part*, viz. of the sphere of existence.

From this suggestion H. E. Richardson (180.49) draws still further conclusions:

Following the suggestion of Professor Tucci that "Spu" may stand for "Phu" "the upper part", the name ("Btsan Po Spu Rgyal" used of some of the ancient kings in the Tun Huang Chronicles) 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.

Still maintaining that there is only a minimum of probability in favour of the assumption that *sPu* stands for *Phu*, we can hardly accept the suggestions of Tucci and Richardson. With regard to Richardson's interpretation of *bTsan-po sPu-rgyal* as "Spirit-King of the Upper Heaven", the term "Spirit", which obviously stands for *bTsan-po*, when "King of the Upper Heaven" stands for *sPu-rgyal* in the interpretation of '*O-lde-spu-rgyal*, must be characterized as somewhat misleading. Moreover it applies to both authors that the idea of identity between '*O-lde-spu-rgyal* and '*O-de-guñ-rgyal* still depends merely on conjecture. It permits no further conclusions whatever, on the contrary it needs itself to be substantiated. The introduction of '*O-de-guñ-rgyal* into the discussion may therefore give rise at present to still more confusion in the attempts to interpret *sPu* and ('*O-lde-*)*sPu-rgyal*.

From this view of the opinions with regard to the significance of sPu in relation to the origin and nature of the Tibetan kings, advanced by authors who have the most intimate knowledge of Tibetan history, religion, and myth, we may infer that *the significance of sPu is a still unsolved problem.*

In the following attempt to solve this problem of sPu and its derivatives, we shall at first present the material which exemplifies sPu in its various, relevant occurrences, temporarily leaving out of consideration the solitary occurrence of sPu-yul, which has already been the subject of a preliminary study. In the following representation of the material, we have endeavoured to group the various items in a way which, as far as possible, corresponds to the general sense or use of the terms considered.

Ia. *sPu-rgyal signifying the first ruler of Tibet (Bod-yul) after the pre-dynastic rulers (see chapter 13):*

(37.18r)

Bod-yul gañs-ri rtse-dgu'i ljoñs 'di-ru :

In this *Bod-yul* (Tibetan country), the country between the nine (or: all) summits of glacier mountains,

sPur-rgyal goñ-du mña'-mdzad-drug-tu byuñ :

Before *sPur-rgyal*, the six rulers (executors of power) came into existence.

Ib. *sPu-rgyal signifying the first ruler after the pre-dynastic rulers, ruling as a bTsan-po in the appearance of 'O-de-spur-rgyal:*

(37.18r-v)

gŽug-tu sPur-rgyal-btsan-pos dbañ-byas-te :

Finally, *Spur-rgyal-btsan-po* ruled.

Miñ yañ Bod-khams-ru-bži bya-bar btags :

The name was determined to be *Bod-khams ru-bži*.

Bod-kyi bTsan-po 'O-de-spur-rgyal de :  
gNam-gyi-lha-las mi-yi-rje-ru gšegs :

The *bTsan-po* of *Bod*, *'O-de-spur-rgyal*,  
Came from the lHa of Heaven to be Ruler (rJe) of Men.

IIa. *sPu-rgyal as a definition of the ancestor of the Dynasty:*

(68.28/76)

Rigs-brgyud-kyi rGyal-po ni sPu-rgyal Bod-kyi rGyal-po yin-te /

The king from whom the Dynasty developed is *sPu-rgyal*, the king (*rGyal-po*) of *Bod*.

IIb. *sPu-rgyal signifying the royal lineage in general:*

(1.119/163)

(Bod-kyi ni sPu-rgyal-du sems-šiñ ni re-re-yañ)

Of the *sPu-rgyal* of *Bod*

sPu-rgyal ni gduñ myi-'chad

Thinking, at any rate

The lineage of *sPu-rgyal* does not vanish.

IIIa. *sPu-rgyal signifying in general the King of Bod, co-ordinated with other rulers, such as rKoñ-rgyal, in a context of obscure significance:*

(11.65)

sPu-rgyal: mñam:las:g(š)egs // kyi:  
g'yu:Bya-sgoñ-nu-sgoñ:: /:/ Da:rgyal:  
kyi: g'yu: rMa-lchags: rKoñ-rgyal: kyi:  
g'(yu) ... ..

The turquoise of *sPu-rgyal*, who is beyond equality (?), is *Bya-sgoñ-nu-sgoñ* (the Bird-Egg, Egg) the turquoise of *Da-rgyal* is *rMa-lchags* (the Peacock-lChags), the turquoise of *rKoñ-rgyal* is ... ..

IIIb. *sPu-rgyal* applying to *gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan* in a sense corresponding to that of “the King”:

(1.105/137)

sPu-rgyal pañ-du myi-len re // bTsan-po sPu-rgyal-la glo-ba-'driñ re /

We were not received in the lap of *sPu-rgyal*.  
We were far from taking the side of *bTsan-po sPu-rgyal*.

(1.108/143)

sPu-rgyal phañ-du len-len /

We shall be received in the lap of *sPu-rgyal*.

IIIc. *sPu-rgyal* applying to the individual rulers in the sense of “King”:

(1.104/135)

'Uñ-nas Myañ dBa's mNon dañ-gsum-gyis Tshes-poñ Nag-señ-las prin-kyis / sPu-rgyal sTag-bu'i sñan-du bon-nas // bTsan-po'i žal-nas / . . . . .

Then *Myañ*, *dBa's* and *mNon*, these three, commissioned by *Tshes-poñ Nag-señ*, spoke into the ear of *sPu-rgyal sTag-bu*. *bTsan-po* said . . .

IV. *Bod-kyi sPu-rgyal* signifying “the King of Bod”:

(1. 121/169)

Bod-kyi sPu-rgyal ni ñi-ma dañ-'dra // rGya-rje ni zla-ba dañ-'dra-ste //

*sPu-rgyal* of *Bod* is like the sun.  
The Ruler (*rJe*) of China is like the moon.

(28.387r)

Bod-kyi sPu-rgyal mgo-nag-yoñs-kyi rje Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan

*sPu-rgyal* of *Bod*, the Ruler (*rJe*) of all the Blackheads, *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan* . . .

V. *bTsan-po sPu-rgyal* as a double title of the king:

(1.104/135)

bTsan-po sPu-rgyal-la glo-ba-ñe-bar bzas-nas / mna' mtho' yañ cher bchad-do /

When taking the side of *bTsan-po sPu-rgyal*, they decided upon a high and solemn oath.

(1.105/137)

bTsan-po sPu-rgyal-la glo-ba-'driñ re /

We were far from taking the side of *bTsan-po sPu-rgyal* (see IIIb).

(1.110/146)

bTsan-po sPu-rgyal-gyi ža-sñar / glo-ba-ma-riñs mtha'ñ ma- grañ<sup>1</sup>-na /

If they do not take the side of *bTsan-po sPu-rgyal*, and finally even prove unfaithful to him . . . .

(1.110/146)

bTsan-po sPu-rgyal Khri-sroñ-brtsan . . .

The *bTsan-po sPu-rgyal*, *Khri-sroñ-brtsan* (*-sgam-po*) . . . . .

VIa. *sPu-rgyal-Bod* signifying *Bod* or “Tibet,” partly in the general sense of the realm of the Tibetan kings, partly, and probably in the original sense, *Central Tibet*:

(68.21/66)

mTshams-kyi mi'u-rigs-bži ni / Gam-šañ rGya / Gyim-šañ Hor / Ha-le Mon / sPu-rgyal Bod dañ bži'o /

The four kinds of frontier peoples are *Gam-šañ rGya*, *Gyim-šañ Hor*, *Ha-le Mon*, and *sPu-rgyal Bod*, these four. (See p. 276).

(75.149)

sPre'u sogs-las kyañ mi-rgyud 'byuñ-  
srid kyañ / don-la gtso-bor Bur-rgyal  
Bod-du Phyang-na-pad-ma dañ Tā-rās  
Dam-pa'i-chos-la śin-tu-dod-pa'i mi skal-  
ldan spel-bar bžed-de /

(When it is told that) the family of men origi-  
nates from the Ape (*sPre'u*), etc., then the funda-  
mental idea is that *Padmapāṇi* and *Tārā* caused  
(wanted) the number of pious men longing for  
the Good Law to increase in *Bur-rgyal-Bod*.

(107.8v)

Bod-spyi'i rje-bor phebs-pa thog-ma'i  
mi-rje gÑa'-khri-btsan-po-nas Pur-rgyal-  
Bod-kyi rgyal-khams spyi-la dbaṅ-bsgyur-  
ba'i gNam-gyi-khri-bdun / ... rim-gyis  
byuñ-ba ...

After *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*, the first Ruler of  
Men (*Mi-rje*) who came to be Ruler of all *Bod*,  
came successively *gNam-gyi-khri-bdun* ... who  
ruled in the whole realm of *Pur-rgyal-Bod*.

(68.212/213)

gLiñ-la khyad-'phags Bur-rgyal-Bod-  
kyi yul

Among countries, the country of *Bur-rgyal-  
Bod* is most famous.

Vib. *sPu-rgyal-Bod-kyi skad*, a frequently occurring expression distinguishing the Central Tibetan (or Tibetan) language from other (or other Tibetan) languages:

(11.17)

Nam<sup>a</sup>.hi.skad. ... *sPu-rgyal.Bod* gyi. skad. ...

(11.18)

Nam-pa.hi.skad. ... *sPu-rgyal.Bod-gi*-skad. ...

(40.45v-46r)

rGyal-ldoṅ-gi skad ... Žaṅ-žuñ dMar<sup>a</sup> skad ... *sPur-rgyal Bod* skad ...

(122.590; see 162.152)

Mu-saṅs<sup>a</sup> Ta-zig skad ... Žaṅ-žuñ sMar-gyi skad ... *sPur-rgyal Bod* -kyi skad ...

Vic. (*sPu-rgyal-Bod-kyi rGyal-po*, a pleonasm signifying the king of Tibet:

(28.389r)

Pu-rgyal-Bod-kyi rgyal-po'i mÑa'-  
bdag rgyud /

The family of the King and *mÑa'-bdag* of  
*Pu-rgyal-Bod*, (*Khri-sron-lde-btsan*) ...

VII. *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*:

(1.100/128)

bŚos-na ni sPu-de-guñ-rgyal //

When he was born, (he was) *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*.

For the alternative forms of his name see Table III, no. 9, p. 47.

VIIIa. 'O-lde-spu-rgyal as the ancestor of the Dynasty and the first bTsan-po and Ruler, rJe:

(37.18v; see Ib)

Bod-kyi bTsan-po 'O-de-spur-rgyal de :  
gNam-gyi-lha-las mi-yi-rje-ru gšegs :

The *bTsan-po* of *Bod*, 'O-de-spur-rgyal  
Came from the *IHa* of Heaven to be Ruler (*rJe*)  
of Men.

VIIIb. 'O-lde-spu-rgyal as the ancestor of the Dynasty:

(1.81/85; see p. 243)

mTha'-ma 'O-lde-spu-rgyal-gyi dbu-  
rmog ma-thob /

But the last of them, 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, his *dBu-  
rmog* they did not get hold of.

VIIIc. 'O-lde-spu-rgyal formally signifying the ancestor of the Dynasty, but actually applying to the individual king concerned, as a constituent of an official formula of the royal status. In the first case it applies to King Sad-na-legs, in the last two cases to King Ral-pa-can:

(17)

bTsan-po lHa-sras / 'O-lde-spu-rgyal //  
gNam-gyi-lha-las myi'i-rjer gśegs-pa /

*bTsan-po, lHa-sras, 'O-lde-spu-rgyal,*  
Came from the *lHa* of Heaven to be Ruler (*rJe*)  
of Men.

(18.55)

'Phrul-gyi-lHa bTsan-po 'O-lde-spu-rgyal

(7.71)

'O-lde-spu-rgyal gNam-gyi-lha-las myi'i-  
rjer gśegs-pa

'O-lde-spu-rgyal who came from the *lHa* of  
Heaven to be Ruler (*rJe*) of Men ...

VIIIId. 'O-lde-spu-rgyal as a local ruler in Yar-luñ:

(11.75)

Yul:Yar-khyim:Sogs-yar:na': /  
Yul:rje:'O-lde:spu-rgyal:bźugs: /

In the country, the House of *Yar*, in *Sogs-yar*,  
Resides 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, the Ruler of the  
Country (*Yul-rje*).

IX. 'O-de-lHa-dpal-Phu-rgyal standing for 'O-de-lHa-dpal-Guñ-rgyal or inversely:

(11.69)

'O-(d)e:lha-(dpal:)phu-rgyal:(kyi):ñan-du:mñan: ... ..  
'O-de:Guñ-rgyal:kyi ñan-du mñan / ... ..

X. *sPus*, as occurring in the myth of *Gri-gum-btsan-po* and his sons:

Bu-spus. See Appendix I, sect. XIa.

sPus-kyi-bu Ñar-la(le)-skyes. See Appendix I, sect. XIb, XIVa, and XVIa.

To these examples we may add a few to be found in the Inventaire by M. Lalou (165):

XIa. (165.no. 1038)

Yul dañ mkhar-du bcas-pa'  
So-so yul bde-bži-las /  
sPu-rgyal Bon-gyi bTsan-po  
lTe'u rgyal-po Thod-rgyal byuñ-te //

From the country of the four *bde*,  
Which includes country, castle, etc.  
*sPu-rgyal*, the *bTsan-po* of *Bon*,  
The King of *lTe'u*, the *Thod-rgyal*<sup>4</sup> appeared.

XIb. (165.no. 1038)

Myi-rje lHa dañ bDud / -du bgyis-  
nas // Yul Bod-ka-g'yag-drug-du byon  
žes-mchi // Gañ-lags-kyañ myi-mñon-ste  
/ gduñ sPu-Bod dañ sPu-rgyal-du gsol //

"Myi-rje (The Ruler of Men) acted as *lHa*  
and *bDud*, and the country appeared as *Bod-ka-  
g'yag-drug*<sup>5</sup>," so it is told. At all events, it is not  
plain, but the *gDuñ* (origin) is called *sPu-Bod* and  
*sPu-rgyal*.

...

Because of the fragmentary character of the quotations XIa–c, it is, in reality questionable to give a relevant translation. In XIa *bde-bži*, four kinds of bliss, happiness, joy, etc., may stand for *sde-bži*, four districts, corresponding to *ru-bži* (see p. 279). It does not appear distinctly whether sPu-rgyal Bon-gyi bTsan-po and lTe'u rgyal-po Thod-rgyal refer to one single, or to two different kings or ideas of kings, but we are inclined to regard lTe'u rgyal-po Thod-rgyal as a further amplification of sPu-rgyal. This is perfectly compatible with the connection between the ancestor king and the The'u, The'u-brañ, and the rGyal-po, established by Yañ-bsañ-lugs. In XIb the expressions sPu-Bod and sPu-rgyal seem to apply to the country and to its ruler, respectively, in conformity with the names of ruler and country mentioned just before.

From the examples given in the items I–IX it appears that L. Petech and H. Hoffmann are right in principle with regard to the relative age of terms containing sPu and sPur respectively. The Tun-huang Mss. and the inscriptions from the time of the Yar-luñ kings use exclusively the form sPu, but the same applies to the comparatively late sources, such as the La-dwags rgyal-rabs and the Deb-ther-sñon-po (see below). As to the occurrences of the form sPur, the most remarkable feature is to be found in the consequent use of it in the two gTer-mas, rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig and bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig, although they are based on sources originating from the era of the Dynasty.

Under the circumstances at hand, we may feel warranted in presupposing that the characterizing element in all the examples, whether it is sPu or sPur, expresses, or derives from, one and the same original meaning. Applied to sPu-yul and sPu-rgyal, it means both the country and the ruler are characterized by the idea contained in sPu, but not necessarily that sPu-rgyal is the ruler of sPu-yul. On the contrary, it quite clearly appears that sPu-rgyal is the ruler of sPu-rgyal-Bod, where the otherwise indeterminate Bod (see p. 289f.) is defined and characterized by the particular title or capacity of its ruler. Our material shows that the regal title of sPu-rgyal vanished fairly early, apparently in the beginning of historical time, when bTsan-po became the predominant title, while the name of the country, sPu-rgyal-Bod or sPu-rgyal-Bod-kyi-yul prevailed, even to a time when sPu-rgyal indicated no particular sense, as appears from the pleonasm sPu-rgyal-Bod-kyi rGyal-po originating from the time of King Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan.

Certain authors, such as Chandra Das who has been quoted above (see p. 302), maintain that sPu-rgyal was originally the name of the country, and refer in this respect to unspecified, old sources. In the Deb-ther-sñon-po we read (see p. 172):

In the old chronicles of the Past (it is said): “The ancient name of this country was *Pu-rgyal*. Later it was called *Bod*.” This agrees with the account of the ācārya *Prajñāvarman*.

From all evidence otherwise available, this statement with regard to (s)Pu-rgyal seems to derive from some misunderstanding. The constituent -rgyal quite definitely indicates the significance of ruler or, in a further sense, king, eventually indicating a relation to the rgyal-po class of deities. In its actual occurrence in the Tun-huang Mss., sPu-rgyal interchanges with rGyal(-po) and bTsan-po. Thus the King sTag-bu (king no. 31) is alternately called rGyal sTag-bu, sPu-rgyal sTag-bu, bTsan-po, and bTsan-po sPu-rgyal in one and the same text (1.102–05). It must therefore be emphatically stated that *sPu-rgyal* is a term or title which applies specifically to the Tibetan kings, and quite particularly to the kings of the earlier part of the royal lineage.

Neither sPu-rgyal itself nor terms or names containing it as a constituent, give us any, or at least any direct, indication as to the particular significance imparted to them by the vocable sPu(r). In the following we shall, however, learn that the key to a final interpretation of sPu(r) is to be found in the



mythic circle, from which both the name sPu-de-guñ-rgyal and the terms given above as item X originate.

sPu(r) is found in the names of two kings, 'O-lde-spu-rgyal and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, who both represent the idea of the ancestor or founder of the Dynasty. While the name gÑa'-khri-btsan-po under Buddhist auspices has become a general denomination for all ideas of the founder of the Dynasty, 'O-lde-spu-rgyal represents specifically the idea of the ancestor according to the official documents of, or concerning, the later kings of the Yar-luñ Dynasty (see p. 248 ff.), while sPu-de-guñ-rgyal represents the king who the tradition makes the founder of that monarchy which is characterized by the same fundamental principles as those prevailing under the later prehistoric and the historic kings of the Yar-luñ Dynasty.

It is hardly mere coincidence that sPu(r), besides applying in general to the Tibetan kings as sPu(r)-rgyal, applies in particular to the idea of the founder or ancestor of the Dynasty. It might therefore be worth while considering the possibility that the explanation of sPu(r) might be found in the conditions under which the Dynasty is said to have come into existence, or its founder to have risen, and in the particular nature and qualities which are ascribed to him.

If we regard sPu-de-guñ-rgyal as the mythic or legendary founder of that dynasty which with time developed into the Yar-luñ Dynasty, we know from the previously discussed material that the tradition of this king is most intimately connected with that of Gri-gum-btsan-po, who the tradition presents as the father of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal. These two kings, from whom the later Buddhist tradition has formed the second group of the dynastic line, represent, in fact, a unit comprised by a most important and interesting complex of myths. As quoted above, G. Tucci describes Gri-gum-btsan-po as "a symbol of a fracture in the current of ideas," and in a wider sense we may imply that the time symbolized by the two kings considered indicates a crisis, political and religious, and a transition between two ages of culture symbolized by father and son. We have seen, moreover, that the essential difference between these two ages is to be found in the change of religious ideology or, more concretely, in the fundamentally different concepts of Man's position towards the world of the defunct. Having previously been haunted by fear of the dead, defenseless towards the powers of the earth, Man now received means to master and subdue the chthonic powers. We have postulated that this change of the concept of the mutual relation between Living and Dead presented the spiritual background for the rise of the Dynasty, and an endeavour will be made to give evidence to this effect in the following.

Moreover, if we assume that sPu(r) expresses some special and inherent quality in the founder of the Dynasty, and in his successors in their capacity of being sPu-rgyal, our attempt to find this quality and explain sPu(r) need not be confined to the legendry of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal. The additional circumstance that 'O-lde-spu-rgyal also, and therefore the general idea of the founder or ancestor of the Dynasty, is involved, widens our field of study to all concepts and traditions of the nature and qualities of the ancestor, regardless of in which form he is conceived, and regardless of whether he is conceived as the actual ancestor or as the incarnation of the ancestor in the individual king of the Dynasty.

With regard to the particular nature of the ancestor and founder of the Dynasty the following items may therefore be taken into consideration:

1. The persistently maintained tradition that sPu-de-guñ-rgyal came from sPo-bo or sPo-yul to ascend the throne.
2. The tradition of Yañ-bśañ that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po came from sPu-yul, sPo-yul, or sPo-bo, to be the king of Bod.
3. The ideas of divine origin or supernatural birth applying to the progenitor king.
4. The idea that he was śugs-pa or an incarnation, and was particularly distinguished by appearance or capacities predestinating him to become a ruler.
5. The circumstance that reason and motivation for the appearance of the progenitor king was the distress prevailing among the people, and their need for a ruler to protect them against the powers endangering them.

Considering these main items resulting from the material studied up to now, we must, however, observe that we are dealing with three different main traditions and all their variants. On the other hand it seems justified from what we have learned up to now to assume that these traditions represent one and the same basic idea of the king's nature, but that this idea is presented in three different planes of religious development and concept.

Having defined the general background on which the particular nature or quality of the king, presumably involved by sPu(r), may possibly be explained, we shall now introduce material which seems to contain the key to such an explanation.

In the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons, found in the Tun-huang Ms. 250 Paris and rendered in Appendix I, we find in section XVIIIa the description of the final burial of Gri-gum-btsan-po, whereafter the son Ņa-khyi became ruler of rKoñ-po (XVIIIb) and the son Śa-khyi with his army came to mKhar Pyiñ-ba, i.e. Phyiñ-ba-stag-rtse in Yar-luñ (XVIIIc). Immediately after, the text reads (XVIIIId):

Yul-yab-kyi rje myi-bźugs-na /  
Pyi-'brog gdeñs pyol-pyol-gyi cha'o /  
Dog-yab-kyi char ma-mchisna /

Sa 'on-bu spur khog-khog ces gsuñs-so /

"As there was no ruler of the *yul-yab*,  
It was so that the faithful *pyi-'brog* had to flee.  
As there was nobody who was an equal to the  
*dog-yab*,

The corpses (*spur*) had to decompose upon the  
earth." Thus he spoke.

These words are put into the mouth of Śa-khyi, who is identical with sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, and they describe the state of affairs in the country before and at his advent. The text then describes his further progress and his revenge on Lo-ñam, after which he recites the song (XXb-c):

'A-ba ñi ñe-pas ñid /  
Bya-ro ro-na mduñ-gi-rtse rañ-nig

Yos-ro ro-na ltam-gyi-goñ-ra nig

brLa' brduñs /  
sPur-btab /  
'Ob de myed  
sPu de myed

"'A-ba ñi ñe-pas ñid.<sup>6</sup>

The spearhead is plunged into the body of the  
bird,

The pointed blade is thrust into the body of the  
hare.

The power of life is broken,  
The carcass (*spur*) is thrown away.  
There is no pit ('*ob*),  
There is no *sPu*."

The text again relates that the king came to Phyiñ-ba-stag-rtse (XXI), and describes the conditions, which were then established, in the following song (XXII):

Yul-yab-kyi rje-ru gśegs-so /  
Yul-pyi-'brog gdeñs myi-pyol-gyi cha'o /

Dog-yab-kyi chab mchis-kyis /  
Sa 'on-bu spur myi-khog-gi cha'o /

He came to be the ruler of *yul-yab*.

And it was so that the faithful *yul-pyi-'brog* had  
not to flee.

As he was an equal to the *dog-yab*,

The corpses (*spur*) had not to decompose upon  
the earth.

Finally, having mentioned that copper ore fell down from above (see p. 406), the text concludes (XXIV):

bŚos-na ni sPu-de-guñ-rgyal /  
Groñs-na ni Grañ-mo-gnam-bse' brtsigs /  
'Greñ mgo-nag-gi rje /  
Dud-rdog chags-kyi rkyen-du gśegso //

When he was born, (he was) *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*.

When he died, *Grañ-mo-gnam-bse'* was built.

The ruler of the blackheaded '*greñ*

Came because of his affection for the *dud-rdog*.

As usual, we are here dealing with text fragments from more epic sources, and some of them, describing the royal progress through the country, may possibly originate from the epic of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's arrival in the country (see p. 190 ff.). Before commenting on the text we shall, however, quote a few lines from the Tun-huang Ms. 249 Paris (Appendix III, section A), applying to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and his advent:

// lHa gnam-gyi steñ-nas gśegs-pa' /  
/ Yab-lha-bdag-drug bžugs-pa'i sras /

/ Sa-dog-la yul-yab-kyi rje /  
Dog-yab-kyi char-du gśegs-so /

He who came from the High Heaven of *lHa*  
(Was) the son of *Yab-lha-bdag-drug* dwelling  
there.

As to the *sa-dog*, the Ruler (*rJe*) of the *yul-yab*  
Came as an equal (*char*) to the *dog-yab*.

A little later in the same text (1.81/86-7), the essence of these lines is repeated:

lDe Ñag-khri-btsan-po / sa-dog-la yul-yab-  
kyi rje dog-yab-kyi char-du gśegs-nas /

*lDe Ñag-khri-btsan-po*, the ruler of the *yul-yab*,  
he came with regard to the *sa-dog* as an  
equal (*char*) to the *dog-yab*.

Again the insufficiency of the lexicographical resources available at present presents particular obstacles to the translation and interpretation of these texts in the ancient Tibetan language, because we are here dealing with the isolated occurrence of several terms having an apparently quite specific significance.

Several terms apply to different groups or layers of the population, viz. 'greñ, (*yul-*)*pyi-'brog*, *dud*, and *dud-rdog*. As far as it is possible to discern from the general occurrence of 'greñ in these and other texts (see p. 231), this term signifies a part of the population which cannot be characterized by the ordinary expression for subjects, 'bañs, but represents either a population which only indirectly, through vasallage, are subjects, or an alien population at or within the frontier, adjoining or depending on the state in the sense expressed by the Chinese term *nei-fu*. In the form 'breñ, this term appears in the royal appellatives or titles given to King Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan according to dPa'-bo gTsub-lag (64.73v): gNam-lha-babs-kyi-bdag-po Sa-lhun-grub-kyi-mña'-bdag 'Breñ-mgo-nag-yoñs-kyi-rje sPrul-pa'i-rgyal-po Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan. In these cases the interpretation of 'Greñ *mgo-nag-gi rje* applying to sPu-de-guñ-rgyal and Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, and the inferences to derive from it, entirely depend on the significance of 'greñ. If the interpretation just proposed is correct, then "the Blackheaded 'Greñ" cannot apply to the people of Bod, the Tibetans in the narrowest sense, but indicates that the king came in the capacity of 'Greñ *mgo-nag-gi rje*. This would mean that the founder of the Dynasty was a king coming from outside to take over the rule of the country. Indications as to such a foreign origin of the Dynasty are found elsewhere in our sources (see p. 171). The terms 'brog and *dud* or *dud-rdog* signify the two main groups of the native population, the more or less erratic nomads and the husbandmen with permanent residence or hearth, *dud* (lit. smoke), more elaborately characterized as *dud-rdog*, owners or masters of a hearth. The nomads are characterized as *pyi-'brog* or *yul-pyi-'brog*, signifying the "outer nomads" or "nomads of the outer country". As said above (see p. 124) 'brog or nomads signifies within the Tibetan people more specifically the shepherds and cattle breeders. The change of their conditions which is described by our text in connection with the arrival of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, seems to correspond to the improvement and organisation of the Tibetan society described in the La-dwags rgyal-rabs.

The common expression 'bañs does not occur, but the expression *yul-yab*, literally land-fathers, may undoubtedly be taken in the same general sense of subjects. The close analogy between "Yul-yab-kyi rje-ru gśegs" and the usual formula applying to the progenitor king "Mi-yi rje-ru gśegs" quite especially points to an identical meaning of *yul-yab*, *mi* signifying Bod-mi, and (Bod-)'bañs.

As obviously distinct from *yul-yab* we find the term *dog-yab*. The interpretation of this expression depends entirely on the significance of *dog*, and the same applies to the expression *sa-dog*. The inter-

pretation of dog has proved the crucial problem, and the problem of interpretation itself is further complicated by the expressions *dog-yab-kyi char* and *dog-yab-kyi chab*.

The last two expressions occur in the first text (Appendix I, sect. XVIIIId and XXII), but to make any sense the text demands identical expressions in the two places. Therefore only one of the words *char* or *chab* might be expected to be correct. Unfortunately, however, both words may be interpreted in the same general sense, *char* signifying *rain* and *chab* signifying *water* in various senses. The first published translation of the Tun-huang text was made by J. Bacot and G.-Ch. Toussaint in connection with their edition of the text, and the four passages containing *char* and *chab* were translated in the following ways:<sup>7</sup>

(Appendix III, sect. A, lin. 8-9)

Khri Ñag-khri-btsan-po //  
Sa-dog-la yul-yab-kyi-rje /  
*Dog-yab<sup>8</sup>-kyi char-du gśegs-so /*

Khri Ñag-khri-bcan-po. Il vint ici-bas *comme pluie fécondant la terre* et premier des pères du pays.

(1.81)

lDe Ñag-khri-btsan-po / sa-dog-la yul-yab-kyi rje *dog-yab-kyi char-du gśegs-nas /*

lDe Ñag-khri-bcan-po. Il vint ici bas *comme pluie fécondant la terre* et premier des pères du pays.

(Appendix I, sect. XVIIIId)

*Dog-yab-kyi char ma-mchis-na /*  
Sa 'on-bu spur khog-khog

Si je ne suis *la pluie fécondant le sol*, le cadavre errera sur la terre.

(Appendix I, sect. XXII)

*Dog-yab-kyi chab mchis-kyis /*  
Sa 'on-bu spur myi-khog-gi cha'o /

Comme il était *l'eau fécondant le sol*, le cadavre n'erra plus sur la terre.

Here *chab* and *char* are translated in their ordinary meanings of rain and water, but with an added allusion to fertility. Without going into detail with regard to the French translation, which is tentative and rather far from the Tibetan text, we shall, however, call attention to the idea of fertility or fertilization introduced by the expressions emphasized above. The idea of rain and water fertilizing the earth or the soil is by no means justified by the Tibetan text. Unfortunately the French translation has led authors depending on it to ideas with regard to an element of fertility cult connected with the concept of the Tibetan king and his religious status, which have no foundation in the Tun-huang texts concerned.

H. Hoffmann (162.151) does not accept the French translation with regard to *char(chab)*, but states that *char*, besides signifying rain, also signifies, according to Jäschke (163.156a), "as an equal, as a match,"<sup>9</sup> and his translation of the first passage above

... Khri Ñag-khri btsan-po. Er kam zur Erde als Gebieter der Väter des Landes, *als Ebenbürtiger* der Väter der Erde.

brings us part of the way towards a satisfactory interpretation. By interpreting *dog* as earth (*terre* or *sol*, and *Erde* respectively), both the French translators and Hoffmann miss the specific significance which is to be found in each of the expressions *dog-yab(-kyi)* and *sa-dog(-la)*. Under the given conditions, Hoffmann, by interpreting the two expressions as "Väter der Erde" and "zur Erde", gives an exhaustive translation of the Tibetan passage, and establishes the important antithesis between *yul-yab* (Väter des Landes) and *dog-yab* (Väter der Erde), but he refrains from comments on the actual meaning of the text.

The vocable *dog* is, however, the stem and verbal noun of the “verbal active” *'dogs-pa, bind*, in its fundamental sense of establishing an integral connection or getting a firm hold or possession of someone or something. The “perfect” or “concrete” form is *bdag, bound*, signifying a person who has bound something or got a hold, dominion, or possession of it, viz. the *possessor, master, or lord*. In this sense, *bdag* occurs in various terms already mentioned, such as *sa-bdag, gzi-bdag, or yul-bdag*, the local deities, *Yab-lha-bdag-drug* who form a central group in the concept of the *Srid-pa Gods*, or *mÑa'-bdag*, the royal title or prerogative used of the king to signify that he is the possessor and executor of *mÑa'-thañ*, his inherent power consequent to his divine origin. An alternative occurrence of *bdog* instead of *bdag* is known from examples such as *bdag-ñid-che*, equivalent to *bdog-ñid-chen-po* (150.665). Finally *rdog*, as we have seen in the connection *dud-rdog*, the possessor or master of *dud* “smoke”, i.e. the hearth symbolizing the household, represents the active exercise or the result of *'dogs-pa*, while *dog* signifies the abstract ideas behind the concrete *bdag*, viz. *possession, the dominion, or the power*.

*Sa-dog* and *sa-bdag* therefore express the same idea, the *power or powers of the earth*, in its abstract and its concrete form. There is generally, however, no sharp, and often hardly any, distinction between the abstract and concrete concepts by the use of idioms of this kind. *Sa-bdag*, which has survived in the language, indicating the innumerable personifications of the demonic powers possessing and dominating any spot of the Tibetan soil, indicates merely a later and modified idea of those *chthonic powers which were meant by the expression sa-dog*. These powers, from which the *sa-bdag* of the later time developed, were the *powers of the world of the dead*, and the *dog-yab* were the *personified representatives of the world of these powers*.

Beyond the occurrences in the *Tun-huang* texts quoted above, the term *sa-dog* is as yet only known from one or maybe two other sources. On the recto of the Chinese manuscript roll registered as *India Office Library Ms., Stein Collection, Ch. 82, Iv*, and published by *F. W. Thomas* under the designation of *Text IB (11)*, we find a Tibetan text partially dealing with the burial of one (*Yab*) *sTen-rgan-gyi-ñer-pa*, and the discussion among the survivors with regard to the location of his burial place, whether it was to be on a high or a low level. Apparently there was a choice between disposing of the corpse upon the earth or a mountain (on the high level), or in a tomb (on the low level). Finally the former alternative is preferred, and the text states in this regard (11.17, lin. 27–28):

yab.sTen-rgan-ñer-pa.ni.sku.mgur.cu.man.  
cad.sa.dog.rum.du.byin.'gis.ma.mchis.

The body (*sku*) of *Yab sTen-rgan-ñer-pa* was not lowered below the pedestal of a sepulchre,<sup>10</sup> into the *rum* of *sa-dog*.

Here *sa-dog* is directly connected with the idea of the dead, and with *rum* or the space where the corpse is disposed of. *Rum* signifies womb and quite specifically uterus, hence the more common significance of darkness or obscurity.

In its basic sense, *rum* thus indicates *the source from which the living being originates*, while in the connection considered above it indicates *its final destination when dead*. This apparent paradox might tempt us to see in *rum*, as occurring above, only the general meaning of darkness, but various circumstances seem to show quite definitely that our first interpretation is right. Primarily we may consider the two quite, or apparently quite, different ways in which the corpse of *Gri-gum-btsan-po* is disposed of according to the myth of the *Tun-huang Ms*, rendered in Appendix I. In the former case it is told (section V) that the corpse of the king was cast into the *rum* of the *Ti-se glacier, Ti-se Gañs rum-du 'phañ*, where *rum* may still be conceived in the sense of darkness. In the latter case it is related how the corpse was cast into the middle of the river, where it was concealed *in the stomach of the kLu-mo, kLu 'Od-de-bed-de-riñ-mo'i ltor* (sect. VIb), from which it was delivered only when replaced by a human sacrifice *to the stomach of the kLu* (sect. XVIIId).

The occurrence of these two terms of *lto* (stomach, belly) and *rum* (womb, uterus), applying to the destination of the corpses, can in itself hardly be discarded as mere coincidence. In these burial accounts of two distinctly different sources, we find the vestiges of an ancient Tibetan concept of life and death,

according to which existence is conceived as a circulation, where *life or the living returns to its origin by death*. In its most concrete appearance this idea occurs in the account of Gri-gum-btsan-po and the kLu-mo, from the point of view that Man, according to ancient traditions, *originates from the kLu*. In this regard the bLon-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig (40.4r) relates:

Bod-kyi mi-rnams chad-khuṅs bstan-pa ni :	The teaching about the origin and descent of the Tibetans:
Bon-lugs kLu-las chad-par 'dod-pa yod :	The Bon-tradition maintains a descent from <i>kLu</i> ;
Chos-lugs sPyan-ras-gzigs-las chad-par 'dod :	The Buddhist tradition maintains a descent from <i>Avalokiteśvara</i> .

In a more abstract form this idea of circulation, which establishes an *identity between beginning and end*, is expressed in the references to rum, and it seems to be a fundamental feature of ancient, pre-Bon-po concepts of existence, as appearing from two lines inserted in the description of the rGyal-phran, in the Tun-huang Ms. 249 Paris (see p. 242):

De yan-chad ya-yogs ni /	Before that was <i>Ya-yogs</i> ,
gDod byi(d) rum-gyi ni rkyen	The cause ( <i>rkyen</i> ) of the <i>Rum</i> of Beginning (Birth, <i>gdod</i> ) and End (Death, <i>byid</i> ).

We are here setting foot on virgin soil, when attempting to explore the concept of existence, of life and death among the Tibetans of pre-Bon-po time. We are obliged to draw our conclusions from the reminiscences of it sparsely surviving in Buddhist sources, and from the fact that it constitutes the substratum on and from which later, better known concepts have grown and developed. For our present aim of establishing the background for the rise of the Dynasty, with the ultimate purpose of interpreting the significance of sPu(r) to the royal history, the matter of the very old Tibetan concepts is, however, one of highly pertinent importance.

The idea of rum presupposes the existence of ya-yogs. *Ya(r)* and *yog(s)* signify, in a concrete and abstract sense, *above and below, up and down, (high and low)*, and the concept of the two adverse principles expressed by ya-yogs has its cosmological and cosmogonical analogue in the ideas of gNam-sa and the Ga'u from which the creation developed (see p. 263), indicating the entity of cosmos according to a concept of the world which has even survived in Buddhist literature, in a Prajñāparamitā colophon (192.III,1,177):

Ga'u kha-sbyor gNam-sa gñis-kyi bar /	The closed <i>Ga'u</i> (box) between the two, <i>gNam</i> (heaven) and <i>Sa</i> (earth).
---------------------------------------	---

Within the closed Ga'u of the World, formed by gNam and Sa, the creation took its course. The primeval adverse principles of the white and the black light, the male and the female, and the yellow and the blue flowers came into existence (see p. 263). In this function of the primeval source of life, the Ga'u corresponds to Rum.

The very old or, more precisely, *the pre-Bon-po cognition of world and existence* seems particularly characterized by the imagination of *duplicates of adverse principles*, while *the Bon-po cognition*, at any rate at its earlier stage, is characterized by *a general concept of triplicity*, in which an intermediate stage or principle has been interposed between the extremes.

In pre-Bon-po cognition, the material world was constituted from two opposite parts or spheres Heaven and Earth, *gNam* and *Sa* or *Guñ* and *Sa*, and we may doubt whether gNam is not a Bon-po substitution for Guñ.<sup>11</sup> The world of existence comprised in itself two different and mutually opposed worlds, that of the *Living* and that of the *Dead*. Though opposed, they meet in their extreme stages in the idea of *Rum*, just as the extreme limbs of the material world spheres met and formed the closed Ga'u,

*Ga'u kha-sbyor*. This last concept is reflected in the conception of the final receptacle of the dead king, the *Zaṅs kha-sbyar*, the (Copper) Vessel with a closed Mouth, or the Closed Vessel.<sup>12</sup>

In the Bon-po cognition of the material world, we find an established distinction between three different parts or spheres, but we state the strange, but to us in the present connection significant, fact that these three parts are differently defined. The general definition of them is gNam, Bar, and Sa indicating heaven, the intermediate space, and the earth, while another definition gives gNam or sTeñ, Bar, and 'Og, signifying heaven or the upper sphere, the intermediate space, and the underworld (or the lower sphere).<sup>13</sup>

The former Bon-po definition represents an intermediate enlargement of the pre-Bon-po concept of the Ga'u, the integral concept of the world formed between, and therefore of, the two spheres, gNam-Sa-gñis-kyi bar. The intermediate space or Bar has been separated and conceived as an individual, middle part of the universe. Bar thus represents the illuminated, atmospheric space between heaven and earth in the sense of the abode of Man.<sup>14</sup>

The latter definition involves the idea of 'Og, the Underworld. The word 'Og also signifies, however, below or lower in a general sense, corresponding to yog with which it is identical. Thus the lower sphere 'Og is g'Yog in Ladakhi. Quite formally the latter definition of the three spheres may correspond to the former one, but the Bon-po theogony and its classification of the various groups of deities and demons quite definitely shows that 'Og means the Underworld, the waters and the subterranean regions, the medium of the kLu. In consequence of this, Bar, according to the latter definition, signifies Earth in the sense of the abode of Man, including the lower atmospheric space (see p. 134 f.). In this definition of the world spheres, the idea of Sa, Earth in its usual sense has been eliminated. This occurrence seems to be due to the fact that, while the former definition of the Bon-po universe has developed from the pre-Bon-po cosmological idea of gNam-Sa, the latter definition has developed from the pre-Bon-po concept of the two worlds of existence, of which the lower one, the Underworld, Yog or 'Og, for religious reasons presented the primal importance, while the sphere of Man, Mi-yul or Sa-steñ had, for identical reasons to be the intermediate world. We need in this respect only refer to the testimony of the Grub-mtha' śel-gyi-me-loñ, when it describes the aims and destiny of the Bon-Doctrine (see p. 102-03):

... mar 'Dre Srin gnon-po dañ / yar rgan-gyi  
lHa mchod-pa dañ / bar khyim-gyi thab 'don-pa  
...

... subduing the 'Dre (and) Srin of the  
Underworld (*mar*), sacrificing to the venerable  
lHa of the Upper World (*yar*), and digging out  
the household hearth in the Middle World (*bar*),  
...

where *yar-bar-mar* expresses identically the same concept as *ya(r)-bar-yog* or *steñ-bar-'og*.

The concept of three cosmic spheres, however, involved, or was involved by, a concept of three spheres or worlds of existence: a world of Gods, a world of Man, and a world of the Dead. We may venture as far as to postulate that the idea of a world of gods, specifically the celestial world of the lHa, was introduced by the Bon-po, and represents a fundamental characteristic of the Bon doctrine and ideology.<sup>16</sup>

In the duplex world of existence there was no room, though there obviously was or developed a need, for "gods". Among the ancient Tibetans the idea of a second world of existence prevailed, a world of the Dead which in its entity was antagonistic towards that of the Living, the fundamental difference between the Living and the Dead Being was contingent upon the presence or absence of bLa, life-power. Death meant no end, but the transition of Man to a new form of existence in which he, the Dead, conscious of his loss of life-power, became inimical towards the Living, and noxious or mischievous, gdug-pa-can, to him in his desire to recover his own life-power or destroy that of the Living. To the Tibetans these ideas were the cause of a constant fear of the dead relatives, the ancestors, or the realm of the dead as a whole, from which the ancestral cult or the cult of the dead or their imagined manifestations took its origin.

The antithesis, which the Tun-huang Mss., quoted above, establish between yul-yab and sa-dog, is symptomatic of the religious state which prevailed when the Bon religion, according to tradition,

was introduced at the time of Gri-gum-btsan-po and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, and the foundation of the Tibetan Dynasty was laid. The important contribution which these texts give to an understanding of the particular nature and capacity characterizing the ancestor, whether conceived as gÑa'-khri-btsan-po or sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, and consequently his successors, is primarily to be found in the statement that, *besides being a ruler of yul-yab, the living subjects of the country, he appeared as an equal to the dog-yab, the manifestations of the chthonic powers.* That is to say that *the founder of the Dynasty came as, or to be, the ruler or the master of both worlds of existence.*

The general tradition emphasizes that the first king came to be a Ruler of Men, mi-yi-rje, with the destiny to protect the people against the evils menacing them, and the tradition generally lays emphasis to represent these evils as the great nations or kings surrounding Bod, the Great Kings of the Four Quarters. As we have already shown, the evils in the country of Men, which gÑa'-khri-btsan-po actually foresaw and hesitated over, were the powers of the demon world, who haunted Mi-yul (see p. 235 ff.).

When, with regard to, or towards, this demon world, the Powers of the Earth, Sa-dog, he came as an equal to their manifestations, the Dog-yab, he came to master them for the benefit of the Living, the Tibetans or Bod-mi. In this capacity he became *the symbol of the militant aspect of the Bon.* In his destiny of mastering and subduing the Powers of the Earth by virtue of an inherent mystic power, we find *the real and primal motive for the appearance of the progenitor king* (see p. 226 ff.), *and the very foundation of the religious status of the Yar-luñ kings,* which, as expressed by G. Tucci (196.197), before their adherence to Buddhism made them "only a primus inter pares, or else a sacred but inert symbol."

We have refrained from characterizing the particular power of the ancestor king otherwise than as "an inherent mystic power," because the idea of this power has a direct relevance to the problem of sPu(r) and the diverging traditions of the origin of the ancestor, to be outlined in the following.

The general tradition, as it is rendered in Buddhist time and in Buddhist literature, ascribes this power to the divine origin or nature of the king. When Buddhism began to spread in Tibet, its representatives recognized on a broad basis the existing traditions, gradually modifying them in conformance to the ideology of the Doctrine. Only where the concept of the Dead and the funeral and ancestral cult were concerned does Buddhism seem to have displayed radical efforts at suppression, so that the literature presents only vestiges of these features of Tibetan culture before Buddhism (see p. 14 ff.). It appears, however, that during the era of the Dynasty these efforts proved more or less fruitless, where the fundamental ideas of royalty and royal prerogatives, and the customary acts of state were involved (see p. 346). The Buddhist tradition and literature therefore formally recognize the king as lHa-sras, the descendant from lHa, while actually endeavouring to present him as an incarnation of Buddha. At any rate, however, *the inherent power of the king was ascribed to his divine origin or destination as lHa or incarnation of Buddha, as far as the Buddhist representations were involved.*

At its appearance and spread, the Bon religion met the same obstacles as did Buddhism later on, facing traditions and religious ideas of the dead deeply rooted in the popular imaginations. As the object of the Bon religion was to subdue the Powers of the Earth, "to open the door to the lHa of the Living, to shut the door to the tombs of all the Dead, and lead the Living on the way of the Swastika," the Bon-po quite naturally conceived the inherent power of the king as *a divine power in virtue of his origin from lHa, the celestial gods.*

Bon succeeded as little as Buddhism, however, in rooting out the old ideas of the dead and their continual existence and manifestations. The Bon religion actually based its power on the maintained power of the Bon priest to awe and subdue the manifestations of the dead. Buddhism had to recognize the idea of the Yi-dwags. Where the inherent, mystic power of the ancestor king was concerned, the Bon-po even had to recognize a still existing concept and tradition of the nature of this power, which has its foundation in the old concept of the realm of the dead, the tradition characterized as the heretical Yañ-bsañ-lugs (see p. 226 ff.).

According to this tradition of the origin of the ancestor, defined as gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, the ancestor king has the same fundamental characteristics as appearing from the Bon-po and Buddhist traditions,



but it differs fundamentally from these traditions by its definition of the nature and origin of the power of the king.

According to the version of Yañ-bsañ-lugs given in the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu, the The-brañ-skyes who was to become the ancestor king, distinguished himself from all others in sPo-bo or sPo-yul by being śugs-pa-drag, a powerful, violent, terrible incarnation, because *he was able to cope with Man, or invincible*. He differed from all others in sPo-bo, because *he was an equal to, was able to cope with Man, and was therefore alien and superior to them*.

The fact that his particular nature and power was explained by his being mi-thub, meant that his nature and power expressed a quality, which the yul-mi of sPo-bo actually did not possess, but which all their sons, as said by his parents, might potentially possess, viz. that of being śugs-pa or *incarnated as Man*. Only by originating among the Dead, could he as mi-thub distinguish himself before his world of origin. If he originated from gods, he would, ipso facto, be mi-thub. The very circumstance that the yul-mi of sPo-bo were not mi-thub, makes them inferior to mi or Man. They represent the Dead, the people or inhabitants of the country of the Dead, sPo-bo, sPo-yul or sPu-yul as implied by the name sPu-yul Mo-btsun-guñ-rgyal (see p. 228 ff.).

When obtaining this primary indication as to the significance of sPu(r), by connecting sPu-yul with the idea of the Dead or their abode, we have characterized the Dead as inferior to the Living. This agrees formally with the principle of Ya-yogs, but it seems, in reality, to contradict the representation of the general tradition, which provides a Ruler of Men possessed by divine power to protect Man against the Powers of the Earth, and therefore makes Man apparently inferior to these powers, provided that these powers, the Sa-dog or the Dog-yab actually represent the idea of the Dead.

Man may appear inferior to the Powers of the Earth in the sense that he fears them, and may be defenseless against their assault. They cause obstacles to him and may endanger his life, weaken it and try to take it, but the very reason for this inimity towards Man is to be found in the fact that *the Powers of the Earth miss that power of life which Living Man by nature possesses, and therefore in the essential sense of existence are inferior to Man*. They “envy” Man his life-power, and by harming him or by killing him, especially when he is a child or still young, they strive to partake of his life-power.

We have said above that the Bon-po and Buddhist traditions explain the nature and power of the ancestor of the Dynasty in a way that is fundamentally different from the representation of Yañ-bsañ-lugs. According to Bon-po tradition *he came from the lHa of Heaven to be the Ruler of Men*, he who by virtue of his divine origin was *an equal to the Powers of the Underworld*, while according to Yañ-bsañ he *came from the Underworld to be the Ruler of Men* in virtue of being *equal to or incarnated as Man*. These two concepts of the king are, however, based on the same fundamental idea, viz. that, *to be a ruler or master of more worlds of existence, he had to belong to these worlds by origin or nature*.

We have, moreover, ventured to postulate that the idea of a celestial world of lHa has been introduced by the Bon-po and represents a fundamental characteristic of the Bon in comparison with the previously prevailing concept of existence.<sup>16</sup> Where the world of lHa, from which gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is said to come, is concerned, we are in a position to substantiate this postulation, and give proof as far as proof at present may be given on subjects of ancient Tibetan religion and mythology. In the formulations of the tradition of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, as hitherto generally known, he is in various terms described indefinitely as lHa-sras or a descendant of the celestial lHa, gNam-lha, or gNam-gyi-lha. Only in a very few sources is his origin or the nature of the lHa, from which he originated, more definitely defined. In the chapter of this paper dealing with the genealogy of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, we have studied these sources from which it appears that the ancestor descends from the Srid-pa'i-lHa. The idea of the lineage of these gods is, however, a product of a comparatively late, systematized theogony, influenced by both undefinable and Buddhist concepts. The fundamental fact appears, however, that gÑa'-khri-btsan-po is in all cases conceived as *a son of or descendant of, a group of deities called Yab-lha-bdag-drug*, and it has been shown that whether conceived as individual deities or as a tantum-plurale, Yab-lha-bdag-drug represents the generalized idea of *the deified ancestors of the Tibetans*.

*In reality, the Bon-po tradition of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, Grags-pa Bon-lugs is based, in spite of its*

*representation of him as a divine being of divine origin, on the same original concept as the Yañ-bsañ-lugs, according to which the ancestor king originates from the chthonic world, the world of the dead ancestors.* Characteristic as an intermediary expression for, or formulation of, the two apparently opposite traditions, we find that the bŚad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu (Appendix II, sect. Va) prefaces the chapter of Grags-pa Bon-lugs by alternatively defining this tradition as the teaching of “the descent from Yog-lha”, where *Yog-lha* signifies Inferior lHa, and may be interpreted only in the sense of *lHa of the Underworld*, in accordance with Ya-yogs.

When, at a time which tradition connects with the origin of the Dynasty, Bon replaced the previous religion, it introduced *a third, celestial sphere in the concept of cosmos, and a third, divine world in the concept of existence.* We have no definite idea whatever, how and where the Bon religion and its idea of celestial gods developed, although the tradition generally tends to show that it was introduced to Central Tibet from outside, in the form of g’Yuñ-druñ-Bon, Swastika Bon, particularly from the western regions, Žaň-žuň and Bru-śa, where the population though related to the Central Tibetans had undoubtedly been influenced by the culture and religion of their western neighbours, above all the Persians. This cultural influence undoubtedly accounts for the occurrence of ideas of Gods of Light as the source of origin (see p. 265 ff.) which, when applied to the origin of the Tibetan kings, are quite alien to the ancient and original ideas of the Tibetans.

From the foundation of the Dynasty, the Bon religion appears as a state religion, which provides the basis for the sacral status of the king, and, in fact, the real foundation of the royalty. Therefore it is natural that the Bon-po tradition imparted a divine ancestry to the king by exalting it from the inferior world of the defunct to a celestial world of gods. The idea of the Yab-lha-bdag-drug is based on the general idea of the male ancestors of the Tibetans, the Pha-mes or Pha-mtshun. In this respect the basic idea of the Bon-po tradition differs from that of Yañ-bsañ-lugs which definitely has a matriarchal nature, tracing the origin of the progenitor king back to female ancestors, the Mo-mtshun or Mo-btsun.

Far more remarkable, however, is the circumstance that, when regarding the pantheon of the lHa as it is presented to us by Bon-po and Buddhist sources, and in the extent to which we may reasonably consider the lHa represented as celestial gods, we find that these lHa, who are or were most prominent deities, just as gÑa’-khri-btsan-po, are said to originate from the Yab-lha-bdag-drug. Furthermore, the tradition presents the principal groups of deities who, besides lHa, inhabit the three world-spheres according to the systematical Bon-po theogony, i.e. gÑan, bTsan, rMu, and kLu, as the offspring of Yab-lha-bdag-drug. Finally Man, in the sense of the progenitors of the Tibetan clans or tribes, is traced back to the same source of origin by the kLu as intermediary.

The extraordinary importance which is thus ascribed to the Yab-lha-bdag-drug, the generalized idea of the ancestors of the Tibetans, unavoidably points to a pristine idea of a reciprocal action between the world of the Living and that of the Dead, a continual circulation of Life and Death, as indicated in the concept of the Rum of the Beginning and the End. The identical origin of the progenitor of the Dynasty and of the lHa may also be suggestive with regard to a relationship of nature between the individualized representative of the Yab-lha-bdag-drug, ’O-de-guñ-rgyal, and ’O-lde-spu-rgyal and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, between whom G. Tucci is actually inclined to see an identity (see p. 229).

In the present Tibetan pantheon, lHa signifies a multitude of various deities connected with all parts of the world, but particularly with the world immediately surrounding Man. The particular and superior position, which was attributed to the lHa by the Bon-po, is, however, still manifest from the general definition of the whole supernatural world by the ancient, but unaltered terms lHa’dre or lHa-srin.<sup>17</sup> In the ancient terminology these expressions derive from the thought of two opposed supernatural worlds, that of the lHa propagated by the Bon-po, and that previously existing, which the Bon-po aimed to subdue but had to accept. In Buddhist terminology the two expressions got a wider sense, as we shall see in the part immediately following, when showing that the ’Dre and the Srin represent the idea of Sa-dog and Dog-yab, which again, as appearing from the very myth of sPu-de-guñ-rgyal and his father, ultimately derives from the concept of the defunct and their corpses and manifestations.

We have pointed out that there is a resemblance between the myths or legends of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, gSen-rab-Mi-bo, and Padmasambhava. This resemblance has its immediate explanation in the fact that all these three figures symbolize one and the same event, *the introduction of a new religion* and its efforts to fight, subdue, or adopt the gods and demons, and the ideology of the previous religion.

Padmasambhava has become the central figure in a vast and variegated legendry representing the universal idea of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, its fight with the ancient world of the gods and demons, and its final triumph. In a more concrete and historical significance, the idea of Padmasambhava is connected with the foundation of the bSam-yas Monastery, during the reign of King Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan (see G. Tucci, "The symbolism of the temples of bSam yas," East and West IV, 4, Roma 1956, p. 279–81). As the King's plans to build this monastery meant a definite breach with the ancient religion, Bon, all the aboriginal gods and demons violently opposed them from the very beginning, and it became the special task of Padmasambhava to pacify the site destined for the monastery, and subdue the demons residing there. According to the legendry, however, it became that of subduing all the aboriginal deities and demons, to *bind them by oath* to the new religion, *dam-can*, and thus *pacify and prepare the Tibetan soil for Buddhism*.<sup>18</sup> It is beyond our aim to relate in detail these events, and we shall confine ourselves by giving a few examples of texts showing the ways in which the opposing, aboriginal powers are characterized.

In his Chronicle, the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.34r) relates how "all the lHa-Srin in Bod became furious" (Bod-kyi lHa-Srin-rnams khros-nas), sent the lightning towards the castle of dMar-po-ri in lHa-sa, infested men and cattle with diseases, etc., and while, in the time of the forefathers, "lHa-Srin had not been tamed" (lHa-Srin-rnams ma-btul-bas), the king now invited Padmasambhava "to pacify the soil with regard to its fierce powers (Sa-gzi 'di-dag drag-pos 'dul-ba'i ched-du)." On another occasion the Fifth Dalai Lama writes (115.6v–7r):

Bod-kyi lHa-Srin gdug-pa-can-rnams khros-te mi-sis-pa mañ-du byuñ-bas Ži-'tshos luñ-bstan-pa bzin 'Dzam-bu-gliñ-na che-ba'i sñags-mkhan Sañs-rgyas gñis-pa Pad-ma-thod-'phreñ gdan-drañs / lHa-Srin dam-la-btags-siñ sa-gzi btul-bas Zan-g'yañ-Mi-'gyur-lhun-gyis-grub-pa'i gtsug-lag-khañ bžed-pa bzin . . .

All the noxious *lHa-Srin* in *Bod* became furious, and as they appeared in an unlikely multitude, *Śantirakṣita* (*Ži(-ba)-'tsho*), in accordance with the prophecy, sent an invitation to *Padmasambhava* (*Pad-ma-thod-'phreñ*), the second Buddha, the great Master of Mantras in *Jambudvīpa*. He took the *lHa-Srin* in oath and pacified the soil, and (the monastery of *bSam-yas*) *Zan-g'yañ-Mi-'gyur-lhun-gyis-grub-pa'i gtsug-lag-khañ* was completed according to desire.

The bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu (57.34r) relates in connection with Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan:

sLo(b-dp)on Padma la-sogs-pa'i / Pañdi-ta-rnams spyān-drañs-nas / lHa-'Dre gdug-pa-can-rnams 'dul-ba dañ / dPal-gyi bSam-yas bžeñs /

After the Teacher *Padma(sambhava)* and all the other *Pañdita* had been invited, all the noxious *lHa* and *'Dre* were subdued, and the glorious *bSam-yas* was erected.

It appears that the whole aboriginal world of gods and demons, which Buddhism had to encounter, is characterized, by the sources, by the two terms mentioned above, lHa-Srin and lHa-'dre. These lHa and Srin or 'Dre are moreover characterized as noxious, gdug-pa-can, and particularly connected with the idea of the soil, the sa-gzi, as the powers of it, or its rulers or possessors. The lHa-Srin or lHa-'Dre are thus in principle identical with the Sa-bdag or gŽi-bdag of later Bon-po and Buddhist times.

The world of supernatural beings, which Buddhism had to encounter, was the world of gods and demons established or subjected by the Bon Doctrine. In the description of gSen-rab-Mi-bo's subjection of the demons during his triumphant progress through the Tibetan country, which presents a close parallel to the Digvijaya of Padmasambhava, the gZer-myg relates (138.II.71r):

/ Bod-kyi lHa-'Dre la-stsogs-pa sems-can  
mañ-pos kyañ / sñun bsu-ziñ phyag-'tshal-nas  
mchod-pa phul-lo /

/ De-ltar Bod-kyi ri thams cad rtse-mo 'dud-  
pa yañ /

Gañs-ri g'ya-brag-la gnas-pa'i lHa-'Dres  
sTon-pa'i žal mthoñ-ziñ gus-pa phul-ba'i rtags  
yin-no /

/ gŚen-rab-kyis Bon-po-rnams-la Bon-du lHa  
gsol dañ 'Dre mchod-kyi luñ phog /

Yas-stags-su rTsi-siñ na-bun dañ Žugs-śaṅs  
dañ gSer-skyems bstan /

Da-lta Bod-kyi lHa-'Dre thams-cad-kun Bon-  
gyis bos-na go-la / mchod-na 'gro-ziñ brduñ-na  
thub-pa ni sTon-pa žal mthoñ-ba'i dus-su dbaṅ-  
du-bsdus-pa'i rtags yin-no /

These lines apply to gŚen-rab-Mi-bo's arrival in the valley of rTsañ-po, the Brahmaputra River, and carry the marks of anachronism with regard to events, ideas, and terms, which to some extent characterize the whole work consequent to its comparatively late date of composition. The importance of the gZer-myig is therefore to be found more in its details, than in its general composition.

Where the first three paragraphs of the quotation are concerned, we immediately notice a striking analogy to the description of the arrival of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, given by the Tun-huang Ms. 249 Paris, and presented in Appendix III, section C. The purely naturalistic world greeting the ancestor king according to the latter source, perfectly corresponds to the animated world greeting gŚen-rab-Mi-bo. The Gor Pha-boñ la-stsogs-pa which paid homage to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po represent, in a naturalistic metaphor, the Bod-kyi lHa-'Dre la-stsogs-pa, or the Gañs-ri g'ya-brag-la gnas-pa'i lHa-'Dre paying respect to gŚen-rab-Mi-bo.

The anachronism of terminology, showing the influence of Buddhism, appears from the fact that Bod-kyi lHa-'Dre are characterized as Gañs-ri g'ya-brag-la gnas-pa'i lHa-'Dre, the lHa thus being classified together with 'Dre as powers connected with the Tibetan soil. At the same time, however, the text is self-contradictory when stating the fundamental difference between lHa and 'Dre, by saying that gŚen-rab-Mi-bo on that occasion taught the Bon-po to implore the lHa, but to sacrifice to the 'Dre.

It is no wonder that the arrival of the ancestor king coming as and from lHa, and that of gŚen-rab-Mi-bo, the personified principle of the Bon, are identically conceived. Both the ancestor of the Dynasty and gŚen-rab-Mi-bo symbolize the rise of Bon ideology among the people of Tibet, and have the destination of meeting, opposing and subduing the whole supernatural world symbolizing and personifying an ideology which for ages had prevailed among the people. Therefore both the legends of the ancestor king and gŚen-rab-Mi-bo and the descriptions of the fundamental principles and objects of the Bon religion may lead us to an idea of the supernatural world, provisionally defined as the 'Dre or the Srin, which prevailed in the imagination of pre-Bon-po Tibetans.

In previous parts of our study we have already considered various features leading up to this problem, and a special interest may be primarily attached to the ways in which the Bon-po tradition describes the evils or obstacles foreseen and met by gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. They are mentioned by the terms rKu, sDañ, dGra, g'Yag, Dug, Byad-stems, Sri, and gDon which, according to the version of the gTer-ma, should cover six different aspects of evil. We have shown that the last six terms signify,

The lHa and 'Dre of Bod, and all the many kinds of beings went to meet (gŚen-rab), saluted, and brought offerings.

In the same manner all the mountains of Bod bowed their peaks.

The lHa and 'Dre living in the slate and rocks of the snowy mountains beheld the Teacher's face. This was a sign of their paying respect.

gŚen-rab ordered all the Bon-po according to the Bon (Doctrine) to implore the lHa, and to bring offering to the 'Dre.

In the Yas-stags he taught rTsi-siñ na-bun, Žugs-śaṅs, and gŚer-skyems.

When today all the lHa and 'Dre of Bod understand, when they are called by the Bon (rites), that they are to come when offered to, and to obey when beaten, it is the token that they were subjugated when they beheld the Teacher's face.<sup>19</sup>

in reality, personified ideas of evils represented by particular groups or classes of inimical and harmful demons (see p. 235 ff.).

The term rKu signifies theft. The radical \*ku leads us, however, to other meanings which may be relevant in the present connection. Thus ku, in itself, means cry, moaning; dku-lto means cunning, craft, or trick which induces a person to do something hurtful to himself; and bku-ba means to extract the essence of something.

sDañ signifies hate, anger, wrath, and enmity, and sdañ-byed therefore signifies foe or enemy identically to dGra. The radical \*dañ is in two ways connected with the idea of death and burial. 'Dañ signifies the funeral repast, while mdañ-ba indicates the place or spot where the dead are disposed of or cremated. The term sdañ itself can, however, be brought into a more direct connection with demons personifying the idea of sdañ or the corresponding form of verbal action sdañ-ba, partly in the special class of Sri named sDañ-ba'i-Sri (172.302,517), partly in the name of sDañ-ba'i-srog-bcod, the sixth of nine dGra-lha Brothers (172.328).

When actually rising to oppose and fight gÑa'-khri-btsan-po at his arrival, these powers appeared as the "enemy aspect of the Srin", in the form of the Byañ-srin and the Koñ-srin. As we have seen (see p. 236ff.), the idea of these local Srin who rule or possess the single provinces of Bod in its ancient sense, are the same ones which both gSen-rab-Mi-bo and Padmasambhava had to encounter.

The six evils mentioned by gÑa'-khri-btsan-po in his discourse with sKar-ma-yol-sde, are characterized as dogs, things to fear, etymologically connected with dog, as in Sa-dog, signifying power. In Buddhist terminology the demon world personifying these evils, (lHa-)'Dre or (lHa-)Srin, is generally designated as gdug-pa-can, the noxious beings, in the same sense as lHa-'Dre bka'i-thañ-yig (see p. 272) describes the future realm of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po as gdug-pa-che or gdug-pa-can-gyi yul, the Country of the Great Evils or of the Noxious Beings.

Moreover, the lHa-'Dre bka'i-thañ-yig identifies gdug-pa-can-gyi yul with Bod-yul or Pretapuri, the Land of the Yi-dwags, the roaming, hungry and unsatisfied manifestations of the Defunct. As already indicated above, in chapter 11 on the mythical etiology of the origin of the Dynasty, this statement of the gTer-ma directly implies that the evils, the demon world, or the powers which the ancestor of the Dynasty had to encounter and subdue, regardless of how they are defined, represent the inimical and noxious world of the defunct or the ancestors. This interpretation is strongly substantiated by the facts appearing from the discussion of the Bon religion and its introduction (see p. 100ff.).

The rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (see p. 100) says: "Sacrifices to the lHa of the Living, and taming of the 'Dre of the Dead began" (gSon-gyi lHa mchod gSin-gyi 'Dre 'dul byuñ), and as already quoted on various occasions, one of the three main objects of the Bon according to the Grub-mtha' šel-gyi-me-loñ was that of "subduing the 'Dre and Srin of the Underworld" (mar 'Dre Srin gnon-pa). The same source further relates with regard to gSen-rab-Mi-bo that he "opened the door to the lHa of all the Living, he shut the door to the tombs of all the Dead . . ." (gSon-po-rnams-kyi lHa sgo phye / gSin-po-rnams-kyi dur sgo bcad /), and the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ, though representing orthodox Buddhism, finally tells us that, "by the possession of the weapon of the Dur-gsen, the obstacles to the Living (gSon-gyi bgegs) were removed, and tombs were made for the Dead; the Chuñ-gi-Sri were subdued; the celestial constellations were observed, and the demons of the earth (Sa'i-'Dre) were beaten."

From these considerations we should be justified in maintaining that, whether defined as the six dogs, specified above, as gDug-pa-can, gSon-gyi-bGegs, gSon-gyi-'Dre, Sa'i-'Dre, Chuñ-gi-Sri, sDañ-ba'i-Sri, or generally as Srin, and 'Dre, the idea behind these terms is fundamentally the same as that expressed by Sa-dog, the integral concept of the powers representing, and emanating from, the realm of the Defunct. In all these terms we do not find the idea of the individual defunct directly expressed, although this idea, as we shall see, still remains the basic one. The terms express the generalized or personified ideas of all the manifold aspects of the danger, harm, and hindrance that the Dead may cause the Living.

By finding the original nature of a number of ancient groups of deities, or rather demons, such as the Sri, Srin, bGegs, dGra, Dug, Byad-stems, etc., some of whom are known in a widely differentiated

multitude while others are scarcely known, we have shown the existence of a broad, pre-Bon-po substratum of demonology, originating from the idea of the world of the Dead, but still forming the basic element of both the Bon religion and Tibetan Buddhism. The real significance of this substratum has as yet hardly been recognized, and the idea of connecting the various classes of demons particularly inimical or harmful to Man with an original, religious concept of life and death, has occurred only sporadically, e.g. when H. Hoffmann (162.161–62) describes the Sri as “unterirdische Geister”, or finds in the words of the Grub-mtha’ ſel-gyi-me-loñ, “mar ’Dre Srin gnop-pa” quoted above, “eine schwache Erinnerung an den ursprünglichen Charakter der Srin-po”, yet without drawing any further conclusion from these observations.

It seems that the two expressions Srin and ’Dre serve identically as a general denomination of all the demons or classes of them, whose origin is referred to the underworld. The Srin, conceived both as Srin-po and Srin-mo, form a rather prominent class of demons in both the Bon-po and Buddhist pantheon, and play an important role in the Tibetan origin myths, while ’Dre apparently signify demons in general, and are usually conceived in this sense (see 162.157).

We have seen from the traditions of the rGyal-phran-yul (see p. 240ff.) how each of the small Tibetan principalities are characterized by three different, individually defined powers, the celestial power represented by a particular Yul-lha, the royal power represented by the trinity of the king, the minister(s), and the shaman (gſen), and the chthonic power represented by the Yul-srin (see p. 236ff). In the version of the rGyal-phran-yul given by F. W. Thomas (11.72–76), some most interesting details with regard to the position of the king between the celestial and chthonic powers are to be found, and we shall explain them in the following chapter, when dealing with the death and burial of the bTsan-po. Most remarkable, where the idea of the Srin is concerned is, however, the relationship which the tradition establishes between the Tibetans (and thus Man in general) as Śa-za gdoñ-dmar and the Srin as Śa-za gdoñ-dmar Srin (see p. 160). The ancient concept of the relationship between Man and his ancestral world of the Dead, and his origin from this world in the continual circulation between life and death, was so deeply rooted that even the Buddhist myth of the origin of the Tibetans, as given in the Ma-ñi-bka’-’bum, had to recognize it, when representing the goddess Tārā, in the appearance of a Brag-srin-mo, a Rock-Srin-mo, as the maternal origin of the Tibetans, giving them as heritage the red faces, gdoñ-dmar, the lust for flesh and blood, śa-khrag-la dga’-ba, and all the worse features of human character.

’Dre are occasionally classified as a separate group of beings, particularly in the later sources, to the authors of which ’Dre hardly meant more than a name. This applies to the Dra-ba nag-po’i bsgrub-thabs Drag-po gnam-lcags thog-’bebs (194.712), where ’Dre are enumerated among the various groups of the creation descending from ’Od-gsal-lha (see p. 266), in a most variegated company ranging from lHa to Mi and gſen. The verbal form ’dre-ba has the main significance of mixing, blending together, to be mixed up with, to interfere with, engage in, or have intercourse with. From these meanings we may possibly derive the original significance of ’Dre which in the common Tibetan language, in a considerable number of derivatives, indicates the idea of demons, their possession of men, and the means and ways to subdue or expel them.

A few and most rare occurrences of the term seem, however, to indicate a more specific origin and significance of ’Dre. Best known is undoubtedly the expression ’Dre-dkar, the White ’Dre, which Chandra Das (150.697b) defines as “a class of demons whom the Bon worship with a view to keep off other mischievous spirits.” The author gives no reference to source, but the term is found in the gZer-myig (138.II.77a), where it is told that gſen-rab-Mi-bo taught the Bon-po from sBa and Sum-pa the ’Dre-bskar. With regard to a further interpretation of this term, we are indebted to R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz for the following details. In a rÑiñ-ma-pa text (172.392–93), one of the ten Rākṣa(Srin)-mdos ceremonies is called ’Dre -khrām-bsgyur-ba or “to turn away the notched stick of the ’Dre.” The central ritual figure to be prepared for the ceremony, is a warrior-like figure with a white, red and blue head.

These three colours correspond to the main colours of the three spheres of the Bon-po cosmos and

its principal classes of deities: Heaven, dkar or white, Middle World, khra-bo or the variegation of the colours red, purple-brown and yellow, and Underworld, nag-po or sñon-po, black or blue. The significance which may be ascribed to the occurrence of the three colours in connection with 'Dre, is due to the fact that the Fifth Dalai Lama mentions three 'Dre-rgyal having the colours white, yellow and black, one of which is said to be Pe-har. This reminds us particularly of Pe-har in the form of gNam-the-dkar-po, accompanied by Bar-the-khra-bo and Sa-the-nag-po (see p. 219). The vague indications connecting Pe-har with the 'Dre and thus with the idea of the Underworld, are supplied by certain traditions as to the origin of Pe-har conceived as a rGyal. According to the text gNod-sbyin rgyal-chen rten-lña 'khor-bcas (131.13r), Pe-har was born with a human body but the head of a Khyuñ, from the egg of a kLu-mo-dkar-mo living in Manasarowar. In various sources his mother is named as a kLu-mo, and in the rÑiñ-ma-pa work (126.2r) supposed to be a gTer-ma found by Ñañ-Ñi-ma-'od-zer, his parents are described as gNam-lha-dkar-po and kLu-mo dByin-khyug-nor-'dzin, while another text (133) mentions the parentage of Pe-har and rGyal-po as Chu-srin-pa'i-rGyal-po-lags and kLu-yi-bu-mo-mGo-dgu-ma.

In various ways the tradition thus leads the origin of Pe-har back to the idea of the demons of the Underworld, 'Dre, kLu, or Chu-srin. It is characteristic that the monks of Tshal-Guñ-thañ expelled the emanation of Pe-har, rDo-rje-grags-ldan, as an evil spirit, 'Dre-ñan (172.106). In the discussion of Yañ-bsañ-lugs (see p. 219ff.) we have seen that Pe-har, by his connection with the The'u-brañ, is, perhaps, even more closely connected with the idea of the Dead and their realm. We are, therefore, inclined to regard Pe-har as being originally a representative of the Dead, when he is conceived as gNam-the-dkar-po, the chief of the The'u-brañ, or as rGyal-po-chen-po Pe-har, the chief of the rGyal-po demons.

From this assumption we are able to account to a certain degree for the inconsistency of Yañ-bsañ-lugs appearing from the quasi-divine nature of the The'u-brañ. If, however, they somehow derive from the concept of the Dead, gÑa'-khri-btsan-po can without contradiction be characterized as sPo-bo'i-mi and The'u-brañ. Moreover, we are inclined to see a certain analogy in the relationship between the The'u-brañ and the The, and that between the male ancestral representatives and the Yab-lha-bdag-drug, which more immediately explains the connection between the Tibetan king, the king of the kLu, and Pe-har, in the question of the Sruñ-ma or Guardian of bSam-yas, discussed above.

After these general considerations with regard to the nature and origin of the ancestor king, and the religious background for the traditional rise of the Dynasty, we shall now come back to the text-fragments of the Tun-huang Mss., quoted above.

Primarily we may state that the two sections XVIIIId and XXII of the Paris Ms. 250 serve to characterize, in a few but most pregnant phrases, *the conditions in Bod or Mi-yul before and after the appearance of the progenitor king*, who in the actual text is defined as sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, while in the Paris Ms. 249 he is presented in the form of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.

*The change of conditions is ascribed to the appearance of the king, and to his particular nature, and the conditions prevailing before and after his appearance are in each case presented by two different pictures, one from the world of the Living and one from that of the Dead.*

*While the people, the Yul-yab, had previously had no king or ruler, they had had to flee from danger and enemies. When the ancestor king appeared and they thus got a ruler, they got protection and had no more to flee.* This set of pictures presents *the material aspect of the motive for the appearance of the first king*, which predominates in the general tradition, as outlined in the discussion above (see p. 231 ff.).

*The second set of pictures applies to the Dead or, more precisely, to the corpses of the Dead.* It is told that *before the appearance of the ancestor king, the corpses had to decompose upon the earth but, after his appearance, this was no more the case.* This idea with regard to the fate or treatment of the corpses is directly connected with the idea of the nature and quality of the king, and *refers to the spiritual aspect of the motive for his appearance.*

Before his appearance the corpses were left to decompose upon the earth, which means in a more concrete sense that *there were no particular burial customs or funeral rites.* The text ascribes this to the

circumstance that *there was nobody who was equal to, or a match to Dog-yab, the manifestations of the chthonic powers, or the Dead*. The people feared the Dead and left their corpses alone.

*When the ancestor king appeared, he was endowed with the superior quality, that towards the Powers of the Earth or the realm of the Dead, Sa-dog, he appeared as an equal to their manifestations, the Dog-yab, able to cope with them and protect the people against them, just as he protected the people against the powers of the human world.*

A few lines (section XXb), which are inserted between the two pieces of text considered here, serve us in a quite particular way to emphasize the ideas of life and death, corpses and burial, which fundamentally characterize the change of Tibetan religion and culture, symbolized by the ancestor king and the foundation of the Dynasty. The killing of the bird or the hare symbolizes *the transition from life to death*, and at this transition, by killing or death, *the life-power is broken*. In his new state of existence, *without life-power, the Living Being becomes a corpse, sPur, or a carcass which is thrown away*. The last three lines of the text-fragment considered,

sPur btab  
'Ob de myed  
sPu de myed

express an antithesis between the first and the last two lines, and *a difference of significance between the terms sPur and sPu*, which represent the crucial problem of the present part of our study.

The antithesis corresponds to that expressed by the two pieces of text describing the conditions before and after the appearance of the ancestor king. *Previous to this event the corpse or carcass was thrown away, sPur btab* (and had to decompose upon the earth). At that time *there was no pit, 'Ob de myed, and there was no sPu, sPu de myed*. The former of the two expressions signifies that there was *no pit*, i.e. *tomb dug for the corpse, as afterwards became the custom*. The latter expression continues the former one in the same sense that "*there was neither pit nor sPu*".

sPur and sPu, which in the Tibetan texts mutually interchange, obviously express, both of them, the basic idea of *a corpse*. In the present occurrence, the antithesis expressed in *the contemporary existence of sPur, but non-existence of sPu*, shows that *sPur and sPu represent two essentially different concepts of corpse*. The difference of concept is involved by the appearance of the ancestor king or, regarded on a more suggestive background, *by the change of religious ideology or introduction of new burial customs*. The differing concept may either refer to a change in the state of the physical remains, or to a change of the nature of the manifestations which are imagined to appear from them.

Originally the physical remains were *a corpse or sPur abandoned to decay without the care of the survivors*. After the introduction of the Dur-Bon and the customs of burying in tombs, which is intimately connected with the foundation of the Dynasty, the remains were still a corpse in a general sense, but it was *a corpse that had been ritually treated, a corpse for which a burial and a tomb had been provided, so that it no longer had to decay uncared for upon the earth*.

Correspondingly, the survivors or the Living in general had originally *no influence upon, or power against, the manifestations appearing from the Dead whose corpse they had simply abandoned, while the Dur-gŕen by the performance of the burial and the further funeral rites provided ways and means to tame and subdue the manifestations of the ritually buried Dead*.

As the three lines of text obviously demand an interpretation of sPu, which is relevant to the idea of a corpse, we must interpret sPu in the narrowest sense as *the ritually treated and buried corpse of the deceased*. The ritually buried corpse, the sPu, represented, however, the tangible concept of the deceased whose new existence was confined to the tomb, provided for with funeral sacrifices. Therefore sPu quite naturally got a wider significance, *representing the idea of the deceased himself in the world of the Dead*.

Though the term sPu in its narrowest sense applies to the ritually buried corpse, it indicates in its widest sense *the general idea of the Dead*. The occurrences of sPu in the senses stated here, present the



irrationalism or terminological anachronism, which is commonly known from religious-mythical accounts, but as far as the hitherto known sources are concerned, *these occurrences of sPu are exclusively or closely connected with the concept of the Tibetan kings, and with the traditions of their origin.*

For stating the validity of the interpretation of sPu(r) just given, it may be essentially important to examine whether this interpretation is compatible with an independent interpretation of the term sPus, mentioned above in item X.

This term applies to the mysterious being Ñar-la-skyes, who appears in the ancient versions of the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons. When studying this myth (see p. 155f.) we have already, by anticipation, discussed various features connected with Ñar-la-skyes, who in the myth is characterized as Bu-sPus or sPus-kyi-bu Ñar-la-skyes. Unfortunately the myth is fragmentary in the version of the Tun-huang Ms., and we must therefore assume a supernatural origin of Ñar-la-skyes by deduction from the total mythic tradition of Gri-gum-btsan-po's sons and its development, and moreover consider the supernatural origin of Ñar-la-skyes as the primary concept from which the various later versions of the origin of the supernatural son of Gri-gum-btsan-po derive.

As appearing from the general discussion of the myth, the version of the Tun-huang Ms. (Appendix I, sect. III-XXIII) deals almost exclusively with *the death and burial of Gri-gum-btsan-po*. Ñar-la-skyes is presented as *a son of Gri-gum-btsan-po's queen*. He mentions the king who was killed as *his father*, but *appears by no means as a brother of the two sons Śa-khyi and Ña-khyi* who, according to the historical version of the myth (see p. 155), are mentioned as the only sons of Gri-gum-btsan-po. His words, "I have met the sons Śa-khyi and Ña-khyi", are characteristic of the strange relationship.

*The only concern of Ñar-la-skyes is that of finding the corpse of the dead king, and this causes his tenacious search in all four corners of the world. His principal role in the myth is that of providing the substitute sacrifice necessary for recovering the corpse from the kLu-mo, to whom it had been given by the former burial in the river, and consigning it to the two sons to be buried in a tomb. Having performed this role, Ñar-la-skyes vanishes, and the burial of the king's corpse is taken care of by his two sons.*

While the myth, in its quality of an etiological myth of the change of burial customs following the introduction of the Bon religion, will be discussed in the next chapter, we are at present only concerned with the role and significance of Ñar-la-skyes, and find no other way of conceiving this figure than as *the manifestation of the dead king*. In the Bon-po concept of the necessity and importance of the new funeral customs, the introduction of which is directly connected with the death and burial of Gri-gum-btsan-po (see p. 109ff.), *the Yi-dwags of Gri-gum-btsan-po, the manifestation of the killed and unburied king is presented in the form of a supernaturally born son Ñar-la-skyes, "Born from Myself" (see p. 156), whose sole object is to find and recover his own unburied corpse, and ensure its ritual burial in a tomb*. This particular nature of Ñar-la-skyes seems emphasized by an apparently insignificant detail in the text. Twice he is demanding food, and such a trivial theme is hardly to be expected in the general plane of the myth, unless it has a deeper sense, and this sense seems to be that of indicating his special nature and demands as a Yi-dwags, as *the hungry form of the Dead*.

If we regard the expressions sPus-kyi-Bu Ñar-la-skyes and Bu-sPus from this concept of the nature and function of Ñar-la-skyes, the former expression may immediately be interpreted as *the Son of the Dead, Ñar-la-skyes*, while the latter literally means *the Son, the Dead*. As stated above (see p. 157) the basic significance is undoubtedly "the Son of the Corpse", sPus as well as sPu being derivatives of sPur, signifying corpse in various senses. sPus may be conceived as the concrete or perfect aspect of sPu(r), or due to a misunderstanding or a misinterpretation of sPu(r). If taking the latter alternative, we are most probably dealing with a Buddhist paraphrase caused by the antagonism of Buddhism towards all reminiscences of the ancient ideas of the Dead.

Having thus shown that the idea of a ritually buried corpse, or—in a wider sense—the idea of the Dead, is contained in the term sPu, and that this interpretation may be regarded as valid within the confines of the material at present available to us, we may proceed to state the significance which sPu imparts to the various terms specifically applying to the Tibetan country, its kings and their origin.

sPu-yul or, as modified, sPo-yul or sPo-bo represents the *Country of the Dead, the Realm of the*

*Chthonic Powers*, from which the ancestor of the Tibetan kings originated. The later idea connected with sPu-yul differs, however, in certain respects from the ideas of a particular, isolated or subterranean abode of the Dead. Although the idea of the Dead in principle may have been connected with that of the Underworld or the subterranean regions, the fact that the Dead or their manifestations were omnipresent in the Human World, and exercised their influence or actually ruled there, eliminated in reality the local distinction between the Country of the Dead and that of the Living. In the local or material sense, *sPu-yul was Bod itself*. Therefore Bod or its central provinces are designated as Yi-dwags Pre-tapuri Bod-kyi-yul, gDugs-pa-can-gyi yul, or Śa-zan gdoñ-dmar Srin-po Bod-kyi-yul.

sPu-rgyal is the ruler of Bod. sPu indicates that, besides being *King of the Tibetans*, or *Mi-yi-rje, Ruler of Men*, in the ancient terminology, he is particularly *distinguished by his origin from, and dominion over, the Realm of the Dead*. While the concept of Bod as sPu-yul seems confined to the few central provinces which formed the nucleus from which the Tibetan Realm developed, this realm, or Bod in a wider sense as the country subjected to the sovereignty of sPu-rgyal, is characterized as sPu-rgyal-Bod. The idea of the territorial extent of sPu-rgyal-Bod, however, varies and depends on the application of the term itself. In the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (item VIa above) it signifies the Tibetan people and their realm in relation to China, Hor, and Mon. The same applies to its occurrence in sPu-rgyal-Bod-kyi rGyal-po used of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, while, when used of the language, sPu-rgyal-Bod-kyi skad, it has a far more limited sense, indicating merely Central Tibet as distinct from other territories, such as Žaň-žuň, which from the beginning of historical time belonged to or was in intimate relation with the Tibetan Realm.

The significance of sPu in its occurrence in the two names sPu-de-guñ-rgyal and 'O-de-spu(r)-rgyal, both representing the ancestor of the Tibetan kings, need not be further commented on, but in the attempts to give an explicit interpretation of these two names we are up against certain difficulties, caused by the occurrence of the elements -de-, -lde-, and guñ-rgyal (see p. 218ff.).

## Death and burial of the bTsan-po, the Tibetan King

It has been stated previously that studying the ancient Tibetan concept of life and death, living and dead, meant intruding on virgin soil. This feature of old Tibetan culture is, indeed, so utterly unknown and unexplored, that the ideas which have been advanced above, in the first instant may even appear with a cast of chimera. All features which may have been connected with the death and burial of the Tibetan king, the bTsan-po, have, however, remained almost as unknown to us.<sup>1</sup> Very few Tibetologists have ventured to explore, even superficially, this blank spot on the map of ancient Tibetan culture and history. Equipped with an exceptional knowledge of all aspects of Tibetan culture, G. Tucci has, however, opened paths to be further trodden into the unknown, and above all shown the promising possibilities to which a study along these paths invites. Quite particularly with regard to the sacral character and nature of the bTsan-po, the rules of succession, and the ritual regicide, his points of view prove suggestive.

Our very deficient knowledge concerning the circumstances connected with the death and burial of a Tibetan king, is due to the fact that the sources from Buddhist time, which have usually formed the basis of previous studies, give us little or no information in this respect. Therefore, these may lead us to deduce *e silentio* that there actually are no special or interesting circumstances to take into consideration.

The scarcity of information on these subjects, which characterizes the Buddhist sources, is due to the rigorous suppression of any vestige of the ancient or pre-Buddhist concept of the dead and the cult of the ancestors, exercised by Buddhism. Though apparently very tolerant in most respects, orthodox Buddhism seems from the very beginning to have fought radically and consistently the old concepts of the dead and the ancestors, because these concepts presented a particular offense to, and incompatibility with, fundamental features of the Buddhist doctrine. A most illustrative example of this iconoclasm is to be found in the Buddhist eradication of the Mongolian cult of the ancestors, the *ong-yot*, as shown by W. Heissig (158).

The religious status of the Tibetan king was founded on these offensive concepts, and the king was bound together with the Bon religion and the Bon-po hierarchy by them. The religious ideas and the cult and rites which may have been connected with the death and burial of the bTsan-po were therefore just as offensive to the Buddhist Doctrine. From the historical sources it seems, however, that Buddhism had little success during the era of the Dynasty, where the ancient Bon-po concept and rites applying to the royal person and to the acts of state were concerned. It is due to this failing success that the Tibetan sources give us, even if incompletely and sporadically, sufficient indications to form an idea of the subjects in question.

The death and burial of the Tibetan king is in most cases stated laconically as a mere historical event. In a few cases we are informed of certain particulars connected with his death.

As to the performance of the royal funeral and the rites connected with it, we are indebted to M. Lalou for publishing the Tun-huang Ms. Fonds Pelliot Tibétain 1042 (4), and thus making a most valuable document generally accessible. This manuscript is mutilated, just as those of the historical annals. In the present case the beginning has been torn off. M. Lalou remarks with regard to this mutilation, "il serait imprudent d'évaluer l'ordre de grandeur de cette mutilation initiale." (4.339). From what we

shall show in the following with regard to the royal funeral, we are, however, inclined to believe that this mutilation may have comprised a considerable part of the original manuscript, and that from our point of view the missing part may have been far the most interesting one, dealing with the initial acts and rites of the funeral. Moreover, we are inclined to believe that this part has been removed, because it was particularly offensive to Buddhists, and we are not quite so sure as M. Lalou that the ceremonies described in the existing part of the manuscript “étaient certainement célébrés tout de suite après le décès” (4.341).

The question of *the death of a bTsan-po* presents various aspects to be considered. The death may be natural, from old age or illness; it may be violent, caused in war; but it may also be caused either by suicide or by murder. If we regard the last eleven kings of the dynasty, from gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan, it appears that at least six of them were murdered, while one fell or died in connection with war, and four apparently died a natural death, although we may in the case of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po consider the possibility of suicide.<sup>3</sup> It therefore looks as if natural death was an exception, while regicide, self-inflicted or by other agencies, even in historical time appears almost as an established institution.

When we are going to deal in the following with the questions of death and burial of the Tibetan kings, our considerations are based partly on sporadic details which, when occurring isolatedly in the Tibetan sources may appear rather insignificant, partly on a few, but most important, records to be found in the Chinese sources, and partly on the general mythic complex connected with the second group of the Dynasty.

It has been seen that the second group of the Dynasty, regarded merely as a separate group, is a Buddhist invention in the final formulation of the lineage of the Tibetan kings, and that this group, in connection with the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's death in the fight with Lo-ñam, serves to establish the necessary link to combine two fundamentally different traditions of the origin of the kings, and explain the correspondingly different nature of them. Furthermore, we have seen that the two kings who form the group symbolize two different, religious and cultural ages, It is, however, remarkable that the significance of this group, and the fact that it is the weakest link in the Buddhist representation of the Dynasty, has not long been realized.

A. H. Franke has the merit of having first suspected the inconsistency of the Buddhist representation, when maintaining the opinion that sPu-de-guñ-rgyal was the first king of Tibet (68.80), but the strange position of this group and its two kings has first been clearly pointed out by L. Petech who, from comparatively limited and long known material, remarks (177.23): “This group differs from the others in many respects. It consists of only two kings, and these have a personality of their own, while the rulers of the other groups are mere names.” Having quite briefly mentioned the account of Gri-gum-btsan-po's fight with Lo-ñam, and Bya-khri's succession as sPu-de-guñ-rgyal as represented by the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ, the author further remarks (177.23-4): “This account, in spite of its historical appearance, is nothing but an explanation of the name Gri-gum-btsan-po (literally: “the mighty stabbed”),” and a little later: “The chronicles attribute to sPu-de-guñ-rgyal achievements that are characteristic of the foundation of a nation: discovery of principal metals, introduction of agriculture and irrigation, building of the first capital of Tibet, that is, the great castle of Yarlung, and lastly, and most important of all, the rise of the Bon-po religion. This means that it is the tale of the origin of Tibet and of its dynasty, inserted there by Buddhist historians. Spu-rgyal is the Romulus of Tibet; Gri-gum-btsan-po has no other importance except in so far as it plays a prominent part in the legend of Spu-rgyal.”

Although we should prefer to regard certain details differently, these remarks by Petech have proved valid in principle, also in relation to the considerably greater material at disposal for the present study. The implication of these remarks is on one side that there must be some special reason why the two kings in question are known from an extensive tradition, while the remaining prehistoric kings before lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan are little or nothing but names to us; on the other side, as previously mentioned, Gri-gum-btsan-po is presented in two quite different forms by the traditions, one purely mythical, the other apparently realistic, while sPu-de-guñ-rgyal appears on a quasi-historical background.

From the experience gained by the present study, we may state that the traditions and myths concerning the second group and its kings, are far more important for the understanding of the ancient Tibetan concept of the origin and the nature of the Yar-luñ Dynasty than the myths and legends of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, in the form in which these have hitherto been known and recognized as representative of this concept.

*The mythic complex describing Gri-gum-btsan-po and sPu-de-guñ-rgyal is, in fact, the focal point in which the religious, cultural, and historical lines leading to the creation of the Dynasty converge, and from which they again diverge during the further development of it. Therefore this mythic complex also gives us the fundamental indications in the question of the death and burial of a bTsan-po.*

*The very name Gri-gum-btsan-po symbolizes death, and the personality of Gri-gum-btsan-po symbolizes a bTsan-po who dies. The myth of his fight with Lo-ñam and his death by the hand of the minister explains to us why a bTsan-po has to die, and die prematurely, and the myth of his corpse and its fate describes to us how a bTsan-po has to be buried, and how the burial of a bTsan-po differs from that of previous rulers.*

The myth narrates that the name was motivated from the idea of death: "Because there is water-death (*chu-dgum*), and there is Sri-death (*Sri-dgum*), let him get the name *Dri-gum-btsan-po!*" By a paraphrase *Sri-dgum* has been made *Dri-gum*, which is homophonous with *Gri-gum*. The form *Gri-gum* is the prevailing one, and its significance "Sword-Death", which has led to corresponding interpretations of *Gri-gum-btsan-po*, such as "the Mighty Stabbed" or "the Sword-Assassinated King", is relevant to the myth of the king's death and burial. Because of the homophony, we must classify *Dri-gum* together with *Gri-gum*, while *Sri-dgum* in connection with the paraphrased form *Gri-gum* seems to express a particular and relevant symbolism. *Sri-dgum* may also be phonetically homophonous with *Gri-gum*. Either we are to see an antithesis between *chu-dgum sri-dgum* and *Gri-gum-btsan-po*, in the sense that the former expression signifies the state previously prevailing, characterized by *death* (burial) *in water*, and the *existence of the dead as Sri*, while the name of the king signifies the new state, characterized by the *ritual death* (burial) *by the Gri-bzid*, and by the *bTsan-po as a master of the dead in their existence of subjugation*; or we may apply the paraphrase to the former expression, thus getting *chu-dgum gri-(d)gum* which seems immediately to indicate the two forms of burial, *in water* and *by the Gri-bzid*, actually applied to the corpse of the king.

With a single exception to be discussed below, the various versions of the myth of *Gri-gum-btsan-po*'s fight and death, contained in our material, have been presented in the section dealing particularly with the myths of this king and his sons (see chapter 9). By an immediate comparison of these versions, we observe that they present in several respects essential differences, and that taken as a whole they involve so many details of a different nature, that we must regard the available versions as more or less abbreviated and modified renderings of certain older and more explicit formulations of the myth.

The adversary of *Gri-gum-btsan-po*, who kills the king in the fight, is described in the most extensive formulation, as e.g. in the *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ*, as *bLon-po Lo(ñ)-ñam rTa-rdzi*, which signifies the Minister *Lo-ñam*, the Horse-Tender (Groom). G. Tucci remarks with regard to *Lo-ñam rTa-rdzi* (197.86 note 2): "*Lo ñam* is the name of the *equerry* who killed the king *Gri-gum*; he was also a *rta rdzi*; therefore it is not a personal name but a name of an officer: *chief groom*." The title *blon-po* or minister immediately indicates that we are dealing with a higher official. *rTa-rdzi* signifies generally someone who tends or grooms the horses in a quite ordinary sense, but G. Tucci states, depending on *dPa'-bo gTsong-lag*, that *rta-rdzi* in a particular sense signifies a royal official attached to the outer territories of the realm, directly subjected to the personal suzerainty of the Tibetan king. Where the designation *Lo-ñam* is concerned, the greater part of the sources, where it occurs, gives us the impression that it is a personal name. Certain facts seem, however, to indicate that we are dealing with a clan or tribal name. The notes to *Bu-ston's Chos-'byuñ* (see p. 154) relate that *rGya Lo-ñam* was subdued by *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*, where *rGya* undoubtedly corresponds to *rHya* mentioned in the interpolation in the *Tun-huang* version of the myth (Appendix I, sect. IX). Moreover, the subjugation of *Lo-ñam* is described in the latter version of the myth (*ibid.* sect. XVIII and XIX) in such a way that the whole description, and particularly the idea of *Lo-ñam Pho* and *Lo-ñam Mo*, decidedly points to a family or a tribe.

The essential feature in the narrative of the fight between Gri-gum-btsan-po and his minister Lo-ñam has hitherto been found in the event that *the rMu-thag of the king was cut in the fight, so that the king lost his immediate connection with the divine world, and got the fate of a mortal being.*

An important circumstance has, however, been overlooked, viz. that *the myth presents a specific motive, which leads to the fight, and has no relevance whatever to the significance which the general interpretation ascribes to the myth. The cutting of the rMu-thag, and the effects in consequence to this occurrence, are the object of that fight which the substance of the principal motive makes an unavoidable necessity.*

This principal motive, when hinted or indicated, is formulated in different ways. The Fifth Dalai Lama and the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu simply mention a quarrel between the king and his minister as the motive for the fight. On this background, Lo-ñam therefore appears as a rebel and a usurper, who takes over the power and dignity as a king. This interpretation is directly behind the representation given by Chandra Das (see p. 151), who relates that Lo-ñam “was a very ambitious man, who rebelled” and “usurped the throne” after an internecine war in which the king was killed.

The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ narrates that “Gri-gum-btsan-po got his mind possessed by a gDon,<sup>3</sup> and to a certain minister called Loñ-ñam rTa-rdzi he said: “You shall act as my adversary!”” (see p. 147). Here the motive is to be found in *the king's unsound state of mind*, which leads him to challenge the minister, and force him to accept the challenge. This explanation completely changes the role of Lo-ñam.

The Description of Myañ or Ñañ gives the following version of the myth (74.139r-v):

Śam-bu-rtse-dgu yañ rTse-chen yañ zer sa-  
'dir rgyal-po Gri-gum-btsan-po'i pho-brañ yod-  
ciñ / sÑon-dus Bod rgyal-po-rnams rgyal-srid-  
kyi bya-ba legs-par-bskyañs-grub rjes lHa'i-  
sMu-thag-la byon-nas / lHa-lus ro med-du  
'byon-pa śa-stag yin-pa-la / rGyal-po Gri-gum-  
btsan-po'i thugs-la gDon bžugs-nas / rañ-gi  
'bañs-la thabs-zla<sup>4</sup>-byed-dgos sgras<sup>5</sup>-nas / Rañ-  
gi ral-gri dgu-zi klad-la skor-bas / lHa'i-sMu-  
thag dañ rKyañ-thag bcad-pa dañ / rgyal-po  
'thag<sup>6</sup> gral<sup>7</sup>-du bkroñs-pa sogs Śam-bu-rtse-dgu-  
pa-'dir byuñ-ba yin-no //

At this place called Śam-bu-rtse-dgu or rTse-  
chen was the castle of King Gri-gum-btsan-po.  
In former times the kings of Tibet, when they  
had taken proper care of and accomplished the  
exercise of their royal authority, went away by  
the divine sMu-thag. As they had a lHa-body, it  
was simply so that they went away without  
(leaving) a corpse. After a gDon had taken seat  
in the mind of King Gri-gum-btsan-po, he be-  
came quarrelsome towards his own subjects,  
saying, “I want you to act as my adversaries”.  
Then he brandished his sword dGu-zi over his  
head, and thereby cut the divine sMu-thag and  
rKyañ-thag. The king died when the 'thag  
(thread, rope) was severed. This and other  
things happened here at Śam-bu-rtse-dgu.

In the last two accounts, referred to in the main text of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag too (see p. 143), the idea that *the king's mind got possessed by, or became the seat of, a gDon*, simply expresses that *the king was or became insane or unsound of mind*. The same fact is implied by the version of the Tun-huang Ms (Appendix I, sect. II), where it is told that *the name given to Gri-gum-btsan-po was ominous and influenced his mind, so that, in spite of his divine nature and miraculous gifts, he proved unable to master desire and arrogance*. These accounts seem to indicate that the insanity or unsound mind of the king made itself manifest by a constant challenge to his surroundings, a form of *megalomania*. The version of the Tun-huang Ms., where the text concerning the challenge is ambiguous, however, opens another possibility of defining the defect of the king, viz. as *cowardice*, which may be compatible with the description of the fight itself.

While *the defect of the king, which presents the primary motive in the myth*, may thus possibly be explained in two different ways, *the death of the king is presented in two different ways*. According to the general formulation of the myth, *the king was killed by Lo-ñam*, but according to the Description of

Myaṅ, quoted above, *the king was actually killed by his own hand, because his own cutting of the rMu-thag was the immediate reason for his death.*

The differing accounts of the preparations for the fight and the fight itself, contain a number of details which call for an explanation, before the general significance of the myth can be established. Some of these details serve simply to create the frame of the myth, which without particular importance may vary from version to version, but other details, which have remained as yet unexplained, are most important by establishing *the ritual background and significance of the myth.*<sup>8</sup>

In Western literature, the idea of rMu-thag has frequently been commented upon.<sup>9</sup> In the abstract sense, the rMu-thag, the rMu-Thread, signifies the ability and means of a divine being, staying on earth, to return to Heaven or the imagined abode of the gods. In the acute situations of the myths, the rMu-thag seems conceived in a more concrete sense as a rope hanging down, a rKyaṅ-thag,<sup>10</sup> eventually connected with the head of the divine being in question as a dBu-'breṅ,<sup>11</sup> which may be cut (Appendix I, sect. IVb). The designation itself, rMu-thag, indicates that the idea of it was originally connected with a religious concept where the rMu were principal deities. The expression lHa'i-sMu-thag used in the Description of Myaṅ, indicates the same compromise between a theogony of lHa and one of rMu, which clearly appears from the origin tradition of gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po, as represented in Grags-pa Bon-lugs (see p. 212ff.). While the rMu-thag is, though variously defined, a constant element in the myth, the version of the Tun-huang Ms. (sect. IVb) also mentions the dBu-skas, the Head-Ladder, which corresponds to the rMu-skas, rMu-Ladder. It is especially characterized as dBu-skas steṅ-dgu, where steṅ-dgu expresses the idea of *nine steps* of the ladder. The rMu-skas or dBu-skas steṅ-dgu is above all known from the legendry of gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po, where it is used of the path which the ancestor king followed at his descent upon earth, signifying the nine steps of the world-mountain or the nine cosmic spheres or stages, which he passed, while the original idea of steṅ-dgu is theogonic, indicating the nine divine generations from which he descended (see p. 264f.).

A second important element in the myth, most clearly represented in the Tun-huang Ms. (sect. IIIId), is to be found in the enumeration of *the self-acting weapons*: the spear, the sword, the mail or armour, and the shield. The weapons are mentioned in the myth as parts of the implements of power, the lHa-treasures, or the "miraculous" treasures. A reminiscence of these strange weapons is to be found in the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama, where it relates, in connection with the death of Gri-gum-btsan-po, that, "at that time the first armour in Bod was received from sMar-khams". Sum-pa mKhan-po and Chandra Das follow the Fifth Dalai Lama in this regard, when relating that weapon and armour then came into use, or that the use of mail was introduced (see p. 149ff.).

*These self-acting weapons are the Ten Requisites of dMu, the dMu-chas-bcu, with which gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po was equipped by his divine parents, for the definite purpose of making him able to resist and vanquish the evil powers of Mi-yul.* These various self-acting weapons, the rMu-skas, and the two protecting deities, which constitute the Ten Requisites of dMu, are enumerated in the bŚad-mdzod yid-bḥin-nor-bu (see p. 214–15).

A third important element of the myth is the occurrence of the *Yak* or the *Ox*. In the Tun-huang Ms. (sect. IIIa), in his challenge to the subjects, the king refers to the adversary to fight by the designation the *enemy*, dGra, and the *Yak*. In the present connection we shall provisionally call attention to the fact that dGra and Yak were two of the evils of Mi-yul, and that these evils manifested themselves towards gṅNa'-khri-btsan-po as the enemy-aspect of the Srin, in the disguise of a *red Yak*.

The Tun-huang Ms. further relates that Lo-ṅam used *oxen* in the fight, and put *dust* or *ash*, thal, upon their backs. Moreover, the fight took place in the *dust-* or *ash-wood*, Thal-ba-tshal. The versions of dPa'-bo gTsong-lag and the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ narrate that Lo-ṅam, by means of a stratagem, induced the king to place *a sack of dust or ash*, thal, upon the back of a *red Ox*, glaṅ-dmar. The idea of the dust or ash, and the ox, might so far be nothing but a narrative device, but we are obliged to take the following circumstances into consideration.

The Fifth Dalai Lama (70.13v) and the Pakṭa-yā (93.285r) give the following account regarding gṅNam-ri-sroṅ-btsan. The text variants of the latter source are given in parentheses:

Brag-gsum-ldiñ-ma'i mtsho-'gram-nas rta  
 mDo-wa(ba)-cañ-śes brñed(rñed)-par chibs-nas /  
 Phuñ-g'yag Thal-dkar-ru-riñ zes-bya-ba'i 'broñ  
 bsad-pa'i śa sga-la btags-pa sa-la lhuñs-pa  
 (lhuñ-ba)-las tshwa rñed /

He rode the horse *mDo-wa(ba)-cañ-śes* which  
 he got at the shore of the lake *Brag-gsum-ldiñ-ma*.  
 On the saddle he fastened the flesh of the killed  
 wild yak ('broñ) called *Phuñ-g'yag Thal-dkar-ru-*  
*riñ*, and from what fell off upon the earth, he got  
 salt (*tshwa*).

dPa'-bo gTsug-lag gives the same account but in more detail, in his note text (64.12r):

Brag-gsum-diñ-ma'i mtsho-'gram-nas rta  
 Mod-ba-cañ-śes brñed-nas rgyal-po'i chibs-pa  
 byas sBrañ-dga'-bo dañ rMu-dpuñ-riñ bya-ba'i  
 gyad gñis-kyis žabs-tog byas-ste Phuñ-g'yag  
 Thal-ka-ru-riñ bya-ba'i byañ-'broñ smyon-pa  
 bsad-nas śa rta-sga-la btags-pa lhuñ-ba-la tshwa  
 'gos-pa'i bro-ba tshor-bas lan-tshwa ño-śes-ste  
 byañ-gi tshwa len-pa'i srol byuñ skad /

He got the horse *Mod-ba-cañ-śes* at the shore  
 of the lake *Brag-gsum-diñ-ma*. It acted as the  
 king's mount. The two athletes called *sBrañ-*  
*dGa'-bo* and *rMu-dPuñ-riñ* rendered service, and  
 having killed the mad *Byañ-'broñ* (wild yak of  
*Byañ*) called *Phuñ-g'yag Thal-ka-ru-riñ*, he  
 fastened the flesh on the saddle of the horse.  
 He perceived the taste effected by salt in the  
 offal and thus recognized *lan-tshwa* (salt from  
 lakes). This is said to be the beginning of the  
 practise of getting *Byañ-gi-Tshwa* (salt from  
*Byañ-thañ*).

The rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.20r) alludes to the same topic, when briefly stating:

Phuñ-g'yag btul-nas lan-tshwa rñed-pa yin :

Having subdued the *Phuñ-g'yag*, he got *Lan-*  
*tshwa* (salt from lakes).

Chandra Das (149.I.217) gives a more detailed account of this mythical find of salt, but the deeper reason why the idea of the flesh of the wild yak is connected with that of salt, remains without explanation. What may interest us, however, is the designation or name of the wild yak, *Phuñ-g'yag Thal-dkar(ka)-ru-riñ*. *Phuñ* signifies somebody or something that either *means or causes evil*, or *must cease, be destroyed*, etc. In the former sense it applies to various evil and noxious beings, such as the *Phuñ-sri*, the *Phuñ-po'i bDud*, or the demon *Phuñ-gon-nag-po* by whom the Tibetan king *gLañ-Dar-ma* is said to have been possessed. The yak, which is thus either an evil being or one to be destroyed, is named, "Dust(Ash)-white-Horn-long", characterized by the ideas of *thal*, dust or ash, *dkar*, white, and *ru*, horn.

In the version of the myth of *Gri-gum-btsan-po*, given by *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* and the Fifth Dalai Lama, it is told that the sons of the king, when flying to *Koñ-po*, "mounted the ox (*glañ*) that knew how to fly, called *rTe'u-glañ-ru-dkar* (*Ce'u-ru-dkar*), coming from the treasury of the forefathers".

In *Grags-pa Bon-lugs* (see Appendix II, sect. Vt and dd), one of the body-guardians given *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* among the Ten Requisites of *dMu* deriving from the ancestors, *Yab-kyi-duñ*, was *lHa-glañ-ru-dkar* or, as it is called when crushing the red Yak, the enemy-aspect of the *Srin*, *lHa-glañ-ru-dkar-rwa-dkar*.

It seems beyond any doubt that in the last two cases we are dealing with the same mythic being, the *sKu-sruñ* of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*. The term *rTe'u*, which means foal, may be regarded as nothing but a paraphrase, most appropriate to the context, of *Te'u*, *The'u*, or a related term, so that the significance of *rTe'u-glañ-ru-dkar* and *lHa-glañ-ru-dkar* is identical in the same way as *lDe-sras* and *lHa-sras*.

The occurrence of the Yak or the Ox, or both, in the mythic versions of the death of *Gri-gum-btsan-po*, seems therefore to be a reminiscence of the idea of the *red yak* and the *ox with the white horns*, which represent the two adversary powers in the legendry of *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*.

In addition to the three characteristic elements mentioned above, we may call attention to certain features in the version of *dPa'-bo gTsug-lag* and the *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ*. By his stratagem *Lo-ñam*



gets the king to wear a black, silken turban and a mirror fastened to his forehead. This attire, of which only the mirror seems to have a function in the devious design of the minister, reminds us remarkably of the attire of the Asiatic shaman, and may in itself be the reminiscence of a particular form of the myth, in which the king appears in the fight in the role of a shaman.<sup>12</sup> To the shaman-like attire is further added the dead fox and the dead dog on his shoulders, which serve to drive away the two protecting deities, the dGra-lha and the Pho-lha. As far as we know, these two deities conceived as particular personal protecting deities, belong to a later religious concept than that which formed the original background for the myth.<sup>13</sup> The idea of them closely corresponds, however, to that of the two sKu-sruñ, who served as protecting deities of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.

From the presentation of these characteristic elements and features in the accounts of Gri-gum-btsan-po's fight, it becomes evident that there exists *some very close relationship between the myth of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's appearance and fight with the red yak and that of Gri-gum-btsan-po's fight with Lo-ñam*. Where the latter king's miraculous weapon, and where the yak and the ox are concerned, we are even dealing with ideas that seem to apply specifically to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.

The close relationship between the two myths consists, however, in *the identity of the individual characteristic elements from which the myth is composed*, while the myths themselves represent *two inverse processes*. The myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po represents, in fact, the opposite or negative of that of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. While the latter king acquires the weapon and the protecting deities, and by their effect becomes victor and establishes his kingdom, Gri-gum-btsan-po, though king and possessing these means, loses life and kingdom, because these very means are made inactive.

The deeper significance of the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's death is to be found in its relation to the myth of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, but the understanding of it preliminarily provides an explanation as to why the relationship between the two myths is possible, especially when considering that Gri-gum-btsan-po represents no aspect of the progenitor king corresponding to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.

In various ways it has appeared that the Tibetan kings were conceived as the successive incarnations of the ancestor, and that each of them therefore possessed his divine essence. We are, however, going to show, in a study to be published separately, that *the ritual instalment of a Tibetan king*, to which we have already alluded when stating that a special, sacral name was bestowed upon him at his accession to the throne, was actually *a ritual act by which the mythic and mystic events connected with the appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, and the ancestor's fight with the red yak were performed*. In this act, the rMu-chas, the various miraculous weapons and requisites which represented the divine regalia, symbolizing his divine and royal status, were presented to him, and he had to perform, at any rate symbolically, the fight with the yak. For this reason the fundamental elements of the origin myth of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po according to Bon-po tradition, apply to each of the succeeding kings of the Dynasty.

The accession to the throne took place when the legitimate successor, the son of the ruling king reached the age of maturity. Therefore the space of time within which any king actually possessed the sacral status of lHa-sras, and incarnated the divine, ancestral essence, was confined to the period between his own age of maturity and the moment when his heir attained maturity. A king's time as a bTsan-po therefore expired only with natural death or with death in war, if he died when his heir was still a minor.

This limitation of the king's reign to the maturity age of the heir to the throne appears already from the mythic formulation applying to the Seven Celestial Khri (see p. 119), that the father went away to Heaven by the rMu-thag, vanished into Heaven like a rainbow, when his son was able to mount a horse, or to master the bridle. The same statement is given by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.6v), as mentioned by G. Tucci who has particularly called attention to the problem of maturity age of the heir, and its significance with regard to the succession (196.198 ff.).

As emphasized by G. Tucci, thirteen years may be regarded as the maturity age of the heir, and the rule of succession at the age of thirteen, reckoned according to the Tibetan concept of age,<sup>14</sup> seems to have been a strictly observed rule in ancient time. Although the kings in historical time, when their general status more and more became that of a secular sovereign, more or less dispensed, or tried to dispense, with the rule, it still clearly manifestates its validity on various occasions.

In historical time, the eldest son of the king was the legitimate heir to the throne, although there seems to have existed some restrictions with regard to the rank or origin of the mother. Therefore the lifespan of a king in extreme cases might expire already at an age of twenty-five years according to our concept of age. This might quite naturally lead to infanticide or to such exposure of the eldest son as to cause his death, and undoubtedly did so. In this connection it may be worth notice that in the later time of the Dynasty, when the breach between the royal house and the Bon-po became more and more pronounced, both the eldest son of Mes-ag-tshoms and that of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan died as minors, and that both kings were themselves murdered, the former one when the next heir reached maturity, the latter one not until the next heir had passed long beyond it. Moreover, Mes-ag-tshoms was appointed heir when only a newborn child, in spite of the fact that he had at least one elder brother of about seven years. The Tibetan constitutional tradition actually foresaw the possibility of infanticide, and took measures against it from the very beginning, above all by the institution of the *Žaň-blon* (see p. 165 ff.), by which the care of the heir, and the government power if the king died when the heir was still a minor, lay in the hands of the maternal relatives, above all the maternal uncle, the *Žaň*. On the other side, the constitutional tradition provided counter measures to guard the king against violent death before the maturity age of the heir (see p. 346).

In this connection we may, however, point out that it is questionable whether the eldest son was originally or generally considered the heir and successor of the Tibetan kings or minor princes. Certain facts seem, indeed, to indicate that *the youngest son was originally regarded as heir and successor*. Thus the representations of the theogony to a remarkable degree allow the lineages to continue through the youngest son or representative of the generation, and it is equally remarkable, though not conclusive, that the Buddhist traditions of the origin of the Dynasty consequently derive the royal lineage from the youngest son of some Indian king. Far the most significant is, however, the fact that the tradition of the ancestor of the Dynasty, as stated in the Koñ-po inscription (see p. 154), leads the lineage of lHa-sras or the Yar-luñ kings back to Śa-khyi, the youngest son of Gri-gum-btsan-po.

In the mythic versions mentioned above, it is said that the father “went to Heaven” (dguñ-du gšegs-so or nam-mkha’ gšegs-so), but in the records of the Tibetan kings, the expression “went to Heaven” is a commonly used idiom signifying that the king “died”. As expressed by G. Tucci (196.198ff.), this term signifies that, at the maturity age of the son, “the father dies, that is, is presumably eliminated”.

If the Tibetan kings escaped suffering a natural death or dying in warfare, they were actually destined to die when their heir reached thirteen years, and we must regard *ritual regicide as originally a normal fate of the king*. The astounding number of historical kings who were murdered shows the persevering maintenance of the constitutional right to commit regicide, and the justification of it, even if it is committed much later than originally prescribed. It is a characteristic occurrence that the murders of Mes-ag-tshoms and Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan were committed by the Bon-po party, and committed at times when it acquired a temporary political power and supremacy over the royal house.

We have mentioned above that the regicide may be self-inflicted, i.e. *suicide*, and we may here add that *the suicide may have a sacral nature and be premature with regard to the expiration of the period of the reign*, in the same way as *ritual regicide may be prematurely committed*. A discussion of the various indications which the Tibetan sources give us with regard to these forms of regicide, may finally lead us to the significance to be found in the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po’s death.

Certain Tibetan sources give an account that is remarkable in several respects and relates of a semi-historical king’s suicide for sacral reasons, and apparently premature death in relation to the question of succession. The king is ’Bro-gñan-lde’u (no. 30), the great grandfather of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, who, together with his queen, allowed himself to be buried alive.

In this regard the rGyal-po bka’i-thaň-yig (37.45r) relates quite shortly:

rGyal-po ’Broñ-gñan-lde-ru-yi :  
sKu-la sñun-nad byuň-ba’i dus :  
Žaň-phu’i-mda’-ru baň-so brtsigs :

At the time when sickness arose  
In the body of King ’Broñ-gñan-lde-ru,  
A mound was built in Žaň-phu’i-mda’.

and Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje (see 195.2) further relates of this mound and tomb:

The tomb of 'Broñ-gñan-lde-ru was built in *Žañ-mda'*; in the tomb / the king and three living subjects were hidden; this is known as / the mound where the living men have been killed.

The bSad-mdzod yid-bžin-nor-bu (57.34v) adds the following details:

'Broñ-sñan-lde-ru / de bsñun-gyi bsñun-nas / dpon-g'yog bdun son-por bañ-sor gšegs-so / De'i bsras gSum-dgu-bsñan-gzigs / De-la yab-kyi grib 'phog-nas spyān mun-lo(ñ)-du byuñ-ba yin-te / dko(n-mch)og-la bsol-ba btab-pas spyān byuñ / Ri rTag-gu'i logs-la bsem(s-ca)n gñan byuñ-ba zigs-nas / mtshan yañ sTag-dgu-rñan-gzigs-su brtags(-s)o /

'Broñ-sñan-lde-ru. He fell ill, and the seven dpon-g'yog went into the mound alive. His son was gSum-dgu-bsñan-gzigs. He was stricken by his father's contamination (or shadow), and got his eyes blinded by *Mu* (was born blind). He implored the dKon-mchog, and got eyes. At the side of the mountain rTag-gu he saw that there was a bSems-can gñan.<sup>15</sup> Then he also got the name sTag-dgu-rñan-gzigs.

The Deb-ther dmar-po (51.16v) briefly relates:

De'i sras 'Bro-gñan-lde'u / De-la mdze byuñ-bas gson-por dur-du žugs / De'i sras dmus-loñ cigig yod-pa mig phye-bas / sTag-mo'i ri-la gñan 'gro-ba gzigs-te / sTag-ri-gñan-gzigsu btags /

His son was 'Bro-gñan-lde'u. Because he got leprosy, he entered the grave alive. His son was a dmus-loñ (blind by birth). When his eyes were opened he saw a gñan walking on the mountain of the sTag-mo, and was named sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs.

While these records are rather brief, the accounts to be found in the orthodox Buddhist sources with regard to the circumstances connected with the death and burial of 'Bro-gñan-lde'u, are given in much more detail. This occurrence is so much more strange as the Buddhist sources are otherwise particularly short or taciturn, where features of death and burial belonging to pre-Buddhist religion and rites are concerned, but the reason for the exuberance of details given by the Buddhist sources is connected with the dKon-mchog as will appear from the following quotations.

In the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (58.27r-v; 60.67v-68v) the account reads:

De'i sras 'Broñ-sñan-lde'u / rGyal-po des Dags-po'i yul-nas / 'Chims-za kLu-rgyal bya-ba'i btsun-mo cig blañs-pa-la / sras smus-loñ cig 'khuñs-pas / miñ kyañ sMus-loñ-dkon-pa-bkra žes grags-so /

His son was 'Broñ-sñan-lde'u. That king took a queen named 'Chims-za kLu-rgyal from the country of Dags-po. The son born to them was a dmus-loñ (blind); therefore he is known as sMus-loñ-dkon-pa-bkra.

'Chims-za kLu-rgyal de / dañ-po šin-tu-mtshar-ba žig yod-pa-la / rtiñ-du sño-la-rid-pa byuñ-bas / rGyal-po'i žal-nas / Khyod dañ-po šin-tu-mtshar-ba cig yod-pa-la / na-ba ni min 'di-'dra yoñ-ba ci yin gsuñs-pas / Ņa-rañ-gi yul-na zas cig yod-pa de / 'di-ru med-pas lan<sup>17</sup>-pa 'dra zer-bas /

At first this 'Chims-za kLu-rgyal was very beautiful, but later she became sño-la-rid-pa.<sup>16</sup> Therefore the king said: "At first you were very beautiful. You are not sick. How has this happened?" "It seems to be because I cannot get the food which is found in my own country, but is not to be found here," she answered.

rGyal-po'i žal-nas / 'O-na zas de cis kyañ lon-la zo gsuñs-pas / Der g'yog-mo dam-pa cig zas de len-pa-la btañ-bas / der mos sbal-pa'i ro mañ-po mar-gyis rtsos-te / khal mañ-po blañs byuñ-bas / De-rnams mdzod-du sbas / Mi ma-

Then the king said: "Well, whatever that food may be, get it and eat it!" She sent a favourite maid there to fetch this food, and many bodies of frogs venerated there were cooked in butter, so that she got many khal.<sup>16</sup>

mthoñ-ba-byas-śiñ lkog-tu zos-pas / śa khrag  
sñar-bzin rgyas-śiñ 'od-dañ-ldan-pa byuñ-ba  
dañ / rgyal-pos thugs-la / Zas-de yon-tan-can  
cig 'dug-pa-la / Ņas kyañ za-dgos bsam-ste /

bTsun-mo med-pa'i śul-du lde-chab-kyis sgo  
phye-nas nañ-du byon-pa dañ / mdzod nañ-na /  
sbal-pa'i ro mañ-po mar-gyis rtsos-pa'i skyal-pa  
mañ-po 'dug-nas / rNam-tog skyes-te / rgyal-po-  
la sñuñ-du mdze byuñ-ño /

De-nas rgyal-po yab-yum-gñis-kha gson-por  
bañ-sor žugs-nas / sras-la žal-chems bśag-pa ni /  
Yab-mes-kyi Thugs-dam sŅen-po-gsañ-ba-la  
mchod-pa bgyis / 'A-ca'i yul-nas sman-pa bos-  
la / mig phye-nas rgyal-srid bzuñ-cig gsuñ-ño /

'Broñ-sñan-lde'u'i bañ-so Žaň-'dar brtsigs /  
Bañ-so'i miñ kyañ gSon-chad-zlum-por grags /  
ces-so /

De-nas sMus-loñ-dkon-pa-bkras / sŅen-po-  
gsaň-ba-la mchod phul-žin mos-gus-byas / sMan-  
pa bos-nas mig phye-bas / sKyid-śod sTag-gi-ri-  
la sñan 'gro-ba gzigs-pas-na / mtshan yaň sTag-  
ri-sñan-gzigs žes grags-so /

dPa'-bo gTsug-lag relates the following account partly in his main text, partly in his note text (64.11r-v):

/ De-nas rgyal-po 'Broñ-gñan-lde-ru-ste /  
/ rTog-ba'i-nad-kyis sku-la bsñun 'dze byuñ /

/ Dags-po-nas mChims-za kLu-rgyal bya-ba  
mdzes-pa cig khab-tu-bžes / Physis mi-mdzes-par-  
gyur-nas rgyu dris-pas Ņa-raň-gi yul-na zas cig  
yod-pa-de med-pas lan-nam zer-nas len bcug-  
pas g'yog-mos sbal-pa mar btsos mañ-du bslañs-  
ste mdzod-tu sbra-nas zos-pas mdzes-par-gyur-  
nas rgyal-pos Ņa-raň-yaň bza'o sñam-nas lde-  
tshab-kyis sgo phye-bas sbal-ro mthoñ-bas  
rtog-pa zos-ste bsñun-nad byuñ /

De-dus Bod gžan-na ña mi-za-bar Dags-po  
sbal-zan-gyi yul žes de-na ña za-žin ña-la sbal-  
par grags-pa yin skad /

Dags-mo'i sras dmus-loñ žig bltams-pa-la  
Khyod 'A-ža'i yul-nas sman-pa bos-la mig phye-

She hid them in a storeroom. When people were not looking, she secretly ate them, and her flesh and blood developed as before and became radiant. The king thought, "This food certainly is excellent. I want to eat some of it."

When the queen was not present, he opened the door with a key and went inside, and in the storeroom was placed a great many *skyel-pa*<sup>19</sup> with a lot of frogs' bodies cooked in butter. He became *rnam-rtog*, and fell ill with leprosy.

Then both the royal father and mother entered the mound alive, and the king left his son a last will saying: "You shall offer to the *sŅen-po-gsaň-ba*, the *Thugs-dam* of the forefather. You shall call the *sman-pa*<sup>20</sup> from the country of 'A-ca, and when your eyes have been opened, you shall take the royal authority!"

The mound of 'Broñ-sñan-lde-u was built in Žaň-'da'. The name of the mound is told to have been known as *gSon-chad-zlum-po* (the round tomb of the living men).

Then *sMus-loñ-dkon-pa-bkra* brought offerings to *sŅen-po-gsaň-ba* and payed it respectful devotion. He called the *sman-pa*, and his eyes were opened. He saw a *sŅan* walking on *sTag-gi-ri* in *sKyid-śod*, and therefore his name is also known as *sTag-ri-sñan-gzigs*.

Then King 'Broñ-gñan-lde-ru.

He fell ill with the *rTog-ba* illness, and leprosy appeared.

He married a beautiful one called *mChims-za kLu-rgyal* from *Dags-po*. Later she became ugly and when he asked for the reason, she answered: "Because in my own country there is some food which is not here. How can I get it?" He ordered it brought, and a maid cooked frogs in butter and collected many of them and stacked<sup>21</sup> them in a storeroom. Eating them, she became beautiful, and the king thought, "I will also eat." With a key he opened the door, looked and examined, ate, fell ill, and the disease appeared.

At that time fish was not eaten in other parts of Tibet, but in *Dags-po*, called the "Country of Frog-Eating", fish was eaten, and fish were reputed to be frogs.

The son of the woman from *Dags-po*, a *dmus-loñ* (blind one), was born. "You shall call a

la rgyal-sa gyis / Mig ma-byuñ-ba'am gduñ  
 chad-pa 'dra-na Sum-pa'i yul-na Bon-po'i chuñ-  
 ma rGya-mo-rgya-lcam bya-ba-la Ña'i bu Sum-  
 ri-riñ-po bya-ba yod bos-la khyod-rañ gśegs  
 rdzu thob-la rgyal-sar chug zer-nas Yab-yum-  
 gñis blon-po sÑags-Thañ-pa-yar-rje dañ-bcas-  
 pa gduñ-brgyud-la sñun mi-'byuñ-ba'i phyir  
 gson-por dur-du žugs skad /

Mi-chos rtog-pas phuñ-gis rtog-pa bskyuñs /

/ bZañ-po'i gros ni bdud-rtsi yin-gyis ñon /  
 / Ñan-pa-rnams kyañ me dañ-'dra-bar gsos /  
 / rGyal-srid zuñ žes sras-la žal-chems mdzad /  
 / rJe-'bañs-gsum ni gson-bžin bañ-sor gśegs /  
 Žañ-mda'i bañ-so gSon-mchad-zlum-por  
 grags /  
 / lHa-sras dMus-loñ-bkon-pa-bkra de-yis /  
 / gÑan-po-gsañ-ba mchod-pa'i byin-rlabs dañ /  
 / 'A-ža'i-yul-gyi sman-pas spyan phye-ste /  
 / sTag-mo'i-ri-la ri-dags gñan gzig-pas /  
 / mTshan yañ sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs btsan-du-  
 thogs /

The version of the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.13r-v), with the variants of the Pakṭa-yā (93.284v-285r) in parentheses, reads as follows:

De dañ 'Broñ-bza' Mo-dur-yañs(yañ)-gžer-  
 la sras 'Gro-gñan(gñen)-lde'u-ste bTsun-mo  
 mChims-bza' kLu-rgyal-ñan-bu-mtsho Khab-tu  
 bžes-pas De klu'i-rigs yin-pas sbal-pa'i-ro mar  
 khur btsos-pa'i tha(za)-ma'i-rigs mdzod-phugs-  
 su(phug-tu) bžag(-pa) gzig-pas rnam-par-rtog-  
 pa'i dbañ-du-gyur-nas sñun-du klu-nad-kyis  
 thebs-śiñ Sras kyañ dmus-loñ žig byuñ-bas miñ  
 dMus-loñ-dkon-pa(pha)-bkra žes btags-pa-la  
 Žal-chems-su /

bSam-pa bzañ-po gser dañ-'dra-ba-ste (/)  
 (/) bZañ-po'i gros ni bdud-rtsi yin žes ñon (/)  
 (/) Ñan-pa-rnams kyañ me dañ-'dra bsags-so  
 ('dra-bas gsos /)  
 (/) Mi-chos rtog(s)-pa yin-gyi rnam-rtog skyuñs/

*sman-pa* from the 'A-ža country! He shall open  
 the eyes! You shall act on the throne! If the  
 eyes are not opened, the lineage will cease! If it  
 is so, you shall call my own son named *Sum-ri-  
 riñ-po* staying with *rGya-mo-rgya-lcam*, the wife of  
 a *Bon-po*, in the country of *Sum-pa*. Go yourself,  
 obtain the miracle and be placed on the throne!"  
 Then the father and the mother, these two, to-  
 gether with the minister *sÑags Thañ-pa-rje* en-  
 tered the grave alive, so that no disease should  
 appear in the lineage, it is told.

"By perceiving what is *mi-chos*,<sup>22</sup> the per-  
 ception based on degeneration can be removed.  
 Because good counsel is a nectar, listen to it!  
 Evil things can be removed like fire!  
 Take the throne!" So he made the last will to the  
 son.

*rJe* and '*Bañs*, the three, went into the mound alive.  
 The mound in *Žañ-mda'* is known as *gSon-  
 mchad-zlum-po*.

*lHa-sras dMus-loñ-bkon-pa-bkra*  
 Offered to *gÑan-po-gsañ-ba*, and through this  
 blessing and

By a *sman-pa* from the 'A-ža country, his eyes  
 were opened.

Because he saw a wild animal, a *gÑan*, on the  
 mountain of *sTag-mo*,

He received the name *sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs* as  
*bTsan-po*.

His and '*Broñ-bza'* *Mo-dur-yañs-gžer's* son  
 was '*Gro-gñan-lde'u*. He married *bTsun-mo  
 mChims-bza'* *kLu-rgyal-ñan-bu-mtsho*. She was  
 of the family of *kLu*, and therefore she cooked  
 frogs' bodies in butter as food, and put them  
 aside in a storeroom. By seeing this, the king was  
 overpowered by *rnam-par-rtog-pa* and fell ill  
 with the *kLu*-disease. Even his son became a  
*dmus-loñ* (blind), and got the name *dMus-loñ-  
 dkon-pa-bkra*. (The king) said in (his) last will  
 (to the son):

"Good thoughts are like gold.  
 Good counsel is a nectar. Listen to it!  
 Evil things can be hoarded up like fire (can be  
 removed like fire)!  
 By the perception of what is *mi-chos*, *rnam-  
 rtog* can be removed.

Khyod yab-mes-kyi gÑan-po-gsañ-bar  
 mchod-pa-gyis / 'A-ža'i yul-nas sman-pa bos-la  
 mig phye / Mig ma-byuñ-na Sum-pa'i yul-na  
 Bon-po žig-gi chuñ-ma rGya-mo-rgya-lcam bya-  
 ba-la nub-(g)cig 'grogs-pa'i Śag-mo-tsam-pa-la  
 skeyes-pa'i (bu) Sum-ri-riñ-mo bya-ba yod-pas de  
 bos-la gcen chol rgyal-sar chug gsuñs-nas Bañ-  
 so Žañ-mdar (Žiñ-mdar) brtsigs-par yab-yum  
 gson-por bžugs skad-do //

De-nas sras-kyis yab-kyi gsuñ bžin byas-pas  
 mig bye-ste / sKyid-śod sTag-mo-ri-la gñan 'dug-  
 pa gzigs-pas sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs-su grags /

The Buddhist versions give particular emphasis to the cause of the illness which fell upon the king and his son, the heir to the throne, and to the means by which the son recovered from his blindness, because a primary triumph to the propagation of the Buddhist Doctrine in Tibet is to be seen in these events.

The king, who had taken a queen originating from the family of the kLu, was taken ill with the kLu-nad, mDze or 'Dze, leprosy. Besides leprosy he also fell ill with the disease (nad) of rtog-pa, rnam-rtog or rnam-par-rtog-pa. In the connections where this term occurs in the texts it may be conceived as disgust, thus meaning that he fell ill from disgust. But another meaning may be hidden behind this term. rTog-pa and rnam(-par)-rtog(-pa) also means unreal conclusions, aberrations of the mind, and may thus indicate that the king fell ill from some sickness which caused mental disturbance. This mental condition may be indicated by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag in the above quotation, where the king first rtog-pa and then zos, ate, having seen the frogs' bodies in the storeroom. If this is so, then the reason for the king's entering the tomb alive is the same which is behind the fight between King Gri-gum-btsan-po and Lo-ñam.

The son was born blind, dMus-loñ or "blinded by dMu". The recovery of the eyes was due to the offerings to gÑan-po-gsañ-ba, on the advice of his father. gÑan-po-gsañ-ba, gÑen-po-gsañ-ba, or variants, literally meaning "the Secret (Mystic) Helper", was the name given to the Buddhist treasure which during the reign of King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, the grandfather of 'Bro-gñan-lde'u, fell from above upon the roof of the castle Yum-bu-bla-gsañ, at the same time as a voice from above prophesied that the significance of them would be understood in the fifth generation to come.

Though ignorant of the significance of the gÑan-po-gsañ-ba, the king advised his son to worship it, and this faith in the holy symbols of the Doctrine means the beginning, though still unconscious recognition of it. The recovery of the heir to the throne demonstrates the supremacy of the Doctrine, of the dKon-mchog(-gsum), the Three Jewels, because his recovery, which means the continuation of the royal line, happens according to the will and intent of the Supreme Being that the Chos-rgyal of Tibet shall be born in the lineage of lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan and inaugurate the spread of Buddhism.

To us, at the present stage of our study, the essential importance of these accounts is to be found in the facts that the king resigned and took his own life because of the physical defect caused by the leprosy, and that the recovery of the heir's eyes was the condition for his accession to the throne. Foreseeing that the son might not recover, the king instructed his son as to the appointment of a successor, whom the son was to regard as an elder brother. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag even described him as the king's own son.

The features concerning the burial of the king and his companions alive, which form the main topic

You shall offer to the gÑan-po-gsañ-ba of the forefather! Invite the sman-pa from the 'A-ža country and your eyes shall be opened! If your eyes are not opened, you shall call one called Sum-ri-riñ-mo, (a son) born to Śag-mo-tsam-pa who one evening had intercourse with rGya-mo-rgya-lcam, the wife of a Bon-po in the Sum-pa country! Appoint him elder brother! Place him on the throne!" (Thus the king) said and the father and mother entered alive the mound built in Žañ-mda'. This is told.

Then the son acted in accordance with what his father said, and his eyes were opened. He saw a gÑan standing on the sTag-mo mountain in sKyid-śod, and is therefore known as sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs.

of the shorter versions, present an important contribution to the study of the customs applying to the burial of the Tibetan kings, and will be discussed later in this chapter.

The legend of 'Bro-gñan-lde'u and his son indicates that *a prince who by birth and age was the legitimate heir to the throne, but suffers from a physical defect, could not be king*. It moreover indicates that *a king, who became ill from severe physical defect, such as leprosy, during his reign was disqualified as a king, and was obliged to resign, which meant to die*.

In historical times we find several cases where for various reasons the ordinarily legitimate heir to the throne is disqualified in favour of a younger brother.

When Mu-ne-btsan-po, the eldest living son of King Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, died, the brother next of age was Mu-rug-btsan-po; but nevertheless the youngest brother, Mu-tig-btsan-po, became king as Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan (Sad-na-legs). The reasons why Mu-rug-btsan-po was passed over are given in apparently different ways by Buddhist and Bon-po sources. The former sources refer to the fact that Mu-rug-btsan-po had shortly before killed, or murdered, the son 'U-riñs of the powerful chief minister Žañ rGyal-tshan lHa-snañ, and had been punished with banishment to the northern frontier. In the latter sources it is said that his accession to the throne was found inauspicious, and a certain deeper significance with regard to the state of the prince may possibly be ascribed to this statement, because the events took place at a time when the Bon-po party had the power, and Mu-rug-btsan-po, himself a Bon-po partisan, was still substituted with the younger brother who was a fervent Buddhist (see 157). Reasons deeper than the murder of 'U-riñs seem to have separated him from the royalty, although for some years he seems to have possessed the actual power of a king.

On the death of Sad-na-legs, the two eldest sons, gTsañ-ma and gLañ-Dar-ma, were both passed over in favour of the youngest son Ral-pa-can. gTsañ-ma was apparently disqualified for reasons of his own, because he had a Buddhist initiation. Nevertheless he seems to have acted for several years in the actual capacity of king, being on various occasions even named Khri gTsañ-ma. What really took place seems to have been that gTsañ-ma, as a Buddhist monk, waived his right to the throne, but took the actual government into his hands on behalf of his younger brother Ral-pa-can, who was, or became, incapable of exercising it. At the same time gTsañ-ma for many years, until he was poisoned, protected the king against the fate which had long been intended for him by the Bon-po.

gLañ-Dar-ma was disqualified because of physical and mental defects. In his Bod-kyi-rgyal-rabs, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan relates (193.311), "gLañ-Dar-ma was not elected king, because he had the head of a monkey (or a dragon) and was ugly and foolish."

A disqualified heir presented a natural menace to the prevailing regime, because, one way or another, he might not have given up his claim to the throne and the royal power. gTsañ-ma and Mu-rug-btsan-po got the real power beside a shadow king for a while, but both of them were murdered. gLañ-Dar-ma succeeded in seizing both the power and the throne, but after a short reign he also was murdered.

Although a considerable number of the historical kings were murdered, the question of physical or mental defects seems to occur only in one case, that of Ral-pa-can. The Tibetan sources, even the Buddhist ones, state more or less openly that King Ral-pa-can was insane or mentally incapable of being king. The Fifth Dalai Lama narrates (70.44v) that he was insane; in the Thob-yig gsal-ba'i-me-loñ it is said (120.IV.195r) that he was bewitched, bkoñs; the Index to the sNar-thañ Tanjur (92.11v) relates, however, more explicitly:

... bstan-'gro'i / phan-bde spel kyañ yid srubs-  
sde bcas sñiñ-gi zug gzer-la brten blon-pos so-  
drug-par rkyen dbañ-du-btañ-nas gcen gLañ-Dar-  
ma 'U-dum-btsan rgyal-sar bskos-pas ...

... although there was increasing happiness  
for the faithful, he was, by his ministers in his  
thirty-sixth year of age forcibly substituted on the  
throne by his elder brother *gLañ-Dar-ma 'U-dum-  
btsan*, because his mind was split, and his dispo-  
sition was suffering from distemper ...

The murder of Ral-pa-can must at one and the same time be regarded as a political and a religious act. In the inner events in Tibet during the era of the Yar-luñ kings it is difficult, and often impos-

sible, to make any sharp distinction between politics and religion, and towards the end of the Dynasty, when the royal lineage showed a rapidly increasing decadence, and the fight between the two religions and their adherents drew near its climax, all means seem to have been found justifiable, political ones for religious reasons, and inversely. These conditions explain why the mental defect might be used as a religious, constitutional pretext and as justification for wringing the neck of Ral-pa-can, and why gLañ-Dar-ma, though disqualified from a religious and constitutional point of view, might for political reasons be installed as king instead of his insane brother.

From mythical and historical evidence it thus appears that *the reign of the Tibetan king was limited to the moment when his (eldest) son or heir reached the age of maturity*, and that the religious and constitutional rules contained the fundamental demand that *the person of the king should remain sound of body and mind. When he reached the limit of his reign, or he failed to meet the demand of physical and mental sanity, he had to die*. In historical time and particularly under the increasing influence of Buddhism, the royal family attempted more or less to neglect these ancient rules of constitution, in most cases, however, with a fatal result, and to the very end of the Dynasty these ancient rules were maintained in principle by the Bon-po, and when possible exercised in practise.

For all their severity, these two fundamental rules seem well-founded from two points of view. To the religious conception of the sacral origin and nature of the king, the demand of complete soundness of the individual king, in whom the divine essence of the ancestor was to be incarnated, would be a natural condition, and with regard to the perpetuation of the royal lineage, and a sound lineage, either of the rules presented a certain guarantee.

The idea and demand of mental sanity has hitherto hardly been exemplified, because the circumstances connected with the death of Ral-pa-can have not been fully realized, owing to the fact that no systematical and exhaustive study of the sources has as yet been attempted. The case of Ral-pa-can is the only one where, in historical time, the question of mental sanity is involved, but as a unique case its importance is somewhat lessened, when the general background of the events is considered. Therefore the mythic case of Gri-gum-btsan-po deserves so much more attention.

In spite of all modifications of the myth, which without particular comments are immediately apparent from the various versions, the fundamental motive for Gri-gum-btsan-po's death was his unsoundness of mind. The king died by Lo-ñam's hands, and we are accustomed to conceive his death as the result of a fight with the minister, in which the king was outmatched by the minister. This idea of a fight between the king and his minister has quite clearly been introduced in the later modifications of the myth, while the version of the Tun-huang Ms makes it most questionable whether the king took any active part in a fight in the original formulation of the myth.

We have already pointed out that the events concerning Gri-gum-btsan-po's death form a negative of the events connected with the arrival and installation of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and, in a further sense, with the ritual installment of any bTsan-po. The most characteristic feature of the myth is the fact that the king, either by device or by voluntary release, was bereft of the miraculous weapons which were the symbols of his divine and royal status. By this deprivation of the weapons, the cutting of the dMu-thag, and the pacification of his protecting deities, the king was in the widest sense deprived of his royal status before he was killed.

At a ritual regicide, this preceding deprivation of the royal symbols would, so far, be quite natural as a king's own resignation of the power to his son, before he "went to Heaven". Less obvious, however, is that *the idea of the ritual fight with the yak is clearly implied by various features of the myth*. This implication seems only to make sense under the circumstances of the myth, either if the king was supposed to perform this fight as a final act *before acceding to the throne*, or this ritual fight was *re-performed during the reign of a bTsan-po*. Moreover, the introduction of the fight with the yak in the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's death seems quite irrelevant, or at any rate without any immediate connection with the king's death, unless the real significance of the myth may have been that *the king flinched from the demand of the ritual fight with the yak, and challenged his subjects, or Lo-ñam, to perform it*.



The later versions of the myth give us the general impression that the king personally challenged the minister to fight him, and this interpretation may still be compatible with the deprivation of the weapons, but it is absolutely incompatible with the idea of the fight with the yak. The only version which deviates in essential points from the later ones, and to some extent may give a more or less clear reflection of the original significance of the myth, is that of the Tun-huang Ms (Appendix I). In this version, the idea of the enemy and the yak is implied without personal connection with Lo-nam, who in the later versions represents the adversary, and therefore the enemy of the king. The crucial passage of the Tun-huang Ms is that containing the king's challenge (Appendix I, sect. IIIa), but it is so ambiguously formulated that it permits us to refer the subject to both the first and the second persons. In our translation in Appendix I, has been used the first person but it is perfectly justifiable to use the second person, as used by Bacot and Toussaint in the French translation of the text; but the two editors, apparently under influence of the later versions of the myth, have interpreted the text in the sense that the king challenged the subjects to fight him as the enemy and the yak, thus exceeding the actual significance of the text. Using the second person, we get the following meaning out of the passage: "Can you fight the Enemy? Are you equal in prudence to the Yak?" where the undertone of the words may be both challenging, instigating and imploring. The king's discontent with the answer in the negative, and Lo-nam's final promise, seems to indicate that the king on no account wanted to fight with the Enemy and the Yak himself.

This interpretation is in all respects compatible with the further events of the myth. It even gives a natural explanation why Lo-nam demands the king's weapon, and why the king immediately complies with this demand. The text therefore fully permits an interpretation according to which *the king was killed for the fundamental reason that he was unsound of mind, and the direct cause was his refusal to discharge his obligation to perform the fight with the yak*. The question remains, however, on which occasion the ritual fight was supposed to take place.

The former of the two alternatives given above, that it might be immediately before the accession to the throne, might be acceptable, if the tradition as a whole did not give us the impression that Grigum-btsan-po was an actually reigning king before he was killed. The second alternative presupposes, however, a re-performing of the rite during the reign of the king, after he had been installed as bTsan-po. The Tibetan sources give us no information whatever in this regard, in agreement with their systematic avoidance of all subjects of this kind, but certain features mentioned by the T'ang Annals, in their general accounts of Tibet and the Tibetans, may possibly present a relevant explanation.

The Chiu T'ang-shu relates (213.196A.1v9-2r5):

Once a year they make a lesser covenant (of fealty), slaughtering for sacrificing sheep, dogs, and monkeys. At first they break their legs and kill them, and then they proceed to rip open their bowels and quarter them. When the *wu* (shaman) has been summoned, he conjures the *shên* (spirits) of heaven and earth, of mountains and valleys, of sun and moon, and of stars and planets, pronouncing: "If your hearts should change and become mutinous, if you should cherish thoughts of deceit, or be wavering, may the spirits then scrutinize you just as these sheep and dogs!"

Every third year they make a greater covenant (of fealty). By night they arrange upon an altar all kinds of sacrificial meals from savoury meat, killing dogs, horses, oxen, and donkeys as sacrificial animals to protect our home (*chia*),<sup>23</sup> considering that the spirits of heaven and earth will know altogether if you intend to break this oath, and will, indeed, make your own bodies be butchered and ripped open in the same way as these sacrificial animals!"

To almost the same effect, the T'ang-shu (220.216A.2r4-6) relates:

Once a year the *bTsan-po* and his *ch'ên* (subjects, ministers)<sup>24</sup> make a lesser covenant (of fealty), using sheep, dogs, and monkeys as sacrificial animals.

Every third year they make a greater covenant (of fealty). At night they arrange offer-meals of meat all over an altar, using men,<sup>25</sup> horses, oxen, and donkeys as sacrifices. All the victims must

be arranged there with their legs broken and their bowels ripped open, before they make the shaman conjure the spirits, saying: "May he who retracts his oath be like these sacrificial animals!"

The performance of the triennial oath of fealty might naturally demand a certain reciprocity between king and subjects, when the real status of the ancient Tibetan kings is considered. When using the term "king" of the bTsan-po, we may be inclined to conceive the Tibetan ruler of yore according to our inherited concept of king and royalty, but this concept cannot be immediately applied to the ancient Tibetan rulers. The bTsan-po was, in fact, an official of the realm, whose power had its clear limitations, and we may in this regard quote G. Tucci (196.197): "The power of the king was limited by the control of the shamans and by the jealous intervention of the feudal nobility, subject to the yoke of customs, which, while exalting—as we shall see—their sacred majesty, reduced in practise their authority. . . . . a nobility ready to rebel whenever an occasion offered itself, willing to recognize in the kin only a *primus inter pares*, or else a sacred but inert symbol."

The status of the ancient Tibetan king was above all of a sacral, and much less of a secular nature. From a political point of view, the highest importance of the bTsan-po seems to be found in his temporary, outward exercise of his particular prerogative, the chab-srid, i.e. when personifying the realm and exercising outwardly the power of the realm.<sup>28</sup> Under these conditions his status came closest to that of a sovereign king, while under normal conditions he was dependent on the hierarchy and the nobility. In this regard it is characteristic that, until the latest time of the Dynasty when Buddhist influence was strongly increasing, the Tibetan king was never mentioned by the general title of secular ruler or sovereign, rGyal-po. In the later time he was rJe, or bTsan-po, lDe-sras, lHa-sras, 'Phrul-gyi-lHa, or mNa'-bdag, titles which, with the exception of rJe, had a pronounced sacral character.

In correspondence with the demand of general soundness, a natural task of the king might be that of demonstrating a steady faculty to meet this demand, and we may regard it within all probability to assume that *the king, at the triennial conclusion of the covenant of fealty, had to show this faculty in recompense for the loyalty of his subjects, and a most significant way to do this would be to perform, really or symbolically, the fight with the yak.*

Although in this discussion of the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po's death we must resort to some degree to assumptions, hoping that these, whether right or wrong, may prove suggestive and inspire further studies along these lines, we shall, however, still maintain the opinion that *the primary object and significance of the myth is that of showing a king's death by regicide justified from religious, constitutional motives*, while the significance generally ascribed to the myth, that of explaining the transformation of the kings from divine beings to mortal ones, is secondary, a single consequential feature of the myth in its primary significance having been emphasized as a main theme and object of the myth for special purposes. In this connection stress may be laid upon the fact, which clearly appears from the version of the Tun-huang Ms, that the mythic account of the king's death is no independent mythic unit, as it appears in the later sources, but only part of a greater myth or mythic complex explaining not only the death of a bTsan-po, but also *the origin of the customs connected with the burial of a bTsan-po.*

It has already been shown (see p. 110 ff.) that Gri-gum-btsan-po symbolizes a period in Tibetan pre-history when great religious and cultural changes took place, and the background, on which sPu-de-guñ-rgyal according to tradition founded the Dynasty, was created. In the account of Gri-gum-btsan-po's burial, the transition between two quite different customs of burial is symbolized, the religious significance of which has been outlined above (see p. 112 ff.). Therefore the final tomb of Gri-gum-btsan-po has been characterized as "the first of tombs", so that the death of this king, or the foundation of the Dynasty by sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, indicates the epoch since which the Tibetan kings were buried in tombs in or upon the earth. With the burial in tombs, a new ritual treatment of the corpse and new funeral rites were introduced, as related by the tradition that Bon-po were invited to perform the *Gri-bzid* at the funeral of Gri-gum-btsan-po. These rites, bzid, in which the knife or sword, gri, plays a predominant role, were prescribed by the special section of the Bon Doctrine called the Dur-Bon or Bon of the Tombs.

The Tun-huang version of the myth gives two quite different accounts of the fate of Gri-gum-btsan-po's corpse. In the interpolation, Appendix I, sect. V, it is told that the king, because he had been reduced from mtshan to spre'u, from a divine to a mortal being, was cast into the rum, the inner darkness, of the Ti-se glacier by a deity called lDe-bla-guñ-rgyal. This account seems to contain elements deriving from rather different times and concepts. The deity lDe-bla-guñ-rgyal undoubtedly belongs to an ancient stratum, and his function is somehow connected with the idea of bla, the life-power,<sup>27</sup> but beyond the present occurrence, nothing is as yet known of this deity. The idea of the rum, the womb or the inner darkness of the sacred mountain Ti-se, seems on one side to reflect a comparatively later concept of the abode of the defunct as a hell or hells, dmyal-ba, as e.g. described in a text given by H. Hermanns (160.277):

Ri-rgyal-lhun-po'i 'og-phyogs-de dmyal-ba  
yi-dwags dud-'gro-rnams-kyis bzuñ

That below *Ri-rgyal-lhun-po (Ti-se)* is the Hell,  
*dMyal-ba*, occupied by *Yi-dwags* and *Dud-'gro*.<sup>28</sup>

On the other side the very idea of rum reminds us of the ancient, more abstract concept of the *rum of beginning and end, birth and death* (see p. :::).

In the sections VIa-b and XIIa-b of Appendix I, it is told that the corpse of the king was *put into a copper vessel and cast into the middle of the river, where it was taken into possession by a kLu-mo* named 'Od-de-bed-de-riñ-mo or 'O-de-riñ-mo, and according to the Fifth Dalai Lama, Chu-srin Bye-ma-lag-riñ, who according to dPa'-bo gTsong-lag was a servant of the kLu-srin Ho-te-re. It is expressly stated that the corpse of the king came into the stomach of the kLu-mo, and this circumstance, in connection with the account of the ransom to be given for the corpse (see below), shows that *the burial or disposal of the corpse in the river (or water) had a religious significance: the deceased returned to his origin*. The Bon-po tradition narrates that *Man originated from the kLu, and by burial in the river the king, as a mortal being, was given back to his origin, the kLu*.<sup>29</sup>

It is told that the corpse was placed in a *copper vessel*, zañs. A similar use of copper vessels is mentioned in section XVIII f, when Lo-ñam-pho (the male members of the Lo-ñam family or clan?) put copper vessels over their heads before seeking death by precipitation. Moreover attention may be drawn to the use of a copper box or chest, when gÑa'-khri-btsan-po according to the Buddhist tradition was exposed in the river, where the fate of the buried is left to providence. The zañs or copper vessel is furthermore the receptacle of the bodily remains of a bTsan-po to be placed in the tomb as outlined later.

The myth further relates how the manifestation of the dead king in the form of sPus-kyi-bu Ñar-la-skyes went in search of his corpse: "I will follow the trail of the destroyed man. I will search after the destroyed man who is wrapped in water," and finally met the kLu-mo. From his words to the kLu, "What do you demand in recompense of the corpse of bTsan-po?" it appears that *the kLu was in rightful possession of the corpse*. The answer of the kLu was: "I demand nothing but *a human being who has eyes like birds' eyes closing from below*." The recompense which is demanded is a glud or klud (sect. XVII b), *a substitute or substitute sacrifice*. To recompense the corpse of the king, it must naturally have an equivalent value or significance. It must be *a human being*, and it must have *eyes like birds' eyes closing from below*. In the latter demand we must therefore see something which fundamentally characterized the king.

After a long search, Ñar-la-skyes finally found a being who met the demands for serving as a substitute for recovering the corpse of the king. It was a girl characterized as Cho-myi-bya'i bu-mo (sect. XVII a). The significance of this name has been discussed above (see p. 209 f.), and it has been shown that the particular feature of *the birds' eyes closing from below* is identical with the most characteristic feature in *the ornitho-anthropomorphous appearance of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po*. As furthermore, in consequence of the present myth, it also applies as a fundamental characteristic to Gri-gum-btsan-po or, in further consequence of the myth, to any bTsan-po, we find in this strange feature and the birdlike nature involved by it, no other relevant significance than that of the *clan characteristics or the clan-totem of the royal lineage*.

To obtain the daughter of Cho-myi-bya as a substitute for the release of the king's corpse, Nar-la-skyes had to give a recompense, but this recompense had the nature of a solemn oath and promise. At his request, the mother of the girl said (sect. XVIIb):

"I want nothing but this: that in all future when a *bTsan-po*, who has withdrawn as a ruler, dies, the top-knot of the hair should be bound like a braid (*phreñ-mo*), the surface (of the body) should be anointed with vermilion (*mtshal*), the body should be lacerated and scratched, incision should be made into the corpse of *bTsan-po*, and it should be taken away from men that it may decay. Food should be eaten and drunk. Will you do like that, or will you not do like that?"

Nar-la-skyes took a solemn oath to do so, brought the daughter of Cho-myi-bya with him and left her in the stomach of the kLu as a ransom for the corpse of the king, which was afterwards ritually buried by the king's two sons.

This piece of text is extremely important with regard to the ancient funeral customs performed at the death of a king, and is almost the only Tibetan source of information in this respect. In a mythic, etiological form it explains the origin of the particular rites which were performed by the preparation of the corpse, and as we shall see below, Chinese sources give evidence that rites, which in principle were similar to those described above, were still performed in historical time.

A remarkable feature of these rites is to be found in *the mutilation of the corpse, the incision to be made in the corpse of the bTsan-po*, allusions to which are given in the historical annals from Tunhuang (1). Thus we read that in the year 678/79 A.D.: *yab btol-ba*, incision (perforation) was made into the (body of the) father; and in 712/13 A.D.: *phyi btol-ba*, incision was made into the grandmother. These two corpses in question were those of King 'Dus-sroñ and the Queen Khri-ma-lod, the grandmother of King Mes-ag-tshoms. Where *the laceration and scratching of the body* are concerned, there is a little doubt left as to whether these operations apply to the corpse of the deceased or to the bodies of the mourners, as such features are generally known from mourning rites.<sup>30</sup>

The *anointment with vermilion (cinnabar)* applies to the corpse. In the account of the burial of Gri-gum-btsan-po (sect. XVIIIa) it is told that the elder son Śa-khyi took care of his father's sku-mtshal. This term is commonly known as a metaphor for blood, and the use of vermilion in the preparation of the corpse probably derives either from an original use of blood, or it serves as a substitute for the blood, which coagulated immediately in the naturally deceased, but was drained from the human sacrifices when still alive (see below). Moreover a certain embalming effect may have been obtained by the use of vermilion.

The *braiding of the hair* has a sacral significance. The braided hair is a characteristic feature in the appearance of the shaman, and we have every reason to assume that the kings, for the same reasons as the shamans, did not cut their hair. A direct indication in this regard is found in the Bon-po work gLegs-gzi bstan-pa'i byuñ-khuñ quoted by G. Tucci (196.201), where it is told that the king, at the performance of a special ritual dance, wore the attire of a shaman with his hair coiled round his head. In this significance of the long, braided hair in the Bon-po rites, we may possibly find the real reason why the Buddhist sources mention as a particular sign of piety that King Ral-pa-can cut his hair to make sitting mats for the Buddhist monks.

The *removal of the corpse from men for decaying* is known from the historical annals from Tunhuang, in the temporary disposal of the corpse in a riñ-khañ until the final burial, mdad.<sup>31</sup>

In the section of the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig quoted above (see p. 100), certain allusions are made both to the funeral rites and to the funeral sacrifices. Because of the cryptic formulation of the text concerned, we have reserved an interpretation until now. The text (37.19v) reads:

rGyal-po Gri-gum-btsan-po'i sku-riñ-la :  
Ta-zig 'A-ža Bon-po gdan-drañs-nas :  
rDo-nag thom do lhu dañ sdum-du sbral :

In the lifetime of King *Gri-gum-btsan-po*,  
*Bon-po* were invited from *Ta-zig* and *'A-ža*.  
(They) brought the *black stone(s)* and the *dipper*, these two, together with *pieces of meat*.

Śi lpags skya me'i bla-gzi 'breñ-du 'dra :

The greyish-white skin of the corpse was like the exalted abode (life-abode) of the fire.

The third line in the quotation may be interpreted in the following way. The objects mentioned represent the sacrificial objects which are given to the dead. The *black stone(s)* symbolizes the hearth, the *dipper* is the implement for the meals, and the *pieces of meat* represent the meals themselves. Altogether they symbolize *the dwelling and the necessities of life, destined for the dead in his new existence to keep him appeased and away from the living beings and their dwelling*. In the fourth line, the *exalted abode of the fire* or rather the *life-abode of the fire* is a metaphor standing for the *flames* and referring to the *anointment of the skin of the corpse with vermilion*. The colour-shades of this mineral in its crude forms perfectly corresponds to those of flames. In this case the symbolism seems, however, to go even farther. The vermilion actually seems to symbolize flames, the fire, the wanting constituent of the sacrifice performed by hearth, dipper, meat, and fire.

A most interesting record of the Tibetan burial customs, and particularly of the initial rites performed when the bTsan-po dies, is found in the T'ung-tien (224.190.9r1-6), and with a few variants it is quoted in the T'ung-chih (223.3132b.8-13), the T'ang hui-yao (219.1729), and the Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227. 2624b.9-15). It reads:

When a man dies, they kill oxen and horses to be buried with the dead. The oxen and horses are piled up all around in the tomb.

Their tomb is rectangular (square) with stones piled up to give it the form of an ordinary chief's house.

Those *ch'ên* (subjects, ministers), whom the sovereign personally makes his friends, are named with the designation *kung ming jên*, *Men of the same Fate*. Their number does not exceed five men.

The day when the sovereign died, all the Men of the Same Fate during the day and the night indulged in wine. The (next) day, when they are to be buried, they are stabbed in the feet (legs), so that they bleed to death.

When they are then about to bury the living with the dead, there is, moreover, a trusted man among the relatives who, using his sword, cleaves their brain and cuts them out. He also takes four small pieces of wood, as great as a finger, and pierces their ribs (chest) on both sides.

When the four or five men are completely dead, they are buried with the dead (king).

The T'ung-tien, which in fact as we know is the primary source of this record, was completed by Tu Yu in 801 A.D. The fact that the author had on various occasions had direct contact with the Tibetans, does not immediately mean that the customs described in the record were still in practice at the time of the author, but we find other evidence showing that these customs were used at least to the end of the eighth century, in spite of the formal recognition of Buddhism.

The important information with regard to the maintenance of these customs of human sacrifices at the funeral of the Tibetan kings, even in the later time of the Dynasty, is given in the Nan-chao chuan of the T'ang-shu (220.222A. 11v4-6):

The Tibetan military governor (*chieh-tu-chien-chün*) of *Hsi-kung* in *Kung-ch'uan* in *Yün-nan*, *Yeh-to-shu-chien* (= rGyal-to-gzugs-rgyan?), who was the adopted son of *Ch'i-li-tsan* (King *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan*) and ought to follow the deceased *Tsan-p'u* (*bTsan-po*) and be buried together with him, also came to *Chung-i* to surrender and was then made prisoner.

As outlined in 157, this Tibetan officer, who surrendered to the Chinese general Wei Kao, to avoid his destiny as a *kung-ming-jên*, was undoubtedly destined to be buried with the son of *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan*, *Mu-ne-btsan-po*, and not with *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan*. The officer surrendered some time during

the last two or three months of the 15th year Chên-yüan (799/800 A.D.), and the death of King Mu-ne-btsan-po happened shortly before.

The Chiu T'ang-shu (213.196A.2v8-10) gives the following general account of the burial of bTsan-po:

When a *Tsan-p'u* (*bTsan-po*) dies, they take men to be buried (alive) with him.<sup>32</sup>

He wears the attire and the precious stones he had enjoyed, and the horse he had ridden, his bow and sword, all this was buried with him.

Then they raise a great house to stand over the grave. Earth was heaped up and planted with various kinds of trees, to form a place for ancestral sacrifices.

The T'ang-shu (220.216A.2r2-4) correspondingly relates:

Among his *ch'ên* (subjects, ministers), the sovereign makes five or six men his personal friends. They are called *kung-ming*, the Same Fate.

When the sovereign dies, they all kill themselves to be buried with him.

The clothes he enjoyed, his riding horse, all these were buried.

A great house is raised, and on top of the mound all kinds of trees are planted, to form an ancestral sanctuary.

The most interesting information to be got from these records, is that of the men who were predestined to die when the king died, and to be buried together with him. These Men of the Same Fate, *Kung-ming-jên*,<sup>33</sup> are known by designation from only one Tibetan source; they are the *dPon-g'yog*<sup>34</sup> who, according to the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu (see above) followed 'Bro-gñan-lde'u alive into the tomb, which for this reason is known to posterity as the Round Tomb of the Living Men, gSon- (m) chad-zlum-po.

These *Kung-ming-jên* or *dPon-g'yog* were, in fact, *human sacrifices brought to the dead king to accompany him in his next existence*, for which he was also equipped with his clothes, jewels, horses, weapons, etc. Apart from this motive for the sacrifices, which is generally known from the history of funeral cult, these men, who were destined to share the fate of the king, may quite obviously have served another purpose, viz. that of *protecting the king against premature, violent death*. As these five men were naturally chosen among the prominent families or clans, anyone who laid hands upon the king would be responsible for their premature death, and exposed to the retribution of their families. The five men were undoubtedly of the same age as the king, and were probably chosen already when he was a minor or heir to the throne. By their destiny they got a position which was familiar with that of the heir, and this agrees with the account of the Nan-chao chuan, that Yeh-to-shu-chien, whose fate was connected with Mu-ne-btsan-po, was an adopted son of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan.

The idea of the Same Fate seems to have been rather literally conceived. The *dPon-g'yog* went alive into the tomb, because the king did so, and the death seems otherwise, according to the Chinese records, to have been inflicted upon them almost immediately after the death of bTsan-po.

From the fact that these human sacrifices took place at the royal funeral, at any rate as late as 799/800 A.D., we may realize how superficial the influence of Buddhism actually was at that time, even within the royal family which had sponsored the Buddhism. Directly, the Buddhist sources tell us little or nothing of the general occurrence of human sacrifices in ancient Tibet, but indirectly, from the rather extensive use of blood and human flesh (*śa-chen*), in real or symbolic form, in the tantric offerings to the wrathful Dharmapālas, we may suspect a rather extensive use of human sacrifices in previous times.

The T'ang-shu relates of human sacrifices at the triennial covenants of fealty, and Tibetan sources relate of single cases where human beings are used as substitute sacrifices, *glud*. This applies to the mythic account of the daughter of Cho-myi-bya, who served as a *glud* for the corpse of Gri-gumbtsan-po, and in the gZer-myig (I.153a), quoted by H. Hoffmann (162.181), a subject served as a *glud* to the demons to save the life of a prince, who had been deprived of his health by these demons.

The prescriptions for the treatment of the corpse of bTsan-po, and the description of the particular treatment of the bodies of the human sacrifices at his death, make it quite clear that an extensive ceremonial must have been connected with the ritual treatment of the body of bTsan-po himself and its preparation for the disposal in the Riñ-khañ. This initial phase of the royal funeral, which was undoubtedly a most important and characteristic part of the funeral, is missing in the mutilated manuscript published by M. Lalou (4). Because of the special terminology used in this manuscript, it cannot be fully evaluated, but from what may appear from the following descriptions of burial customs among the peoples closely related with the Central Tibetans, and from the detailed description of the tomb of 'Bro-gñan-lde'u, the manuscript does not contain the essential features of the rites and operations performed at the death and burial of a bTsan-po.

To the east and north of Central Tibet lived, during the time of the Dynasty, the two groups of the Yang-t'ung, characterized by the Chinese sources as the Great and the Small Yang-t'ung, Ta Yang-t'ung and Hsiao Yang-t'ung.<sup>36</sup> These peoples were closely related to the Tibetans of Central Tibet, and one of the most important clans, that of 'Bro, which during the whole time of the Dynasty showed a remarkable loyalty towards the royal house, originated from the Yang-t'ung. With regard to the customs used at the funeral of the chief of the Yang-t'ung, the T'ung-tien (224.190.16r7-10) gives the following remarkable record:

When one of their brave chiefs dies, they bore a hole (in his skull) remove his brain, and fill (the skull) with pearls and jade.

They dissect his five entrails (*wu ts'ang*)<sup>36</sup> and replace them with gold. They make a false nose of gold, and teeth of silver.

They take men to bury together with the chief.

By divination they foretell an auspicious time to conceal them all<sup>37</sup> in a cave in the cliffs, the location of which is not known to other people.

They kill many cows, sheep, and mares to serve as sacrifices, bury them all, and lay aside the mourning.

This record is quoted almost literally in the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan (218.798.7v6-8) and the Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2631c17-19), and with slight corruption in the T'ang hui-yao (219.1770.11-12).

The particular measures to conceal the corpse in a cave in the cliffs is explained by the fact that the Yang-t'ung were nomadic peoples, who did not have the same opportunity to guard the tombs of their dead as the permanently resident population of Central Tibet. Otherwise the removal of the brain, and the sacrifices of men and animals perfectly correspond to what is told above concerning the burial of a bTsan-po, and the remaining features concerning the treatment of the chief's corpse may be indicative with regard to the treatment of the corpse of a bTsan-po.

Moreover, the Chinese sources give a record of the burial customs of another people closely related to the Central Tibetans, the Sum-pa. They were named Su-p'i by the Chinese, and they lived in two main groups, one to the east and north of Central Tibet, at the western frontier of China, the other to the west, towards the Pamir, the Chinese Ts'ung-ling. They formed two states, which were characterized by a matriarchal constitution, for which reason the Chinese called them Woman States, Nü-kuo, the Eastern and the Western, Tung Nü-kuo and Hsi Nü-kuo or, in the latter case, merely Nü-kuo. In the Chinese sources, details concerning these two states are more or less mixed together, but this occurrence is of little importance in the present connection.

The record in question is known from various versions which all seem to originate from one and the same, but now apparently unknown, primary source. The version given in the Sui-shu (217.83.10v7-10) has been known for a long time in the translation of A. Pfizmaier (178.463), and reads:

When the *Nü-wang* (Woman-Ruler or queen) dies, a substantial amount of gold coins is collected within the country, and (the people) ask for two virtuous maidens in the family (clan) of the deceased, one to be *Nü-wang* (Queen), the other to be *Hsiao Nü-wang* (Little Queen).

When a person of rank dies, they peel off the skin, They take gold dust and mix it with the bones and flesh, place it in a vase, and bury it. After a year has passed, they also take the skin, put it into an iron vessel, and bury it.

By a study of the other versions of the record, severe doubt arises, however, with regard to the correctness of the present version, which obviously, and just like the other versions, represents an abbreviated rendering of the original source.

In the T'ung-tien the corresponding items are given in two different places in the record of Nü-kuo. In the former case we read (224.193.20v3-5):

If their *wang* (queen, ruler) dies without leaving a daughter to succeed her on the throne, then the people of the country take care to collect gold coins, to get several millions, which they deliver to the family of the dead queen, to buy a maiden and install her (on the throne).

In the latter case we read (224.193.20v10-21r2):

When their *Nü-wang*, queen, dies, a man of rank within the country peels off her skin, takes gold dust and mixes it with her bones and flesh, places it in a vase, and buries it. After a year has passed, he also takes her skin, puts it into an iron vessel, and buries it.

From this text it clearly appears that the special treatment of the corpse applies to that of the queen, while according to the Sui-shu it applies to those of persons of rank. There seems, in this regard, to prevail general confusion in the Chinese sources. The T'ung-chih (223.3155.3-4) follows the T'ung-tien, while the T'ang hui-yao simply omits the subject. The whole question is further complicated by the disagreement between the following versions. The Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao (227.2662b.10-11) relates:

When a person of rank dies, they peel him, bury his skin, flesh, and bones in a jar, mixed with gold dust, and bury it.

Those who are buried together with him may reach a number of ten.

In more detail we read in the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan (218.791.13r13-13v2):

When a person of rank is dead, someone peels off his skin and hides it, places his bones in a vase filled up with gold dust, and buries it.

When the *Kuo-wang* (sovereign of the country) is to be buried, those who are buried with the dead, the chief minister, relatives, and friends amount to a number of ten persons.

Correspondingly the older record of the T'ang-shu reads (220.221A.7v1-2):

When a person of rank dies, they peel off his skin and hide it, put his bones in a jar mixed with gold dust, and bury it.

At the burial of the *Wang* (sovereign), they bury up to a number of ten persons with the dead.

The disagreeing references regarding the use of human sacrifices, either to the burial of the sovereign or to that of persons of rank, correspond to the disagreeing references with regard to the treatment of the corpses. We are inclined, however to refer both occurrences to the burial of the queen or sovereign, in accordance with the record of the T'ung-tien. For our present purpose, the question is, however, of no decisive importance.

By quoting these Chinese records of burial customs among Tibetan peoples closely related with the population of Central Tibet, our object is to establish a background against which we may obtain a probable picture of the various measures which were taken with regard to the ritual treatment of



bTsan-po's body and its burial. We feel much more justified in doing this as the sparse information given by the Tibetan sources in this respect perfectly corresponds to features of the more detailed records of the Yang-t'ung and the Su-p'i or Sum-pa.

Apart from the common feature of human sacrifices, the removal of the brain and the entrails may have a partly religious significance, and partly serve the object of preserving the corpse. The use of a vase or jar for the direct disposal of the remains immediately corresponds to the use of a copper vessel or vase at the burial of bTsan-po.<sup>38</sup> It is questionable whether the skin was peeled off the body of bTsan-po. From the Buddhist and Bon iconography it appears that it has been no unique occurrence to peel off the human skin, and a certain religious significance must of ancient time have been ascribed to the human skins, which serve as attributes of many deities in the later Tibetan Buddhism.<sup>39</sup> In this connection we shall further recall to mind the occurrence of *śi-lpags skya*, the greyish-white skin of the corpse, which is mentioned above in the cryptic allusions to the funeral customs.<sup>40</sup>

The history of the royal tombs, their structure, adornments, situation, etc. has been the subject of various preliminary studies e.g. by G. Tucci (195), H. Hoffmann (161), Wang I (221), and H. E. Richardson (181). We shall here confine ourselves to the description of the tomb of King 'Bro-gñan-lde'u and to certain details regarding that of King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, because in more ways they are relevant to the present theme. The description of 'Bro-gñan-lde'u's tomb is found in the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (37.54r-56r), which reads:

rGyal-po 'Broñ-gñan-lde-ru-yi :  
sKu-la sñun-nad byuñ-ba'i dus :  
Žañ-phu'i-mda'-ru bañ-so brtsigs :  
Re'u-mig dgu-pa'i dbus-ma-ru :  
Can-dan gduñ-gi ldeñ-khri byas :  
rGyal-po'i sku-chob<sup>43</sup> gsar-las bžañs<sup>43</sup> :

Zaňs-chen kha-sbyar nañ-du bžugs :

gSer bre-dgu dañ dñul bre-brgyad :  
rGyal-po'i dkor nor bcas-pa kun :  
Sa-rdo-śiñ-gsum rgya-yis btab :  
Phyi-rabs rgyal-brgyud nor-bu sbas :

gTer-sruñs gñer-du gtad-pa med :

Le-<sup>46</sup>dus zla-dus tshes grañs-med :

Ces gsuñs-pas :

Žañ-phu'i-mda'-ru bañ-so re'u-mig dgu-pa  
yod-do : De'i dkyil-na g'yam-pa nag-po mgo-  
dkar-bo-can žig btsugs-te ñug-ge yod-do :

De'i mtha' bskor-te 'dom-gañ gru-bži-ru :  
'dom phyed-dañ-gsum thur-du brkos-pa-na :  
tsan-dan-gyi sgo-mo'i steñ-du : rdo pañ theg  
gśibs-pa yod : De'i steñ nañ g'yam leb gśibs-pa  
yod-do : Da-<sup>50</sup>rnambs bsal-la skas gdañ ñi-śu-  
rtsa-gcig btsugs-te : Mar-me gtams-pa'i dus-su :  
tsan-dan-gyi gduñ ñis gśibs yod-pa'i khri'i steñ :  
zaňs-mo che mtshal-gyis bkañ-ba'i nañ-na :  
rgyal-po 'Broñ-gñan-lde-ru'i sku-gzugs rgyal-po

When King 'Broñ-gñan-lde-ru  
Fell ill with disease in his body,  
A tomb was built in *Žañ-phu'i-mda'*.  
In the middle one of its nine sections  
Was made a *lDeñ-khri*<sup>41</sup> of sandalwood beams.  
An image (*sku-tshab*) of the king was made of  
gold.

He (it) was placed in a *zaňs-chen-kha-sbyar* (a  
copper vessel with a closed mouth).

Nine *bre*<sup>44</sup> of gold and eight *bre* of silver,  
Together with the king's treasures all this  
Was sealed up with earth, stones, and wood.  
The treasures were hidden (for) the future royal  
generations.

There was nobody to put in charge as guardian  
of the *gTer*.<sup>45</sup>

Seasons, months, and days innumerable,<sup>47</sup>

So it is told.

The tomb in *Žañ-phu'i-mda'* has nine sec-  
tions.<sup>48</sup> In the central one, there is placed a black  
slab of slate, *g'yam-pa*, with a white head be-  
smeared (with its head or top painted white?).

Tracing its circumference, it has four sides  
of one fathom,<sup>49</sup> within which there was dug  
two and a half fathoms downwards. On top of  
a shutter (*sgo-mo*) of sandalwood there are ar-  
ranged loads of stones in the size of an armful.  
In the upmost part there is made a level of slabs  
of slate. To move all this a ladder<sup>51</sup> was placed  
of twenty-one steps. At the time when it was full  
of butter-fire (lamps), an image (*sku-gzugs*) of

dañ-mñam-pa : gser-la gar-bur bžeñs-pa : rGyal-  
po'i na-bza' gsoi-ba bžugs-so :

De'i mtha'-ma phyogs-mtshams brgyad-du :  
zañs-snañ bži dañ dñul-snod bži-na : gser bre-  
dgu dñul bre-dgu : gnam-žal-che-ba dñul-gya  
ñi-šu : chu-ra-ba dñul-la gži-byas-pa rin-po-che  
sna-tshogs-pa'i pra btab-pa bcu : dñul-gyi bum-  
pa gser-gyis bkañ-pa bži yod-do :

Re'u-mig brgyad-po'i nañ re-re'añ : zañs re-  
re'i nañ-du gser sil-ma mi-rgyab-bži yod-do :

De-rnams btob-pa'i šul-du sa mi-stoñs-par  
bya-ba'i phyr : nañ thams-cad-du gser-sa gtor-  
te : steñ-gi sgo legs-par-bcad-la bžag-go :

In the description of the death and burial of King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, given by the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig, the following parts of the text serve in various ways to establish a general impression of the customs and rites used at a royal funeral. In the chapter entitled Sroñ-gi bañ-so ji-ltar mchod-pa, "How to sacrifice at the tomb of Sroñ-(btsan-sgam-po)," we read (37.39v-40v):

Bod-la sku-drin che-bar mdzad-pa'i rjes :  
sPrul-pa-bsdus-lugs snañ-ba-gsum byuñ :

Sañs-rgyas-rnams-kyis sprul-pa bsdus-par gzigs :  
Nañ-blon-rnams-kyis lHa-la thim-par gzigs :

rGyal-brgyud-rnams-kyis Yar-kluñs sMug-ri-ru :  
Bañ-so brtsigs-nas yab-yum-gsum-gyi pur :

gSer-gyis byugs-nas dñul-gyi ga'ur bcug :

Bañ-so'i re'u-mig dbus-mar khri-la bžugs :

gSer-dñul-g'yu-sogs bre-yi khal-re<sup>60</sup> dañ :

rGyal-po'i dkon-nor gañ-yin spyān-sñar spuñs :

Dar-zab bla-brer gdugs dañ rgyal-mtshan bres :

Me-glags<sup>61</sup> tshags-kyis legs-par-bsdams-pa-la :

Mi-šigs rgya ni rim-pa-bdun-gyis btab :

King 'Broñ-gñan-lde-ru was placed on a throne raised from twenty (ñi?)<sup>62</sup> beams of sandalwood, while he himself was placed in a great copper vessel (*zañs-mo che*) filled with vermilion (*mtshal*).<sup>63</sup> It (the image) looked like the king, and was made from solid gold. The attire of the king was put on it.

In the eight surrounding, outer sections, there are nine *bre* of gold and nine *bre* of silver in four *zañs-snañ*<sup>64</sup> and in four *dñul-snod*.<sup>65</sup> Moreover there are twenty *gnam-žal-che-ba dñul-gya*,<sup>66</sup> ten *chu-ra-ba*<sup>67</sup> with a background of silver dotted with small pieces of turquoise and other jewels, and four silver bottles filled with gold.

In each of the eight sections, in each of the copper vessels, there are four loads of gold dust, as much as a man can carry.

In order that the earth should not be removed from the place where all these things have been placed, gold ore had been scattered all over the interior, and the door to it was left safely closed.

To *Bod* he caused great grace, therefore  
The *nirmāṇasamāsa* took place in the threefold light.

The Buddhas beheld the *nirmāṇasamāsa*.  
The *Nañ-blon* beheld the disappearance into the god.<sup>68</sup>

In *sMug-ri* in *Yar-kluñs*, the royal family  
Built a tomb (*bañ-so*), and the dead bodies of  
the father and the mothers, those three  
Were covered with gold<sup>69</sup> and put into a silver  
*ga'u*,

Which was placed on a throne (*khri*) in the middle  
section of the tomb.

A score (*khal-ri*) of *bre* of gold, silver, turquoise,  
etc. and

Whatever were the king's treasures, these were  
piled up before (the throne).

A canopy and banners of the finest silk were  
raised as a dais.

Fire-tables (-boards) were securely fastened with  
split bamboo,

Unshakable and broad they were placed in seven  
tiers.

bLon-por bskos-pa'i Nañ-blon-rnams-la gñer :

Nañ-blon gañ-yin rgyal-po'i bañ-so bsruiñ :  
gŚin-po'i tshul bzuñ pur-gyi 'bañs-su bsdos :

gSon-gśin-bye-byas mi-yi khyu-nas bud :

rGyal-brgyud gson-po-rnams dañ-mi-'phrad-  
ciñ :  
mChod-pa'i dus min bañ-so'i tho phyi-ru :

gSon-po'i mi dañ rta-phyugs 'khyams dbañ-  
med :  
Mi-nor-byuñ-na dur-bsruñ gśin-pas 'dzin :

Dur-bsruñ-gis reg gson-khyur mi-tshud-ciñ :

gŚin-po'i-rtags bzuñ dur-bsruñ bran-g'yog  
byed :

gŽan-gyi bya-ba gañ-yañ mi-'bab-ciñ :  
Sa-khul bañ-so'i pur-khañ nor-rdzas bsruiñ :

mTha'-'khub rgyal-pos Bod-la lto-nag gtoñ :

rGyal-po'i pho-ña bañ-so'i-pur-la 'jab :

rGyas-btab rjes-la Nañ-blon de-phyir bsruiñ :

mChod-pa'i-dus ni guñ-la gśegs-pa-yi :

rGyal-gyi ñi-mar Sroñ-gi bañ-so mchod :  
Phyi-rabs rgyal-po 'das-dus gañ yin-la :

rGyal-brgyud rje 'bañs 'khor-dañ-bcas-pa-yis :  
mChod-pa'i loñs-spyod spyang-gzigs sna-tshogs  
bteg :

bŽañs.<sup>65</sup>kyi-lha-khañ-nañ-du byon-nas ni :  
Duñ 'bud dbañ-po'i druñ-du btañ-nas-su :

Sañ-gi-ñi-mar Sroñ-gi bañ-so mchod :

gŚin-po thams-cad byes-kyi luñ-par soñ :  
De-skad smras-nas mchod-pa rgyas-par byed :

Phud dañ nor dañ gos la-sogs-pa dañ :

rTa phyugs rkañ-'gros mchod-pa'i rdzas-rnams-  
kyis :

Provisions were made for those *Nañ-blon* who  
were appointed *bLon-po*.

Whoever is *Nañ-blon* shall guard the king's tomb.  
He who ventures to the tomb of a corpse (*pur*)  
that has assumed the form of a Dead (*gśin-po*),  
As distinction is made between Living and Dead,  
shall be expelled from the company of man;  
He shall not meet together with the living mem-  
bers of the royal family.

At a time when there are no sacrifices performed,  
if they happen to be at the confines of the tomb,  
Living men, horses or cattle, errant or uncontrol-  
led,  
Infallibly they are seized by the *Dur-bsruñ gśin-  
pa*.<sup>62</sup>

Touched by the *Dur-bsruñ*, Guardians of the  
Tomb, they must not join the company of the  
living;

They assume the characteristics (*rtags*) of the  
Dead, and become the slaves of the Guardians  
of the Tomb.

To act otherwise is completely impossible.

They shall guard the domain (of the tomb), the  
dead-house and the treasures of the tomb.

The kings of the frontier barbarians sent *lto-nag*<sup>63</sup>  
to *Bod*.

The messengers of the kings place it with the  
corpse (*pur*) of the tomb.

After (the tomb) has been sealed, the *Nañ-blon*  
guard it from the outside.

The time to sacrifice, to sacrifice at the tomb of  
*Sroñ(-btsan-sgam-po)*,

Is the day when the King went to Heaven (*guñ*).  
For the later generations, at every (annual) date  
of the king's departure,<sup>64</sup>

The royal family, the ruler together with subjects,  
Raise an abundance of various costly offerings  
to the sacrifice.

Arrived at the *bŽeñs-kyi-lha-khañ*,<sup>66</sup>

Trumpets are blown, and (they) give them to the  
official in charge.

The next day they sacrifice at the tomb of  
*Sroñ(-btsan-sgam-po)*.

"All *gŚin-po*<sup>67</sup> go to foreign valleys!"

Having said those words, they make sacrifices  
in abundance:

Meat and drink offerings, valuables, garments,  
etc., and

Horses, cattle, domestic animals, an abundance  
of offerings,

mChod-pa tshar-nas lhag-ma śul-du spuñs :	Were offered. Having finished, the remains are piled up as <i>śul</i> (property left).
gŚin-po śog-la de-las zo-žig bsño :	"gŚin-po (Oh Dead), come! Eat of that!" they implore.
Phyi mig-mi-blta rañ-gi-gnas-su 'byon :	Without looking back they go home.
Byes-kyi luñ-pa'i dur-bsruñ byed-pa 'oñs :	The Guardians of the Tomb, ordered to go to foreign valleys, come back.
Phud dañ lhag-ma kha-zas bcas-la rol :	They help themselves to the meat and drink offerings, and the remaining food.
Gos dañ rkañ-' gros la-sogs phyi-la spyod :	Later they deal with the garments and the domestic animals, etc.
Sa-khul rgya khyon 'tsho-ba'i lo-tog 'debs :	They harvest what grows within the vast domain (of the tomb).
Phud dañ lhag-ma bza'-btuñ mañ-po 'byuñ :	There is much to eat and drink, meat and drink offerings, and the remains.
Nor-gyis ma-phoñs drogs 'tshe gañ-yañ med :	(The Guardians) are not destitute of valuables. They have never a moment to quiver from fear.
dMag dañ las-ka gañ-yañ mi-'bab-ciñ :	As soldiers and with regard to rank, they are never degraded;
Rañ mar bde-ba'i Nañ-blon khyu-yi tshogs :	There below, they form themselves, the assembly of blessed <i>Nañ-blon</i> .
Sroñ-gi bañ-so ji-ltar mchod-pa'i le'u-ste bcu-gsum-pa'o :	Chapter thirteen, How to sacrifice at the tomb of <i>Sroñ(-btsan-sgam-po)</i> .

This description of the tomb of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po and the sacrifices there, some main parts of which have been summarized by G. Tucci (195.9–10), shows distinct signs of having been formulated under Buddhist influence. Nevertheless, in its basic features it is pre- or non-Buddhist. With regard to details particularly concerning the tomb itself, it is essentially different from the descriptions generally given by Buddhist sources, such as that of Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje translated by G. Tucci (195.3–4). Below, when drawing the general conclusion from the material presented in this section, we shall attempt to explain the reason for this apparent disagreement between the descriptions of the tomb.

In connection with the description of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's tomb and funeral, the rGyal-po bka'i thañ-yig gives two other accounts of special interest. One concerns the erection of a stone pillar, *rtsis-kyi-rdo-riñs*, at the tomb of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, the other (37.43v–45r), which will be quoted first, concerns *Ma-'oñs rgyal-brgyud nor-skal sbas-po dañ : rgyal-brgyud bla-mchod man-nag rgyas-btab ni* : "The hiding of the inheritance for the future royal generations, and directions as to the royal family's offerings (bla-mchod),<sup>68</sup> and the sealing (of the tomb):"

Tho-ri-sñan-śal rgyal-po'i sku-riñ-la :	In the life-time of King <i>Tho-ri-sñan-śal</i> ,
Yum-bu-bla-mkhar ri-brgyud goñ-ma'i-steñ :	At the highest part of the mountain ridge of <i>Yum-bu-bla-mkhar</i> ,
Brag-ri dmar-po mtha'-chen nañ khoñs-na :	In the middle of a large red rock,
Nor-gyi bañ-so dra-mig lña-pa yod :	There was a treasure-tomb ( <i>nor-gyi bañ-so</i> ) with five sections ( <i>dra-mig lña-pa</i> ).
De-yi steñ-gi brag logs dmar-po-la :	Upmost, at the red surface of this rock,
rDo-rje-rgya-gram mtshal-gyis bris-pa'i 'og :	A double <i>vajra</i> was drawn in cinnabar, below which
bKa'-rtags phyag-rgya rdo-la mchod-rten brkos :	It was sealed with seals, and a <i>stupa</i> was carved in the stone.

De-nas gzu-'dom thur-la btsal-ba-na :  
Bañ-so'i thad-du gzu-'dom-gaṅ brkos-la :

g'Yam-pa sñon-po 'dom-gaṅ gru-bzi yod :

De-ñid bsal-ba'i 'og-na bañ-so'i sgo :

dBus 'byed lcags-luñ lcags-kyus sbrel-ba yod :

De-yi nañ-gi seṅ-ge'i-khri steṅ-na :

Zaṅs-chen kha-sbyar rin-chen sil-mas bkaṅ :

Mi-yi khur-po bdun-gyi boṅs-tshod-la :

Dre-la bcal-ba'i khal bdun bre lña yod :

dÑul-gyi-ga'u pañ-theg gcig-gi nañ :

gNam-žal-chen-mo phra-man rin-cen skyogs :  
lHa-yi na-bza' Pañtsi-li-kas gril :  
lHa-yi yul-gyi dpag-bsam-ljon-śiñ-'bru :

Rin-cen nor-bu dañ-pa'i skor tsam :  
rGyal-po'i dkor-cha rin-cen bcu-gsum yod :

Ces gsuṅs-pas : 'Di-na mar-la Kha-byañ yañ  
Byañ-gnas-byañ lde-mig dañ-bcas-pa ston-te :

Yul Yar-kluṅs Sog-kha'i luñ-pa śar-gyi  
phyogs : Brag dmar-po'i sna-zur dañ-bcas-pa :  
Ri-dwags E-na-ya lta-bu'i steṅ : rgyal-po'i sku-  
mkhar Yum-bu-bla-mkhar žes-bya-ba yod-do :

De'i-goṅ ya-tshad brag mtha'i-sgab-na bañ-  
so dmar-po žig yod :

De'i-steṅ brag dmar-po žig-gi ldebs-la :  
mtshal-gyis bris-pa'i rdo-rje-rgya-gram yod :

De'i-'og-na rdo-la brkos-pa'i mchod-rten  
bañ-rim gsum-pa žig yod-do :

De-nas gzu-'dom lña dañ mda'-gaṅ bcal-ba'i  
sa-ru brkos-pas 'dom-gaṅ khru-gaṅ-na : g'yam-  
pa 'dom-gaṅ gru-bzi-pa žig-gis sgo'i kha-bcad-  
nas yod-do :

De yar-la bsal-ba'i 'og-na 'phred-sgo dbus-na  
'byed-pa žig yod-do :

De-la lcags-skor lcags-kyus sna luñ sbrel-nas  
yod : lCags-kyu bkrol-nas sgo phye-ba'i dus-  
su : ral-gri gñis dañ de (ñe) yod-do : Ma-them-  
gyi nañ-du 'breñ-pa gñis breñ-ño yod-do : De

Then, if one searches downwards one *gzu-'dom*,<sup>69</sup>  
And digs one *gzu-'dom* straight towards the  
tomb (*bañ-so*),

There is a slab (*g'yam-pa*) of blue stone, one  
*gzu-'dom* square.

When it is removed, the door (*sgo*) of the tomb  
is below,

To be opened in the middle, and fastened with  
iron chains and iron hooks.

Inside there is a lion-throne (*seṅ-ge'i-khri*), upon  
which

There is a *Zaṅs-chen-kha-sbyar*<sup>70</sup> filled with  
pieces of jewels;

There are seven full loads for a man (to carry),  
and

Reckoned for a mule, there are seven *khal* and  
five *bre*.

Inside a silver *ga'u*,<sup>71</sup> as great as can be carried  
in an armful,

Is the jewel-studded cup *gNam-žal-chen-mo*,<sup>72</sup>  
Wrapped up in the divine garment *Pañcilika*.  
Seed from the wish-fulfilling tree in the country  
of the gods,

A pure jewel, big as an egg,<sup>73</sup> (and)

The thirteen treasures of the King are there.

So it is told. Here, finally, we are informed  
by a *Kha-byañ* or a *Byañ*, a *gNas-byañ*, together  
with a *lDe-mig*.<sup>74</sup>

There is a royal castle (*sku-mkhar*) called  
*Yum-bu-bla-mkhar* in the eastern part of the  
*Sog-kha* valley, in the country of *Yar-kluṅs*,  
situated on a red, polygonic rock looking like  
an Ena-antilope.

Above it, at the outer edge of the rock, there  
is a red tomb (*bañ-so dmar-po*).

Upon it, on the side of a red rock, there is  
traced a double *vajra* in cinnabar.

Below that, there is carved a three-tiered  
*stupa* in the stone.

Then, measuring five *gzu-'dom* and one *mda'*<sup>75</sup>  
there is dug into the ground, and in (the depth of)  
a '*dom*'<sup>76</sup> and a *khru*<sup>77</sup> there is a door closed with  
a slab of stone (*g'yam-pa*), a full '*dom* square.

When this is moved upwards, there is a  
transverse door (*phred-sgo*) below, to be opened  
in the middle.

Upon that there are iron rings and iron hooks  
connected with various chains. When the door  
is opened by unfastening the iron hooks, there  
are two swords. They (are hanging) on two ropes

dgra-zor-gyis bcad-pa'i dus-su : ral-gri gñis sa-la  
bog-nas 'gro-yi : nañ-du phyin-la thog-mar  
ral-gri mdor 'don-par-bya'o :

De-nas mar-me che-ba žig bteg-la nañ-du  
phyin-pas : rdo-skas rim-pa-bdun babs-pa'i sa-  
na : señ-ldeñ dañ gla-gor-gyis gduñ gñibs-pa'i  
steñ : zañs-mo-che kha-sbyar-ba'i nañ-na :  
gser-sbaram dañ mchal<sup>79</sup> bres-pa mi-khur bdun  
yod : De'i-dkyil-na dñul-gyi-ga'u žig-na : rin-po-  
che nor-bu bsam'phel-bya dañ-pa'i sgo-ña  
tsam-gcig lha'i-gos Pañtsa-li-kas gril-nas : rGyal-  
po sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan-gyi gNam-žal rin-po-che  
phra-men-gyi skyogs-su bcug-ste : Pañtsa-li-ka  
la-sogs-pa lha'i na-bza' bdun-gyis gril-nas yod-  
do :

De'i zañs-kyi mtha'-na : dkor-cha rin-po-che  
dñul-gyi bum-pa rta'i-mgo-can gsum : rGyal-po  
lDe-ru-gnam-gžuñ-btsan-gyi gnam-sder rin-po-  
che sna-tshogs-las rañ-'khruñs-su grub-pa dañ :  
rGyal-po Khri-thog-rje-btsan-gyi dbu-thod gser-  
gyi ga'ur bcug-nas rin-po-che sna-bdun-gyis  
rgyas btab-nas yod :

gŽan-yañ gzi'i phor-pa rin-po-che sna-  
tshogs-kyis phra-btab-pa bdun : dñul-gyi gsol-  
sder bdun-cu-don-bdun : zañs-kyi-snod drug-cu  
rin-po-che mchiñ-bus bkañ-ba yod-do :

Sruñ-ma Šam-po'i-gañs-btsan-la gtad-nas  
yod-pas : Mar-gyi g'yag dañ bšos-bu dañ gser-  
skyems-kyis mchod-la thon : Khyi-'brug-glañ-  
lug-bžis loñs-spyod-par šog-cig smon-lam btab-  
ste : rGyal-brgyud rim-pa-nas rim-par kha-byañ  
phyag-tu-brgyud-nas gtad-de : Mu-tig-btsan-po'i  
riñ-la brag lag-sor 'dra-ba-la gter-du sbas-so :

Re'u-mig gžan-dag-kun-na yañ : gser-phye  
zañs-kyi rdza-ma re-re yod-de : Kha-byañ  
smos-pa'i sgo ni dañ-po-nas med-do :

Kha-byañ mDzod-kyi-lde-mig rgyud-las  
Yum-bu-bla-mkhar-gyi le'u-ste dañ-po'o :

This description of the rock-chamber or cave, called *bañ-so* or tomb, comprising five sections, is so detailed that it is possible to make a reconstruction as shown in Plate III. This chamber is obviously

placed within the threshold. When they are cut by enemy weapons, the two swords fall down, and those who first come inside are simply driven out by the swords.

Then, those who will enter raise a great lamp and descend a stone staircase (*rdo-skas*) with seven steps. Here upon the ground, beams of *señ-ldeñ* and *gla-gor*<sup>78</sup> are laid side by side. Upon these is placed a *Zañs-mo-che kha-sbyar-ba*, within which there are seven man-loads of unwrought gold mixed with cinnabar (vermillion). In the middle (of the room), there is a silver *ga'u* with a wish-fulfilling jewel, big as an egg, wrapped up in the *Pañcalika* garment of the gods, placed in a jewel-studded bowl, the *gNam-žal* of King *sToñ-ri-stoñ-btsan*, which is wrapped up in *Pañcalika* and the other seven divine garments.

Besides the *zañs*, there are jewels and precious things in three silver bottles (*bum-pa*) with horse-heads. The various *gnam-sder* jewels, which King *lDe-ru-gnam-gžuñ-btsan* got when he was born, and the royal diadem (*dbu-thod*) of King *Khri-thog-rje-btsan* were placed in a golden *ga'u* sealed with the seven precious materials.

Furthermore, there are seven drinking bowls of onyx, studded with various jewels, seventy-seven silver plates and sixty copper vessels filled with precious *mchiñ-bu*.<sup>80</sup>

The guardianship was handed over to the *bTsan* of the *Šam-po* glacier. Therefore, butter-yaks,<sup>81</sup> pieces of food, and wine must be set out as offerings. "Come and enjoy it those (of the years) Dog, Dragon, Ox, and Sheep!"<sup>82</sup> This prayer was made. Within the royal family, this *Kha-byañ* has continually been handed down from generation to generation. Under *Mu-tig-btsan-po* it was hidden as a *gTer* in a rock looking like a finger.

In all the other sections (*re'u-mig*), there are copper pots (*rdza-ma*) (with) gold-dust. There exists no other *Kha-byañ* than this of the first door.

The first chapter concerning *Yum-bu-bla-mkhar*, according to the transmitted *mDzod-kyi-lde-mig* (Treasure-Key) and *Kha-byañ* (Foundation Document).

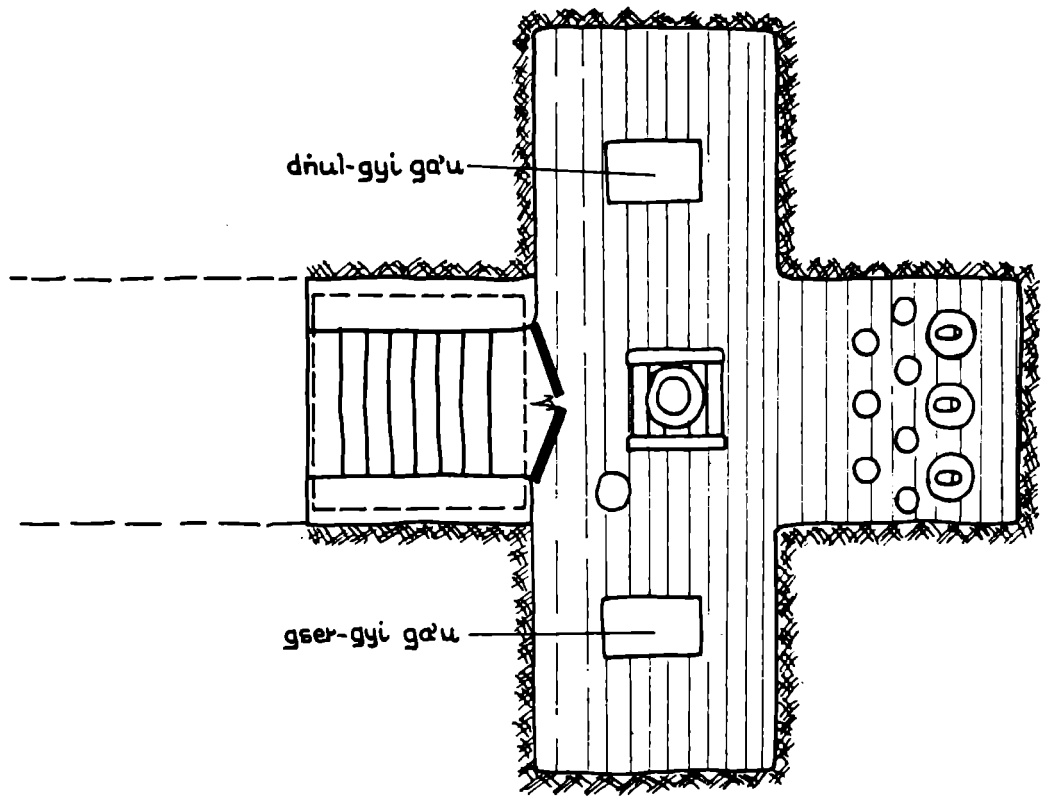
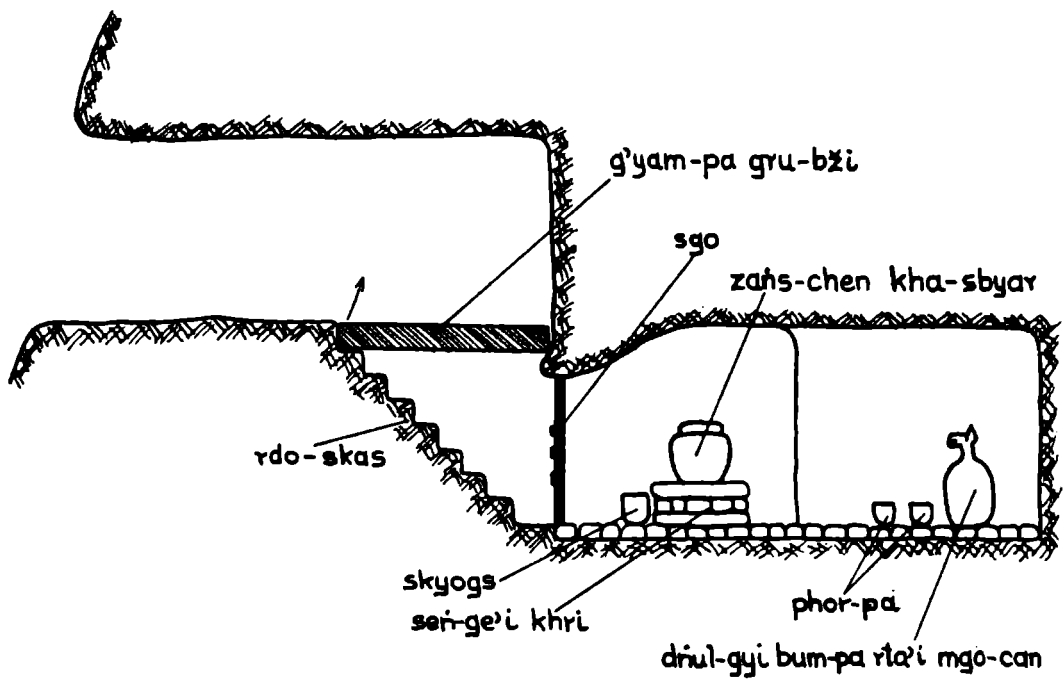


Plate III: The Treasure-Tomb of Yum-bu-bla-sgañ.

a former grave or tomb, *bañ-so*, perhaps dating back to the very early part of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, which by tradition is intimately connected with Sog-kha and Yum-bu-bla-mkhar. In a later time this grave or tomb has been transformed into a kind of royal treasury of the Yar-luñ kings, as shown by its contents enumerated in the above quotation, and its name *nor-gyi bañ-so*, treasure-tomb.

While the funeral rites, as far as they have been described in the previously quoted texts, concern only the royal family and the officials of the realm, the events connected with the erection of the *rTsis-kyi-rdo-riñs*, which seem to have taken place at the end of the mourning period, had the character of a commemorative celebration, in which the whole people participated. As indicated by G. Tucci (195.32ff.) we have reason to believe that the erection of a stone pillar in the immediate vicinity of the royal tomb was a customary occurrence, at any rate in historical time. With regard to the erection of the pillar at the tomb of King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, and the events connected with it, the rGyal-po *bka'i-thañ-yig* relates in the following way (37.43r-v):

rTsis-kyi-rdo-riñ ji-ltar bslañs-pa yañ :	How the <i>rTsis-kyi-rdo-riñ</i> <sup>83</sup> was erected:
gTsug-lag-lha-khañ tshar-ba'i dus-su ni :	When the <i>gTsug-lag-lha-khañ</i> <sup>84</sup> was completed,
sToñ-sde phyogs-kyi mi-rnams-kun tshogs-nas :	Men from all the areas of <i>sToñ-sde</i> <sup>85</sup> gathered, and
Rin-cen rdo-la 'phrul-gyis 'khyags luñ btags :	By ingenious device the costly stone was lifted in chains fastened to it.
rGyal-po'i druñ-du bde-blag drañs-nas ni :	With ease it was drawn to (the tomb of) the King, and
Rig-pa-can-gyi rdo-bzo-mkhan-rnams-kyis :	Skilled stone-cutters
lCags-žun rdo-rje pha-lam btab-nas ni :	Worked it with molten iron and <i>vajra</i> -diamonds, and
'Phrul-gyi bzo-bos gzoñ thogs lag-gis bdar :	Eminent artisans polished it with their hands and a multitude of chisels.
Ji-ltar rdo-riñ bzo legs-btsugs-pa ni :	When thus the work on the <i>rDo-riñ</i> <sup>86</sup> had well commenced,
Yab-mes rgyal-pos ji-ltar mdzad-tshul dañ :	The ways in which the forefathers and the King had acted,
Thañ-yig rgyal-po'i bka'-luñ stsal-ba bris :	The <i>Thañ-yig</i> , and the King's orders and edicts were engraved.
rGyal-po dge-spyod sgo-mo-rnam-bži-la :	At the four gates of the King's pious acts,
Sroñ-gi bañ-so che-ba'i yon-tan dañ :	At the great and magnificent tomb of <i>Sroñ (-btsan-sgam-po)</i> ,
bŽugs-kyi sku-mkhar bŽeñs-kyi lha-khañ dañ :	At his personal residential castle, at his <i>bŽeñs-kyi-lha-khañ</i> , and
rTsis-kyi-rdo-riñ rnam-pa-bži-la ni :	At the <i>rTsis-kyi-rdo-riñ</i> , at these four
Rab-gnas mdzad-dus stoñ-sde'i mi-rnams tshogs :	The men from the <i>sToñ-sde</i> gathered when the consecration was performed.
Lo-paṅ grub-thob bla-mchod-rnams-la ni :	As offerings to the <i>Lo-tsa-bas</i> , the <i>Pañđitas</i> , and the <i>Siddhas</i>
Tshogs-kyi-'khor-lo'i dga'-ston byas-nas-su :	They performed a celebration of <i>gañacakra-kṣaṇa</i> , and
Bod-kyi bde-skyid gzigs mo-sna-tshogs byas :	Cast lots to get insight into the fortune of <i>Bod</i> .
sToñ-sde'i rta-brgyugs glu gar bro śen dañ :	The horse race of the <i>sToñ-sde</i> , songs and dances, such as <i>Gar</i> , <i>Bro</i> , and <i>Śen</i> , <sup>87</sup> and
gŽon-pa'i rdo-ba rtsed mched byed-pa dañ :	The stone-plays of the young ones were performed as between brothers, and



Mi-dga' lha-dga' skyid-rtags bcu-gsum byas :	Human delights, godly delights, the thirteen signs of happiness were performed.
bDe-skyid phun-tshogs sum-cu-rtsa-gsum-gyi :	It was like the wishing-tree of the thirty-three kinds of excellent happiness,
dPag-bsam-ñiñ sogs chos-bzañ lha-yul 'dra :	Like the Divine Country of Good Order ( <i>Chos-bzañ lHa-yul</i> ).
'Dod-pa'i yon-tan lña-la gañ dgyes rol :	They rejoiced and amused themselves with the wished-for five goods, and
Loñs-spyod sprin-phuñ dgos-rgu char-ltar babs :	Enjoyment came like all the rain desired from gathering clouds.
Bañ-ba'i ñañ-la bde-chen rol-pa mdzad :	In the foot-race, they acted with felicity and amusement.
Thugs-la ci bsam rañ-bžin lhun-gyis-grub :	What is thought in the mind is of nature self-created.
Bod-khams bde-skyid bka'-nan rgya-char mdzad :	They made an urgent and far-reaching exhortation for the happiness of <i>Bod-khams</i> .
rTsis-kyi-rdo-riñ ji-ltar bsłañs-pa'i le'u-ste bcu-bdun-pa'o :	Chapter seventeen, How the <i>rTsis-kyi-rdo-riñ</i> was erected.

If the information given by Tibetan and Chinese sources is co-ordinated with that appearing from various other, already published Tibetan sources, above all the Tun-huang Ms published by M. Lalou (4), we are able to get a general idea of the customs and rites connected with the death and burial of a bTsan-po. The idea can only be a general one, because the sources give us in no instance an exhaustive representation, but emphasize some features at the cost of others. Moreover, the material available covers a period of several centuries, during which certain features may have changed, quite apart from the circumstance that we cannot immediately assume that the performance of the burial remained identical from case to case. It seems, however, indicated by the material that the fundamental features of the burial customs, and the religious concept in which the burial rites were founded have remained unaltered from prehistoric time until the latest time of the Dynasty, in spite of the gradually increasing influence of Buddhism.

The funeral customs prescribed the lapse of a period of two full years from the death of the king until his final burial, and this period may be characterized as the *mourning period*. According to Tibetan definition, the period in question amounted to three years, i.e. it fell within three consecutive years of the twelve-year cycle of the Tibetan calendar. The Tun-huang Ms published by M. Lalou states (4.345, lin. 80-81):

// mDad-chen-po ni thog-ma groñs ñog-du /  
gyur-<sup>88</sup>nas // lo-gsum-gyi du-su bgyi 'tshal-te //

The great funeral (*mDad chen-po*) shall be performed in the third year after the death has been originally established.

and the observation of this period of three years, interpreted in our concept as two full years, is confirmed by the Historical Annals from Tun-huang (1). The actual length of the period depended on two circumstances, one being the time of the year when the king died, the other being the fact that the final burial had to take place at an auspicious time of the year, which seems to have been at the transition from autumn to winter or in the beginning of the latter season, before the earth froze, actually in the months of November and December (see p. 371 and Appendix IV).

With regard to the great or final funeral, mDad chen-po, and the fate of the royal corpse before it, the Historical Annals contain a number of data referring to the burial of both kings, queens, and an heir to the throne dying prematurely. When considering the customs and rites applying to the burial of the kings, we must naturally make due reservation as to the data concerning the two latter categories

of burial, which must have differed in various respects from that of a king in consequence of his particular status. The data in question are as follows, the reference numbers being the current numbers of the years, as used in the edition of the Historical Annals (1.13–52):

Concerning King *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po*:

1. Year *Khyi* 650/51:<sup>99</sup>

bTsan-po myes Khri-sroñ-rtsan-gyi spur  
Phyiñ-ba'i Riñ-khañ-na' riñ-mkhyud-chiñ  
bžug-ste

The corpse of the *bTsan-po*'s grandfather  
*Khri-sroñ-rtsan* was placed in the *Riñ-khañ* of  
*Phyiñ-ba*<sup>90</sup> to *riñ-mkhyud*.

2. Year *Phag* 651/52:

Phyiñ-bar / bTsan-pho myes Khri-sroñ-  
rtsan-gyi mda'd btañ-bar ...

In *Phyiñ-ba*, the funeral sacrifices were pre-  
sented (*mda'd btañ*) to *bTsan-po*'s grandfather  
*Khri-sroñ-rtsan*.

Concerning King *Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan*:

27. Year *Byi* 676/77:<sup>91</sup>

/ dgun ... / Khri-Mañ-sloñ dguñ-du-  
gšegs /

During the winter ... *Khri Mañ-sloñ* went  
to Heaven (died).

28. Year *gLañ* 677/78:

/ bTsan-po yab-gyi spur Ba-lam-na  
mkhyid-ciñ bžug-ste /

The corpse of *bTsan-po*'s father was placed  
in *Ba-lam* to *mkhyid*.

29. Year *sTag* 678/79/

/ bTsan-po yab-gyi riñ / Ba-lam-na  
mkhyid-ciñ bžug-ste / ... dgun-smad ... /  
yab btol-bar

The *riñ* of *bTsan-po*'s father was placed in  
*Ba-lam* to *mkhyid*. ... in the last part of winter  
... the father was *btol* ...

30. Year *Yos* 679/80:

/ Pyiñ-bar bTsan-pho yab-gyi mdad btañ-  
bar ...

In *Pyiñ-ba*, the funeral sacrifices were present-  
ed (*mdad btañ*) to *bTsan-po*'s father ...

Concerning King *'Dus-sroñ*:

55. Year *'Brug* 704/05:

/ dGun bTsan-pho chab-srid-la Myawa-la  
gšegs-pa-las / dguñ-du-gšegs /

During winter *bTsan-po* went to *Myawa*  
concerning the royal authority, and went to  
Heaven (died).

56. Year *sBrul* 705/06:

/ bTsan-po yab Khri-'Dus-sroñ-gyi dpur /  
Mer-ke'i Riñ-khañ-na bžugs / dGun

The corpse of *bTsan-po*'s father *Khri-'Dus-  
sroñ* was placed in the *Riñ-khañ* of *Mer-ke*.  
During winter ...

57. Year *rTa* 706/07:

... dByard ... / bTsan-po yab-gyi dpur  
Mer-ke-na bžugs ... dGun Phyiñ-bar bTsan-  
po yab-gyi mdad btañ /

... During summer ... The corpse of *bTsan-  
po*'s father was placed in *Mer-ke*. ... During  
winter, the funeral sacrifices were presented  
(*mdad btañ*) to *bTsan-po*'s father in *Phyiñ-ba*.

Concerning Queen *Mun-cañ Koñ-co* (Wên-ch'êng Kung-chu):

34. Year *Lug* 683/84:<sup>92</sup>

/ dGun btsan-mo Mun-cañ Koñ-co'i  
mdad btañ-bar ...

During winter the funeral sacrifices were  
presented (*mdad btañ*) to the *bTsan-mo Mun-cañ  
Koñ-co* ...

Concerning Queen *Mañ-paṅs*<sup>98</sup>:

57. Year *rTa* 706/07:

/ dGun ... / Pyi Mañ-paṅs noṅs /

58. Year *Lug* 707/08:

/ sTon Phyi Mañ-paṅs-gyi mdad btañ /

During winter ... The grandmother *Mañ-paṅs noṅs*.

During autumn, the funeral sacrifices were presented (*mdad btañ*) to the grandmother *Mañ-paṅs*.

Concerning Queen *Khri-ma-lod*:<sup>94</sup>

63. Year *Byi* 712/13:

/ dGun ... / Pyi Khri-ma-lod noṅs / ...  
/ Phyi btol-bar ...

During Winter ... The grandmother *Khri-ma-lod noṅs*. ... The grandmother was *btol-ba* ...

64. Year *gLañ* 713/14:

/ dGun ... / Pyiñ-bar Phyi Khri-ma-lod-gyi mdad btañ /

During winter ... The funeral sacrifices were presented (*mdad btañ*) to the grandmother *Khri-ma-lod* in *Pyiñ-ba*.

Concerning Queen *Thog-thog-steñ*:<sup>96</sup>

72. Year *Bya* 721/22:

/ dGun ... / Yum bTsan-ma Tog noṅs-par ...

During winter ... The mother *bTsan-ma Tog noṅs* ...

74. Year *Phag* 723/24:

/ dGun ... / Yum mTsan mThogi mdad btañ /

During winter ... The funeral sacrifices were presented (*mdad btañ*) to the mother *mTsan mThog*.

Concerning Queen *lHa-spaṅs*:<sup>96</sup>

81. Year *rTa* 730/31:

/ ... dbyard ... / lCam lHa-spaṅs noṅs /

During summer ... The consort *lHa-spaṅs noṅs*.

83. Year *sPre'u* 732/33:

/ dGun ... / lCam lHas-paṅs-gyi mdad btañ /

During winter. ... The funeral sacrifices were presented (*mdad btañ*) to the consort *lHas-paṅs*.

Concerning Queen *Kim-šeñ Khoṅ-co* (Chin-ch'êng Kung-chu) and the Heir Apparent *lJan-tsha lHas-bon*:

90. Year *Yos* 739/40:<sup>97</sup>

/ ... dbyard ... / Sras lHas-bon Dron-na bZugs / bZugs-pa-las noṅs / ... / dGun ... / bTsan-mo Kim-šeñ Khoṅ-co noṅs-par

During summer ... The son *lHas-bon* stayed in *Dron*. Staying there he *noṅs*. ... During winter ... *bTsan-mo Kim-šeñ Khoṅ-co noṅs* ...

92. Year *sBrul* 741/42:

/ dGun ... / bTsan-po sras lHas-bon dañ / bTsan-mo Khoṅ-co gñis-gyi mdad btañ / -bar ...

During winter ... The funeral sacrifices were presented (*mdad btañ-ba*) to *bTsan-po*'s son *lHas-bon* and to *bTsan-mo Khoṅ-co*, these two ...

The data concerning the three kings show that a period of mourning of at least *three Tibetan years of the animal cycle* was observed. Where the queens and the heir apparent are concerned, the same period was observed, except in the cases of the two grandmothers *Mañ-paṅs* and *Khri-ma-lod*, for whom

the mourning period was only one year, or two years of the animal cycle.<sup>98</sup> We may here be dealing with a special rule applying to the queens of the elder generation, the dowager queens, which seems contradicted by the data referring to *Mun-cañ Koñ-co*. If we are to believe the general tradition, this queen survived three generations of kings and had no son, but still she was honoured with a great funeral, four Tibetan years after her death. At present, this occurrence may be explained only from her status as a Chinese princess having, as it seems, even in her very last years a great influence in Tibet.

Beyond showing the period elapsing from the death of the royal persons until their final burial, the data given above permit us to distinguish between four particular events characterizing this period:

1. the occurrence of the death, *dguñ-du-gségs* of kings and *noñs* of queens and heirs to the throne.<sup>99</sup>
2. the deposition of the corpse in a *Riñ-khañ*,
3. an act characterized as *btol-ba*,
4. the performance of the final burial, characterized by the term *mdad btañ*.

These four events define three intermediary intervals of time indicating three different stages of the treatment or the condition of the corpse of the deceased, which itself seems correspondingly conceived in different aspects. In the first two intervals, it is designated as *spur*, *dpur* and *riñ*, respectively, while in the last interval, it is mentioned in more personal terms, such as *yab*, *yum*, *btsan-po*<sup>100</sup> etc. In the following, however, we shall see that in spite of these formal distinctions, the corpse was conceived as an inert, dead body during the whole time until the *mdad*, the final burial.

With regard to the special terms applying to the last three of the four events enumerated above, and to what they imply as to the treatment and condition of the corpse, we must resort partly to conjectures based on the material presented previously in this chapter of the paper.

Evidently there elapsed some time between the death and the deposition of the corpse in the *Riñ-khañ*, during which the corpse was subjected to a particular, preparatory treatment, the nature of which seems implied, partly by the descriptions of the treatment of the Kung-ming-jên, the Nü-wang, and the Yang-t'ung chiefs, partly by the prescriptions given in the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po (see p. 344). We may assume that the brain and the entrails were removed and substituted with vermilion and possibly gold dust, i.e. that a kind of embalming process was actually performed.

At the next stage, the corpse characterized as *riñ* was placed in a *Riñ-khañ*, in the care of a *Riñ-mkhan*. As to the term *riñ*,<sup>101</sup> we may in principle agree with H. Hoffmann that in this connection it signifies "Gebein" or *bone, skeleton*, in a further sense "Leichnam" or *dead body, spur* (161.12–13); still we may emphasize that it signifies *a special condition of the corpse*. The disposal of the corpse or *riñ* in the *Riñ-khañ* seems to have occurred comparatively soon after the death, and it seems as though the corpse remained in the *Riñ-khañ* until the final burial, the *mdad*. Moreover, each king seems to have had his particular *Riñ-khañ* in the neighbourhood of the royal necropolis in 'Phyoñs-rgyas.

H. Hoffmann (loc.cit.) interprets *Riñ-khañ* as *Totenhau*, *house of the dead*, and from the Historical Annals quoted above we learn that the corpse was placed there to, or for the purpose of, *riñ-mkhyud* or *-mkhyid*, where the latter form stands for *mkhyud*. In the various meanings in which we know the word *mkhyud*, viz. to keep, hold, retain, etc., the expression *riñ-mkhyud*, therefore, gives us no further information beyond the fact that the corpse was to be kept or retained in the *Riñ-khañ*. The reason for retaining the corpse there for a period of about two years may be found in various circumstances. An immediate and natural explanation might be that a certain time was demanded for building the royal tomb which, as far as we can discern, was built only in exceptional cases during the king's lifetime. The main reason for retaining the corpse for this time before the final burial seems, however, to have been that the corpse had to attain a certain stage of decay or, perhaps rather, exsiccation, before it was to be placed in some state of preservation in the tomb. The demand that bTsan-po's corpse "should be taken away from men that it may decay," made in the myth of Gri-gum-btsan-po, probably alludes to the actual disposal of the royal corpse in the *Riñ-khañ*.

In the winter preceding that of the final burial, while the corpse was retained in the *Riñ-khañ*, an operation was performed which in the Historical Annals is expressed by the term *btol-ba*. J. Bacot (1)

translates the term *btol-ba* as *ensevelir*. Thus J. Bacot agrees in a general sense with H. Hoffmann who conceives *btol* in the sense of *burying*, *begraben* or *bestatten*, and implies an elapse of about one year between the *burial*, *Bestattung*, and the *funeral solemnities*, *Totenfeier*. Depending solely on the text of the Historical Annals, Hoffman is perfectly justified in this interpretation, but the Tun-huang text published later on by M. Lalou quite clearly shows the untenability of the implication to which this interpretation leads us, viz. that we should distinguish between a *burial* or *interment* and a *funeral solemnity* separated from each other by one year.

No doubt, an embalming process was performed, and it took its beginning immediately after the king's death. Characteristic evidence that the royal corpse was buried in an embalmed, mummified state, seems to appear from the Chinese accounts of the chiefs of the closely related Yang-t'ung, quoted above, whose corpses were equipped with a false nose of gold, and teeth of silver. However, the significance of the operation characterized as *btol-ba* still remains to be explained. The vocable *btol* may be regarded as related to *gtol* and *rtol*, all derived from \**tol*. From *rtol* derives *brtol* mentioned by H. Hoffmann in a sense identical with *phug-pa*, *Höhle* or *Grotte* (161.13). The principal significance of *gtol* or *rtol* is that of *placing* or *forcing one object into another one*, hence the verbal meanings of to pierce, bore, incise, etc. In *btol-ba*, as applied to the royal corpses, we may give two different interpretations, viz. an incision in the corpse in the sense of a dismemberment or quartering of it, or the disposal of it within the particular *zañs* or *ga'u* which served as a permanent receptacle for it, when finally it was placed in the tomb.<sup>102</sup> The former alternative is not particularly far-fetched on the background of the obvious dissection of the corpse of the Nü-wang, which was placed together with gold-dust in a vase or vessel, just as the corpses of the Tibetan kings were placed together with vermilion in a *zañs* or *ga'u*. The latter case does not necessarily provide a dismemberment of the body, but merely the necessary measures to bring the body into a condition suitable for its disposal in the *zañs*. Moreover the latter case agrees perfectly with the general meaning of the vocable. We are therefore inclined to regard *btol-ba* as a term comprising *the whole procedure connected with the disposal of the corpse in its final receptacle*.

The final stage of the burial process is defined as *mdad btañ* in the Historical Annals, and as *mdad chen-po* in the Tun-huang Ms. published by M. Lalou. The vocable *mdad* derives from 'da', to die or to be dead, based on the idea of transition, 'das. The form *mda'd* occurring in the Historical Annals presents a more immediate reminiscence of this. Later Tibetan 'dad, derived from 'da', signifies the *death-meal* or *funeral-meal* presented to the deceased. Therefore, *mdad btañ*, where *btañ* derives from *gtoñ*, to transfer, give, place, etc., means in its narrowest sense the *presentation of the funeral-meal*, the final act of the burial, while *mdad-btañ* or simply *mdad*, signifies in a wider and generalized sense *the funeral itself and the funeral feast* in all its various aspects.

In his translation of the Historical Annals, J. Bacot (1) adopts the form *mdañ* instead of the actually and consequently occurring form *mdad*. Substituting *mdad btañ* with *mdañ btañ* thus, the author translates the term in various ways, partly exceeding the inherent sense of it, such as *porter à ensevelir au lieu de sépulture*, *porter (envoyer) sur (au) lieu de sépulture*, *porter au lieu de sépulture (de crémation)*, *pour les funérailles*, or *porter au lieu de crémation*. Just as *mdad*, the word *mdañ* derives from 'da', but it signifies *the burial place* or, under the provision of a cremation, the place of cremation. The material available for the present study shows quite definitely that *mdad* is the correct form, characterizing the funeral from its abundance of funeral sacrifices. J. Bacot prefers the form *mdañ* apparently because *mdañ* in a later time, with altered customs, signifies a place of burial. Though referring to the assertion of F. W. Thomas that the Tibetan kings were interred, not cremated (see loc.cit.), a pronounced doubt with regard to the way of burial clearly appears from the differing expressions used as translations of *mdad btañ*. In agreement with G. Tucci (195.76, note 20) we may expressly state that the idea of cremation must definitely be ruled out, where the Yar-luñ kings are concerned.

Various sources, above all the descriptions of the actual appearance and arrangement of the royal tombs,<sup>103</sup> the descriptions and prescriptions concerning the burial of King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po,<sup>104</sup> and the description of the *mdad chen-po*, published by M. Lalou,<sup>105</sup> enable us to get a fairly good idea of the main features of the final burial and its performance.

Where the Tun-huang Ms. published by M. Lalou, and particularly its lines 1–92, are concerned, we have hitherto without reservation assumed that its description of the mdad chen-po applies to the funerals of the Yar-luñ kings. Although there are many indications to support this assumption, definite proof that the Ms. actually deals with the funerals of these kings has not as yet been established.

From the following comparison of material manifestly applying to the Yar-luñ kings and their burial with the description given in the Tun-huang Ms., the issue seems, however, to present satisfactory evidence as to the identity of the subject, even when the circumstance is considered that the terminology of the Ms. differs in essential points from that of the remaining sources.

The descriptions of the burial chambers and their interior arrangement give us the most concrete evidence with regard to the final burial of the kings. The ground-plan of the burial chambers in the royal tombs seems invariably to have been a square divided into nine equal squares according to the system of the re'u-mig (see p. 386). The tomb, itself, therefore consisted of nine separate sections, the central one of which served as the actual burial chamber, while the surrounding eight sections served as depositories for the royal treasures or the offerings brought to the king at his death and burial.

The description of the tomb of 'Bro-gñan-lde'u in Žaṅ-phu'i-mda' (see p. 349–50) relates that the central section of the tomb, the burial chamber, contained *a throne*, a ldeñ-khri, made from sandal-wood. On this throne was placed *a full-sized golden image of the king*, wearing the kings attire, and *a great, closed vessel, zañs-chen kha-sbyar, containing the remains of the deceased and filled up with cinnabar, mtshal*. Moreover, the burial chamber was originally filled up with *burning butter-lamps*.

The descriptions of the burial chamber in the tomb of King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po conform with this description, but they are more elaborate in certain respects, thus furnishing us with additional details. According to the rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig (see p. 350), the king's remains, covered with gold, were concealed in *a silver ga'u* placed on *a throne*, above which *a canopy* and *silk banners* were raised *as a dais*. The king's personal treasures were piled up before the throne and the burial chamber was equipped with *tables carrying butter-lamps* in seven rows, one above the other.

The description of the tomb given by Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje is incomplete, confounding details from the actual burial section of the tomb with details from the upper section of it, which formed a temple or gTsug-lag-lha-khañ.<sup>106</sup> In this description, only the following passages refer to the burial chamber, viz. (195.3):

In the very middle there were the dress of the king, / inconceivable kinds of gems / and myriads of precious diadems. / Upon that there was an all-pervading umbrella / made of sandal wood called *sprul sñiñ*.

and (195.3–4):

Then the most precious thing of the king himself / is a heap of precious glass (*'chiñ bu*)<sup>107</sup>, one full cubit / this was the auspicious thing in the middle; / it was then wrapped in silk cloth and hidden.

Comparing these descriptions with that of the burial chamber of 'Bro-gñan-lde'u, we miss one important object in the tomb of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, viz. an image of the king. In the beginning of his description of the royal tombs, Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje, however, relates (195.1–2), that

In the old records it is so briefly stated: In the quadrangular tomb they made some partitions (*re'u mig*): they mixed mud with silk and paper: / with that they made the image of the saintly king; / then drawing along a car with music / they placed the image inside the tomb. / They filled up the partitions inside with precious things.

dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.67v–69v) gives a long description of the events at the death of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, in which he reproduces the orthodox Buddhist tradition as represented by the Ma-ñi bka''-bum

with other yet indefinable traditions. On two occasions in his note-text he gives the following information (64.67v–68r and 69v):

De-nas bLon-po mGar na-re rGyal-khams  
gžan-gyi mis Bod-kyi blon-po gdug-pa-can-  
rnams-kyis rgyal-po yab-yum gar gśegs med-pa  
byas zer-du 'oñ-gis spur sbyon-ba'i tshul ma-  
byas-na mi-ruñ-ño žes bgros-te lha-la thim-pa  
gsañs-nas 'Phan-yul Zal-mo'i-sgañ 'Od-zer-dam-  
pa'i pho-brañ-du bžugs-pa-na mgur-cham byuñ-  
pa log-ste tshad-par-śor žabs-tog lha-gcig-gñis-  
kyis mdzad-pas lha-gcig-gñis kyañ bsñuñ-ste  
sku-'das-so bar bsgrags-nas dar-sman dañ sa  
spyin-la rgyal-po yab-yum-gsum-gyi sku bcos-na  
bza'-gsol-ste / sKu-'bag stag-pags-kyi steñ-du  
bžag-nas šiñ-rta-la gdan-drañs / Yar-luñs 'Phyoñ-  
po'i nañ-du bañ-so btab-ste re-mig dbus-mar  
bžugs-su gsol-ste . . . . .

De-nas bañ-so'i nañ-du lha-khañ lña byas-te  
Phyi ri-bo-ltar byibs-nas Lo-gcig-du rgyal-blon-  
'bañs-dañ-bcas-pas bskor-ba byas-ciñ phyis kyañ  
lo-dus-su mchod-pa dañ bskor-ba mdzad-to /

The old records referred to by Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje are undoubtedly those also used in the work of dPa'-bo gTsong-lag and the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ. These sources contain the Buddhist legend that Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po together with two of his queens did not die a natural death, but vanished into the statues of Buddhist deities in the temple of 'Phrul-snañ in Lha-sa, the king into that of Avalokiteśvara, of whom he is considered an incarnation. According to the legend there could therefore be no corpse of the king to bury, and the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ, like dPa'-bo gTsong-lag, describes the burial of the king as the burial of the king's image (58.81r–v; 60.188r):

De-yi bañ-so 'Tshoñ-po'i nañ-du btab //  
Che-chuñ tshad ni dpag-tshad gcig-tsam-la //  
Bañ-so gru-bži dkyil-du re-mig byas //

Dar dañ śog-bu bsres-pa'i 'jim-pa-la //  
De-la Chos-rgyal chen-po'i sku bžeñs-nas //

Śiñ-rtar spyan-drañs rol-mor bcas-nas ni //

sKu-de bañ-so'i nañ-du bžugs-par mdzad //  
Nañ-gi re-mig thams-cad nor-gyis bkañ //

Bañ-so Nañ-rgyan-can-du grags-par-gyur //  
Nañ-du lHa-khañ lña yañ bžugs-so zer //

Then the minister *mGar* said: “The people of other kingdoms will say that the noxious ministers of Tibet say, “The King and his queens have gone nowhere”. Therefore, if there is no method to take away corpses, (everything) is useless.” So he argued, and they kept secret the melting away into the (image of the) god. “When they stayed in the palace 'Od-zer-dam-pa at Zal-mo'i-sgañ in 'Phan-yul, a *mgur-cham* (song-dance) was performed, and the two queens performed a dance of a file in a state of fever (*tshad-par-śor žabs-tog*). The two queens fell ill and died.” This was proclaimed, and figures of the King and the queens, these three, were made in alum? (silk?), earth, and glue. They feasted and placed the images (*sku-'bag*) upon tiger skin, and drew them on wagons. In *Yar-luñs 'Phyoñ-po* a tomb was erected, and (the images) were placed in the central section (*re-mig*)...

Then they made five chapels (*lha-khañ*) in the tomb (*bañ-so*). Outside it had the form of a mountain. One year (later) king, ministers, and subjects made circumambulation, and later at the anniversary they made offerings and circumambulation.

His tomb (*bañ-so*) was made in 'Tshoñ-po.<sup>108</sup>  
Its full measure was about one *dpag-tshad*.<sup>109</sup>  
In the quadrangular tomb sections (*re-mig*) were made.

A “mud” was mixed from silk and paper,  
By which a body(-image) of the great *Dharmarāja*  
was made.

It was carried on a carriage, and music was played.

This body(-image) was placed in the tomb.  
All the interior sections (*re-mig*) were filled with treasures.

The tomb was known as *Nañ-rgyan-can*.<sup>110</sup>  
“There are five chapels (*lha-khañ*) inside,” it is told.

Baṅ-so gru-bz̄ir brtsigs-pa de-nas byuñ //

Building of quadrangular tombs began with this one.

Miñ yañ sKu-ri-smug-po lags-so skad //

“The name, it is *sKu-ri-smug-po*,” that is said.

Similarly the various Buddhist sources either avoid mentioning the details concerning the burial of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po or attempt to make a compromise between the legendary account of his burial in effigy, *sku* or *sku-'bag*, and the historical fact that he died in Zal-mo-sgañ in 'Phan-yul, and was buried in 'Phyoñ-po, 'Phyoñs-rgyas or 'Phyiñ-ba in Yar-luñ.

It appears that the descriptions of the burial chambers of the pre-historic king 'Bro-gñan-lde'u and the historical King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po agree in all essential details. As to the images of the kings, we state that the image of the former king was made in gold, while that of the latter king was made by the papier mâché technique commonly known from Buddhist iconographic sculptures. This change of material, taken at its face value, may be due merely to the beginning of the influence of foreign art and handicraft. It may, however, also be due to the circumstance that an increasing importance of gold in commerce and payment may have restricted its former, abundant use for artistic and decorative use.

Apparently a change of customs seems to have taken place also with regard to the receptacle of the royal corpse. 'Bro-gñan-lde'u was placed in a *zañs-chen-mo*, a great vessel, of which it is expressly stated that it was closed, *kha-sbyar*. The word *zañs* generally signifies copper, while *zañs-mo* occurring in the abbreviated form *zañs*, signifies a vessel or vase, which is usually open. Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's corpse was placed in a *silver ga'u*, *dñul-gyi-ga'u*. The word *ga'u* expresses the general idea of a *closed vessel*, *box*, or *container*, but fundamentally it signifies any hollow body consisting of an upper and a lower part, which fitting together form an enclosed space within the body. Therefore, the alternating use of *zañs-chen kha-sbyar* and *ga'u* hardly expresses any fundamental difference with regard to the appearance of the receptacle for the royal corpse. The use of the word *ga'u* simply involves in itself the idea of a closed vessel, without further explanation. Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje (195.5) relates with regard to King Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan (Sad-na-legs) that “when they placed the body of the king in the tomb / they put it on a throne, inside a closed copper box.” From this record we learn that a principal feature of the burial, the very disposal of the royal corpse, remained unaltered to the final period of the Dynasty. As the original Tibetan text corresponding to “closed copper box” is not available, the translated expression copper box does not necessarily indicate a change of the metal used for the receptacle for the royal corpse. Probably the *zañs-mo* were usually made from copper, *zañs*. Hence their name. A *zañs-mo*, even if it is not particularly specified as a gold vessel or a silver vessel, *ger-gyi-zañs* or *dñul-gyi-zañs*, does not necessarily consist of copper. The question of the metal used depends therefore on whether the original text has *zañs-kyi ga'u* or *zañs-sbyar*, where the former word may have conveyed the idea of copper.

With regard to the information about the royal funeral, which we may expect to find in the Tun-huang Ms. published by M. Lalou, we have already mentioned above that it is not possible at present to give a satisfactory translation or interpretation of it. The main reasons for this are on one side the fact that we are dealing with a little-known theme having its particular terminology, and with a varying and somewhat uncertain orthography causing doubts and ambiguities, further complicating the matter. On the other side the very character of the text presents rich possibilities for misunderstanding or misinterpretation. The text deals, in fact, with various sequences of events, related in detail or in summary and given partly in a descriptive, partly in an explanatory form, without any strict chronological order.

Considering the importance which this text presents to certain parts of the present study, we shall, however, attempt a provisional analysis of it for the purpose of establishing a general idea of the final burial of bTsan-po and how it was performed, and which religious concept was connected with the deceased and with his burial and future form of existence.

When preparing the French rendering of the text and the accompanying notes, M. Lalou fully realized all the difficulties at hand, and that these permitted only a preliminary or tentative translation, leaving many details to a future interpretation. Where the general characteristics of the text and its



content are concerned, M. Lalou seems, however, to be wrong on some essential points, for which reason her translation itself is apt to give a somewhat distorted picture of the events and to blur out the significance of some fundamentally important features.

M. Lalou distinguishes between five different parts of the text, each of them forming an apparently independent unit. These *five main parts of the text* are, according to M. Lalou (4.340–42):

- I. Cérémonie grandiose des funérailles royales, dont il manque le début, mais qui occupe cependant les quatre-vingts premières lignes.
- II. Règles à observer pour la sépulture définitive d'un mort éminent qui doit être accomplie trois ans après le décès (lin. 80–92).
- III. Rites essentiels des funérailles des gens du commun (lin. 92–96).
- IV. Autre rituel de funérailles royales comprenant le rite de la rançon de l'âme (lin. 96–142).
- V. Funérailles d'une femme noble (lin. 142–145).

This division of the text into five main parts is acceptable, but we do not agree with regard to the descriptions or titles of the parts as employed by M. Lalou. These are based in four cases (II–V) on the initial words of the part in question. We agree provisionally with those employed for II, III, and IV, but not with that for V.

The initial words of part V translated by M. Lalou as “Funéraise d'une femme noble” are (line 142): *Mo btsun zig groñs ñog-du gyur-na*, “S'il s'agit de la mort d'une femme noble”. The crucial words are *mo btsun* translated as “femme noble”. There is no relation to “noblewomen” in general, but to one special noblewoman, *the queen* or *bTsun-mo*, who is a *mother of an heir apparent*, *mo*. *Mo-btsun* is in this connection a queen like those whose death and burial are recorded on several occasions in the Historical Annals from Tun-huang, a king's mother, a dowager queen.<sup>111</sup>

If we disregard in general the parts III and V which have only an indirect connection with the question of the funeral of bTsan-po, and study the parts, I, II, and IV, we find, as specified below, that a far more rigorous distinction is necessary, and that only such a rigorous distinction permits us to evaluate the text and get an idea of the real relation between the three main parts considered.

Moreover, the celebration of the ceremonies, which are described in parts I and IV respectively, is referred by M. Lalou to a time immediately after the king's death, but the ceremonies described in I and parts of IV refer, in fact, to the final burial of the king, the *mdad*, which took place three years after his death, as it appears unmistakably from the Historical Annals and the exposition given on p. 357 ff, and 422 ff. They form essential parts of the *mdad-chen-po* which ought to be celebrated according to the rules established in the main part II of the text. In fact, M. Lalou translates *mdad-sid-btan* (part II, lin. 82–3) as *l'envoi au tombeau*, thus actually referring the events described in I and parts of IV to the time prescribed in II, i.e. three years after the king's death, though formally avoiding an identity of events by referring I and IV to *funérailles*, but II to *sépulture définitive*. By making this distinction, M. Lalou obviously shares H. Hoffmann's idea of a distinction between a preliminary burial (*Bestattung*) and a later, final funeral (*Totenfeier*) (see p. 361).

Finally M. Lalou says that “en effet, dans la cérémonie I est mimée l'antique ascension au ciel”, and the translation of lin. 61 and the part of the text immediately following has been influenced by this concept, to which also the notes pp. 349–1, 351–5, 353–8, and 354–3 allude.

As an understanding of the basic religious concept connected with the burial of the king (especially the final phase of it, the *mdad*) and with the nature of the king after his death and burial, is fundamentally important for any interpretation of the text, it is necessary to discuss here *the religious aspect of the king's death and burial*.

At first, two important circumstances of a more general significance must be taken into consideration. One that hardly at any time in Tibet can we immediately characterize any ritual performance or ceremony as specifically Buddhist, Bon-po or belonging to the popular religion, pre-Buddhist or pre Bon-po, and least of all during the time of the Yar-luñ Dynasty. We must always consider the existence of all these three

principal strata of religion, one superimposed upon and intermingled with the other. None of them has ever been suppressed into oblivion by the superimposed one, but far more a mutual penetration of ideas seems to have occurred from the very beginning and henceforth to have continued. The other circumstance to consider is that during a religious development or after a change of religion, one particular feature of the previous or original religion generally shows an extraordinary tendency to survive, viz. the idea of death and the dead.

The rites applying to the royal funerals, as described in the text considered, may therefore be characterized as Bon-po as far as they were created or further developed under the auspices of the Bon religion, and were performed and guided by Bon-po priests. Though apparently predominating, the Bon-po elements are, however, secondary, while the primary and basic elements are pre-Bon-po, belonging to the surviving ideology of a previous religion.

The assumption made by M. Lalou that the ceremonial at the royal funeral is or includes a mimic representation of the dead king's ascension to heaven, is based on the tradition that the first kings of Tibet, the gNam-gyi-Khri-bdun (see p. 119) ascended to Heaven by means of the rMu-thag, when their time on earth had expired, thus leaving no corpse for a burial. This assumption is, however, based on no indication from the text. M. Lalou's interpretation of the expression *mtha' skya* in the sense of *gnam-gyi pa mtha' skya* or "l'apothéose faite" (lin. 63) presents no support. On the contrary, it is inspired from the assumption itself. The expression seems merely to signify "*when the final removal has been made,*" i.e. the final deposition of the royal corpse (see below).

Under the presupposition actually given, the idea of a mimic representation of the ascent to Heaven is purely conjectural. Considering, however, what we intend to show in another study, that a mimic representation of the royal ancestor's descent from Heaven to Earth actually seems to have been enacted at the ritual installment of the king, we might admit the probability of a similar performance at the king's burial. We might even admit that it is highly probable that the Bon-po may have connected, or attempted to connect, an idea of the ascent to Heaven or a return to the Celestial lHa with the ceremonial at the royal funeral, but we possess as yet no evidence whatever in this respect.<sup>112</sup> On the contrary we learn that, supported by the rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig, the Tun-huang Ms. itself shows quite definitely how the death and burial of bTsan-po as well as his status and whereabouts after the funeral were conceived in accordance with *the pre-Bon-po concept of the defunct, in a way that left no room for the Bon-po ideas of Heaven.*

We have seen that all three strata of religion, the pre-Bon-po, the Bon-po, and the Buddhist one, are represented and more or less mixed together in the traditions of the origin of the Tibetan kings, and we are going to show in another study that the rites which seem to have been connected with the installment of the kings were Bon-po with certain elements adopted from the previous religious ideology. In the rites applying to the royal funeral, the pre-Bon-po tradition and ideology remained, however, predominant, because the Bon religion either did not attempt to suppress, or did not succeed in suppressing, the ancient ideas of death and the dead, as Buddhism did later on. The Bon religion merely modified these ideas with regard to the mutual position of the world of the living and of that of the defunct, by providing special funeral rites and developing a sacrificial cult of the defunct, which restrained their power and influence to the confines of their tombs.

The Bon-po ideology became prevalent where the origin concept was concerned, but the pre-Bon-po concept prevailed where the death and burial of the kings were concerned. At that stage, which in the case of the Tibetans we may characterize as pre-Bon-po in the sense explained above (see p. 314), we may distinguish between the general idea of the defunct or the ancestors and the particular idea of the individually and personally known defunct. The great mass of the dead, the ancestors, were conceived in a more or less sharply defined, generalized sense, or in certain demonized or deified personifications (see p. 317 ff.), and we have attempted to show that these generalized ideas of the defunct formed the substratum from which the ideas of the Tibetan demons developed, and that the Bon-po concept of the lHa either developed from or substituted the generalized or personified forms of the defunct. While the idea of the ancestors thus represented a certain degree of abstraction from the immediate ideas of death

and the dead, matters were different in the case of the individual defunct, whose corpse and grave were tangible realities, of whom the memory was still vivid among the living, and who appeared in their thoughts and dreams. In their own world of the tombs, these individual defuncts spent an existence not less real to the Tibetan than that of his living fellow men.

*The rites at the royal funeral were fundamentally based on this idea of continual existence and reality of the individual defunct, and their ultimate object was that of creating a satisfactory world of existence for the dead, but still existing, king within the confines of his tomb, not in Heaven. These rites give us testimony of a highly developed funeral and ancestral cult among the Tibetans in early historical time, of which Buddhist sources for obvious reasons show very few vestiges.*

In the description of the g'Yuñ-druñ-Bon and its significance, we have mentioned the distinction between two worlds of existence, that of *gson-po*, the living, and that of *gśin-po*, the dead, and learned that the object of the Bon religion was to subdue and tame the dead and their manifestations for the protection of the living. The means to attain this object was that of closing the doors to the graves of the dead, i.e. restraining the dead and their power to the graves by a ritual treatment of their corpses and by the performance of the funeral rites. In this description we are dealing with the world of the dead as a mass conception, and the dead were conceived in the generalized or personified forms or manifestations as Sri, 'Dre, etc.

When considering the royal funeral and its significance, we are, however, dealing with the individual case of an immediately dead person of high prominence. In the chapter of the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig quoted in extenso above (see p. 351), it is said with regard to the guardians of the king's tomb:

He who ventures to the tomb of a *corpse (pur)* that has assumed the form of a *Dead (gśin-po)*,  
As distinction is made between Living and Dead (*gson gśin*), he shall be expelled from the company of men;

He shall not meet together with the *living members (gson-po)* of the royal family.

Here is found the same clear distinction between *gson-po* and *gśin-po*. Moreover, we learn that a dead person is not immediately identical with *gśin-po*, but that the corpse, (*s*)*pur*, of the dead *assumes*, or may assume, *the form of a gśin-po*, and first in this form the dead and his tomb become dangerous to the living, *gson-po*.

He or those, who shall be expelled from the company of men, is that or are those Nañ-blon who has or have been appointed ministers, *blon-po*, of the dead king and thus chosen to guard the royal tomb, its domain (*sa-khul*), its funeral chamber (*bañ-so'i pur-khañ*), and its treasures (*nor-rdzas*). This or these special guardian(s) of the tomb were designated as *dur-bsruñ-gśin-pa*, where *gśin-pa* quite particularly states *their connection with the dead, gśin-po*. Any living creature venturing or straying within the confines (*tho*) of the tomb and its domain were seized by the guardian(s) of the tomb. Men became his slaves and were cut off from any contact with the outside world of the living. *They assumed the characteristics of the dead, gśin-po'i rtags bzuñ*. The grave guardians and their slaves formed a small necropolitan community within the domain of the tomb, cultivated its earth, and tended the cattle seized or given as offerings to the tomb. They enjoyed perfect immunity and were richly endowed with offerings at the funeral and at the sacrifices to the dead king on the anniversaries of his death, when he was evoked by relatives, nobles, and subjects: "*gŚin-po, come! Eat of that!*" *gŚin-po śog-la de-las zo*. The guardians and their slaves were conceived, and directly characterized, as *dead, gśin-po*, and they only left, or were removed from, the tomb on the occasions when the ancestral sacrifices were brought.

The dead king was conceived as an active reality dwelling in his tomb and the world belonging to it, subject to the ancestral cult and sacrifices of the surviving and following generations. The final funeral with its abundant offerings and complicated ceremonial, the *mdad-chen-po*, is in its immediate sense the final disposal of the royal corpse within the tomb, but in its religious sense it means the celebration of the dead king's *transformation from an inert corpse into the form of a gśin-po, an active form of the underworld*, the world of the dead. It is this transformation, forming the climax of the

funeral celebration which M. Lalou interprets as an “apothéose”, a mimic representation of an ascension to Heaven.

As far as it is possible at present to analyse the Tun-huang text, the three main parts I, II, and IV, as defined by M. Lalou, may be further divided into the following sections with a synopsis of their content:

- Ia. Lin. 1–9: This part of the text, which has been mutilated, seems to relate of the arrival and salutations of various participants in the celebration, including the king (*rgyal-po*) and the uncle-minister (*žan-blon*).
- Ib. Lin. 10–13. Introduction of various sacrificial ingredients: gold, turquoise, drugs, etc. accompanied by offerings and libations.
- Ic. Lin. 13: The king makes a decision with regard to the various aspects of power (*mha'-than* and *dbañ-than*) and their division between king and officials.
- Id. Lin. 13–22: Arrival or introduction of various participants, sacrificial animals and objects to form the funeral procession, among which the *thugs-gur* and the *dbon-lob* (see below) may be particularly mentioned. The preliminary disposition of the procession is made, and various salutations, offerings, and libations are performed.
- Ie. Lin. 22–28: Presentation of the matinal (sacrificial) meal, and description of various sacrificial acts including a fecundity sacrifice by secret sowing of grain.
- If. Lin. 28–31: The arrival and reception of the royal corpse (*thugs-spur*, see below), which is preceded by Bon-po priests, flanked by attributes, and followed by various, partly unidentifiable, ritual and sacrificial objects and finally the image of the king (*sku-rten*) surrounded by *mnabs-sgye*.<sup>113</sup>
- Ig. Lin. 31–40: The procession described in If joins the procession already formed (see Id), so that the total procession now comprises two *gur* (see below II). Various details concerning the order and arrangement of the procession are given.
- Ih. Lin. 40: *Phaṅs-Bon-po* invite the corpse (*riñ*) and the *riñ-gur* to the (sacrificial) meal.
- Ii. Lin. 41–43: After the *Phaṅs-Bon-po* have gone to the door of the burial place, *se'i-sgo* (see below), and the property of the dead for his future existence (*thugs-rkyen-gyi-rnams*) has been sought out, they receive the dead, *thugs-spur*, touch three times the meal for the corpse, *riñ-gi-žal*, and the meal for the potential essence of the dead, *thugs-kyi-žal*, and three times the *riñ-gi-gur* and the *thugs-kyi-gur*.
- Ik. Lin. 43–48: After a single libation, the property of the corpse (*riñ-rkyen*) is left at the place (outside the burial place), and three circumambulations around the tomb are performed. (From the text it does not immediately appear who and what participate in the circumambulations, but as the order of arrival to the burial place is described a little later in the text, we may presume that the whole funeral procession performed the circumambulations.) At each circumambulation a water libation is made, and the horsemen salute the dead, *gśin*, with their lances, while the servants of different rank, *žal-ta-pa* and *zi-mo*, mourn under flagellations and lamentations.
- II. Lin. 48–52: The order of arrival to the burial place (*riñ-se*, see below) is described, and the sequence of the different persons and parts of the procession corresponds to the descriptions given in If and Ig.
- Im. Lin. 52–53bis: On arrival at the burial place (*se*), the particular, higher servants, *žal-ta-pa*, assisting at the central part of the ceremony salute and present the *ñam-pag*. Thereafter the king (*rgyal*) repeats the rite concerning the division of the power and, apparently, the obligations of royalty.
- In. Lin. 53bis–56: The Bon-po shamans (*sku-gśen*) seek out certain animals and parts of the treasures as their private property.
- Io. Lin. 56–57: An evening meal is consumed, while the rites, not specified, are continually performed.
- Ip. Lin. 57–58: At nightfall various Bon-po priests, *sÑun-Bon-po*, *sMag-Bon-po*, and *'Jol-Bon-po* go to the area of the burial place (*sa-sa*) to sing.

- Iq. Lin. 58–60: At daybreak the following day the first (great?) trumpets (*dañ-po-duñ*) are blown, and the shamans (*sku-gśen*) and Bon-po priests (*Phaṅs-Bon-po* and *rLad-Bon-po*), together with the caretaker of the *riñ* or *riñ-khañ* (*riñ-mkhan*, see below), and the two preparers of the sacrificial meals (*bźes-pa'i-phyag-can*), purified with hellebore, salute the coffin (*sgam*, see below).
- Ir. Lin. 60–62: The *thugs-gur*, the *riñ-gur*, and the *dbon-lob* are uncovered by the *riñ-mkhan* who lays down the corpse (*drul*)<sup>114</sup> with his hands, while *sKu-gśen* and *Phaṅs-Bon-po* perform sacrificial rites and apparently also an invocation to the deceased to rise.<sup>115</sup>
- Is. Lin. 63–64: When the final disposal of the dead king has been accomplished (*mtha'-skya-ste*), the middle trumpets (*duñ-dbu-ma*) are blown, and the dead (*gśin*) is saluted by the *Žañ-blon*, the servants and assistants (*žal-ta-pa* and *zi-mo*), and all the common people.
- It. Lin. 64–65: Thereafter, during the night<sup>116</sup> the small (last?) trumpets (*duñ-tha-ma*) are blown during invocations or incantations, the real significance of which is not clear.<sup>117</sup>
- Iu. Lin. 65–74: At dawn, servants, characterized as *ža-'briñ-pa*, salute the dead (*gśin*) according to their rank, and various sacrifices and sacrificial rites are performed until evening, when the “celestial drink” (*guñ-skyems*) and the *ñam-pag* are presented with salutations to the coffin (*skam*).
- Iv. Lin. 74–76: The sacrifices at the evening meal are performed in the same way as the morning sacrifices. Grain is secretly sown (see Ie). Libations are made, and the coffin (*skam*) is saluted.
- Iw. Lin. 76–77: When the *sMan-Bon-po* have brought the drugs (*sman*), the *Phaṅs-Bon-po* offer *ma-paṅ*<sup>118</sup> and bring a grain offering and a libation.
- Ix. Lin. 77–78: The *žal-ta-pa*, who have stayed to salute the living (*gson*), leave the burial place (*so-so*).
- Iy. Lin. 78: The *sKu-gśen* bring offerings of animal hides (see IIb).
- Iz. Lin. 78–79: The offering of *ma-paṅ*<sup>118</sup> (see Iw) ought not to be brought at a time during the increasing moon of the winter month.
- Iaa. Lin. 79–80: When the great *gtor-ma* (*gtor-ma-chen-po*) has been made, abundant offerings of meat, bones, and soup are brought at the dawn of the day of full moon.
- Iia. Lin. 80–86: The *mdad-chen-po* is celebrated after the elapse of three years, and for the time of celebration the moon and the stars must be observed. It must not take place at the time of waxing or waning moon. It is propitious to bring the funeral sacrifices, *mdad-sid-btañ*, from the twenty-third day of the last month of autumn till the third day of the first month of winter, at dawn on one of these ten days.
- Iib. Lin. 86–92: Enumeration of nine different kinds of animal hides which ought not be sacrificed to the dead (*gśin*). It is forbidden to bring beasts of prey (*gcan-zan*) to the cemetery (*dur*), and animals living in water (*chu'i-rigs*) must not be brought into the vicinity of the coffin of the corpse (*riñ-sgrom*). Rules with regard to the inventory of the cattle to be left in the domain of the tomb.
- IVa. Lin. 96–97: In connection with the *mdad-chen-po* another rite is performed, being similar to the *gtor-ma-chen-po* (see below).
- IVb. Lin. 97–98: The substitute for the *thugs* of the king (*thugs-glud*) consists of a white lamb, thirteen *gla-sgañ*, and *mda'-rgyud*.<sup>119</sup>
- IVc. Lin. 98–99: The substitute sacrifice is brought to, in the imagined presence of, or under invocation of the *yul-lha*, the *yul-bdag*, the *yab-mes*, the *yum-phyi*, and the *yogs-che* (see below).
- IVd. Lin. 99–100: The events of IVc are immediately connected with the *btol-ched-po* (see below) and its accompanying sacrifices.
- IVe. Lin. 100: At the funeral sacrifice (*mdad-sid*) the king (*rgyal*) divides the power (*mña'-thañ*, see Ic and Im).
- IVf. Lin. 100–106: All the gifts to be left to “cut off” the *bdud* (see IVi) are brought to, or placed into, the *gtañ* or excavations, probably the eight sections of the tomb surrounding the chamber of the dead. Various kinds of these gifts are enumerated: clothes, weapons, food, drink, bedding,

kitchen utensils, musical instruments, different kinds of utensils and mobilia, and precious objects. The king makes a decision as to the value of these presents, and two inventories of them are made, one to be given to the chief of those servants called *ža'-brin-pa*, the other to be given to, or placed together with, the *skyibs-lug* (see below).

- IVg. Lin. 106–108: Prescriptions for the special treatment and adornment of the *skyibs-lug*.
- IVh. Lin. 108: The rite of the *Yak* is said to be performed in the same way as at the *btol-chen-po*.
- IVi. Lin. 108–110: The following morning, the king divides the power (*mna'-than*) and a tribute of the presents laid apart in the *gtañ* (see IVf) is offered to him. Then the *sKu-gsén* and *Phaṅs-Bon-po* cover what has been left in the *gtañ*. After the *bdud* have been cut off, the *sKu-gsén* take care of the expiation.
- IVk. Lin. 110–115. They proceed to the sacrifices of the evening meal which are performed continually in the same way (as at the morning meal). After the *sKu-gsén* have eaten and drunk plenty, the *Phaṅs-Bon-po* present the *dbon-lob*, the *mnabs-sgye*, the *gur*, *mtshar*, *lcam*, *skyo-ma*, and *ñam-pag*. The *mJol-Bon-po* bring various animal sacrifices, and the priests pile up these sacrifices and the animal hides upon the tomb.
- IVl. Lin. 115–118: The first (great?) trumpets (*duñ-dañ-po*) are blown at dawn. The *skyibs* and the *se* are dug out again and consolidated.<sup>120</sup> After a (the) riding horse has been killed by arrow shot, the circumambulations are made, and the *skyibs-lug* (see IVg) is placed at the western entrance to the burial place (*se*).
- IVm. Lin. 118–120: Thereafter offer-meals (*žal*), various sacrificial animals, and the *chen-tags* are brought to, or into, the burial place.
- IVn. Lin. 120: Next, sheep (lambs) quartered in a great number during the night and slaughtered horses are arranged at the area of the burial place (*se-sa*).
- IVo. Lin. 121: At the rising of the day, a little meal is presented, whereafter the funeral procession moves to the burial place (*so*).
- IVp. Lin. 122–129: Description of the successive order and arrangement of the procession (see below).
- IVq. Lin. 129–133: Description of different groups of the procession and how they are guided by the *sKu-gsén* (see below).
- IVr. Lin. 133–134: After the arrival at the excavation of the tomb (*gtañ-ka*), the *thugs-gur* is placed in the space above the royal door (*rgyal-sgo*, i.e. the door leading to the chamber of the dead).
- IVs. Lin. 134–135: Interpolation indicating the propitious time of the year (see IIa and below) for the funeral celebration.
- IVt. Lin. 135–136: *Thugs-bu-cuñ*, the young, or youngest (?), son of the dead, takes armour (*phub*, shield or breast-plate) from the *thugs-gur* and places it in the chamber of the dead in the tomb (*bañ-so-'i-thugs-khañ*).
- IVu. Lin. 136–138: After the *gža'-riñ-thuñ-gi phaṅs-cha* have been brought up upon the tomb, primitiae of the offer-objects (*phud*) are distributed into the *mnabs-skye* (see If), and the animal sacrifices, *śas?*, the *skyibs-lug*, *mtshal* (cinnabar), and butter are placed in the *gtañ*.<sup>121</sup> These offerings are arranged in the *gtañ* by three *sKu-gsén*.
- IVv. Lin. 138–139: Thereafter the selected riding horses are saddled with turquoise saddles and brought to an ordinary grave.
- IVw. Lin. 139–142: Prescriptions for certain offerings to be performed as a mourning rite by a *Žaṅblon* who has to be sent to *mDo-smad*.

Examining these three main parts of the text, we find that part II forms an independent unit, while parts I and IV deal mainly with the performance of the *mdad-chen-po*, although they present partly identical, partly different aspects of it. It may therefore be expedient to consider at first part II, of which only the section IIa needs comment at present.

This section of the text states that the *mdad-chen-po* or *mdad-sid-btañ* or, as defined in the Historical Annals, the *mdad btañ*, which signifies the presentation of the funeral sacrifices and actually means

the final burial or deposition of the corpse, is celebrated after the elapse of three years. Comparing this statement with the data concerning the *mdad-btañ*, given in the Historical Annals, we have already seen that this rule applies to the funerals of the Tibetan kings and those queens being mothers to heirs to the throne, while dowager queens or grandmothers to the kings, still with the exception of the Chinese queen, are buried at an earlier date after their death. Therefore it seems necessary to distinguish between the terms *mdad-chen-po* and *mdad-btañ* or *mdad* in general.

Moreover, it is stated that for reasons which in the main seem to be practically and climatically founded, the *mdad-chen-po* ought to be celebrated at a particular time of the year, which is defined in three different ways from the appearance of the celestial bodies. First, the very climax of the celebration must take place at *dawn*. Second, and here we must anticipate the section IV<sub>r</sub>, the celebration ought to take place during that period of the year when the 11th to 13th *nakṣatra* have their heliacal rise and the 17th to 19th *nakṣatra* have their heliacal setting. In II<sub>a</sub> this period is chronologically fixed as the 10 days from the 23rd day of the last month of autumn to the 3rd day of the first month of winter, in accordance with the data of season actually stated in the Historical Annals. Third, the time for the funeral depends on the *lunar phase*. It should not take place during the waxing or waning moon, i.e. either about full moon or about new moon.

These conditions present, however, with regard to the auspicious moment for the celebration of the *mdad-chen-po*, a complicated, but most interesting problem of chronology, the nature and solution of which exceed the frames and object of this study, but for the sake of completeness we have briefly studied the problem in Appendix IV.

For the analysis of the main parts I and IV of the text and the establishment of their mutual correlation, we may use two special criteria beyond the general textual significance, viz. the distinction between single days characterized by the performance of special rites, and the occurrence of certain characteristic terms.

As to *part I*, we may primarily state that the sections Ia–IV form a coherent whole, while the final five sections Iw–Iaa contain disparate details, some of which have no immediate connection with the events described in Ia–IV, but seem to refer to the main part IV.

The coherent sections Ia–IV comprise the events of at least two distinctly defined, consecutive days. The latter of these two days, comprised by Iq–It, means the climax of events, being the day when the final disposal of the corpse takes place, and the corpse assumes the nature of a *gśin-po*. For the sake of later references, we may conveniently characterize this day as *zero day* and use it as a *terminus a quo* for counting the days forward with positive numbers, those backward in time with negative numbers. The previous day thus being day no. –1, is apparently comprised by the sections Ia–Ip. As this day is not initially defined until section Ie, there may exist some provisional doubt whether the sections Ia–Id actually refer to day –1, and not to day –2 (see below).

More doubt arises as to the dating of the sections Iu–Iv. Apparently they refer to day –1, but the circumstance that they account for certain performances of the zero day, e.g. the salutations of the *gśin-po* and the secret sowing, makes us believe that these two sections describe events of the zero day, taking place collaterally to those described in Iq–It, but applying separately to the activity of those accompanying servants who are called *ža-'briñ-pa* and do not take part in the central ceremonial (see below *žal-ta-pa* and *zi-mo*).

Two isolated sections, Iw and Iz, deal with the presentation of a *ma-pañ* offering, the significance of which cannot be stated. The word *ma-pañ* immediately leads the attention to *Ma-pañ* or *Ma-phañ*, the Manasarowar Lake, but it might just as well mean the mother blood, the *pañ-khrag* flowing at a child's birth. The time for presenting this offering may or may not coincide with the celebration of the *mdad-chen-po*, partly depending on the general chronological problem involved by II<sub>a</sub>.

Section Ix most probably refers to the zero day, possibly to day +1. The *žal-ta-pa* are the servants of high rank who have assisted at the central ceremonial. They have stayed to salute *gson*, the living, which presumably means the living members of the royal family in particular.

Section Iy probably refers to one of the two days just mentioned, while section Iaa seems to refer to a considerably earlier date (see below).

Main *part IV* of the text presents a far more complicated picture than part I, accounting for at least three different ceremonies, the details of which occur in a more or less pronounced disarray. We may therefore primarily distinguish between three subdivisions of the text, consisting of the sections IVa-IVd, the sections IVe-IVv, and the final section IVw.

The last subdivision, section IVw, may so far be left out of account, as its immediate connection with the royal funeral is not and cannot be directly stated. It prescribes a mourning rite or ceremonial to be performed by a *Žaṅ-blon* who has gone to *mDo-smad*. It does not appear whether *Žaṅ-blon* means the *Žaṅ-blon*, the maternal uncle of the new king, or merely represents the more generally used title of the high ministers in the later time of the Dynasty. The immediate reason for sending a *Žaṅ-blon* to *mDo-smad* seems connected with the administrative procedure of having two sessions of the council of ministers and officials, one generally in Central Tibet, the other in *mDo-smad*, Eastern Tibet. This procedure is mentioned in the Historical Annals from Tun-huang since the years 702/03 and 706/07 (1.18/40).

As to the ceremony, or ceremonies, dealt with in the sections IVa-IVd, the initial section states that about the time of, or in connection with, the *mdad-chen-po*, another rite or ceremony is performed, which is similar to a *great gTor-ma*, *gtor-ma-chen-po*. The *gTor-ma* ceremonies were and are performed on numerous occasions in the religious services of the Tibetans. They all serve the particular purpose of appeasing the deities or demons, and averting their wrath and evil designs. The *gTor-ma*, itself, which is offered, now generally in the form of cakes or dough figures, has the general character of a *substitute sacrifice*. The use of blood or substitutes for blood for the preparation of many of these *gTor-ma* are reminiscences of former blood sacrifices.

The following section IVb shows directly that the *gTor-ma* in question is a substitute sacrifice, when relating that the *glud* or substitute consists of a white lamb and various drugs. It states moreover that the *glud* is a *thugs-glud*, thus indicating that the sacrifice is a substitute for the dead king or, more precisely, the potential essence of the dead king (see below the significance of *thugs*).

According to section IVc, this sacrifice is brought to, or into the imagined presence of, the world of the dead characterized by its various exponents, viz. its deified or demonized personifications in the *Yul-lha* and the *Yul-bdag*, the paternal and maternal ancestors (*Yab-myes* and *Yum-phyi*), and the *Yogs-che*, the generalized concept of the powerful beings of the world of the dead.

In section IVd, the ritual performance or ceremony described in the preceding three sections is either characterized as, or closely connected with, the *bTol-chen-po*. We have already seen that the *bTol* forms an important phase in the ritual treatment of the corpse before the final burial, and that where the kings are concerned it takes place about one year before the *mDad*. The present text, itself, distinguishes between the *bTol-chen-po* and the *mDad-chen-po* as two different events (IVh, see below). Unfortunately the present text gives us no further contribution to the interpretation of the term *btol*, itself, but it gives us the most important piece of information, that the *bTol-chen-po* is closely connected with a substitute sacrifice to the world of the dead as a ransom for the *thugs* of the dead king.

In this sacrifice we cannot but find a close analogy to the substitute sacrifice which, according to the myth of *Gri-gum-btsan-po*'s corpse and burial, was given to the *kLu* as a ransom for the king's corpse (see p. 209). But we must regard these two substitute sacrifices in relation to their respective level of cultural and religious concept, and then there is hardly any doubt that we are dealing with fundamentally the same occurrence. In both cases, the substitute sacrifice is given to the world of those beings from which the defunct in the deepest sense is imagined to originate, and to which he ought to revert, the world of the *kLu* and the world of the dead ancestors.

In the latter case, the sacrifice for ransom might appear to be of no object or avail, because the dead king is actually believed to go to the world of the dead as a *gSin-po* (see below). The following circumstances must, however, be considered. The substitute sacrifice accounted for in the myth of *Gri-gum-btsan-po* was in its immediate sense a substitute for the corpse of the king which, according to the



hitherto prevailing burial customs, had been cast into the river, i.e. given back to the kLu, from whom man was originally thought to have originated. In its further sense, as appearing from the myth, the substitute sacrifice was, however, given by the surviving relatives to get possession of the corpse for the special purpose of burying it in a way quite different from what had otherwise been the custom. Therefore, the idea of the substitute sacrifice for the corpse was actually involved by the very introduction of the custom of burying in tombs in or upon the earth, and the sacrifice, itself, became the condition for the survivors' right to dispose of the corpse in this regard. The presentation of this sacrifice would naturally remain part of the new burial customs, in the same way as the obligations with regard to the treatment of a dead bTsan-po's corpse, which were the conditions for obtaining the glud for the original sacrifice, remained part of the burial rites (see p. 360ff.). In its oblique formulation the myth reveals that it was the manifestation of the dead king, in the form of Ñar-la-skyes, who by his insistence led to the rendering of the substitute sacrifice. On one side both the myth and the later Bon-po concept distinguish between two forms of existence of the dead, still unburied king, one as an inert corpse, the other as the apparently tangible manifestation as Ñar-la-skyes or the intangible, yet tangibly imagined or conceived *thugs* of the king. On the other side there is hardly any fundamental difference to be found in the circumstances that the mythic sacrifice was given for the corpse, while in later, historical time the sacrifice was given for the thugs of the king, as corpse and thugs under certain circumstances seem to have been conceived as a unit (see thugs-spur below).

The second subdivision of the text, comprising the sections IVe–IVv, apparently accounts for a series of events covering a period of three or four consecutive days. In fact, the text accounts for events which partly take place collaterally, and collaterally with those described in main part I, thus covering day –1 and zero day, and possibly day +1. With the exception of the descriptions of the funeral procession, the two main parts I and IV of the text describe different aspects of the celebration of mdad-chen-po, the former part dealing chiefly with the central features of the funeral, the latter one chiefly with secondary features, such as the sacrifices to the dead, the rite of the sKyibs-lug, and the animal sacrifices.

The principal lead for establishing the chronological correlation between I and IV is to be found in the details concerning the funeral procession, which in itself deserves some attention.

The arrangement and order of the funeral procession, its circumambulations around the tomb, and a short description of its order of arrival at the burial place are related in the sections Id, If, Ig, and Il, and can definitely be referred to day –1.

According to section Id, the primary arrangement of the procession, before the arrival or introduction of the royal corpse, comprises the following links:

thugs-gur  
(the catafalque, or dais, of the thugs)  
dbon-lob  
rta do-ma  
(selected horses)  
g'yag do-ma  
(selected yaks)  
snam-rta  
(horses of a particular kind or race)  
gñen-'o byams-kyi sris  
(the presents from friends and relatives)  
rgyal-than chags-kyi dkor  
(the treasures offered by faithful vassals)

Section If describes the arrival and reception of the *thugs-spur* which signifies the integral idea of the dead king *before the final burial*. This integral idea comprises the separate ideas of two different

forms of existence of the king, one as a potential essence, *thugs*, the other as an inert corpse, *spur*. In the following part of the text, the latter form is characterized as *riñ* (see p. 360) and distinguished from *thugs*, while once, in the description of the reception of the dead king (lin. 28–29), *thugs* alone stands for *thugs-spur*. The *thugs-spur* is accompanied by a separate procession comprising:

Dur-Bon-po phyag-cha (attributes)	<i>thugs-spur</i>  zo-rig nam-ka' smra-żal żal (sacrificial meals)	Phańs-Bon-po chen-po phyag-cha (attributes)
mnabs-sgye (vessels)	sku-rten (the image of the king)	mnabs-sgye (vessels)

This procession is placed before that described in section Id, with the exception of the *thugs-spur*, more correctly *riñ-gur*, which is placed between the *thugs-gur* and the *dbon-lob*. The latter arrangement does not immediately appear from the somewhat corrupt formulation of the text, in which section Ig purports to describe that part of the whole procession, which follows after the *sku-rten*. It clearly appears, however, from the order in which the procession arrives at the burial place (section II), and from the description given in part IV.

From the information given in section Id, If, and Ig, we get a general scheme of the whole funeral procession as reproduced in Table XI, Procession I. Each link of it is indicated by a current number for later references.

Section II gives the following order of arrival at the burial place:

Phańs-Bon-po	sKu-gśen  nam-ka' nań-gi zo-rig smra-żal	Phańs-Bon-po
mnabs-sgye	żal sku-rten thugs-gur riñ-gur dbon-lob	mnabs-sgye

The links enumerated here form the head of the funeral procession as described above, and comprise that part of it which takes part in the central ceremony of the next day, while the remaining part of the procession serves, or has already served secondary purposes.

The order itself is remarkable. The *sKu-gśen*, the shaman leading the procession, and the assisting *Phańs-Bon-po* come at the head. Thereafter follow the various kinds of sacrificial food and the vessels, *mnabs-sgye*, partly containing the *thugs-kyi sñon-zur*,<sup>122</sup> partly destined for storing of the primitiae of the offer gifts (see section IVu). Then the image of the king and the *thugs-gur* with its unknown charge or content (see section IVt) follow, thereafter the *riñ-gur* with the corpse of the king, and finally, the *dbon-lob*.

				yag-pa bzi (four hoe-bearers) Phyag-cha mduñ-pa (lancers) phyag-cha dgra-sta-pa (soldiers with battle-axes)
1. Dur Bon-po	1. Phañs Bon-po chen-po	←	→	(1) gśen
2. zo-rig				2. zo-rig
3. nam-ka'				3. nam-ka
4. smra-žal				4. smra-žal
5a. zug-skyan	5b. go-ñan			5. žal
6a. mnabs-sgye	6a. mnabs-sgye		6a. mnabs-sgye	6. sku-rten
				6a. mnabs-sgye
				7. thugs-gur
7a. ža-'briñ nañ-pa (servants)	7a. ža-'briñ nañ-pa (servants)	←	→	
7b. phyag-cha (attributes)	7b. phyag-cha (attributes)			
7c. žal-ta-pa (servants)	7c. žal-ta-pa (servants)			
				8. riñ-gur
8. riñ-gur (the catafalque with the corpse)		←	→	8. riñ-gur
9a. sku-gśen (shaman)	9. dbon-lob			9. dbon-lob
	9a. sku-gśen (shaman)			7a. ža-'briñ nañ-pa
				10. zi-mo(-pa)
10. zi-mo(-pa)		←	→	10. zi-mo(-pa) rkya-rol
11. chibs ye-ru-phañ (riding horses)				
12. do-ma che-chuñ (selected cattle, large and small)				9a. sku-gśen
13. rnam-rta che-chuñ (horses, large and small)				11. chibs ye-ru-phañ
14. phañ sga-pa phal (common archer-horses)				9a. sku-gśen
15. gñen-'o byams-kyi sris (gifts from friends and relatives)				11. chibs ye-ru-phañ
16. rgyal-than chags-kyi dkor (the treasures offered by faithful vassals)				14. phañ sga(-pa) che-chuñ (archer-horses, large and small)
17. rol-bzañs rta-rgyan-can (precious musical instruments)				12. do-ma che-chuñ
				13. snam-rta che-chuñ
				14. phañ sga-pa-rnams
18. dog-gśen (shaman)	18. dog-gśen (shaman)	←	→	15. gñen-'o byams-kyi sris
				16. rgyal-than chags-kyi dkor
19a. mdzo bañ-sgal (mdzo of burden)	19b. lcam mdzo (mdzo heifer)			17. rta-rgyan-can rol-bzañs phal (musical instruments)
				skya-rol
20. sku-gśen (shaman)	20. sku-gśen (shaman)	←	→	18. sku-gśen
21. dkar-mo (sheep)	21. dkar-mo (sheep)			19a. mdzo bañ-sgal
				19b. lcam mdzo
				20. sku-gśen
				21. dkar-mo
22. chen-tags: do-ma, g'yag-rol, snam-g'yag, etc.				20. sku-gśen žes mchi (small victims)
				sku-gśen
23. 'dral-chen (butchers)	23. 'dral-chen (butchers)	←	→	22. chen-tags
				rta grab-pa
				chibs
				rta grab-pa

Procession I

Procession IV

Table XI: The royal funeral processions.

In its sections IVp and IVq, the main part IV of the text describes the order and arrangement of the funeral procession in a way that may be arranged schematically as reproduced in Table XI, Procession IV. The numbers occurring in the table of Procession IV are the current numbers of identical links in the representation of Procession I.

Making allowance for insignificant differences and for some uncertainty with regard to the exact arrangement of the last part of the procession, we find that the two parts of the text, part I and part IV,

describe one and the same procession, viz. the funeral procession established on day — 1. Consequently, the sections IVo, IVp, IVq, and IVr may be referred to day — 1. To the same day we may, moreover, refer the section IVl dealing with the circumambulations and the disposal of the skyibs-lug at the western entrance to the burial place (so).

The various references to the skyibs-lug permit us to state that the events of the sections IVf and IVg take place before the events of sections IVu and IVv, after those of section IVl. In addition, the dating of section IVi is closely dependent on that of section IVf.

Literally, *skyibs-lug* means *crypt-sheep*, deriving from skyibs signifying shelter, crypt, something sheltered by a roof or overhang (see section IVl). In pre-Buddhist time, a sheep, skyibs-lug, was sacrificed at a funeral to serve as a guide for the dead in the world of the dead. The deposition of the skyibs-lug together with blood and butter in the excavation of the tomb, the *gtañ*, as described in section IVu, is a reminiscence of this particular burial rite (see 138.357 note 7). At the royal funeral, a special place in the tomb, the skyibs mentioned in the section IVl, seems provided for the skyibs-lug.

There is good reason to believe that the preparation of the skyibs-lug, described in section IVg, is made shortly before it is to be placed at the entrance to the tomb, in advance of the royal corpse. Most likely its preparation therefore takes place on day — 1 or, at the earliest, on day — 2. Section IVf establishes a formal chronological relation between the sacrifice of the skyibs-lug and the arrangement of the sacrificial gifts in the excavation or *gtañ* of the tomb. These gifts comprising the characteristic selection of the necessities for daily life, seem to have a particular function by the Tibetans, which is characterized by the expression of *cutting off the bDud*.

An interpretation of this expression seems to issue from a consideration of the fundamental significance of bDud and the ultimate object of the burial rites. The term bDud generally signifies (evil) demons who are, dependant on the concepts and theogonic systems of various times and localities, characterized and classified in many different ways, and play an important role as secondary figures in the Buddhist pantheon. In fact, the bDud represent the personified forms of the principle of evil, thus being essentially identical with the various, personified or semi-personified forms of evil discussed above (p. 320 ff.). As we have seen, the idea of those forms or manifestations of evil derives from that of the defunct, and represents more or less generalized concepts of them. We may therefore have reason to assume that the bDud originally represented a similar concept. This assumption is further justified by the occurrence of bDud in several characteristic connections. Thus Bod, as gDug-pa-can-gyi yul, is compared with the appearance of the black bDud (see p. 274). In its primeval stage, it is characterized as bDud-yul (see p. 291 ff.), and its ruling powers as bDud and Srin-mo. The ultimate object of the burial rites was that of subduing, taming, and appeasing the evil and noxious manifestations of the world of death, and the most probable interpretation of the idea of cutting off the bDud by sacrificial gifts may therefore be found in the very idea of the ritual and sacrificial appeasement and restraint of these manifestations conceived in the form of bDud. Also significant in this respect is the circumstance that an inventory of the sacrificed gifts is placed with the skyibs-lug, which is imagined as the king's guide in the world of the dead.

The fact that a special sacrifice is brought to cut off the bDud, and that expiation rites are performed by the sKu-gśen (section IVi), involves a distinction between the dead king and the dead in a collective sense. This distinction may, perhaps, be explained in various ways (see below), but fundamentally it seems to reflect a still prevailing, general distinction between the once untamed world of the dead or powers of the earth and the ritually buried king. Such a distinction agrees logically with the fact that a substitute sacrifice must be given to the world of the dead for the thugs of the king.

Several arguments speak in favour of narrowing the time for depositing the sacrificial gifts in the *gtañ* down to day — 1. These gifts form an important part of the funeral sacrifices as a whole, and we may naturally assume that these gifts, just like the sacrificial animals and meals, the gifts and treasures from relatives and vassals, the riñ-rkyen and the thugs-rkyen, etc., which all were to be sacrificed at, or to be placed in, the tomb, made part of the funeral procession formed on day — 1.

While the deposition of the personal belongings of the deceased, most of the animal sacrifices and, in

a certain sense, also the gifts from relatives and vassals were one-time occurrences specifically connected with the funeral, the nature of the sacrificial gifts to be placed in the *gtañ*, and the purpose of sacrificing them, were fundamentally the same at the funeral as the later ancestral and commemorative offerings. We may therefore attempt to draw some conclusions from what we know about the latter offerings.

Almost our only source of information about the ancestral sacrifices at the royal tombs is the text of the *rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig* quoted above (p. 349–50), from which we learn that the time for the surviving and following generations to bring the ancestral sacrifices to the tomb of King *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po* was the day the king died.

It appears that the ancestral offerings were brought to the sanctuary of the tomb, the *bžeñs-kyi-lha-khañ*, the day before the anniversary of the king's death, i.e. the day formally corresponding to day –1 of the funeral. They were given to the dead king, the *gšin-po*, whom the attendants implored to accept the gifts, but actually they served as means of subsistence for the guardians of the tomb, and might therefore apparently serve another purpose than the funeral offerings to cut off the *bDud*.

The guardians were, themselves, conceived as dead, *gšin-po*, but their actual function was limited to their lifetime, and they seem merely to represent those who were forever the real guardians, the chthonic powers. In a description of the ancient treasure tomb, *nor-gyi-bañ-so*, of the *Yar-luñ* kings, given by the *rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig* (see p. 352ff.), we find a most significant indication in this respect.

The treasure tomb in question was beyond doubt a royal tomb belonging to a time anterior to, or at an early stage of the *Yar-luñ* Dynasty. Its location in the rock of *Yum-bu-bla-mkhar*, its similarity in structure with the neolithic tombs of Tibet,<sup>123</sup> as well as the names of early kings of the Dynasty connected with it, point in this direction. Throughout the time of the historical Dynasty of *Yar-luñ*, this tomb served as a treasury for the relics, the regalia and treasures of the kings of the Dynasty. The guardianship of this tomb lay in the hands of the *bTsan* of the glacier-mountain *Šam-po*, for which reason “butter-yaks, pieces of food, and wine (beer) must be set out as offerings.” Whether they are defined as *bTsan*, *bDud*, *Srin*, *gšin-gyi-'Dre*, or otherwise, we are still faced with exponents of the ancient concepts of the defunct, the powers of the earth.

Reverting to the question of dating the disposal of the sacrificial gifts in the *gtañ*, we observe from the text that the description of this event has a certain relation to that of the king's division of the *mña'-thañ*, and occurs between the two performances of his act. Section *IVi* connects the latter division of the *mña'-thañ* with the offering of a tribute to the king, taken from the gifts laid apart in the *gtañ*, whereafter the *gtañ* are covered. In part I of the text, sections *Im* and *In*, it is related that when the king has divided the *mña'-thañ* for the second time, the *Bon-po* shamans seek out part of the cattle, the treasures, and the clothes as their own property. It seems evident that these two sections of part I and the section *IVi* describe the same event, which took place on day –1, as the division of the *mña'-thañ* both times took place on this day according to part I. This ceremony of dividing the *mña'-thañ*, performed twice, probably constitutes the summing up and the new distribution of the obligations and rights of the *bTsan-po* and of the officials of the realm. The first time with regard to the dead *bTsan-po*, the second time with regard to the living *bTsan-po*, the successor.

While thus the rite of cutting off the *bDud* and the preparation of the *skyibs-lug* may be dated to day –1, the dating of the events comprised by section *IVk* gives occasion for some doubt. Apparently, this section forms an immediate continuation of section *IVi*, and gives accounts of the events in the evening of day –1 and in the following night and morning. The text as a whole permits us to refer a presentation of *dbon-lob*, *mnabs-sgye*, and *gur* to both day –1 and the zero day. In section *Im*, it is expressly told that the *ñam-pag* was presented by the *žal-ta-pa* at the arrival of the procession at the burial place, before the celebration of the evening meal of day –1. The text states, however, that the *ñam-pag* was not “introduced”, *ma-'chugs-pa*. According to section *IVk*, the *ñam-pag* was presented by the *Phañs-Bon-po*, at some time later than the evening meal of day –1. The remaining objects, which were presented on the occasion considered, viz. *mtshar*, *lcam*, and *skyo-ma*, are mentioned nowhere else in the text, and their significance is not quite clear. All the items presented seem, however, to point towards the central ceremony in the morning of the zero day, with which the *Phañs-Bon-po*, who present

them, are particularly concerned, while the activity of the mJol-Bon-po points to the previous day or evening (see sections Id, Ik, and Ip).

Part IV of the text gives no account of the events directly connected with the final disposal of the royal corpse on zero day, but we may safely assume that the sections IVt and IVu refer to this day. We feel especially certain that the skyibs-lug, in accordance with its particular destination, was placed in the tomb immediately before the royal corpse, in the same way as it was the previous evening placed at the entrance to the tomb before or on the arrival of the corpse.

As far as main part IV of the text is concerned with the mdad-chen-po, its various sections may then be dated in the following way:

sections IVe–IVi	day – 1
section IVk	day – 1 to zero day
sections IVl–IVr	day – 1
section IVs	explanatory interpolation
sections IVt–IVu	zero day.

Although the picture of the final burial appearing from this Tun-huang text and the additional sources is rather sketchy in spite of many details, it makes us clearly visualize the funeral of a Tibetan king as a most complicated and pompous performance with a vast and variegated display of ritual ceremonial. By the reduced character of the picture appearing from our sources, many features are undoubtedly left out, and the proportions of importance in which the related features are given, must be taken with due reservation, because the significance of many features or details is still an unknown quantity to us.

In the mutilated form of the text, as it is known to us, it appears that the main attention is paid to the events of the day – 1, devoted to the arrangement and composition of the funeral procession, which forms the visible, public culmination of the events, while the events of zero day are related with much greater brevity. We are on that day dealing with the religious climax of the ceremony, but the events connected with the final deposition of the deceased king and their significance were probably beyond the knowledge of the profane public, or events to be kept within the *arcana sacra*.

The religious background for the performance of the royal funeral has two particular aspects, one relating to the defunct in general, and one especially relating to the status of the king. The former aspect, the general and most pronounced one, has already been established. It has its origin and explanation in the belief of the overwhelming power of the world of the dead and the influence it may perpetrate upon the living persons, when not duly tamed and appeased. The funeral performance is therefore guided by the sKu-gšen, the Bon-po shamans, and from what is otherwise known of the Bon-po burial rites, the conjurings and incantations performed at the funeral and before it, have had a much more pronounced importance than the text immediately leads us to suspect.

With regard to the latter aspect of the religious background, the status of the king, very little is directly indicated by the texts. This aspect is connected with the ideas of the sacral and secular status of a king, and with regard to that, we are to a great extent referred to conjectures. The sacral status of the Tibetan king is directly connected with the myths and legends, which have been studied in the preceding chapters of this study. The deceased king, placed in the tomb at the final burial, returns to his origin, *rum*. He is back among the powers of the earth, from which at an earlier time he emanated to be “ruler of men”. In the tomb he is himself one of the powers of the earth, living in the world of the dead, separated from the actual living king by the absence of bla, life-power. This quality is now possessed by the successor, the living exponent of the *continuum* of father and son. Thus the king in the tomb represents the pre-Bon-po idea of the dead. But Bon-po, as said above, did not only take over the ceremonies, they also tried to interfere with the conceptions behind them and the tomb itself, e.g. by imparting the idea of mountain, ri, to the tomb, bañ-so, by including this term in the names of the tombs as shown in the next chapter (see p. 393).

The secular status has only been mentioned on very few occasions. The reason for this circumstance is connected with the limitations of this study. It is foremost a study of the ideas behind the bTsan-po, not a study of the bTsan-po in his outward connections, co-operation with, and influence upon the Tibetans and their Empire, his legal and administrative aspects.

The aspect of the king's secular status has been studied only by G. Tucci, and only presented through his very inspiring synopsis or essay "The sacral character of the king of Ancient Tibet" (196). Among other things he remarks (196.199-200):

"... the forefather identifies himself with the living king in whom he is renewed, as he is his temporary spacial habitat (he is at the same time present on two parallel planes, the terrestrial and the celestial ...). As such, the king guarantees and transmits four powers: the religious law, *chos*, entrusted to the sacerdotal class; the *mña'-thañ* majesty, his essential prerogative; *chab-srid*, earthly power, government; *dbu-rmog*, the helmet. ...

There are thus four powers, but of these only two appear actually operative in him: *mña'-thañ* and the *dbu-rmog*. ...

The *mña'-thañ* (later on *dbañ*), the majesty is quite distinct from *mthu*, the sacerdotal and magic power held by the priestly class. The *mña'-thañ* works in its divine inaction and immobility ..."

The only direct reference to any of these ideas in the Tun-huang text is found in sections Ic, Im, IVe, and IVi, where the division with regard to the various aspects of power (*mña'-thañ* and *dbañ-thañ*) is mentioned. We get no further explanation of what happens, the contents and meanings of the terms, and the distribution. As proposed above (p. 377) these references refer to the summing up and re-establishment of the rules governing the distribution of the *mña'-thañ* and the *dbañ-thañ*, which were at the same time re-affirmed by the subjects with a new oath of fealty, thus guaranteeing the continuity of the *chab-srid*, similar to the continuity of the transmission of *chos*, *mña'-thañ* and *dbu-rmog*, guaranteed through the royal generations by the execution of the funeral rites and the installment of a new bTsan-po.

One very important feature is mentioned in the Tun-huang text (sections Ie and Iv), the sowing of grain:

stsañ sder-gyu(-nas) gsañ-gis gdab(o)

(They) sowed ('*bru*-)sañs, pure grain (see 4.348 note 5), secretly with (from) a *sder-gyu*.<sup>124</sup>

This is the only feature directly linking the funeral of a bTsan-po with the concept of fecundity, a connection which we should expect, but which is completely absent in all our sources. Therefore, we cannot at present pursue any further lines opened by this feature, but only mention that in part V of the text (lin. 142-145), in the description of the burial of a mother-queen, appears the following item, translated by M. Lalou (4.395):

myi-pho rnal dañ dkar-mo 'dra-ste / sbyor-  
bas gar bde-bar baso /

Un homme manifestement mâle, déguisé en mouton (*dkar-mo*), fait une danse lascive (*gar-bde*) avec une femme (*sbyor-ba*).

This translation we prefer to change in the following way:

"A male (man), making the movements of coition (*rnal*)<sup>125</sup> and looking like (disguised as) a sheep (*dkar-mo*), by this act of sexual union performs<sup>126</sup> a dance of happiness."

## The tombs of the Tibetan kings

From the records of the Tibetan sources (see Tucci 195, Hoffmann 161) it appears that from prehistoric time until the fall of the Dynasty, the tombs of the Yar-luñ kings were built within a relatively limited area on the slopes of and on the river-plain of the River Dar-mo or 'Phyoñs-rgyas-chu, an affluent on the left bank of the Yar-mo river, in the district of Yar-kluñs, to the south of rTse-thañ in the central part of Tibet. Generally, the localities mentioned by the sources are characterized as 'Phyiñ-yul or 'Phyiñ-yul Dar-thañ, or more specifically as Žañ-mda', Zuñ-mda', Don-mkhar-mda', Mu-ra-ri, and 'Phyiñ-mda'-phu or 'Phyiñ-phu. The localities behind these names are situated in that country which from later and recent sources is generally known as 'Phyoñs-rgyas, the river-plain of Dar-mo just mentioned, in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient castle 'Phyiñ-ba sTag-rtse, which tradition closely connects with the ancient history of the Yar-luñ Dynasty.

The necropolis, as the burial places gradually developed into, seems originally to have been located on the left side of the River Dar-mo, at the foot of the ridge on which was built the castle of 'Phyiñ-ba sTag-rtse. Žañ- or Zuñ-mda' mentioned by some sources, is situated there, immediately above the castle. In a majority of cases where the location of the tombs of the semi-historical kings is mentioned, their tombs are situated in Don-mkhar-mda', on the right side of the river, above 'Phyiñ-ba sTag-rtse, while the historical kings are said to have their tombs in Don-mkhar-mda' or Mu-ra-ri. Mu-ra-ri is the ridge sloping down at the right side of the river at Don-mkhar-mda', almost opposite the castle, a short distance upwards in the valley.

During his visit to 'Phyoñs-rgyas in 1948, Giuseppe Tucci verified the tradition with regard to the site of the royal tombs from historical time, and thereby, in fact, the tradition as such (195.32). This has later been confirmed by Richardson (181) and by Chinese investigations in the valley described by Wang in 1961 (221).

While we know thus where to locate the royal tombs, our knowledge of the tombs themselves, their form and structure, their dimensions, their individual place, etc., is most scanty, even where main features are concerned. Nor do we know whether different forms of tombs were in use, or whether the tombs in the course of centuries were built according to changing systems of structure influenced by changing religious concepts and the increasing importance and power of the Tibetan kings. The reason is that as far as we know the tombs have never been made the subject of any extensive archaeological investigation.

Generally, our knowledge of the tombs rests with the study by Giuseppe Tucci, "The tombs of the Tibetan kings", 1950 (195), in certain ways supplemented by Wang I, "Ts'ang-wang-mu", 1961 (221), H. E. Richardson, "Early burial grounds in Tibet . . .", 1963 (181), and by the study, based on literary sources only, by H. Hoffmann, "Die Gräber der tibetischen Könige . . .", 1950 (161).

When combining the various pieces of information given by Tibetan sources with the material and the points of view presented by the four authors just mentioned, we are, however, in a position to get a more definite idea of the character and structure of the royal tombs and even to get more precise ideas of the location of the tombs.

### *The royal tomb and its constituents*

*Dur*, alone and in various combinations, is the Tibetan term generally used of a grave, tomb or burial place, while the term used of the royal tombs is *bañ-so*. This signifies both grave and mound, deriving



from the wider or more common sense of storing place, store (*bañ-ba*) and *so*, used in the Tun-huang text edited by Lalou (4) together with *se* to describe the grave of the bTsan-po. This indefinite terminology proves in certain respects significant with regard to the general distinction between ordinary or royal tombs and with regard to the special functions of the latter ones as both storing places and monuments.

Used of the royal tombs without any particular determinative, *bañ-so* is an indefinite term indicating in its widest sense the integral idea of the royal burial place with its surrounding domain, *bañ-so'i khul*, in its narrowest sense the very depository of the royal corpse. As it appears from the sources, the integral idea of the royal tomb may comprise the following five constituents: 1. the domain or consecrated area, *bañ-so'i khul*, on which the royal tomb is situated; 2. the depository of the corpse, *spu-khañ*; 3. the depository or depositories, *nor-gyi bañ-so*, of the personal treasures of the king or of the treasures offered at his funeral; 4. a sanctuary or ancestral shrine, *bžens-kyi lha-khañ* or *gtsug-lag lha-khañ*, to which the future royal generations bring their offerings; 5. the stone pillar, *rtsis-kyi rdo-riñ*, in commemoration of the merits and achievements of the king; and 6. probably, the tombs of those nobles, *dpon-g'yog*, who by destiny followed the king into death.

How many of these constituents originally belonged to a royal tomb is questionable, particularly where the stone pillar and a particularly established sanctuary for ancestral worship are concerned. The depositories of treasures seem, however, to have been obligatory of old.

The consecrated area, *bañ-so'i khul*, surrounding the tomb was a world of its own. Whoever happened to trespass it outside of the periods of sacrificial solemnities never returned, but was bound to a life within the necropolis community of the grave-guardian(s) and the slaves (see p. 367). In one single case, the tomb of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, we have descriptions of the size of this domain. According to Tucci (195.3) Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje relates: "The size of the field is like (the space covered) by the discharge of a stone catapult." The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ tells that "The full size (circumference) was as much as one dpag-tshad, mile." Hoffmann (161.7) adopts this measure in the sense of one dpag-chen of 4000 (5000) fathoms corresponding roughly to one geographical mile. It is, however, more reasonable to identify it with the dpag-chuñ of 500 fathoms. Assuming that the area was approximately square, we get a side of about 250 metres, which agrees more closely to the range of a stone catapult. The domain of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's tomb which would correspondingly have had a size of about 15–16 acres, and was probably extraordinarily large, was enclosed by a fence or wall, *lcags-ri*.

The royal tomb itself, *spu-khañ*, was in principle sub-terranean, i.e. the funeral chamber and the corpse was below earth, directly dug into the earth or covered by a mound of earth.

The traditional prototype of a royal tomb is that of Gri-gum-btsan-po, according to the Fifth Dalai Lama the first of tombs (see p. 115), a tradition also confirmed by other Tibetan sources. In the Tun-huang Ms 250 Paris (Appendix I, XVIIIa) it is said of the sons, that they Gyañ-to bla-'bubs-kyi mgur-du bañ-so brtsigso, translated by Bacot and Toussaint "élevèrent un haut tombeau de pisé, en forme de tente dressée" (1.127) and by Hoffmann "errichteten ein Grabmal in Form eines aus hoher Stampferde aufgeworfenen Zeltes" (161.5). In both cases the Tibetan text is conceived in the way that the tomb was piled up from stamped earth in the form of a pitched tent. The expression *gyañ-to*, which has been conceived in its direct sense of pisé or hoher Stampferde (*gya-mtho*), may however be a direct allusion to the mountain *Gyañ-to* or *Gya-mtho* in Koñ-po, upon which the mythic ancestor of the Dynasty was said to have appeared. At any rate, however, the text seems to indicate that the tomb was built as a *tentlike mound of earth*, and the sites of some of the tombs of the early, prehistoric kings are said by Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje to look like protruding mounds (195.2).

Chinese sources give us various items of information as to the ancient Tibetan tombs. The T'ang-shu (220.216A.2r8–9) relates shortly of the tombs in general: "When they bury their dead, they make a *tomb with plastered walls*". The character 冢 *chung* used of the tomb is, however, rather indefinite, indicating both grave, tomb, and mound. When describing the burial of the Tibetan king, the Chiu T'ang-shu (213.196A.2v8–10) relates that the Tibetans, after having buried the king, "raised a *great house* to stand over the grave. *Earth was heaped up* and planted with various kinds of trees, to form a place for

*ancestral sacrifices.*” Correspondingly, the T’ang-shu (220.216A.3r2–3) relates: “A great house was raised, and on the top of the mound all kinds of trees were planted, to form an *ancestral sanctuary.*”

Obviously describing the burial of prominent Tibetans, Tu Yu writes in his T’ung-tien (224.190.9r): “When a man dies, they kill oxen and horses to be buried with the dead. The oxen and horses are piled up all around the tomb. Their *tomb is quadrangular* with stones piled up to give the *form of an ordinary chief’s house.*” Finally, the T’ang-shu (220.216B.14r1–2) gives a description of the Tibetan warrior tombs on the mountain or river slopes at the Sino-Tibetan frontier region to the west of Ch’ih-ling: “At all the slopes there are graves (grave-mounds, *ch’iu-mu* 丘墓) beside which they have raised houses, plastered deep red with drawings of white tigers.”

These Chinese records present certain features in common, while in other respects they apparently disagree, which seems though to be due to the more or less indefinite statements of what is actually meant to be described. Comparing them, it is obvious that they talk about the *mound of heaped up earth*, the *house of ancestral sacrifices*, thus mentioning two of the above listed five items, and in some cases identify tomb with shrine. The sacrifices at the burial ceremony described by Tu Yu correspond to what is otherwise known of the funeral rites described above.

With regard to the tombs of the prehistoric kings (see p. 114ff.) and the kings following Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, we have only a rather scanty knowledge in general, even though in special cases we are informed of most important details, as for instance in the case of the tomb of King ’Bro-gñan-lde-ru (see p. 349–50).

Where the tomb in its proper sense as the depository of the royal corpse is concerned, various accounts apparently indicate that the ground-plan of the tomb or the system according to which it was built, varied so that the tombs had either a circular or a quadrangular circumference and were divided into either nine or five sections.

H. Hoffmann (161.8) assumes from the short remarks given in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba’i-me-loñ that the tombs of the kings anterior to Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po were circular, while those of this king and his successors were quadrangular. dPa’-bo gTsug-lag refers the introduction of quadrangular tombs to the time of both gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan (64.12r) and Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po (64.53v). Moreover, Hoffmann taking his departure in the account of Gri-gum-btsan-po’s tomb says (161.6): “Der alten Chronik dürfen wir ferner entnehmen, dass die ältesten Gräber aus einem zeltförmigen Hügel aus Stampferde bestanden. Erst mit der Bestattung des grossen Sroñ-bcan sgam-po wurden umfänglichere Grabanlagen üblich, wie wir noch sehen werden”; and later (161.8): “Der Umfang der Grabanlage des Sroñ-bcan sgam-po wie seine kostbare Ausstattung sticht also wesentlich von den einfachen zeltförmigen Erdhügeln seiner weniger bedeutenden Vorgänger ab”; and (161.10–11): “Mit dem Grab des grossen Sroñ-bcan sgam-po begann eine neue Reihe von Grabdenkmälen, die nicht mehr als einfache Erdhügel aussehen sind sondern reich geschmückt und von erheblichen Umfang gewesen sein müssen”.

In these remarks Hoffmann seems to be right only as far as the size and the adornments of the tombs may be concerned. From the facts appearing in the sources as a whole, we have every reason to assume that *the actual royal tombs, the receptacle of the royal corpse, were quadrangular in the case of both prehistoric and historic kings.* By comparing the remarks of the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba’i-me-loñ and dPa’-bo gTsug-lag with the description of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po’s tomb, and assuming this to be identical with that of the later kings, the contradictions prove themselves to be only a question of different conceptions of what is being described.

What the sources describe is *the outer appearances of the mounds, which seem to have been “round”, zlum-po, until the time of gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan or his son Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.* With these kings *the outer appearances of the mounds changed into a quadrangle, gru-b’zi.* This form can be seen from the photographs of the necropolis in ’Phyoñs-rgyas. But this circular or quadrangular form of the mound covering the actual tomb is no criterion of the form of the tomb itself.

In the general tradition of the tomb of ’Bro-gñan-lde-ru (see p. 334ff.) it is described as round, zlum-po, but from the detailed description of the tomb given by the rGyal-po bka’i-thañ-yig it is incontestable that the actual tomb was quadrangular. If we follow the detailed description of the rGyal-po bka’i-

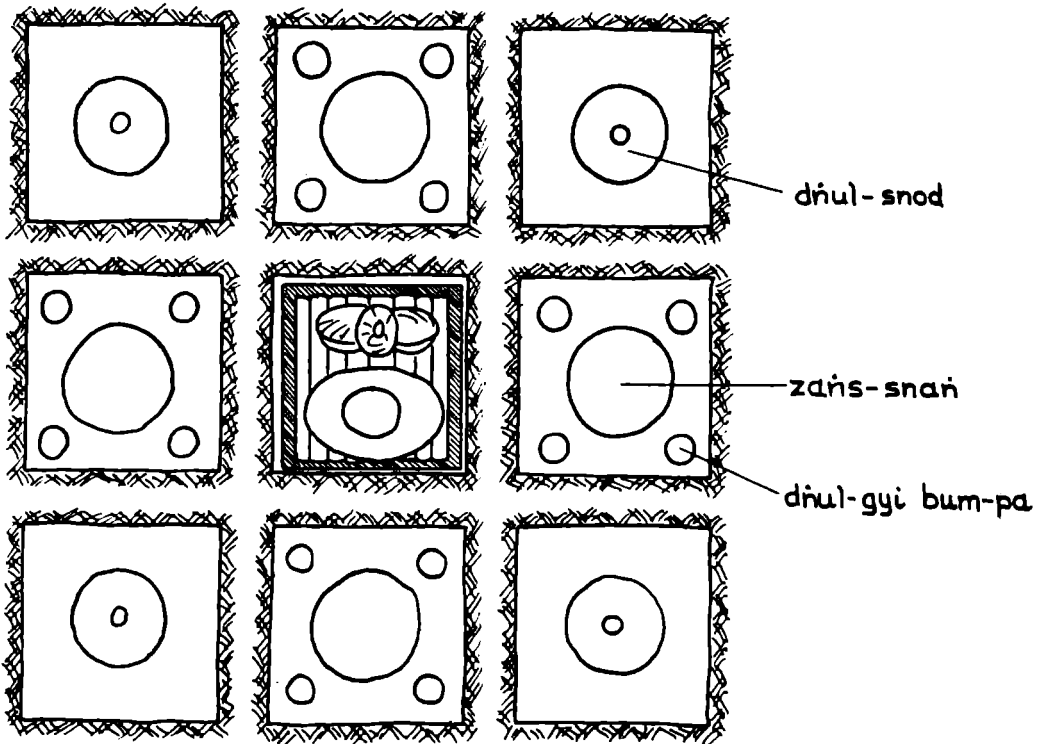
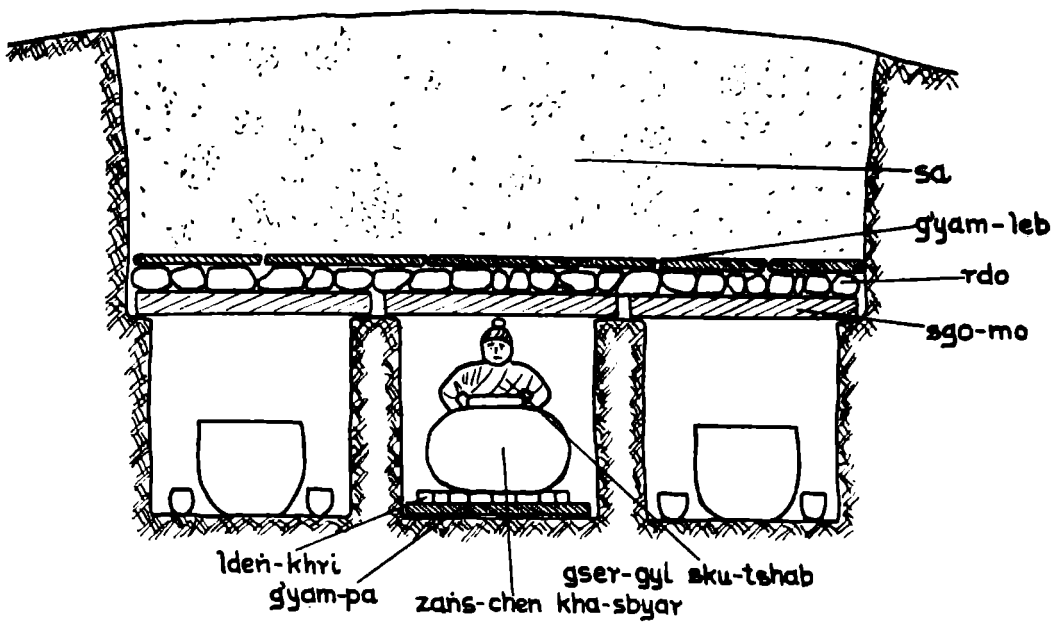


Plate IV: The tomb of 'Bro-gñan-lde'u.

thañ-yig (see p. 349f.) combining the versions of the gTer and its commentary, we obtain a picture of the tomb corresponding to the reconstruction shown on Plate IV. This shows a quadrangular, nine-partitioned tomb dug into the ground or a natural hillock, covered by earth which probably formed a circular mound.

In the description of Rañ'byuñ-rdo-rje there are two passages which may lead to confusion and support the idea of a change in the structure of the actual tombs. In the brief account of the burial (195.2): "From this the habit of building a quadrangular tomb is derived," we might deduce that Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's tomb was the prototype of the quadrangular tomb. But in fact he only describes the outer form of the mound. Later in the same description, when mentioning the tomb of sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs, we read, "it was said that the tomb was erected according to the system of the rMu." Whatever may be the meaning of "the system of the rMu," the statement in itself permits no conclusion whatever with regard to the other tombs. It may indicate some special construction of the tomb concerned, but it may also in consideration of the heterogeneous composition of this source, refer to a system commonly used and known, perhaps the quadrangular tomb within the circular mound.

In the descriptions of the royal tombs during the historical part of the Dynasty, the only tomb which is definitely described as round is that of lJañ-tsha lHa-dbon. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.70v) relates:

Mes-kyi bañ-so'i druñ-du zlum-por brtsigs

It was built round, in front of the tomb of his grandfather.

The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (59.123v) relates:

lJañ-tsha lHa-dbon bañ-so mes-kyi mdun / zlum-por rtsigs-nas gter yañ sbas-so skad

The tomb of *lJañ-tsha lHa-dbon* is in front of his grandfather's. It is built round. A treasure is hidden (in it). So it is said.

lJañ-tsha lHa-dbon, however, never ascended the throne, he was never bTsan-po or king, dying as a minor. Therefore the form of his tomb is no criterion with regard to the tombs of the kings.

### *The structure of the royal tombs*

The only detailed descriptions of royal tombs accessible to us at present are those of the Treasure Tomb connected with the time of King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, the tomb of King 'Bro-gñan-lde-ru, and the tomb of King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. They all describe the shape of the actual tomb as being a quadrangle or a figure composed of five or nine squares. A most important, though indirect, proof that the quadrangle or square was principally the ground-plan of a sanctified area, a tomb or a sanctuary, recognized by the Tibetans of old, is found in the accounts of the construction of the temple of Ra-mo-che at lHa-sa, according to tradition founded at the time of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. This ground-plan was immediately adaptable first to the Bon-po principles and later to the Buddhist ones.

The Ma-ñi bka'-'bum (34.218v) relates with regard to the ground-plan of the temple under construction:

sKye-bo dañ-mthun-par rmañ gru-bžir btiñ / rab-tu-byuñ-ba btsun-pa dañ-mthun-par gtsañ-khañ dra-mig-tu rmañ btiñ / Bon-po dañ-mthun-par sa-gži g'yuñ-druñ ris-su rmañ btiñ /

In accordance with the people (*skye-bo*) the foundation (*rmañ*) was laid as a quadrangle (*gru-bži*). In accordance with the reverend monks the chapels (*gtsañ-khañ*) were laid with a ground-plan like a chequer-board (*dra-mig*)<sup>1</sup>. In accordance with the Bon-pos the site (*sa-gži*) was laid out as a Swastika (*g'yuñ-druñ*).

And later in the same text (34.220v):

De-nas lHa-gcig Khri-btsun-gyis thugs-dam-gyi lha-khañ-gi rmañ 'diñs-bar-mdzad-do / De yañ khyim-pa dañ-bstun-nas gru-bži / rab-byuñ

Then Queen *lHa-gcig Khri-btsun* caused to be laid out the foundations of the chapels, which were solemnly promised. She laid the

dañ-bstun-nas re-mig / sñags-pa dañ-bstun-nas  
dkyil-'khor / Bon-po dañ-bstun-nas g'yuñ-druñ  
ris-su rmañ btiñ-ste / gziñs 'briñ-gi tshad-du  
bžeñs-so

foundations in the form of a quadrangle (*gru-bži*) to be in accordance with the house-dwellers (*khyim-pa*), a chequer-board (*re-mig*)<sup>a</sup> to be in accordance with the monks, a mañḍala (*dkyil-'khor*) to be in accordance with the tantrics (*sñags-pa*), and a Swastika (*g'yuñ-druñ*) to be in accordance with the Bon-pos. It was constructed in half the height (of a normal wall).

The same event is recorded in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ in two places, obviously depending on the same tradition (60.147r):

Yañ bla-ma-rnams byon-te / rgyal-po'i lha-  
khañ 'di bla-ma'i lugs-su bžeñs-cig gsuñ-ño /

And the prelates (*bla-ma*) came and said: "The king's chapel should be built in the traditions of the prelates!"

Yañ sñags-pa-rnams byuñ-ste / rgyal-po'i  
lha-khañ 'di ñed sñags-pa'i lugs-su bžeñs-cig  
zer-ro /

And the tantrics appeared and said: "The king's chapel should be built in our tradition, the tantric one!"

Yañ Bon-po-rnams byuñ-ste / rgyal-po'i  
lha-khañ 'di / Bon-po'i lugs-su bžeñs-cig zer-ro /

And the Bon-pos appeared and said: "The king's chapel should be built in the traditions of the Bon-pos!"

Yañ Bod-'bañs-rnams byuñ-ste / rgyal-po'i  
lha-khañ 'di Bod-'bañs-kyi lugs-su bžeñs-cig  
zer-ro /

And the Tibetan subjects appeared and said: "The king's chapel should be built in the tradition of the Tibetan subjects!"

Der rgyal-po zin-tu-dgyes-nas / thams-cad  
žal-gyis bžes-so /

At that the king was very pleased and he accepted all of them.

Later it relates (60.149r):

De yañ sgo-bži dkyil-'khor rigs-su byas-pas  
bla-ma dga' / ka-ba phur-pa ris-su byas-pas /  
sñags-pa dga' / zur-bži g'yuñ-ruñ ris-su byas-pas /  
Bon-po dga' / ri-mig ris-su byas-pas / Bod-'bañs  
dga' /

He made the four doors in the manner of a mañḍala and the prelates rejoiced. He made pillars in the shape of a *phur-pa* (ritual dagger) and the tantrics rejoiced. He made the quadrangle (four corners) in the shape of a Swastika and the Bon-pos rejoiced. He made it in the shape of a chequer-board (*ri-mig*) and the Tibetan subjects rejoiced.

From both sources it appears that the customary, aboriginal ground-plan, that of sKye-bo, Khyim-pa, or Bod-'bañs, was a quadrangle, a square, defined either as *gru-bži* (quadrangle) or *ri-mig* (a square subdivided into the likeness of a chequer-board).

The importance of these sources with regard to the structure of the royal tombs derives from the fact that the royal tomb was a temple or sanctuary, lHa-khañ, just as Ra-mo-che was a lHa-khañ. The former was more explicitly a bŽeñs-kyi-lha-khañ, the latter a gTsug-lag-lha-khañ, terms in later time changed into rGyal-po'i-lha-khañ and gTsug-lag-khañ respectively. This common character of a sanctuary, lha-khañ, moreover appears from the similarity to be found in the fundamental arrangement of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's tomb and Ra-mo-che, and just this very similarity helps us to explain the apparently contradictory descriptions of the tomb of this king.

As stated by the texts just quoted, Ra-mo-che was constructed in such a way that the ground-plan satisfied several demands: 1. it was quadrangular, *gru-bži*, and divided into a *ri-mig*; 2. it was divided into *dra-mig* or *re-mig* similar to the system of a mañḍala, *dkyil-'khor*, with four doors, *sgo-bži*; 3. it was built with four corners, *zur-bži*, in the form of a Swastika, *g'yuñ-druñ*; and 4. it was built with pillars shaped as *phur-pa* in the system of a mañḍala, *dkyil-'khor*.

The element of the pillars of the last item is subordinate, because in principle they may be adapted to any form of construction. The element of the maṇḍala identifies item 4 with item 2, thus reducing the number of items to three.

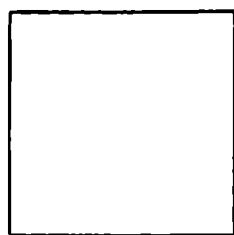
With regard to item 2 the two passages of the Ma-ṅi bka'-'bum quoted above are not identical. In the former passage the chapel should be constructed as a dra-mig, divided into sections, in the latter it was constructed as a re-mig, meaning according to the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ a maṇḍala. While dra-mig is a general expression, re-mig is a special one, describing a main quadrangle or square, subdivided into equal quadrangles, a chess- or chequer-board, in the form of a sme-ba, divination-table or board.<sup>8</sup> H. Hoffmann (162.264) has misinterpreted the terms when translating them as "durchbrochene Wände, Gitterwerk nach Art von Schachbrettquadraten". The re-mig or dra-mig has nothing to do with the structure of the walls themselves, but applies to the arrangement of the walls or partitions as traced in the ground-plan.

Item 2 furthermore demands that the plan corresponds to a maṇḍala with four doors. A maṇḍala in its fundamental form contains five principal sections in the form of a cross, a central one with four others facing the cardinal directions. In each cardinal direction there is a gate or door.

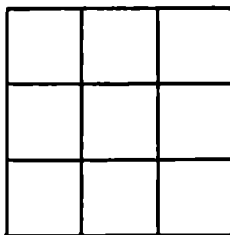
Item 1 demanding a quadrangle or square, gru-bḥi, subdivided into a ri-mig, presents no difficulties, the form of the ri-mig having the circumference of a quadrangle.

The demand in item 3, that the foundation should be laid in the shape of a Swastika, raises apparently the greatest obstacle when combining all the demands of the building. The demand of four corners, zur-bḥi is fulfilled in the shape of the Swastika itself.

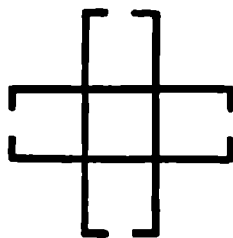
By constructing the temple of Ra-mo-che, four figures should therefore be present in the groundplan:



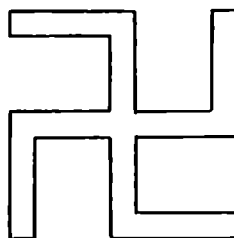
a quadrangle or square,



a re-mig,

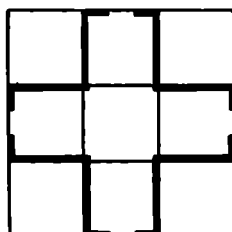


a maṇḍala with four doors,

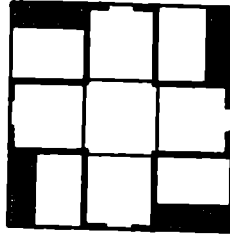


and a Swastika.

The square is able to contain all the other figures within its circumference. Selecting this as the fundamental figure, we are immediately able to add the re-mig and the maṇḍala with four doors, thus obtaining the following ground-plan:



But in this very ground-plan we find the Swastika represented too, as shown in the following plan, which unites all demands within the same frame:



If we venture to show how the ideal picture of a temple looks combining all these figures not only in the ground-plan but also in the upper structure, it may most probably have looked somewhat as in Plate V.

In this ideal, reconstructed picture we possess the master key to the problems connected with the tomb and mound of King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. The solution lies in the horizontal cross-sections of the reconstruction shown on Plate V below, AA constituting a square and a re-mig, BB a Swastika, and CC a maṇḍala:

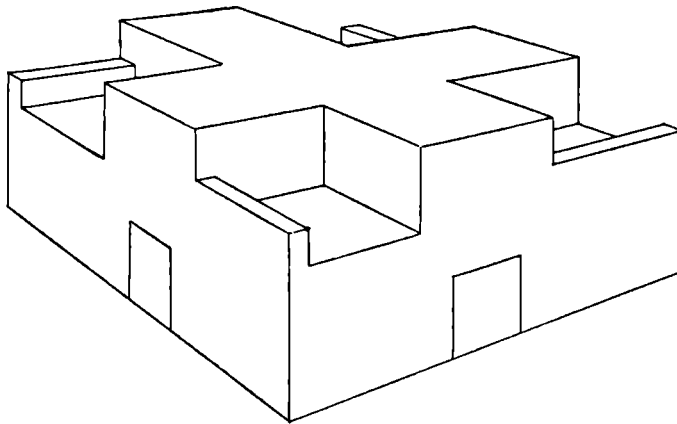
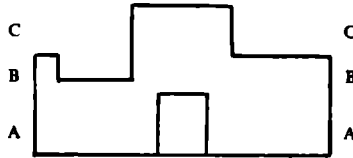


Plate V: The reconstruction of Ra-mo-che.

On several occasions we have quoted the information given by Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje through the translation published by G. Tucci, and before proceeding to the discussion of the tomb of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, also described by the rGyal-po bka'i-thañ-yig (see p. 349–50), dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (see p. 363), and the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i-me-loñ (see p. 363–64), we shall now quote the passages relevant in this respect, dividing the text into smaller sections indicated by index letters (195.1–2,3–4):

- A. In the old records it is so briefly stated: In the quadrangular tomb they made some partitions (*reumig*): they mixed mud with silk and paper: / with that they made the image of the saintly king; / then drawing along a car with music / they placed the image inside the tomb. / They filled up the partitions inside with precious things.

- B. The tomb of Sroñ btsan is in ṁP'yoñ p'u mda'. / As to its size, it is like a full range of an arrow shot of a great range. / The size of the field (where it is located) is like (the space covered), by the discharge of a stone catapult; / inside there are five chapels. This (tomb) is famous as the ornament among the tombs. / Its secret name is rMu ri smug; /
- C. in the ṁDsam bu gliñ the offering of the gems has been collected three times: / the five kinds of divine gems; / the five kinds of gems of the nagas, / the five kinds of human gems; / the essence of the earth bestows life and it produces the means of happiness of living beings. /
- D. At that time earth was taken from ṁP'reñ gi ri. / The mud was taken from the water of the gÑan./
- E. The door was facing Nepal towards the West. /
- F. As to the interior, it was displayed in five kinds: / in the centre, the Dam sri<sup>4</sup> were subdued by rDo rje gtsug; / on the top there was a veranda of pillars of 18 cubits each, / made of sandal wood of the quality called *sa mc'og (haricandana)*. /
- G. In the very middle there were the dress of the king, / inconceivable kinds of gems / and myriads of precious diadems. / Upon that there was an all-pervading umbrella / made of sandal wood called *sprul sñiñ*. /
- H. The most precious thing (literally essence) of the kings of India, / the very king of the armours of Udayana (= Udayana), / each ring of the mail being made of myriads of *srañ* of gold, / was the auspicious thing in the West. / It was then wrapped in precious copper and hidden. /
- I. The most precious thing of the king of China, / taken from the side of the Meru, the king of mountains, / was the right hand of the queen made of precious coral. / It was eight cubits long and emanated light / like a lamp: it is in the northern side. /
- K. Then the most precious thing of the king himself / is a heap of precious glass (*ac'in bu*), one full cubit; (*ap'in bu* for *ac'in bu*); / this was the auspicious thing in the middle; it was wrapped in silk cloth and hidden. /
- L. As to the most precious thing of the king of the Hor, / it was the figure of a man and of a horse in gold; / it was wrapped in various kinds of silk cloth of shining saffron (colour). / It was a contrivance similar to an image of a man and a horse. / This was hidden on the eastern side. /
- M. Two thirds of the pearls, weighted in loads, / taken from the king of Ya rtse / placed in a skin of a young stag were hidden in the South. /
- N. Many other kinds of gems were placed in the precious tomb."
- O. Then the description follows of the five chapels built inside the tomb. Only Buddhist deities are mentioned and they are disposed as in a mañḁala, viz, in the centre; Sañs rgyas ma c'ags pad pa can; in the eastern corner: sGrol ma; in the southern: Sañs rgyas sman pa; in the western side: Sañs gyas dga' ba; in the northern side: rTa bdag.

We are able to reduce the descriptions of the three other sources mentioned above on p. 387 into the following items:

- P. A quadrangular tomb divided into a *re'u-mig*.
- Q. The corpse is placed into a receptacle, a *ga'u* or *zañs*, upon a throne, *khri*, in the central section of the *re'u-mig*.
- R. Treasures, banners, a canopy, and five seven-tiered fire-tables are placed there too.
- S. Offerings and treasures are placed in the tomb.
- T. There are five chapels, *lha-khañ*.

When we reduce these descriptions into coherent units it immediately appears that items, *B, E, F, O,* and *T* refer to the same part of the tomb, that corresponding to the horizontal cross-section CC of the Ra-mo-che. Items *A, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R,* and *S* refer to another part of the tomb, that corresponding to the horizontal cross-section AA of the Ra-mo-che.

Therefore, the first unit corresponds to the sanctuary of ancestral worship, and the other unit to the actual tomb.



When following the rule that the actual tomb with its nine sections was placed below earth, under the valley bottom or under a mound, and the sanctuary was placed by or upon the mound, we must imagine the bañ-so or tomb as shown in our reconstruction on Plate VI, p. 389-90.

The first plan of Plate VI on this page shows the horizontal ground-plan of the ancestral sanctuary, based upon items *B, E, F, O,* and *T.* The veranda of item *F* being interpreted as a gallery surrounding the central part of the temple, admitting light and air through a superstructure overlooking the roofs of the four wings of the temple, a construction well known from Tibetan architecture.

The second plan of Plate VI on the top of p. 390 is a vertical cross-section cutting the temple or sanctuary through the western door, shown to the left. Upon the mound is placed the temple, and below the surface of the mound, or the surface of the earth, is placed the tomb. No attempt at linear identity or rules of measure is intended in the reconstruction.

The third plan of Plate VI on the bottom of p. 390 shows the horizontal ground-plan of the actual tomb, based on items *A, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, Q, R,* and *S.* Items *H, I, K, L,* and *M* are placed according to their position of direction; items *A, G, Q, R,* and *S* are placed in the central partition of the tomb, the actual sepulchral chamber. In this chamber are placed the throne, *khri,* carrying the *ga'u* or *zañs* with the royal corpse, the statue of the king, and the treasures, according to what is also known from the tomb of 'Bro-gñan-lde-ru.

When recalling the Bon-po influence in the burial rite of the king, we are inclined to add the Swastika to the outer construction of the bañ-so, thus adding four walls to the structure of the temple of ancestral worship. This structure, suggested in the first plan of Plate VI, is then similar to cross-section BB of the Ra-mo-che. The outer appearance of the ancestral temple upon the mound may then have had the likeness of our reconstruction shown on Plate VII, p. 391.

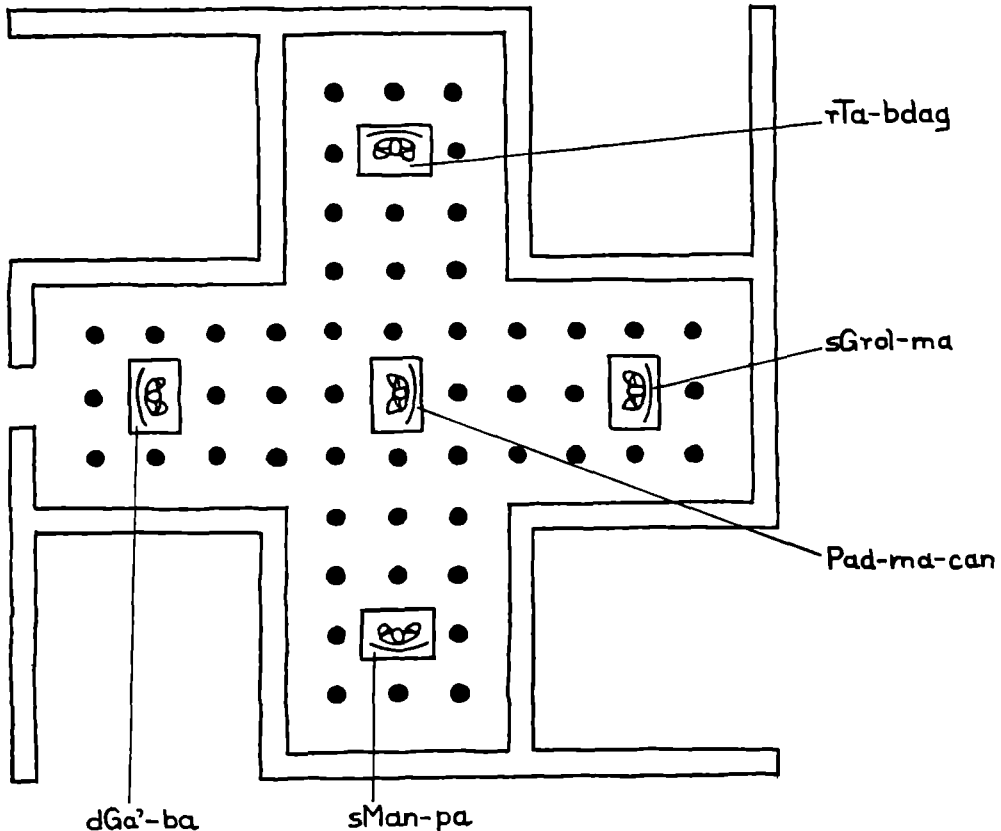
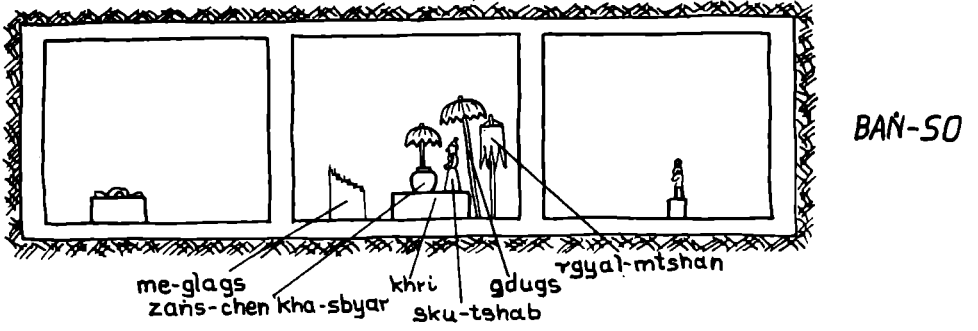
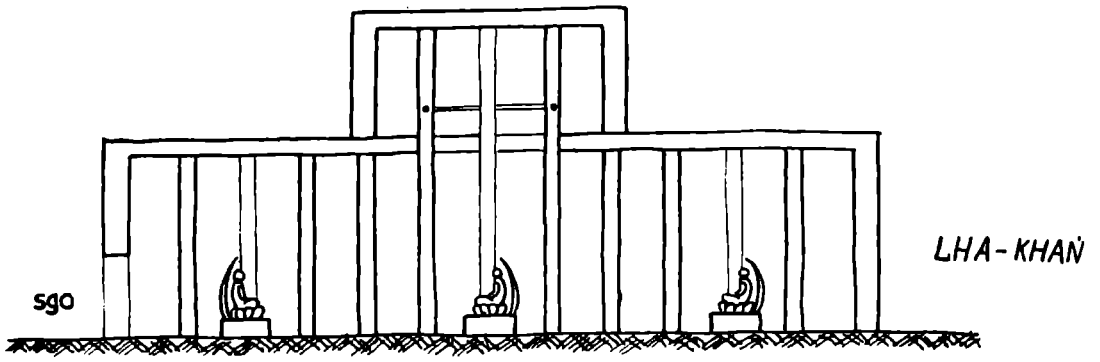
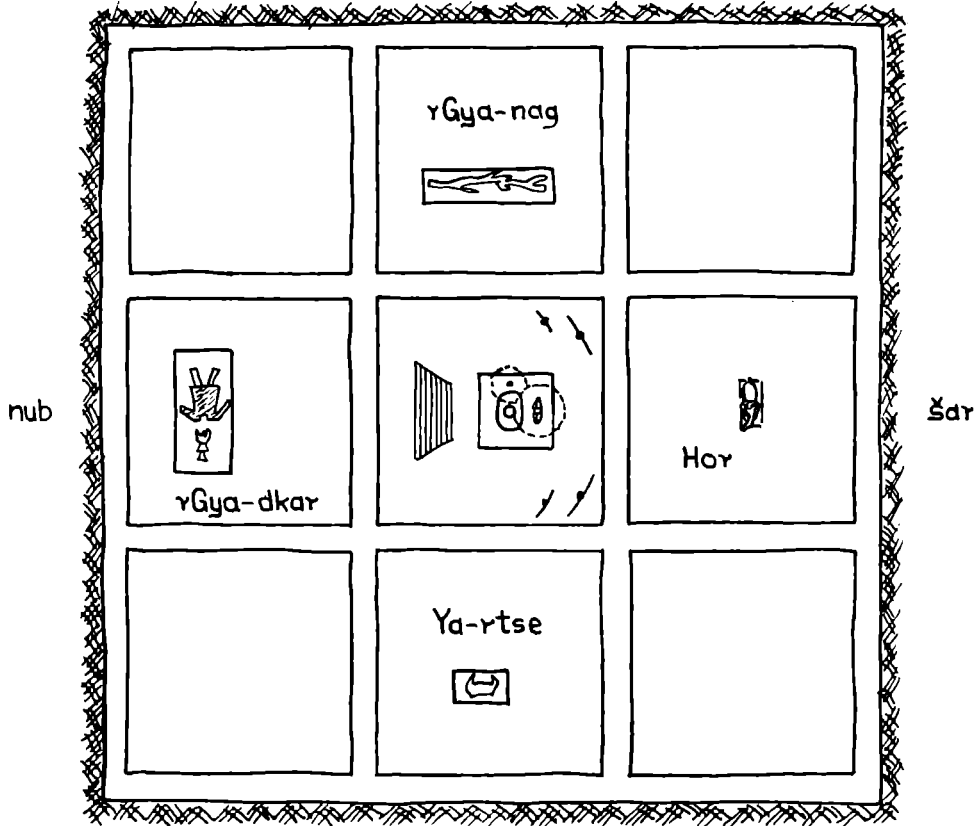


Plate VI: The tomb of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po: The upper structure, lateral section.



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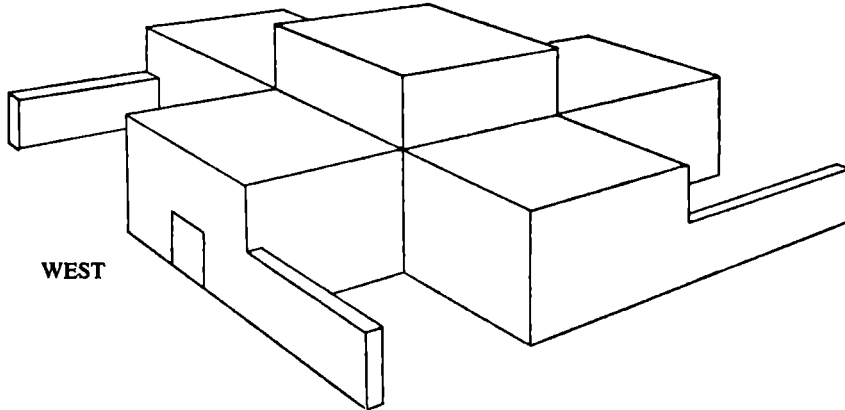


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Plate VI: The tomb of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po: Vertical section, and lateral section of the subterranean structure.

Not having access to the original text of *Raḥ-'byuñ-rdo-rje*, we want nevertheless to point out that the five deities in item *O* are not necessarily Buddhist deities. They might as well have been non-Buddhist, when we remember that the eight *rTa-bdag* are connected with *Pe-har* (172.100), *sMan* appears as a Bon-po deity (172.160), and among the *dGra-lha* a *Ma-chags* exists (*sToñ-gi-dgra-lha*) (172.324).

That the actual tomb is a microcosmos, a horizontal projection in the form of a *re'u-mig* of the universe, has already been pointed out by G. Tucci (195,9,34, note 18). But so also is the temple. It is a *maṅḍala*, the Buddhist horizontal projection of the universe. The vertical conception of the universe in the sense of *gnam-sa-'og*, is intimated through item *C*, the divine gems, the gems of the nagas, and the human gems, referring to the principal inmates of *gnam-sa-'og*, the *lHa*, *Mi*, and *kLu*.



*Plate VII: The tomb of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po: External appearance.*

#### *The names of the royal tombs*

From the few references to the royal tombs which we find in the Tibetan sources it appears that each of the tombs of the historical kings possessed its own characteristic name. These names have been listed by G. Tucci on an earlier occasion (915.12ff.), but unfortunately the list is too incomplete for our purpose. We therefore list the names again below, including amendments and additions, grouping them under the names of kings, preceded by the number of the king in question from Table III and IV.

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 30. 'Bro-gñan-lde'u:    | gSon-chad zlum-po (60.68r)<br>gSon-mchad zlum-po (64.11v)   |
| 32. gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan: | Guñ-ri sogs-ka (64.12r)<br>Gon-ri sogs-kha (60.68v)<br>Go-ri sogs-kha (59)<br>Guñ-ri sog-pa legs (81.3)   |
| 33. Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po: | Nañ-gi rgyan (59.188r)<br>Nañ-na rgyan (60)<br>Nañ rgyan-can (64.53v; 58.81v)<br>rMu-ri smug (81.3)<br>sMu-ri smug-po (64.53v)<br>Mu-ri smug-po (60)<br>sMug-ri (smug-po) (59; 37. 39v)<br>sKu-ri smug-po (58.81v)<br>Bañ-so dmar-po (181.77) |
| 34. Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan: | Guñ-ri guñ-rje (81.4)<br>Guñ-chen guñ-ri (64.47v; 60.166v)<br>Guñ-chen gu-ri (59)   |
| 35. Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan: | sNo-že hral-po (59)<br>sNo-žer hral-po (64.69v-70r: 195.12 reads sDo)<br>sNo-bze brag-po (60)<br>mDo-gžer hral-po (81.4)<br>sDog-gže hral-po (58.81v quoted by 195.7)   |

36. 'Dus-sroñ:	lHa-ri-can (58.82r; 64.70v; 81.4) Señ-ge rtsigs-pa (58.82r)
37. Mes-ag-tshoms:	lHa-ri gtsug-nam (58.84v; 64.75r; 81.5) lHa-ri gtsug-snam (58 quoted by 195.12)
38. Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan:	'Phrul-ri gtsug-snañ (60.244v; 64.123r; 81.5) 'Phrul-gtsug-snañ (58.93r)
39. Mu-ne-btsan-po:	lHa-ri ldem-po (58.93v; 60.216v; 81.5) sKya-ri ldem-bu (64.123r (195.6: — bu))
40A. Mu-rug-btsan-po:	Gyañ-ri gyañ-ldem (81.5) Kya-ri kyañ-ldem (58.93v quoted by 195.7) sKya-ldem (64.123r)
40. Sad-na-legs:	rGyal-chen 'phrul-ri (64.127v) rGyal-chen 'phrul-gzer (81.5) rGyal-chen bañ-so (58.94r) rGya-chen bañ-so (60)
41. Ral-pa-can:	Khri-steñ rmañ-ri (64.134r (195.13: stoñ)) Khri-steñs snañ-ri (60.224v)
43. 'Od-sruñ:	sKye-'u lha-rten (64.137r)

Table XII: The names of the royal tombs.

The oldest case in which we know the name of a royal tomb belonging to that of a historical king, is the one of 'Bro-gñan-lde'u.<sup>5</sup> When comparing this tomb-name with the other ones, it places itself apart, being the only name connected with a legend; it is thus a kind of etiological name, the name being derived from the legend or vice-versa.

Only one source, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.137r), mentions the tomb of 'Od-sruñ, the king following after the death of King gLañ-Dar-ma:

/ 'Od-sruñ bañ-so 'Phrul-rgyal rgyab-na yod /	'Od-sruñ's tomb is behind (that of) 'Phrul-rgyal ('Dus-sroñ).
/ Miñ-du sKye-'u lha-rten lags-so skad /	The name is sKye-'u lha-rten. That is told.
/ De-phyin btsan-po'i bañ-so rtsig-pa nub /	After him declined the building of royal tombs.
/ rJe kheñ khyad-med Bod-khams sil-bur soñ /	Rulers abounded, were insignificant. Tibet disintegrated.
/ Bañ-so-rnams kyañ bgos-te phal-cher brus <sup>6</sup> /	The tombs were distributed and extensively scrutinized. <sup>7</sup>
/ rJe-yi mGur-lha-rnams-kyi g'yar-ño-las /	From the borrowed appearance of the royal mGur-lha
/ rJe-tshan-rnams-dgu rJe-lhus-bcu-ru chags /	Descended all (nine?) royal houses (rJe-tshan) and ten royal lateral branches (lhus=skud?).

The complete collapse of the Yar-luñ Empire is expressed through these lines and so also is the fact that the tomb of 'Od-sruñ is the last of the royal tombs. Because the period of this king is characterized by chaos and disruption of the old Tibetan traditions, we shall not include the name of this tomb in our discussion below. The name sKye-'u lha-rten may be translated as the "Receptacle of the God, the Born One".

The remaining names of eleven royal tombs present the same confusing picture of written forms as in the case of the names of the king themselves. But for each king a definite and personal name of the tomb is discernable. Excluded from this group of names are Nañ-gi rgyan and its variants (33), Bañ-so dmar-po (33), and Señ-ge rtsigs-pa (36).<sup>8</sup> They are alien to the sense of a tomb-name, which appears from the following analysis.

The other names of royal tombs, except that of Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan, all contain the word *ri*, mountain, qualified by a preceding word in the following way:

<i>guñ-ri, go(ñ)-ri</i> (32,34)	Heaven-mountain
<i>rmu-ri</i> (33)	rMu-mountain
<i>lha-ri</i> (36,37,39)	God-mountain
<i>skya-ri</i> (39)	Corpse(White-grey)-mountain
<i>'phrul-ri</i> (38,40)	'Phrul-mountain
<i>gyañ-ri, byañ-ri</i> (40A)	Gyañ-(mtho)-mountain
<i>rmañ-ri</i> (41)	Basis-mountain

rMu is the group of celestial gods from which gÑa'-khri-btsan-po descended (see p. 268f.). 'Phrul is one of the royal prerogatives, characterizing the king as "supernatural" (see p. 227). Gyañ refers certainly to the holy mountain of Koñ-po, Gyañ-mtho (see p. 293f.). The single occurrence of sKya instead of lHa, directs our attention to the idea of the white-grey corpse as studied above (p. 345). Through guñ and lha the tomb is connected with the place from where gÑa'-khri-btsan-po and thus every bTsan-po descended.

Thus, the part of the tomb-names containing the word *ri*, mountain, carries the same properties as the royal names. They are just like those, names of special importance, *sacral names of the tombs* characterized by the word *ri*, in the same way as the royal names are characterized by *khri*.

The other part of the tomb-names carries in some cases a sacral meaning, in other cases they seem rather to be "personal" names:

sog(s)-k(h)a-(legs) (32):	may be referring to the district Sogs-kha in Yar-luñ.
smug-po (33):	blood-coloured, brown-red, the colour of the rMu. <sup>9</sup>
guñ-rje (34):	Heaven-ruler.
guñ-chen (34):	Heaven-great.
gtsug-nam (37):	Topmost heaven.
gtsug-snañ (37):	Topmost middle sphere (bar-snañ).
ldem-po(bu) (39):	tomb-figure, -statue, referring to the figure of the king in the tomb.
gyañ(kyañ)-ldem (40A):	Gyañ-mtho – tomb-figure, referring to the holy mountain of Koñ-po.
rgya(l)-chen (40):	Great king.
khri-steñ(s) (41):	Throne-support.

The name of Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan's tomb is not immediately adaptable to the above kind of tomb-names. It is doubtful whether the readings mDo and sDog are correct. The correct reading is thought to be mÑo and sÑog. But we cannot explain any of the four words constituting the name of this king's tomb: (m)sÑo(g)-(g)bže(r)-(b)hral(g)-po.

Finally, *all tomb-names*, except that of 'Dus-sroñ, appear to *have four syllables*, just like the royal sacral names. The only king having three syllables in his royal sacral name is precisely 'Dus-sroñ. Therefore, these tomb-names appear to have the same significance in relation to each king as have their royal names. They are as characteristic to each king as his sacral royal name.

### *The location of the royal tombs*

The general location of the area where the royal tombs were placed is determined, as already mentioned above, through the investigations of Tucci (195), Wang (221), and Richardson (181). With regard to the location of each single royal tomb and their identification with the hillocks or mounds in the valley of Don-mkhar-mda' and on the foot-hills of Mu-ra-ri in Yar-luñ, only a very few attempts have been made. Those already published are fragmentary and absolutely contradictory.

The first attempt to be published was made by H. Hoffmann in 1950 (161. especially pp. 10–12). Referring to a rather limited number of literary Tibetan sources, but without knowledge of the actual appearance of the valley, he arrived at a very schematic outline of the mutual arrangement of the royal tombs, expressed in two sketches (161.10 and 11).

In the same year G. Tucci published the results from his visit to the area of the royal tombs in Yar-luñ (195). Tucci gives a rough description of the valley accompanied by a rather blurred photograph showing the foot-hills of Mu-ra-ri and the tomb nearest to the river, that tomb which is always identified as being that of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po (195. Fig. 1). Furthermore, Tucci collects the literary traditions concerning the royal tombs, uniting the information with regard to location in a table (195.12–13), but without trying to connect this information with the actual hillocks and mounds in the valley. Tucci confines himself to giving a very rough outline (195.33) of the location of a few tombs identified according to the local oral tradition.

Eleven years later the short report of the Chinese investigations in 'Phyoñ-rgyas and the royal tombs by Wang I (221) appeared. He supplies us with the first total picture of the necropolis, a very clear drawing (221.81, pl. 2) showing the tombs as seen from the left side of the river in a south-easterly direction. This drawing is accompanied by a photograph of the same area taken from a closer position, unfortunately very badly reproduced (221.82, pl. 3). Eight of the hillocks and mounds in the drawing are provided with numbers referring to Wang's identification of these as tombs of kings, whose names are reproduced showing their mutual location in a sketch (221.86, pl. 20): 1. Sad-na-legs; 2. Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan; 3. 'Dus-sroñ Mañ-po-rje; 4. 'Jañ-tsha lHa-dbon; 5. Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po; 6. Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan; 7. Mes-ag-tshoms; 8. Mu-ne-btsan-po. Wang's identifications, like those of Tucci, are based on local oral tradition, but the two identifications do not agree. Tucci identifies Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan with 3, Mu-tig-btsan-po with 4, Sad-na-legs with 6 or 7, Mu-rug-btsan-po with 7 or 8. The only common identification refers to 5, the tomb of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

Two more photographs taken by H. E. Richardson from Mu-ra-ri down into the valley, have been published in A. Ferrari, mK'yen brtse's guide . . . (108. plates 30 and 31). Comparing plate 31 with pl. 2 of Wang it appears that not all hillocks or mounds are reproduced among the eight numbered by Wang in his pl. 20. In pl. 20 of Wang two mounds visible in his pl. 2 are not numbered, and one smaller mound visible in pl. 31 of Ferrari is not indicated by Wang. Thus we have a total of eleven mounds.

These pictures by Richardson were taken a short time after the visit of Tucci to the place (181.73–92). Richardson published his personal observations together with the two pictures as late as 1963, supplying a sketch showing the positions of the tombs (181.73–85). He enumerates and includes in his sketch ten mounds, adding one which is hypothetical (181.74, 78).

If we try to combine the schematic outline of the mutual arrangement of the royal tombs as imagined by Hoffmann with the drawing and the sketches of Wang, Tucci, and Richardson, it immediately appears that the only position from which we are capable of visualizing this, is by placing ourselves on the slopes of Mu-ra-ri above the position from which Richardson took his pictures. But no complete, or reasonable number of correspondances is obtainable. If furthermore we try to combine the sketches of Wang and Tucci, and even Richardson, with the information of the literary traditions, we meet with a complete failure. We only have to look at the following table showing the different identifications applied to the single mounds by the authors; the numbers refer to the kings:

Tucci	33	40	40A		34	41				
Wang	33	38 A	38	40	35	36	37	39		
Richardson	33	35	40,42?	41	38	36		40A	38A	37

Therefore, only two possibilities are present: the literary traditions are wrong and the oral ones correct, or vice-versa. Considering that Tucci, Wang, and Richardson, all referring to oral traditions,

arrive at diverse results, we strongly suspect the reliability of this tradition. The only tomb identically identified by the authors is that of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

To facilitate the study of the tombs we have been compelled by the complete absence of reliable maps of the area, to draw a schematic map of the necropolis. It is based on the drawing and photograph of Wang (221. pll. 2,3), the two photographs of Richardson (108. pll. 30,31) and his sketch (181.74), and the photograph and sketch of Tucci (195.pl.I). Combining the lines of sight and their angles in the horizontal plane to the hillocks and mounds as seen in the different photographs with the location of the places from where the photographs were taken, we obtain a map of the area of the hillocks and mound sclosely similar to the map on Plate VIII.

Before comparing this map with the information of the literary tradition, this information will be collected systematically. Thus Tucci (195.1–13) is partially repeated, but unfortunately he did not fully utilize the sources he quoted. In the following we have collected the information referring to the position of the tombs and divided this into groups under the names and numbers of the kings under consideration.

28. Khri-gñan-gzuñ-btsan: Don-mkhar-mda' (64.11r; 70.13r; 81.2; 93.284v)  
Don-'khor-mda' (59.67v)
29. 'Bro-gñan-lde'u: Žañ-mda' (59.68r; 64.11r; 70.13v; 81.2)  
Žiñ-mda' (93.285r)
31. sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs: Don-mkhar-mda' (64.11v; 70.13v; 81.2; 93.285r)  
Don-'khor-mda' (59.68v)  
To the right of 28 (59.68v; 81.2)  
To the left of 28 (64.11v)
32. gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan: Don-mkhar-mda' (59.68v; 70.13v; 81.2; 93.285r)  
To the left of 28 (81.2)  
To the right of 28 (59.68v; 64.12r)
33. Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po: 'Phyoñ-phu-mda' (81.3)  
Yar-luñs 'Phyoñ-po (64.53v)  
Yar-luñs 'Choñ-po (59.122r; 60.188r)  
Yar-klun 'Phyoñ-rgyas (70.29r)  
'Phyoñ-rgyas (93.288r)
34. Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan: Don-mda' (81.4)  
Don-mkhar-mda' (64.47r; 70.28r; 93.287v)  
Don-'khar-mda' (58.71r; 60.166v)  
To the left of 32 (58.71r; 60.166v; 64.47r; 81.4)
35. Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan: To the left of 33 (58.81v; 60.189v; 64.69v; 81.4).  
*To the left of 34 (70.30v)*  
On the ridge above 34 (93.288v)
36. 'Dus-sroñ: To the left of 35 (58.82r; 60.190r; 64.70v; 70.30v; 81.4; 93.288v)
37. Mes-ag-tshoms: Mu-la-ri (81.5)  
Mu-ra-ri (58.84v; 64.75r; 70.31r; 93.219r)  
Mur-ri (60.195v)  
To the left of 36 (58.84v; 60.195v; 64.75r; 81.5)
- 38A. 'Jañ-tsha lha-dbon: *Mu-ra-ri (70.31r; 93.289r)*  
In front of 35 (59.123v)  
In front of 36 (64.70v; 81.5)
38. Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan: Mu-la-ri (81.5)  
Mu-ra-ri (58.93r; 64.123r; 70.40r; 93.295r)  
Mur-ri (60.224v)  
In the left corner of Don-mkhar-mda' (81.5)  
To the right, behind 37 (60.224v; 64.123r; 81.5)  
*To the left, behind 37 (58.93r)*
39. Mu-ne-btsan-po: Mu-ra-ri (70.40r; 93.295r)  
In the front of and to the right of 37 (58.93v; 60.216v; 64.123r; 81.5)
- 40A. Mu-rug-btsan-po: Don-mkhar-mda' (64.123r; 81.5)  
Don-'khor-mda' (58.93v–94r; 60.134r–v)  
To the left of 36 (60.134v; 101.94r)
40. Sad-na-legs; Don-'khar-mda' (58.94r; 59.134v)  
In the front of 36 (64.127r; 70.41r; 81.5; 93.296r)  
Beside 40A (81.5)
41. Ral-pa-can: *Don-mkhar-mda', right corner (64.134r)*  
Don-mkhar-mda', left corner (70.44v)

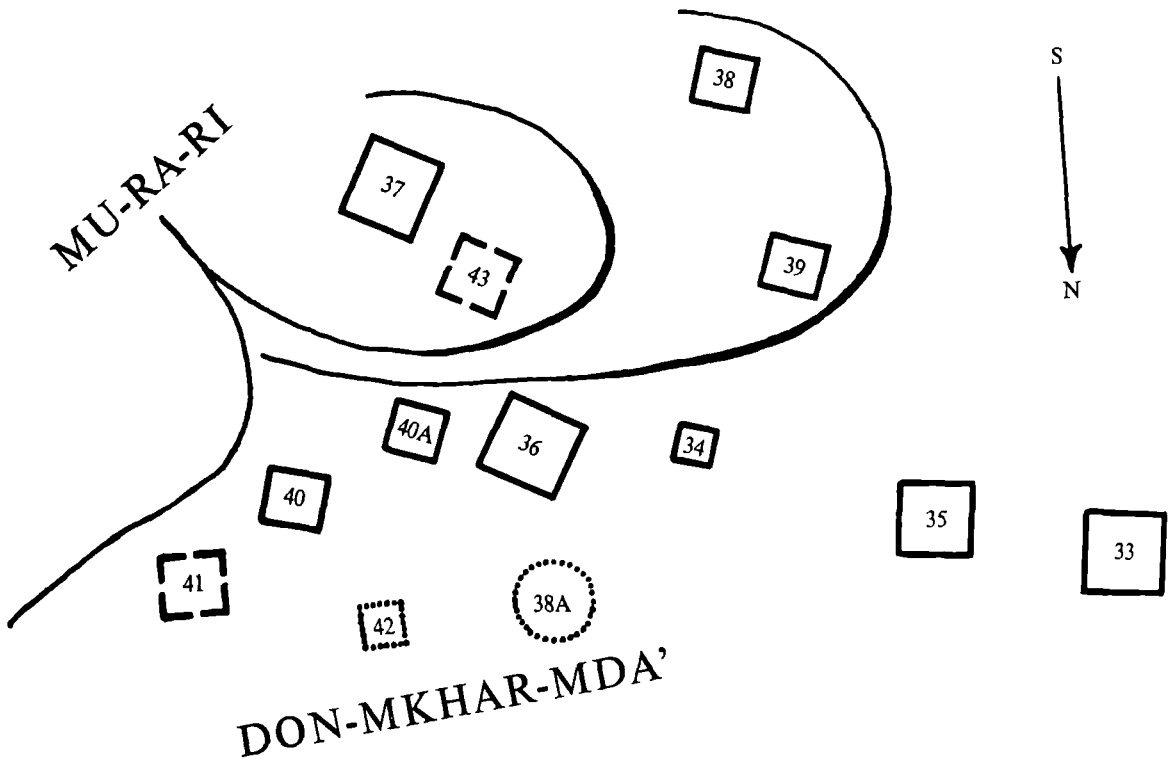
	Don-'khar-mda', left corner (60.224v)
	In the front of 36 (81.5)
42. gLañ-Dar-ma:	Between 36 and 40 (64.136v; 70.46r)
43. 'Od-sruñ:	Behind 36 (64.137r)

Table XIII: The location of the royal tombs.

In the following we do not include the tombs of 28 Khri-gñan-gzuñ-btsan, 31 sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs, and 32 gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan, because in the description of their location these are not connected with the tomb of 33 Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. 29 'Bro-gñan-lde'u is not included because his tomb is located on the other side of the river, in Žañ-mda'.

Placing the information collected above in the map on Plate VIII, we take the mound nearest the river, identified by all traditions as Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's, as our point of departure and observe that Mu-ra-ri are the foot-hills and Don-mkhar-mda' the plain at the foot-hills. Then the puzzle is only solved when we presuppose one and only one place, as the place from where the descriptions of the literary tradition have been formulated when looking at the necropolis.

Looking at the area of the tombs, the only position from where it is possible to combine and reconcile the above listed information of the literary sources with the actual locations of the hillocks and mounds, is found at a place to the left of the spot where Wang made the sketch of the tombs, i.e. on the right bank of the river, about half-way along the road to the tombs coming from the castle and village of



- hillock or mound according to Wang and Richardson
- - - hillock or mound according to Wang. Not identified as tomb
- ..... reconstructed site of tomb

Plate VIII: The location of the royal tombs.



'Phyoñ-rgyas, after having just passed the bridge crossing the river. An almost similar view of the tombs can be obtained from the castle looking towards Don-mkhar-mda'.

In Plate VIII the same position is obtained when looking at the tombs from the bottom of the plate. When beginning with the tomb of 33 Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, the tombs of 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40A, 40, 41, and 43 are immediately identified with actual hillocks and mounds. In the map on Plate VIII this identification is indicated by placing the number of the king at the place of his tomb. The tombs of 38A 'Jañ-tsha lHa-dbon and 42 gLañ-Dar-ma are provisionally placed on the map relying partly on the literary descriptions. The tomb of 34 Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan is provisionally identified with the mound visible in the photo of Richardson. But this mound may be the tomb of 38A lJañ-tsha lHa-dbon, although the persistent tradition of his tomb being round makes it questionable, because this mound is quadrangular. If these identifications prove correct, an investigation on the spot will locate the tombs of 28, 31, and 32, too.

The items of information are incompatible with the rest of the information on the same subject on only four occasions.<sup>10</sup> It may therefore be stated that *the literary information is most probably correct and its stability tends to presuppose a common primary source.*



## APPENDICES



## Tun-huang Ms. 250 Paris, chapter 1

The Tun-huang Ms. no. 250 du fonds Pelliot, belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and in the present paper generally referred to as Tun-huang Ms. 250 Paris, was published in transcription and tentatively translated by J. Bacot and G.-Ch. Toussaint. The first chapter or main section of this Ms. (1.97-100/123-128) gives an account of Gri-gum-btsan-po and his sons, which is of great importance to this study. Like most Tibetan sources this chapter of the Ms. appears with regard to contents as a rather heterogeneous composition from fragments of various traditions of epic and prose or epic re-edited in prose.

As a result of a preliminary analysis for the purpose of separating the constituents of the text according to the character of their contents and the apparent purtenance to different traditions, it was found appropriate to divide the text into 24 sections (I-XXIV), each of them comprising one or more paragraphs (a, b, c, etc.). This subdivision of the text, which permits a precise reference to the details of its contents, may perhaps at some points appear a little too rigorous. At other points, particularly where section XVIII is concerned, it is, however, hardly rigorous enough.

The transcription of the text, rendered in the system of transcription generally used in this paper, and a new translation are given in the following, both arranged with the subdivisions of the text just mentioned. No particular attempt to reconstruct the original epic form of the text has been made, but in the rendering of it, the important epic passages have been rendered in verse lines.

While the actual content of the text is discussed on various occasions in the preceding main paper, we may in the present connection shortly indicate the extent of the various traditions or versions of traditions represented in the text, and their eventual connection within the composition of it:

Sections I-II: The name Gri-gum-btsan-po, its origin and significance.

Sections III-IV and VI: The king's and Lo-ñam's fight. The king is killed, and his corpse is thrown into the river by *human* agency.

Section V: Separate traditions of the disposal of the king's corpse by *divine* interference, inserted between the sections IV and VI, before the actual record of the king's death.

Section VIII: Inserted fragments describing how Lo-ñam is poisoned in return.

Sections IX-X: Inserted fragments of a tradition which seems to be a reflection of the fight between the Paṇḍu and the Kuru sons, and to apply to the legendries of gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, but in the present occurrence serves as an explanation of the death of Gri-gum-btsan-po.

Sections XI and XIV-XVII: The account of the "son" Ñar-la-skyes who is searching for his father's corpse and finally recovers it.

Section XII: The mother's explanation to Ñar-la-skyes of how his father died, corresponding almost literally to the account in section VI, but inserted *after* her previous explanation in section XIb, which refers to the tradition of the sections IX-X.

Sections VII and XIII: Two identical interpolations mentioning the two sons Śa-khyi and Ña-khyi, and their exile in Koñ-po, inserted after the two identical accounts of the king's death given in sections VI and XII respectively.

Sections XVIII-XXII: The king is buried by the two sons Śa-khyi and Ña-khyi, whose further fate and achievements are mentioned. The whole record forms a continuation of the account of Ñar-la-skyes in sections XI, (XII), and XIV-XVII.

Sections XXIII–XXIV: Accounts applying to sPū-de-guñ-rgyal, whom the text obviously identifies with Śa-khyi.

- Ia. Dri-gum-btsan-po sku-chuñ-ba'i tshemtshan jir gdags śes /
- Ib. Ma-ma Gro-ža-ma sKyi-brliñ-ma-ladris-na / ma-ma'i mchid-nas / sKyi Brag-mar-ba ni rñil-tam ma-rñil / Dan-ma-'bri-spañs ni myes tshig-gam matshig / mtsho Dam-le-dbal-mtsho ni skams-sam ma-skams śes mchi /
- Ic. Brag ma-rñil / mTsho yañ ma-skams sPañ yañ myes ma-tshig ces bgyis-na /
- Id. Ma-ma Gro-ža-ma / rgas-nas rna log-par thos-ste / Brag kyañ rñil / sPañ yañ<sup>1</sup> myes tshig / mTsho yañ skams śes thos-nas //
- Ie. 'On-tañ chu-dgum sri-dgum-gyis / Dri-gum-btsan-por mtshan thog-'sig ches mchi-nas //
- II. Dri-gum-btsan-por mtsham btags-nas<sup>2</sup> / mtshan btags noñste / thugs-su yañ žugs / IDe-sras myi'i myi-tshul-te / mñon-bar dguñ-du gśegs-pa la-stsogs-pa 'phrul dañ byin ched-po mña'-bas / drod<sup>4</sup> dañ dregs ma-thub-ste //
- IIIa. bTsan 'dran-bda'-nas<sup>5</sup> / Yab-'bañs phadgu' dañ / Yum-'bañs tshan-gsum-ladgra-ru rgal<sup>6</sup> g'yag-du druñ phod-dam žes kba'-stsal-na / so-so-nas kun-gyis myi-phod ches gsol-to /
- IIIb. Lo-ñam rta-rdzis kyañ myi-phod ces gsol-pa-las ma-gñañ-ste //
- IIIc. 'Uñ-nas Lo-ñam-gyis gsol-pa / de-ltar myi gñañ-na //
- IIId. lHa'i-dkor mduñ rañ-'debs dañ / ral-gyi<sup>10</sup> rañ-gcod dañ / khrab rañ-gyod dañ / phub rañ-bzur la-stsogs-pa / 'phrul-gyi dkor ched-po mña'-ba'i rnams bdag-la stsol-na phod ces gsol-to /
- IIIe. De-nas lHa'i-dkor tham-śad stsal-to /
- IVa. 'Uñ-nas Lo-ñam rta-rdzi yañ / mKhar Myañ-ro-śam-por sñar mchis-so /

When *Dri-gum-btsan-po* was a little child, one wanted to know how he was to be named.

His nurse *Gro-ža-ma sKyi-brliñ-ma* was asked, and the nurse answered: "Has *sKyi Brag-mar-ba* shrunk or has it not shrunk? Has *Dan-ma-'bri-spañs* been burnt by fire or has it not been burnt? Has the lake *Dam-le-dbal-mtsho* dried up or has it not dried up?" Thus she spoke.

"The rock (*brag*) has not shrunk. The lake (*mtsho*) has not dried up, nor has the meadow (*spañ*) been burnt by fire." Thus was answered.

The nurse *Gro-ža-ma*, already old, heard it the opposite way: "The rock has shrunk. The meadow has been burnt by fire. The lake has dried up." Thus she heard it.

"All the same, because there is *water-death* (*chu-dgum*), and there is *sri-death* (*sri-dgum*), let him get the name *Dri-gum-btsan-po*!" Thus she spoke.

He got the name *Dri-gum-btsan-po*, but this name-giving was ominous and it influenced his mind. *IDe-sras*, who was of the same kind as human beings, was not able to master desire and arrogance, although he possessed great gifts and 'phrul,<sup>3</sup> such as being able to ascend to the uppermost heaven.

*bTsan*, fighting and hunting, said thus to the *nine Yab-'bañs-pha* and the *three Yum-'bañs-tshan*: "Can we fight the *Enemy*? Are we equal in prudence to the *Yak*?"—One and all they answered, "We are not!"<sup>6</sup>

Also *Lo-ñam* the *rTa-rdzi* answered, "We cannot."<sup>9</sup> But he (i.e. *bTsan*) did not approve of this.

Then *Lo-ñam* said: "As you do not approve of this (then I shall do it).

If you will let me have the great implements of power, the 'phrul treasures such as the *spear that throws itself* (*mduñ rañ-'debs*), the *sword that strikes by itself* (*ral-gri rañ-gcod*), the *mail that moves by itself* (*khrab rañ-gyod*), the *shield that carries itself* (*phub rañ-bzur*), and the other *lHa* treasures, then I shall do it."

Then (the king) gave him all the *lHa* treasures.

First *Lo-ñam* the *rTa-rdzi* came to *Myañ-ro-śam-po*, the castle.

- IVb. bTsan-po yañ Myañ-ro-śam-por gśegs-nas / Myañ-ro Thal-ba-tshal-du gyul-bres-nas / 'uñ-nas rta-rdzi'i mchid-nas / dbu-'breñ Zañ-yag kyañ gchad-du-gsol / dbu'-skas sTen-dgu' yañ kha thur-du bstan-du gsol-nas / de-rnams-gñis kyañ de-bzın gnañ-ño //
- IVc. 'Uñ-nas Lo-ñam-gyis glañ<sup>11</sup>-po brgya'-la / gser-gyi mduñ-rtse ñis-brgya' rbal btags-te / rgyab-du thal-ba bkal-nas / glañ nañ 'thab-ste / thal-ba gthor-nas / de'i nañ-du Lo-ñam-gyis brgal-to /
- V. bTsan-po Dri-gum lDe-bla-guñ-rgyal-gyis gnam-du drañs-na / Lo-ñam-gyis mtshan-nas spre'u phuñ-bas / lDe-bla-guñ-rgyal ni Ti-tse gañs rum-du 'phañ-ste gśegs-so //
- VIa. bTsan-po Dri-gum yañ de-ru bkroñs-nas / spur zañs brgya' kha sprod-gyi nañ-du bcug-ste rTsañ-chu'i gzuñ-la btañ-ño /
- VIIb. Chab-gzug-ser-tshañ-su kLu 'Od-de-bed-de-riñ-mo'i ltor gśegs-so /
- VII. Sras gñis kyañ<sup>15</sup> Śa-khyi dañ Ña-khyir btagste rKoñ-yul-du spyugste bkye'o //
- VIIIa. 'Uñ-gi-rjes-la rHya-mo rHul-bzi-khugs dañ / sNa-nam bTsan bŽoñ-rgyal gñis // srid-kyi-khyi-bo che 'On-zugs-yar-grags dañ / 'Žañ-gi-zu-le-ma-'jañ dañ 'On rKu gñis-kyi spu-la drug<sup>16</sup> bskuste / 'Phrañ-po'i brag gya'-bo 'da'-nas / pho-la ltasu lbtas-na ltas bzañ-ste / yul Myañ-ro-śam-po druñ-du lhags-nas / thabs-kyis bsgyud-de /
- VIIIb. Khyi'i spu-la dug yod-pa da ña'i rta-rdzis khrid-nas / khyi bzañ-po Lo-ñam-gyi-lagis byugs-pa dañ / ña'i rta-rdzis khyi'i spu-la dug bskus-pas lag-pa byug-ste bsad-do / 'Sa-blan-no //
- IXa. 'Uñ-gi 'og-du bKrag-s-kyi bu lHa-bu Ru-la-skyes pha-tshan dañ // rHya pha-tshan-du 'thabs-so /
- IXb. rHya-s bKrag-s-rabs bchad / dud sna pho lo //
- IXc. bKrag-s-kyi chuñ-ba gchig bros-te / pha-myiñ-gi yul-du thar-to /

Then *bTsan-po* also came to *Myañ-ro-śam-po*, and the battle spread into *Myañ-ro Thal-ba-tshal* (the Dust-(Ash-)wood of *Myañ-ro*). Then the *rTa-rdzi* said: "I beg you that the *dBu-'breñ* (head-rope) *Zañ-yag* may be cut, and I also beg you that the *dBu-skas* (head ladder) *sTen-dgu'* may be faced face downwards." (The king) also consented to do these two things.

Thereafter *Lo-ñam* fastened two hundred golden spearheads like horns upon one hundred oxen, and put dust (ash) upon their backs. The oxen fought, and the dust was whirled around. Under cover of this *Lo-ñam* fought.

*bTsan-po Dri-gum* was led to Heaven by *lDe-bla-guñ-rgyal*, but because (the king) had been reduced from *mtshan* to *spre'u*<sup>15</sup> by *Lo-ñam*, *lDe-bla-guñ-rgyal* was cast into the *rum* of the *Ti-se* glacier.<sup>13</sup>

Also *bTsan-po Dri-gum* was killed there, whereafter his corpse was put into one hundred copper vessels<sup>14</sup> and cast into the middle of the *rTsañ* River.

It came into *Chab-gzug-ser-tshañ*, into the stomach of *kLu 'Od-de-bed-de-riñ-mo*.

The two sons, who had the names *Śa-khyi* and *Ña-khyi*, were exiled and sent away to *rKoñ-yul*.

Then the furs of the great *Srid-khyi 'On-zugs-yar-grags* and *'Žañ-gi-zu-le-ma-'jañ*, *'On* and *rKu* these two, were rubbed with poison by *rHya-mo rHul-bzi-khugs* and *sNa-nam bTsan bŽoñ-rgyal* those two. Trembling they passed *'Phrañ-po'i brag* (the rock at the narrow foot-path) and when looking at the signs of the male(s) these were good omens. When they reached the foot of *Myañ-ro-śam-po* they proved otherwise.

"Now our *rTa-rdzi* leads the dogs with poison in their furs. *Lo-ñam* will strike the good dogs with his hand, and our *rTa-rdzi* will get his hand smeared with the poison rubbed into the furs of the dogs, and die." This was the retribution (answer)!

Thereafter the nephew (*pha-tshan*), the son of *bKrag-s*, *lHa-bu Ru-la-skyes* fought with the nephew *rHya*.

*rHya* cut off the offspring of *bKrag-s*. *Dud sna pho lo*.<sup>17</sup>

The youngest (son) of *bKrag-s* fled and brought himself in safety to the country of his maternal relatives (*pha-myiñ-gi yul*).

- X. lTon bu khyer-te soñ-ba byuñ-ño //
- XIa. Bu spus-la 'greñ nus tsam-nas / ma-la myi gañ bya gañ-la rjo-bo yod-na ña'i rjo-bo gar re / myi gañ bya gañ-la / pha yod-na ña'i pha ga-re zes zer-to /
- XIb. Ña-la ston-chig ces mchi-na / ma'i mchid-nas / myi'u chuñ-kha ma-che śig/rte'u cuñ-kha ma-drag ña myi-śes śes byas-na / sPus-kyi-bu Ñar-le-skyes-kyi mchid-nas / Ña-la myi bstan-na śir 'gro zes bgyis<sup>19</sup>-pa dañ / mas kyañ gdod bstan-te / khyod-kyi pha ni rHyas bsad-do /
- XIIa. Khyod-kyi jo-bo bTsan-po ni / Lo-ñam rta-rdzis bkronste / spur ni zañs brgya' ma kha sprod-kyi nañ-du bcugste / rTsañ-po'i gzuñ-la btañ-ño /
- XIIb. Chab-gzugs-ser-tshañs-su / kLu 'O-de-riñ-mo'i ltor gśegs-so //
- XIII. Sras mched gñis ni Śa-khyi dañ Ña-khyir btagste / rKoñ-yul-du spyugste bkye'o //
- XIVa. 'Uñ-nas sPus-kyi-bu Ñar-la-skyes-kyi mchid-nas / ña myi rlagi ni rjes-gcod / chu rlag-gi ni dbres tshol-du-'gro zes mchi-nas / chaste soñ-ño /
- XIVb. rKoñ-yul Bre-snar-du sras Śa-khyi Ña-khyi dañ yañ mjal-lo //
- XVa. kLu 'O-de-bed-de-riñ-mo dañ yañ mjal-lo //
- XVb. bTsan-po'i spur ji 'dod-pas blu zes byas-na / gzan ji yañ myi-'dod / myi'i-myig bya-myig ltar 'dug-pa 'og-nas-'gebs-pa gchig 'dod ces zer-nas //
- XVIa. sPus-kyi-bu Ñar-la-skyes-kyis / gnam-mtha'-bžir btsal kyañ myi'i-myig bya-myig dañ-mtshuñs 'og-nas-'gebs-pa marñed-nas / brgyags chad lham bug-ste / slar ma'i gan-du 'oñs-nas / myi rlag-gi ni rjes-chod / chu rlagi ni dbres kyañ rñed-do /
- XVIb. Sras Śa-khyi Ña-khyi dañ yañ mjal / kLu 'O-de-riñ-mo dañ yañ mjal-na / spur-gyi klud-du / myi'i-myig bya-myig dañ-mtshuñs 'og-nas-'gebs-pa gchig 'dod ches zer-nas rñed-kyis / da-duñ tshol-du-'gro dgos-kyis / brgyags thog-śog ces mchi-nas soñ-ño //

(He) came carrying lTon-bu.<sup>19</sup>

As soon as the son sPus was able to stand upright, he asked his mother: "As there is a lord of men as well as of birds, who is then my lord? As there is a father of men as well as of birds, who is then my father?"

And when he said, "You shall inform me about this!" the mother answered: "My little pet, do not try to be great, a little colt is not strong. I do not know it." Thus she answered, but sPus-kyi-bu Ñar-le-skyes said: "If you will not inform me, I shall die!" Thus he said, and by his mother he was informed as he wanted: "Your father was killed by rHya.

Your lord is bTsan-po, who was killed by Lo-ñam the rTa-rdzi. His corpse was put into one hundred copper vessels and cast into the middle of rTsañ-po.

It came into Chab-gzugs-ser-tshañs, into the stomach of kLu 'O-de-riñ-mo.

The sons, the two brothers who were named Śa-khyi and Ña-khyi, were exiled and sent away to rKoñ-yul."

Then sPus-kyi-bu Ñar-la-skyes said: "I will follow the trail of the destroyed man. I will search after the destroyed man who is wrapped in water!" Thus he said and went away.

In Bre-snar in rKoñ-yul he met the sons Śa-khyi and Ña-khyi.

He also met kLu 'O-de-bed-de-riñ-mo.

He said: "What do you want in recompense for the corpse of bTsan-po?" "I demand nothing but a human being who has eyes like birds' eyes closing from below," thus she answered.

sPus-kyi-bu Ñar-la-skyes searched as far as the four boundaries of Heaven, but found no human being with eyes like birds' eyes closing from below. His food was finished, his boots were in holes, and he returned to his mother, saying, "I have traced the destroyed man. I have even found him wrapped in the destructive waters.

I have met the sons Śa-khyi and Ña-khyi. I have met kLu 'O-de-riñ-mo who said: "In recompense for the corpse I demand a human being with eyes like birds' eyes closing from below." This I have achieved, and now I want to set out and search. Give me food!" Thus he spoke and then went away.



- XVIIa. Gañ-par-'phrun 'og-du phyin-na / Cho-myi-bya'i bu-mo žig yur-ba byed-pa'i gan-du soñ-na / bu Khu-ljo-na 'dug-pa žig / myig bya-myig dañ-mtshuñs 'og-nas-'gebs-pa gchig 'dug-nas /
- XVIIb. De blu-na ji-'dod ces ma-la dris-na / ma na-re gžan myi-'dod / nam-nam ža-žar / btsan-po rje dbyal<sup>20</sup> žig noñs-na / thor-to<sup>21</sup> 'phren-mo ni bciñs / ño-la mtshal-gyis byugs / lus-la ni bžags / btsan-po'i spur-la ni 'tshog/myi-la 'phrog phom<sup>22</sup> / zas-la ni za 'thuñ / de-ltar bya-'am myi-bya žas mchi-nas /
- XVIIc. De-bžin bgyi-bar / mna'-bchad mtho'-btshad / dam-bgyis tshig-bgyis-nas // Cho-myi-bya'i bu-mo khrid-desoñ-ño //
- XVIIId. kLu'i-de-riñ-mo'i ltor spur-gyi klud-du btsug-ste btañ-ño /
- XVIIIf. Ņa lHa gñis-kysis bTsan-po'i spur bzuñ-ño / Gyañ-to bla-'bubs-kyi mgur-du bañ-so brtsigso / gCuñ Ņa-khyi ni yab-kyi mdad<sup>23</sup> gtoñ-ño / gCen Śa-khyi ni yab-kyi sku-mtshal gñer-du gšegso /
- XVIIId. Ņa-khyi ni rKoñ-dkar-po lagso /
- XVIIIf. dMag sum-stoñ-sum-rgya žig dañ chaste gšegso / mKhar Pyiñ-bar gšegso /
- XVIIId. Yul-yab-kyi rje myi-bžugs-na / Pyi-'brog gdeñs pyol-pyol<sup>25</sup>-gyi cha'o / Dog-yab-kyi char<sup>26</sup> ma-mchisna /
- Sa 'on-bu spur khog-khog ces gsuñs-so /
- XVIIIf. Men-pa-'phreñ-ba'i la 'da'-so / Tiñ-srob roñ-riñs 'da'-so / Ba-chos guñ-dañ-du gšegso /
- XVIIIf. Myañ-ro-šam-por gšegso-na / Lo-ñam pho brgya' ni zañs bu brgya' gLad-la pub-nas lcebs'o' /

When he came towards *Gañ-par-'phrun*, he came across a daughter of *Cho-myi-bya* who was lying asleep. It was the daughter of *Khu-ljo-na*. She had eyes like birds' eyes closing from below.

When he asked the mother, "What do you want in recompense for her?" the mother answered: "I want nothing but this: *that in all future when a bTsan-po, who has withdrawn as a ruler, dies, the top-knot of the hair should be bound like a braid, the surface (ño, of the body) should be anointed with vermilion (mtshal), the body should be lacerated and scratched, incision should be made into the corpse of bTsan-po, and it should be taken away from men that it may decay. Food should be eaten and drunk. Will you do like that, or will you not do like that?*" Thus she spoke.

He took the oath, a solemn oath to do so. Having taken the vow, having said the words, he went away taking the daughter of *Cho-myi-bya* with him.

He left (her) in the stomach of *kLu'i-de-riñ-mo* as a ransom for the corpse.

*Ņa* and *lHa*, these two, took the corpse of *bTsan-po*, and

Piled up a mound like a tent with its upper part like *Gyañ-to*.

The younger one, *Ņa-khyi* arranged the burial of the father.

The elder one, *Śa-khyi* took care of the father's *sku-mtshal*.<sup>24</sup>

*Ņa-khyi* is *rKoñ-dkar-po*.

(*Śa-khyi*) went away with about three thousand three hundred soldiers.

He went to the castle *Pyiñ-ba*.

"As there was no ruler of the *yul-yab*,

It was so that the faithful *pyi-'brog* had to flee. As there was nobody who was an equal to the *dog-yab*,

The corpses had to decompose upon the earth." Thus he spoke.

He went through the pass of *Men-pa-'phreñ-ba*. He passed the long ravine *Tiñ-srob*.

He reached *Ba-chos guñ-dañ*.

When he came to *Myañ-ro-šam-po*,

The hundred male *Lo-ñam* took a hundred copper vessels,

Put them over their heads, and sought death by precipitation.

- Lo-ñam mo brgya' ni slañ-ña<sup>27</sup>  
 Brañ-la bchar-te ñog-go<sup>28</sup> /
- XIX. Myañ-ro-śam-po phab-bo /  
 'Greñ ni btson-du bzuñ //  
 Dud ni mñañsu bchad-nas<sup>29</sup> /
- XXa. Ba-chos guñ-dañ-du gśegso /  
 mGur 'di źes gsuñso /
- XXb. 'A-ba ñi ñe-pas ñid /  
 Bya-ro ro-na mduñ-gi-rtse rañ-nig  
 Yos-ro ro-na ltam<sup>31</sup>-gyi-goñ<sup>32</sup>-ra<sup>33</sup> nig
- XXc. brLa<sup>34</sup> brduñs /  
 sPur btab /  
 'Ob de myed  
 sPu de myed  
 ches gsuñs-so /
- XXI. sLar Pyiñ-ba sTag-rtser gśegs-so /
- XXII. Yul-yab-kyi rje-ru gśegs-so /  
 Yul-pyi-'brog gdeñs myi-pyol-gyi cha'o /  
 Dog-yab-kyi chab<sup>35</sup> mchis-kyis /  
 Sa 'on-bu spur myi-khog-gi cha'o /  
 De źes mgur gsuñso /
- XXIII. sGyed-po 'og gsuñs-nas / zañs-rdo bla-  
 nas phab-ste / rje-ru gśegso //
- XXIV. bŚos-na ni sPu-de-guñ-rgyal /  
 Groñs-na ni Grañ-mo-gnam-bse' brtsig/  
 'Greñ mgo-nag-gi rje /  
 Dud-rdog<sup>37</sup> chags-kyi rkyen-du gśegso//
- The hundred female *Lo-ñam* took great iron  
 pans,  
 Pressed them against their breasts, and precipi-  
 tated themselves.  
*Myañ-ro-śam-po* fell.  
 'Greñ were made prisoners.  
*Dud* were brought under yoke.  
 He reached *Ba-chos guñ-dañ*.  
 He recited this song:  
 "A-ba ñi ñe-pas ñid.<sup>30</sup>  
 The spearhead is plunged into the body of the  
 bird,  
 The pointed blade is thrust into the body of the  
 hare.  
 The power of life is broken,  
 The carcass is thrown away.  
 There is no pit ('*ob*),  
 There is no *sPu*."  
 Thus he recited.  
 Later on he came to *Phyiñ-ba sTag-rtse*.  
 "He came to be the ruler of *yul-yab*,  
 And it was so that the faithful *yul-pyi-'brog* had  
*not* to flee.  
 As he was an equal to the *dog-yab*,  
 The corpses had *not* to decompose upon the  
 earth."  
 Thus he recited the song.  
 "*sGyed-po* is below,"<sup>36</sup> he recited. Then copper  
 stones fell down from above, when he came to  
 be ruler.  
 When he was born, (he was) *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal*.  
 When he died, *Grañ-mo-gnam-bse'* was built.  
 The ruler of the *black-headed 'greñ*  
 Came because of his affection<sup>38</sup> for the *dud-*  
*rdog*.

bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu, chapters 32–34

(The Royal Library, Copenhagen: Prins Peters Samling 19)

(Foll. 28r–32v)

This Tibetan manuscript, which belongs to the particular collection of Tibetan works in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, acquired by H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, comprises 112 folios of faded brown, greyish paper, size 41.5 × 8.4 cm, with six lines of text on each page, margins to the right and left of the pages indicated by vertical red lines. Written in black and red dBu-med. The Ms. is complete with the exception of a slight defectiveness of the first ten and some of the last folios.

It carries the titles *bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu bźugs-sho* (fol. 1r) and *sPu-ti bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu* (fol. 112v). The last folio is somewhat fragmentary, but judging from the remainder of it the colophon, just like the text itself, seems to contain no reference to either author or date of composition. From inner criteria the text may, however, be dated about 1500 A.D.

The text presents an abbreviated rendering (mdor-sdus) of a greater work entitled *bŚad-mdzod chen-mo* or *rGyas-pa bŚad-mdzod chen-mo*. This work cannot be identified yet. Furthermore the text characterizes itself as being a complete handbook of all the sections of *g'Yuñ-druñ lHa Bon* and a summary of the traditions of all the great Sūtras and Tantras.

In fact, it appears to be a fairly systematically arranged encyclopaedia of cosmology, geography, history, and religion, based to a large extent on otherwise unknown sources. Besides the importance which may therefore be ascribed to the text content itself, the manuscript presents valuable linguistic material by its strange orthography and the occurrence of a vast number of hardly known terms and vocables. For these and further reasons, the translation of the text, as far as it has been used in the present study, may be regarded as a preliminary one. The experience to be obtained by the translation of the whole text, being undertaken at present for the purpose of a future publication, may lead to corrections or additions where certain details are concerned.

The chapters 32–34, the most important ones for our present study are edited in the following.<sup>39</sup> The text has been divided into sections, supplied with reference numbers and letters, according to the subdivision which results from the composite character of the text itself.

Tibetan Text

- I a. (fol. 28r, lin. 3) De-nas / Bod-kyi yul-'dir mÑa'-khri-btsan-po'i goñ-du / dbañ-mdzad brgyad byuñ-ba ni / gNod-sbyin Srin-po / Mi-ma-yin / 'Dre dañ kLu-rtsan / Ma-bsañs / Za-ra skyes drug / rGyal-'phran bcu(-gñ)is-kyi mdzad /
- b. Ma-bsañs dpun dgu riñ-la  
mDa' mduñ mtshon-cha byuñ /  
Za-ra skyes drug riñ-la /  
rTa bźon brgyan 'dogs-pa  
rnañs byuñ /
- c. De-ltar dbañ-mdzad brgyad-kyi byas kyañ /
- II Phyogs bźi'i dgra ma-thul /  
Bod-la rGya-gar rgyal(-p)o

sBrul-ltar brtas-su 'khril /  
 rGya-nag rgyal(-p)o  
 Lug-la spyañ 'jab 'dra /  
 sTag(-g)zig brgyal-po  
 Bya khyuñ khra-žur 'dra /  
 Ge-gser brgyal-po  
 Šiñ-la rtar mtshad 'dra /

- III De-nas brtsad-pos dbañ-mdzad ru-(b)ži Bod-du rtags / Bod-kyi brgyal-po mÑa'-khri-rtsan-  
 po de / bSañ-ba Chos-lugs Grags-pa Bon-lugs /  
 Yañ-bsañ The-rañ gañ-ltar-na gÑa'-khri-ñid-la thug /  
 gSañ-ba'i lo-rgyus bstan-par bya / Yañ-bsañ The-rañ lo-rgyus bstan-par (*fol. 28v*) mi-bya'o /
- IV a. De-nas bSañs-ba Chos-lugs ni / gDuñ-rgyud rigs gsum yod-pa'i / Šakya-chen-po / Li-rtsa-  
 byi ri-brag-la ri-brag-pa'i gduñ-rgyud 'phel-ba-las / sKyabs-señ dañ dMag-rgya-ba gñis gyes /  
 de-yañ bzañ-ma žuñs Ral-pa-can-las ni / dMag-rgya-pa-la bu dgu-bcu-go-dgu / pha dañ brgya  
 yod-pas dMag-brgya-par rtags /
- b. sKyabs-bseñ-la btsun-mo lña-brgya yod kyañ sras med / srid-kyi mcho-ga mañ-du byas kyañ  
 bu ma-byuñ / dKo(n-mch)o(g)-la bsol-ba btap / Drañ-sroñ sñon-šes-can cig-la bris-pas / khyod-  
 kyi skye-ba sñan-ma ša-ba pho-mos 'dod-chags spyod-pa-la mda' rgyab bsad-pas / de'i gnas  
 smin-gyi bu mi-yod-ba yin(-n)o / khyod mi de rtse duñs-na / ñas mo-la yin-gyi bu-la mños-grub-  
 tu sbyin(-n)o zer / 'o-na bžu zer / bu lña sbyin-pa ni / lHa'i bu sNa(-tsh)ogs / Ñi-ma'i bu bSe-  
 khrab-can / rLuñ-lha'i bu Mi-'jigs-pa / Drag-po'i bu Tha-dkar / dBañ-byed-kyi bu Mi-tshugs-pa  
 dañ lña sbyin-no /
- c. rGyal(-p)o dga'-te . . . . nañ-du khrid smras-pa / ña'i ša-las byuñ-pa'i bu man-ste / las  
 smon-gyi bral-ba'i bu yin-pas / khyod rnañs-la rtsal nus ci yod bris-pas / lHa'i bu sNa(-tsh)ogs  
 ñas sa-la 'dzul-ba dañ / chu-la 'tsho šes zer / Ñi-ma'i bu bSe-khrab-can na-re / ñas rgyal(-p)o-la  
 dgos-pa'i rtags gañ-yañ sbyin(-n)us zer / rLuñ-lha'i bu Mi-'jig-pa ñas yo-byad gañ-yañ 'byor nus  
 zer / Drag-po'i bu Tha-dkar ñas dmag-brgya dus-cig-la bsod nus zer / dBañ-byed-kyi bu Mi-  
 tshugs-pa ñas Srin-po phar 'phul nus zer /
- d. rGyal(-p)o mñañ-na 'di tshe 'ji(g-rt)en-na dkon-pa'i nor-bu ri(n-che)n yin mñams (*fol. 29r*)  
 -nas / lta-ba'i 'ched-du / Drag-po'i bu Tha-dkar-la / dMag-rgyag-pa pha bus da rtsigs-bas /  
 khyod-kyi thul-šog byas-pas / des dMag-brgya-pa'i bu-mo / brgyadañ pha the-ba'i go-dgu  
 bsad / bu-chuñ-dag khrid byuñ-bas / khyod-la nus de rtsañ yod ma-byuñ / ñes-pa chen(-p)o  
 mod-pa-la ma-bsad-na dga'-ba yin(-n)o / chuñ-dag Ru-pa-skyes 'di-la / khyod rañ tshe'i spun-zla  
 byed dgos bžes smras-pas / kho rnañs na re / kho'i pha dañ dpun-zla de bci bsad-pas / ñe-rañ-gi  
 dpun-zla mi tub / 'di-yañ bsod zer-nas / rgyal-pos bsod ma-phod-pas rin(-p)o(-ch)e'i sgroms  
 legs-pa gcig-gi nañ-du byas-te / zas-bžim khu bdud-rtsi skom dañ byas / chu'o Ga-ga-la skur(-r)o /
- e. De rgyal-po bZugs-can-sñiñ-po'i phyugs rdzi dañ 'phrad / phyugs-rdzis sgrom-de khur /  
 rgyal(-p)o gZugs-can-sñiñ-po-la phul-bas / rgyal-pos sgrom-de kha phye gzigs-pas / khye'u lHa'i  
 sras 'dra-ba gcig 'dug / khyod ci 'dra lta-bu gcig yin byas-pas / ña rgyal-po dMag-brgya-pa'i  
 bu chuñ-ba Ru-pa-skyes bya ba yin / ña'i pha dañ pho-bo thañ(s-ca)d rgyal(-p)o sKyabs-señ-  
 kyi bus bsad / ña šugs-pa yin zer / rgyal(-p)o gZugs-can-sñiñ-po-la Ru-pa-skyes-kyi luñ-stan  
 yod-pas / 'o-na khyod Thugs-rje-chen-po'i sprul-pa yin-pas / ña'i mchod-gnas-gyis cig ces-  
 smras-pas / Ru-pa-skyes na re / ña ruñ bdag-cag bsod-du 'oñ zer-ba-la / gZugs-can-sñiñ-po na  
 re / (*fol. 29v*) thabs yod zer / ri-khrod-du sbas mchod-gnas byed kyin yod rtsa-na / rgyal-po  
 sKyab-señ-gis Ru-pa-skyes sPyan-ras-gzigs-kyi sprul-pa yin-par luñ-stan thos-nas / 'gyod-pa  
 skyes-te / rol-mo sna(-tsh)ogs khyer-nas gdan-'dren-du phyin-pas / Ru-pa-skyes mñañ-na gsod-pa  
 yin mñañ-nas / mdañs skrag bro-s-pas Bod-kyi mtshams-su sleb rtsa-na /
- f. De-dus  
 Bod-la rje med-pas /  
 Yab-'bañs mi drug

- rJe 'tshol-du phyin-pa dañ /  
lHa-ri Gyañ-mtho'i rtser 'phrad /
- g. Ru-pa-la de-rnañs-kysis smras-pa / khyod  
h. Duñ-so 'khor-du yod-pa /  
Mig-ma g'yur yod-pa /  
sMa-ra stag-ru yod-pa /  
Mig bya-mig ltar  
Mas-kyi 'dzul-pa /  
rKañ lag chu-bya ltar 'brel-ba /  
Mi'i bu man  
lHa'i sras 'bra
- i. khyod / ga-nas 'oñ zes-smras-pa dañ / rGya-Bod-skad ma-go-bar 'dzug-mo snañ-du bgreñ-  
ciñ 'dug-pas / 'di lHa'i yul-nas 'oñ-pa 'dug / ñe-rañ-gi rje bya-'o zes / mña'-bar khri rtsigs khur-  
nas 'oñ-pas / mtshan yañ rJe mÑa'-khri-brtsan-po bya-bar brtags-so /
- k. De yañ byon-pa'i khuñ bzañ-te /  
rGya-gar gduñ-rgyud rgyal(-p)o'i rgyud /  
gŚegs-pa'i sa bzañ-ste /  
Bod Kha-ba-can-gyi ljoñs /  
Gañ Te-se śel-gyi mchod-brten 'dra-ba /  
mTsho Ma-'phañ g'yu'i mañdal bkod-pa 'dra-ba /  
Chu(-b)o chen-po bzi 'dus-pa'i mgo /  
gLiñ mchog yo(n-)tan dañ-ldan-pa 'dir byon-pa'o //
- l. gSañ-ba Chos-lugs bsad (*fol. 30r*) -pa'i bkabs-ste so-gñis-'o //
- V a. // De-nas / Grags-pa Bon-lugs Yog-lha-las chad-pa ni / sna lña srid-pa'i dañ-po-la / Cha-yis  
mkhyen chen(-p)o bya-ba gcig srid /
- b. De-rnañs rim-pa bcu(-gsu)m-yis-kyis phub / sa rim-pa bcu(-gsu)m mas-kyi gtiñ / Ga'u kha  
sbyar-gi nañ-du / 'Od dkar nag(-g)ñis-su bsrid / Phod Mod gñis-kyi 'phro 'du-las / Me-tog  
ser-po sñon-mo bsrid / Me(-)tog gñis-kyi 'phro 'du-las / Srid-pa'i lHa-rje Kha-gdañs-rkyen-  
med bya-ba srid /
- c. De dañ Che-bza-'ye-'then srid-pa'i bsras / lHa-dkar-ma-yol(-sd)e bya-ba srid /
- d. De dañ g'Yuñ-phyug-mo srid-pa'i sras / lHa-rab-mched-bzi'i srid-la dkar /  
rNañ-rgyal-ba-ldiñ-rgu-dkar-po / Śar Lus-'phags-po'i lHar śegs /  
gñis-pa dKar-rnañs-rgyal-ba / Nub Ba-glañ-spyod-kyi lHar bśegs /  
gsuñ-pa Khri-śel-dkar-po 'Dzañs-bu-gliñ-gi lHar gśegs /  
tha-chuñ rTsed-can sGra-mi-gñan-gyi lHar gśegs /
- e. Khri-śal-dkar-po-la rJe'i 'Gur-la bcu(-gsu)m srid /
- f. Phyi-lha Tho-dkar-la Bar-lha 'Od(-d)kar / Nañ-lha Guñ-brgyal dañ gsuñ srid /  
De-gsuñ-gyi ljags-kyi chil-ma gnañ-du gtor-bas / sPrin-dkar-chuñ rtse-gcig srid /  
De'i dkyil-du duñ-gi mi pho g'yu'i thor tshugs-can / lHa-gnañ-than-chen(-p)o zer /  
De'i sras Srin-than-chen(-p)o /  
De-nas rgyud-pa'i sras bdun-gyi mtha'-ma-la / sTag-rje-'al-'ol byon /  
De ni gNañ rim-pa bcu(-gsu)m /
- g. Chu-lo (*fol. 30v*) -rigs dañ bcu-bzi /
- h. dGa'-sa-le dañ bco-lña'i steñs-na /
- i. phyogs ri(n-ch)en-las grub-pa phyi-bsal nañ-bsal-ba'i / rin(-p)o(-ch)e'i khri'i steñs-na / Yab  
sTag-rje-'al-'ol de / gser-gyi mkhar-ba snañ-pa gcig bžugs(-s)o /  
De dañ Yuñ Tshe-za-khyañ-khyuñ bśos-pa'i bsras / lHa-rab-mched-bzi srid / bka' gros  
byas-nas sa-ru-dgos / bSiñ-ma'i-ne-thañ-du / duñ-gi śo rgyab  
Yar-lha-thal-drug-gi drug gsuñ bco-brgyad rgyab / gNañ rim-pa bcu(-gsu)m-gyi steñs(-s)u  
lHa tham(s-ca)d-kyi rje mdzad /

- Cha-lha-brañ-chen-gyis lña gsum̄ bco-lña rgyab / mGon-btsun-cha'i lHar gšegs /  
 rGya-lha-groñ-rnañs bži gsum̄ bcu(-gñ)is rgyab / rGya-mi-mañs-gi lHar gšegs /  
 'O-de-guñ-brgyal-gyis gsum̄ gsum̄ dgu brgyab / Mi-lha-med-rnañs-kyi lHar šegs /
- k. gNañ rim-pa bcu(-gsu)m̄ steñs / rJe Yar-lha-šañ-drug dañ / Yuñ rMu-brtsun-khri-sman  
 bšos-pa'i sras bdun bšrid /  
 Mar-gyi-pho'o gsum̄ / Mar-gyi-bcud-po gsum̄ / Bar-gyi-bdun-tshigs-la / khri gañ yin / Yar  
 yab dañ can-la sdos / yab yuñ gros byas Žañ-po sMu'i yul-du sdzañs / Nor-lha-mñas-po dañ /  
 sKu-bsruñ-klu'i bu phyed-bdun sNañ-nas sdzañs-so /
- l. sMu-rje-tshan-po'i yul *Dañ* ri mdar 'grañs-du 'gugs(-s)o /
- m. De dañ sMu-jo-bre-btsan-mo bšo-pa'i sras / sras-kyi yuñ-gyi lhugs-na smras-pa / yar yod-  
 na yuñ 'groñs / mar yod-na 'phrod dge / rgal-pa'i tshigs rjed-par bsal-nas / srog phrag (*fol. 31r*)  
 g'yas byas gña'-ba-na mar byon-pas / mtshan gña'-khri-btsan-po byas-par rtags(-s)o //
- n. De'i dus Bod-na rje med phyogs-bži dgra ma-thul-ba brtsal-bas / Bar-snañ-nas sgra byuñ /  
 Bod-'bañ mgo-nag-gi rje 'dod-na / sMu-yul-la Ri-dañ 'greñ bya-ba-na / gSeñ-khañ g'yu-ma-  
 can-gyi khañs steñ-na / lHa'i gduñ / sMu'i tsha / gña'-khri-brtsan-po bya-ba žugs /
- o. Bod 'bañs drag-gžan bsus kyañ gdan mi-'dreñs / rTsibs-kyi lHa dKar-ma-yol(-sd)e-la žus zer /
- p. De-la žus-pas / dKar-ma-yol(-sd)es / mña'-khri-brtsan-po'i druñ-du phyin-te žus-pa /  
 Kye lHa gña'-khri-brtsan-po / mi-yul sa-steñ-ma-gi-na mi-la brje med / gšegs-su bsol žes  
 žus-pas / mi-yul ma-gi-na // rku / dug / dgra / Sri / gDon la-sogs-pa mi-dge sna(-tsh)ogs yod  
 mi-'gro gsuñs /  
 Yañ žus-pa / de-rnañs-la / rku-la 'jal / dug-la sman la-bsogs-pa'i thabs sna(-tsh)ogs yod /  
 spyis kyañ bšegs-par žus-pas snañ-ño /
- q. De-nas Yab-kyi / duñ 'phar-ba 'phar-'phyuñ /
- r. gŽu rañ-sduñs /  
 mDa' rañ-'phen /  
 Khrab rañ-khrab /  
 mDuñ rañ-thebs /
- s. Chag tshad yod 'dren /  
 g'Yo-ba ra-byed /
- t. sKu'i sdzi mgon-bu /  
 sKu-sruñ-la  
 kLu'i-mched-bdun /  
 lHa glañ-ru-dkar  
 Dañ byas snañ /
- u. Žañ-po sMus /  
 sMu khrab Šol-mo /  
 sMu(-rm)og bŽa-ma /  
 mDuñ Šab-kha /  
 Phu Goñ-bra /  
 Ral-gri Šal-gyi-gliñ-chod /  
 sMu-skas Rim-dgu-smu-'phreñ  
 Zañs-nañs (*fol. 31v*)  
 Žañ-pos sbyin /
- v. Yuñ-gyi sñan /  
 g'Yu 'od-'bar /
- w. 'Chiñ rañ-'phril /  
 Duñ rañ-'bud /  
 Chu rañ-chu /  
 gLa-da rañ-brtod /  
 Ra-'thag rañ-'khor /

- sDer rañ-'dren-rnañs  
sNañ-nas sdzañs(-s)o //
- x. De-nas  
rGyu-thag-la phyag 'jus /  
sMu-skas-la žabs brtan /
- y. gNañ-gyi mthoñ phye /  
sPrin-gyi sgo bsal /  
gzigs-pas
- z. lHa-ri Gyañ-mtho /  
Thañ-po mo gru-bži /  
Yu/ Yar-mo-rnañs-bži /  
Chab Śaṃ-chu bsñon-mo /  
De-rnañs legs-par zigs /
- aa. De-nas g'Yu-yul /  
g'Yeṃs-khañ-du phebs /  
De-nas rDor phebs /
- bb. rDo dañ Śiñ  
Da lu-ma  
la(-)sogs-kyi(s) phyag-'tshal /
- cc. De-nas nags-pa Bya tshogs-can-du phebs /
- dd. De-dus Srin-gyi dgra-ños byuñ-ste / Byañ-srin dañ sKoñ-srin g'Yag-dmar-po gcig-tu sdus  
byuñ-pa-la / sKu-bsruñ phyed-bdun-gyi sku-bsruñs / lHa glañ-ru-dkar rwa-dkar brtags-nas  
rduñs /
- ee. Khrab(-)gi rañ-gon /  
mDuñ-gi rañ-phul /  
Phub-gi rañ-gab /  
Ral-gris rañ-thebs /  
gŽus rañ-rduñs /  
mDas rañ-'phañs /  
De-rnañs-kyi(s)  
Byañ-srin dañ  
Koñ-srin bsod /
- ff. De-nas sMu-le-goñ Śiñ-gi rtsar gšegs-so /
- gg. lHa-gos bsil-ma spañs-nas /  
Mi-gos dar-rkab gsol /  
lHa-bsañ gar-bu spañs-nas /  
Mi-srañ 'bru-bcud gsol /  
lHa-skyeṃ bdud(-rts)i spañs-nas /  
Mi-skyeṃ 'bras-chan bsol /
- hh. De-nas Dag-po-mas-mkhar-du /  
De-nas Ńa-la-ya-mig-tu /  
De-nas Yar-luñ-sogs-mkhar bšegs /
- ii. (fol. 32r) Mun-bu-gla-mkhar rtsis /  
Phyogs-bži rgyal-po tul /  
rGyal-'phran bcu(-gñ)is 'bañs-su bcad /
- kk. De-tshe mi-rnañs-kyi mña'-bar khri rtsigs bžugs(-s)u bsol bsas / mtshan yañ gŃa'-khri-  
rtsan-po gsol(-l)o /
- ll. Grags-pa Bon-lugs Yog-lha-las gyes-pa bśad-pa'i bkabs-ste bso-gsuñ-pa'o //
- VI a. // De-nas / Yañ-bsañ lugs ni / yul sPo-bo'i yul-na / sPo-bo'i mi Mo-bya-btsun-bya'i tuñ-  
nas / The-brañ-dpun-dgu skyes-pa'i chuñ-dag / Ma U-be-ra bya-ba / lces-bžin-gyi dkyi(l-'kh)or

- khebs-pa / phyag-sor bra-bas 'brel-ba / śin-tu gdug rtsub dañ nus che-ba cig byuñ-bas / yul-mi kun na re / 'di mi thub-pas śugs-pa drag zer / kho'i pha ma gñis na re /
- b. Nēd bu dgu'i chuñ-dag 'di mi śug / ña'i bu bśugs-na khyed rañ kun-gyi bu bśugs-par rigs zer ma ñan(-n)o /
- c. De-nas yul-mi kun skog-tu bśugs-par kha 'cham / sPo-bo'i yul-gyi ban (bon?) nus-pa-can-rnañs bsags-nas / The-brañ-skyes 'debs byed-du bcug / Bod-la bśugs-pas / sPo-yul-du sdod ma tshugs Bod-la kha-rtags yoñs-pas /
- d. De-dus Bod-la rje med-par / rje 'tshol-du phyin-pa dañ / Byañ-lañ g'Ya'-le-goñ 'phrad-nas / khyod bsu yin gañ-nas 'oñ gar 'gro bris-pas / ña sPo-bo'i yul-nas 'oñ Bod-la 'gro zer /
- e. 'O-na khyod-la nus mthu spyi yod byas-pas / kho na re / nus mthu dañ (*fol. 32v*) rdzu-'phrul ches-nas / yul-mi-rnañs-kyis bśugs-pa yin zer(-r)o /
- f. 'O-na khyod-la ñed Bod-kyi rgyal-po 'tshol-bas nus bsañ byas-pas / ña ni mthu dañ stobs dañ sprul che-bas los nus zer /
- g. Der gña'-bar khri rtsigs khur-nas rje bcol / mtshan yañ gña'-khri-brtsan-por btags-so /
- h. De-ni Yañ-gsañ-ba mu-stegs lugi chad 'tshul(-l)o / rgyal-sa de-na tshad bsañ tshogs yin-pas grags mi bya /
- i. Yañ-bsañ-ba bśad-pa'i skabs-te so-bzi-'o //



Handwritten text in Mongolian script on a dark, textured strip, likely a fragment of a manuscript. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the main body of text.

Fol. 28r.

Handwritten text in Mongolian script on a dark, textured strip, similar to the previous fragment. The text is dense and fills most of the strip's width.

Fol. 28v.

Handwritten text in Mongolian script on a dark, textured strip. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the main body of text.

Fol. 29r.

Handwritten text in Mongolian script on a dark, textured strip. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the main body of text.

Fol. 29v.

Handwritten text in Mongolian script on a dark, textured strip. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the main body of text.

Fol. 30r.



Handwritten text in a dark, narrow strip, likely a fragment of a manuscript page. The text is written in a traditional script, possibly Tibetan or related, and is densely packed across several lines.

Fol. 30v.

Handwritten text in a dark, narrow strip, likely a fragment of a manuscript page. The text is written in a traditional script, possibly Tibetan or related, and is densely packed across several lines.

Fol. 31r.

Handwritten text in a dark, narrow strip, likely a fragment of a manuscript page. The text is written in a traditional script, possibly Tibetan or related, and is densely packed across several lines.

Fol. 31v.

Handwritten text in a dark, narrow strip, likely a fragment of a manuscript page. The text is written in a traditional script, possibly Tibetan or related, and is densely packed across several lines.

Fol. 32r.

Handwritten text in a dark, narrow strip, likely a fragment of a manuscript page. The text is written in a traditional script, possibly Tibetan or related, and is densely packed across several lines.

Fol. 32v.

Plate IX: Facsimile the of bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu.

## The interpretation and translation of Tibetan texts The epic parts

By the translation and interpretation of Tibetan texts dealing with early historical, legendary, and mythical subjects little attention has generally been paid to the structure and the composition of the text itself. For this reason the attempts to give a fluent translation, or to find a coherent sense of the text at all, too often fail. Sufficient emphasis cannot be given to the fact that a careful study of the structure of such texts, and the separation of their compositional elements, are the primary conditions for the understanding and evaluation of the texts.

When dealing with Tibetan texts, and quite especially with texts of the categories mentioned, it is necessary to realize that they are uniformly coherent, self-dependant works of the authors only in very rare cases, the exceptions being where letters or documents of quite specific characters are concerned. On the contrary, they are more or less re-editions or compilatory works, the primary source of which has been to a great extent the ancient Tibetan epic poetry representing an originally oral tradition. Any actual text may, however, be separated from its primary sources by varying numbers of intermediate renderings, which may more or less have altered the original composition and sense. Therefore versions of one and the same tradition, given by different texts, clearly show that these texts are dependant on renderings which are remote to various degrees from their primary epic source.

The texts, as they appear to us, represent different stages or characters of composition, which may range from almost pure ancient epic, through epics partially re-edited in prose, or epics in either their original or in a re-edited form interpolated into the prose text of the author, to almost pure, uniformly descriptive texts in prose. Most texts therefore contain constituents belonging to two or more different chronological strata, and consequently represent an aggregation of different styles and ways of expression.

These circumstances are primarily the reasons why Tibetan texts of the categories in question can seldom be translated into a fluent coherence. Besides, the texts themselves frequently present no immediate inner coherence. On the contrary they often show a pronounced discontinuity, which indeed is due to the nature of their composition. Thus the interpolations found in the text, and they may at times be numerous, have often only a parenthetically, explanatory or even cryptically alluding reference to a single word or theme of the main text, and therefore they do not belong in a proper sense to the text, but are to be regarded and translated in accordance with their proper quality of interpolations.

Moreover, when dealing with Tibetan poetry we are obliged to make a sharp distinction between ancient Tibetan epic, whether found in its original or in a gradually modified form, and later, Buddhist poetry, because there is a fundamental difference in quality between these two forms of poetry.

The ancient epic was genuine poetry serving the rendering and preservation of the oral tradition, and it is therefore particularly characterized by its shortness and pregnance of style, while the Buddhist poetry, particularly that of a later time, may, perhaps, most appropriately be characterized as versified or rhythmic prose. The verse lines of the ancient epic are extremely short, containing three or four, in particular cases only two, syllables, while Buddhist poetry contains a considerably greater number of syllables, generally six to twelve, in the line.

When ancient epics are quoted or utilized in later texts, we observe a characteristic tendency to create verse lines of more syllables than are found in the original epic. This lengthening of the lines is achieved in various ways, e.g. by addition of either auxiliary vocables of various kinds or appositional

elements, by combination of the lines of the original epic, or by a compromise of both procedures. When P. Poucha (179.578–9) comes to the conclusion that verses of five or six syllables belong to the most ancient forms of Tibetan poetry, he actually draws his conclusions from a material representing partly the ancient poetry at later, though rather early, stages of modification, partly a further developed stage of Tibetan metric, apparently originating from the first centuries after the introduction of Tibetan writing.

The sources used in the present study comprise very different kinds of composition. Thus the Tun-huang Mss 249 and 250 Paris may be regarded as typical specimens of texts which are based almost exclusively on the epic tradition. The epic character is still preserved to a large extent, and a considerable part of those sections of the texts which have been re-edited in prose, so distinctly show the epic origin that a re-establishing of the original form might be successfully accomplished. The reasons in general for the re-editing of the ancient epics into prose may only be guessed as being demands for abbreviation, failing recollection or understanding of the epic versions, or suppression or modification of undesired passages of the original tradition.

The gTer-mas, such as the different parts of the bKa'-thañ-sde-lña which have been important sources for our study, show a particular form of re-edition of the original, for the greater part probably epic, sources. The epic character has been maintained, but a special metre has been introduced, so that the gTer-ma generally appears as an apparently genuine unit, though actually consisting of numerous fragments of different origin.

We have already seen examples of the composition of text-fragments from the Tun-huang Mss (p. 243) and the gTer-mas (p. 233 f.), and in those cases realized the necessity of separating the constituents of the text. Moreover, the quotations from the bSad-mdzod yid-bzin-nor-bu (p. 233 ff.) and the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (p. 200 ff.) have provided examples of younger texts which, in fact, are compilations of older accounts in epic or prose combined into descriptions of Tibetan history, within the frame given by the personal text contribution of the compiler. The sections which have been used from the former text present characteristic examples of a text-composition based on fragments, while the latter text is a pronounced specimen of interpolated frame-text.

When studying texts of this kind, we very soon discover that the Tibetans were masters in the art of interpolation. To the interpretation of such texts the results of this art may, however, present considerable inconvenience.

A text-fragment of the Tun-huang Ms 249 Paris (1.81 lines 7–25), which contains several details of importance to our study, presents an instructive illustration of Tibetan proficiency where interpolation is concerned. In the French edition of the text both the transcription (*loc.cit.*) and a tentative French translation in prose (1.85 line 12–86 line 19) have been given. A minute study of the composition of the text and its metric character shows, however, that we are dealing with poetry which, so to say, has been interpolated to the second degree.

To get a clear impression of the different results with regard to the significance of the text, which may be obtained on one side in the generally used way of translation, on the other side in the far more rigorous, analytical way of translation introduced here, we shall give for comparison in the following: 1. the transcribed Tibetan text (*loc.cit.*) rendered in the system of transcription used in this study, 2. the French translation (*loc.cit.*), and 3. the results issuing from the present study.

#### 1. Tibetan text:

// lha gnam gyi steñ nas gśegs pa' // gnam  
lhab kyi bla na // yab lha bdag drug bźugs pa'i  
sras // gcen gsum gcuñ gsum na / khri 'i bdun  
tshigs dañ bdun / khri 'i bdun tshigs kyi sras /  
khri ñag khri btsan po // sa dog la yul yab kyi  
rje / dog yab kyi char du gśegs so // lha ri gyañ  
dor gśegs na / ri rab lhun po yañ dgu' dud dud /

#### 2. French translation:

Venus du haut du ciel des Dieux, fils des  
six pères Maîtres Divins qui siègent au-dessus du  
ciel médian, il y eut trois aînés, trois cadets, sept  
pour la dynastie des Sept Trônes. La filiation de  
la dynastie des Sept Trônes fut ainsi:

Khri Ñag-Khri btsan-po. Il vint ici-bas comme  
pluie fécondant la terre et premier des pères du

śiñ sdoñ po yañ bañ thañ thañ / chab lu ma yañ  
 dño sil sil / gor pha boñ la stsogs pa yañ mñed  
 khruñ khruñ gis pyag 'tshal lo // bod ka gyag drug  
 gi rjer gśegs so / thog ma sa la gśegs pa yañ /  
 gnam mtha' 'og gi rjer gśegs pas / gnam gyi ni  
 dbus / sa'i ni dkyil / gliñ gi ni sñiñ po / gañs kyi  
 ni ra ba / chu bo kun kyi ni mgo bo // ri mtho  
 sa gtsañ / yul bzañ / myi 'dzañs śes dpa' ru skye  
 / chos bzañ du byed / rta mgyogs su 'phel ba'i  
 gnasu / tshul kyis bdams ste gśegso / rgyal po  
 gzan dañ myi mtshuñs pa'i chos / pyag mñed  
 khruñ khruñ gis 'tshal žiñ / sle ba 'od kyis len /  
 myi btsun son pa'i rnams / rje sa 'i gos gyon  
 žiñ / skyes pa ched po rnams btsun ba'i rnam pa  
 yañ de nas byuñ ba yin no // śiñ rabs kyi nañ  
 na ni thañ śiñ riñ ño riñ / chu rabs kyi nañ na  
 ni yar cu sñon po che // yar lha śam po ni gtsug  
 gi lha 'o //

pays. Quand il alla à Lha-ri gyañ-do, le mont  
 Ri-rab s'inclina neuf fois, les arbres accoururent,  
 les fontaines se firent bruisantes avec leur rives,  
 les rocs, les pierres et les autres choses le saluè-  
 rent, et aussi les grues en le flattant. Il s'avança  
 pour être prince du Bod-ka gyag drug. D'abord  
 il atteignit la terre. Puis il fut prince de tout ce  
 qui est sous les cieux. Il régna au centre du ciel,  
 au milieu de la terre, au cœur du continent, sur  
 l'enceinte des neiges et sur tous les fleuves.  
 Hautes montagnes et terre pure, le pays était  
 excellent. Les hommes devinrent des parangons  
 de sagesse. Il fit une bonne loi. Il indiqua les  
 méthodes pour augmenter la vitesse des chevaux.  
 Aucun autre roi n'avait une loi comparable. Tan-  
 dis que le saluaient les grues, en le flattant, . . .  
 (Nous ne traduisons pas sle ba 'od kyis len, aucun  
 sens satisfaisant ne paraissant s'offrir) . . . Les non  
 nobles étant partis revêtus de vêtements d'hon-  
 neur, vinrent les grands et les nobles mêmes.  
 D'entre les espèces d'arbres, le sapin est le plus  
 haut. D'entre les sortes de fleuves, le Yar-chu  
 est le plus bleu. Et Yar-lha śam-po est le Dieu  
 des cimes suprêmes.

3. From our study of the Tibetan text it appears preliminarily that it is to be presented in verses as follows in the analytical arrangement of the text as presented on p. 418.

Analysing the text as rendered on p. 418, valuable indications are given by the original punctuation, the varying metre or rhythm, and the number of syllables together with a characteristic parallel construction of succeeding lines. By these indications we are able to establish that the whole text has been composed within a frame-poem (A) consisting of ten lines, each of originally seven syllables. This frame-poem and the interpolated verses are indicated in the analytical rendering on p. 418 through different positions of the beginnings of lines. The frame-poem reads as follows, the numbers indicating the lines of the text as given on p. 418:

- A.
1. // lHa gnam-gyi steñ-nas gśegs-pa' /
  3. / Yab-lha-bdag-drug bžugs-pa'i sras /
  8. / Sa-dog-la yul-yab-kyi rje /
  9. Dog-yab-kyi char-du gśegs-so /
  10. / lHa-ri Gyañ-dor gśegs-na /
  15. / Bod-ka g'yag-drug-gi rjer gśegs-so /
  16. Thog-ma sa-la gśegs-pa yañ /
  17. gNam-mtha' 'og-gi rjer gśegs-pas /
  30. rGyal-po gzan dañ-myi-mtshuñs-pa'i chos /
  31. Pyag mñed khruñ-gis 'tshal-žiñ /

He who came from the High Heaven of *lHa*

(Was) the son of *Yab-lha-bdag-drug* dwelling there.

As to the Powers of Earth (*sa-dog*), the Ruler of the Fathers of the Country (*yul-yab-kyi rje*)

Came as an Equal (*char*) to the Fathers of the Powers (of Earth) (*dog-yab*).

- lin. 1. // lHa gnam-gyi steñ-nas gśeġs-pa' /  
: / gNam-lhab-kyi bla na /  
/ Yab-lha-bdag-drug bźugs-pa'i sras /  
: / gCen-gsum gcuñ-gsum-na /
5. : Khri--'i-bdun-tshigs dañ bdun /  
: Khri-'i-bdun-tshigs-kyi sras /  
: Khri Ņag-khri-btsan-po /  
/Sa-dog-la yul-yab-kyi rje /  
Dog-yab-kyi char-du gśeġs-so /
10. / lHa-ri Gyañ-dor gśeġs-na /  
: : Ri-rab lHun-po yañ dgu' dud-dud /  
: : Śin sdoñ-po yañ bañ thañ-thañ /  
: : Chab lu-ma yañ dño sil sil /  
: : Gor pha-boñ *la-stsogs-pa* yañ mñed khruñ-khruñ-gis *pyag-'tshal-lo* /
15. / Bod-ka g'yag-drug-gi rjer gśeġs-so /  
Thog-ma sa-la gśeġs-pa yañ /  
gNam-mtha' 'og-gi rjer gśeġs-pas /  
: : : gNam-gyi ni dbus /  
: : : Sa'i ni dkyil /
20. : : : gLiñ-gi ni sñiñ-po /  
: : : Gañs-kyi ni ra-ba /  
: : : Chu-bo *kun-kyi* ni mgo-bo /  
: : : / Ri mtho  
: : : Sa gtsañ /
25. : : : : Yul bzañ /  
: : : : : Myi 'dzañs-śes-dpa'-ru skye /  
: : : : : Chos-bzañ-du byed /  
: : : : : rTa mgyogs-su 'phel-ba'i gnasu /  
: : : : : Tshul-kyis bdams-ste gśeġso /
30. rGyal-po gźan dañ-myi-mtshuñs-pa'i chos /  
Pyag mñed khruñ-khruñ-gis 'tshal-źiñ /  
: : : : : : : sLe-ba 'od-kyis len /  
: : : : : : : Myi btsun son-pa'i rnam /  
: : : : : : : rJe sa-'i-gos gyon-źiñ /
35. : : : : : : : sKyes-pa ched-po-rnam  
: : : : : : : bTsun-ba'i rnam-pa yañ  
: : : : : : : De-nas byuñ-ba yin-no /  
: : : : : : : / Śiñ-rabs-kyi nañ-na ni thañ-śiñ riñ-ño riñ /  
: : : : : : : Chu-rabs-kyi nañ-na ni Yar-cu sñon-po che /
40. : : : : : : : : / Yar-lha-śam-po ni gtsug-gi lha-' o //
- : : : : : : : : : : :  
A B C D E F G H I K

The analytical arrangement of the Tibetan text; see p. 417.



When he came to *IHa-ri Gyañ-do*,  
 He came as the Ruler of *Bod-ka g'yag-drug*.  
 He came to the most exalted place of the Earth, and  
 He came as the Ruler below all Heaven.  
 His *Chos*<sup>40</sup> was not like that of other kings,  
 He was hailed (by the people) rubbing together the palms of their hands.

This frame-poem has in itself been composed from elements of various origin. The verse lines are of six and seven syllables, in two lines enlarged to eight. The metre is trochaic, only three lines are dactylic. It represents, however, an ideological unit based on the fundamental element *gšegs-pa*, and describes the fundamental features of the origin, descent, essential qualities, realm, and destiny of the progenitor king. All the remaining parts of the text represent interpolations in varying metre, alluding to particular elements of this frame-poem.

Referring to *gnam-gyi steñ* and *Yab-lha-bdag-drug* of lines 1 and 3 of the frame-poem, the following epic fragment B of five lines, alternating between a dactylic and a trochaic metre, has been interpolated:

- B. 2. / gNam-lhab-kyi bla-na /  
 4. / gCen-gsum gcuñ-gsum-na /  
 5. Khri-'i-bdun-tshigs dañ bdun /  
 6. Khri-'i-bdun-tshigs-kyi sras /  
 7. Khri Ñag-khri-btsan-po /

In the uppermost part of the widely expanded Heaven,  
 Among the three elder and the three younger ones,  
 Seven together with *Khri-'i-bdun-tshigs*,  
 (Dwelt) the son of *Khri-'i-bdun-tshigs*,  
*Khri Ñag-khri-btsan-po*.

Correspondingly the following fragment, C, has been interposed with reference to *IHa-ri* of line 10 in the frame-poem, having seven syllables in the verse line, only one with eight, and an enlarged dactylic metre:

- C. 11. Ri-rab lHun-po yañ dgu' dud-dud<sup>41</sup> /  
 12. Śiñ sdoñ-po yañ bañ thañ-thañ<sup>42</sup> /  
 13. Chab lu-ma yañ dño sil-sil<sup>43</sup> /  
 14. Gor<sup>44</sup> pha-boñ *la-stsogs-pa* yañ mñed khruñ-khruñ *gis pyag-'tshal-lo* /

These lines obviously belong to some unit of composition describing creation paying homage to the king when he descended from the sacred mountain. The author of the text has, however, interfered with the original unity of the composition, partly for the sake of abbreviation by inserting *la-stsogs-pa*, partly to emphasize the idea of homage and make the relation to the main text more clear by adding *gis pyag-'tshal-lo* corresponding to line 29 of the frame-poem. The translation of the four lines reads:

*Ri-rab-lHun-po* bowed nine times,  
 The trees, the trunks, came hurrying,  
 The streams rippled along their grassy banks,  
 The stones and rocks *etc.*, by these and others homage was paid by rubbing the palms.

To the expressions *thog-ma sa* and *gnam-mtha' 'og* of the lines 16 and 17 of the frame-poem, the following interpolations D and E composed from fragments of several different epics partly known

from elsewhere (see p. 200f.) have been added. The interpolations are composed of verse lines with four and five syllables in a dactylic metre and two syllables in a trochaic metre, respectively:

- D. 18. gNam-gyi ni dbus /  
 19. Sa'i ni dkyil /  
 20. gLiñ-gi ni sñiñ-po /  
 21. Gañs-kyi ni ra-ba /  
 22. Chu-bo *kun-gyi* ni mgo-bo<sup>45</sup> /
- E. 23. / Ri mtho  
 24. Sa gtsañ /  
 25. Yul bzañ /

The words *kun-gyi* in line 22 are obvious interpolations. The translation reads:

(In) the middle of Heaven,  
 (In) the circle of Earth,  
 (Is) the heart of the country (*gliñ*)  
 (With a) fence of Glaciers,  
 The source of (*all the*) rivers.

High mountains,  
 Pure soil,  
 Good country!

An interpolation referring to the same expressions in the lines 16 and 17 of the frame-poem, are F, the lines 26, 28, and 29. They describe the people inhabiting the realm of the king. Two verse lines have six syllables in a dactylic metre and one line a trochaic. Line 27 is an interpolation G, a line of four syllables also in a dactylic metre, further outlining the qualities of the people.

- F. 26. Myi 'dzañs-śes-dpa'-ru skye /  
 28. rTa mgyogs-su 'phel-ba'i gnasu /  
 29. Tshul-kyis bsdams-ste gśegso /
- G. 27. Chos-bzañ-du byed /

People born intelligent, knowing, and brave,  
 To the place, where the horses rapidly grow in number,  
 They come, selecting according to *Tshul*.<sup>46</sup>  
 They act according to *Chos-bzañ*.<sup>47</sup>

Next, the expression *rGyal-po* in line 30 of the frame-poem is commented upon by the following interpolation H, which stresses the special status of the king, each verse line with five syllables in a trochaic metre:

- H. 32. sLe-ba<sup>48</sup> 'od-kyis len /  
 33. Myi btsun<sup>49</sup> son-pa'i rnam /  
 34. rJe sa-'i-gos gyon-ziñ /  
 35. sKyes-pa ched-po-rnam /  
 36. bTsun-ba'i rnam-pa yañ  
 37. De-nas byuñ-ba yin-no /

The basket is seized by the light (?).  
 Those men (*myi*) who are living ancestors (*btsun*),



(Are) the *rJe* (rulers) wearing earthly attire.  
Those great Born Ones (*skyes-pa*)  
Who have also the status (*rnam-pa*) of an ancestor (*btsun-ba*),  
They are those who then arise.

The two lines 38 and 39 form an interpolation, I, referring to line 31 of the frame-poem, the homage. Because, as we learned in the interpolation C, lines 11–14, the king was met with homage by all creation, we find it here again in connection with the description of the king in the interpolation H. The two lines of interpolation I have eleven syllables each in a dactylic metre.

- I. 38. / Śiñ-rabs-kyi nañ-na ni thañ-śiñ riñ-ño riñ /  
39. Chu-rabs-kyi nañ-na ni Yar-cu sñon-po che /

In the family of trees, the *Thañ-śiñ*<sup>60</sup> is the highest, highest one.  
In the family of waters, the blue River of *Yar*<sup>61</sup> is the greatest.

The last line of the composition, line 40, is an interpolation, K, caused by the expression *Yar* in line 39 of interpolation I. It has nine syllables in an extended trochaic metre.

- K. 40. / Yar-lha-śam-po ni gtsug-gi lha-'o //

*Yar-lha-śam-po* is the supreme *lHa!*

## A note on old Tibetan chronology and the time for the final burial of a Tibetan king

In the Tun-huang Annals (I) there are indications of the seasons beginning with the year 672/73 A.D. These indications are connected with the description of certain events of each year, such as the 'Dun-ma, the Conferences or the sittings of the diet or council, the residence of the bTsan-po, or the activities of the ministers. The order of the seasons within the description of each year in the Annals follows a pattern which contains two, three, or four elements repeated in the same sequence in consecutive years. This way we obtain the following data concerning the order of the seasons within the Tibetan year.

Until 672/73 A.D. the Annals contain *no indications of season*. From 672/73 A.D. until 706/07 A.D. the years are divided into *two seasons, summer and winter*, dbyar and dgun. From 707/08 A.D. cases occur indicating the use of *four seasons*. In 707/08 A.D. summer, autumn, and winter occur; in 725/26 A.D. summer, winter, and spring; and in 726/27 A.D. winter and spring. This indicates that the order of the seasons was: *summer, autumn, winter, and spring*, dbyar, ston, dgun, and dpyid.

The Tun-huang text (4.80-86) edited by M. Lalou,<sup>52</sup> explains that the mDad-chen-po or zero day of the burial of a bTsan-po ought to be celebrated during a period of ten days from the 23rd day of the last month of autumn (ston-zla tha-chuñ tshes ñi-śu-gsum) to the 3rd day of the first month of winter (dgun-zla ra-ba tshes gsum). In these calendar expressions we meet the later common division of each season into three months, the first called ra-ba, the second 'briñ-po, and the third tha-chuñ. We do not yet know how long this system has been employed by the Tibetans, but the oldest datable case where these terms are employed we find in the gTsong-lag-khañ inscription of 821-822 A.D. in lHa-sa (180.57-58). There we find the following expressions corresponding to the tripartite seasons: dgun-sla *ra-ba*, dbyar-sla *'briñ-po*, and dpyir-sla *'briñ-po*.

Furthermore the Tun-huang text explains that the second winter month is unfavourable for the final burial because of frost, and the second summer month is unfavourable too because of the growth of plants. Combining this information concerning the seasons and the months with the data regarding the final burial of a bTsan-po, we obtain the following calendar for the final burial (Table XIV):

Season:	Summer			Autumn			Winter			Spring		
Month:	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Day:							1					
							2					
							3					
						23						
						24						
						25						
						26						
						27						
						28						
						29						

Table XIV: The calendar for the final burial of the Tibetan king.

The condition that the period of ten days begin with a 23rd and terminate with a 3rd day in two consecutive months means that the third autumn month comprised 29 days. This indicates that *the calendar was based on a lunar month*. The continuous correlation between the dates of the Tibetan documents and the Chinese historical sources indicates that the Tibetan calendar of lunar months was *a lunar-solar calendar*. This involves the occurrence of intercalary months and (or) days and a movable beginning of the years within a fixed cyclus. This calendar must thus have had the same character as the present Tibetan calendar.

As demonstrated above the year begins with the season of summer, which indicates that *the old Tibetan calendar of the Yar-luñ Dynasty placed the New Year at the beginning of the summer*. The months being lunar months, the New Year must have some connection with *the moon phases*, either the new or full moon. The year being certainly a lunar-solar one, the New Year is probably connected with *the summer solstice* too. Maintaining such connections with regard to *the New Year*, this may have occurred in a period from *the 24/25th May to 19/20th July*.

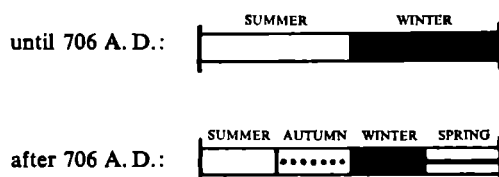
Counting by lunar months, this means that *the ten day period for the final burial of a bTsan-po* occurred about 163–173 days after the New Year, thus placing this period *between 3–13th November and 29th December–7th January*.

The Tun-huang text further limits the length of this period by the demand that the period of ten days must occur under the heliacal rise of the 11th, 12th, and 13th Nakṣatras and the heliacal setting of the 17th, 18th, and 19th Nakṣatras (4.134–35). During the time of the historical Yar-luñ Dynasty this occurred roughly during the month of November. This limits the occurrence of the final burial to the period of *3–13th November to 1–10th December*. This condition of the Nakṣatras indirectly supports our proposed period for the occurrence of the New Year. Within this period in November–December, the occurrence of the final burial is further limited by the actual occurrence of a full or a new moon, as stated by the Tun-huang text.

If we combine the actual information given by the Tun-huang Annals and the Chinese sources (quoted on p. 358ff.) regarding the death and burial of members of the Yar-luñ Dynasty, as done in the following Table XV, we see at once that the final burial, the mDad-chen-po, occurred in the winter season.<sup>69</sup> The days to be considered for the final burial are thereby limited to *the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd days of the first winter month*.

Only in one case, that of the dowager queen Mañ-pañs (see p. 359), did the burial occur in the autumn. The period to be considered is thus limited to the period of the 23rd day to the 29th of the last autumn month.

In the following Table XV, p. 424, the seasons are indicated thus:



Accepting our proposed period for the occurrence of the New Year in the old Tibetan calendar, these seasons correspond approximately to our calendar in the following way:

- Summer: May/June – July – August.
- Autumn: August/September – October – November.
- Winter: November/December – January – February.
- Spring: February/March – April – May.

In Table XV the following abbreviations are employed :

- D: The occurrence of death, dguñ-du-gsëgs or noñs.
- R: The deposition in the Riñ-khañ.
- T: The bTol-ba.
- B: The final burial, mDad-chen-po.
- K: King, bTsan-po.
- P: Prince.
- Q: Queen.

Number: Refers to the numbers employed in Table IV and on p. 358-59.

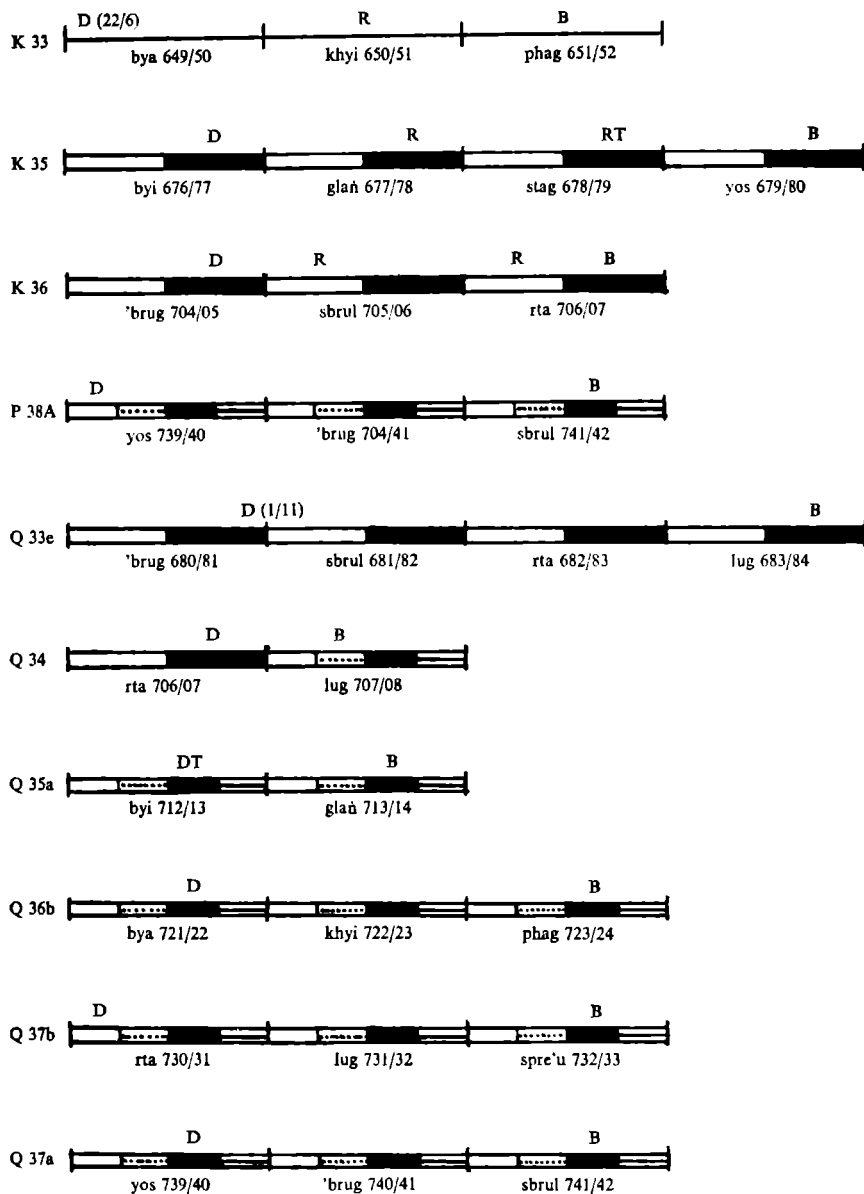


Table XV: The period between the death and the final burial in the royal family.

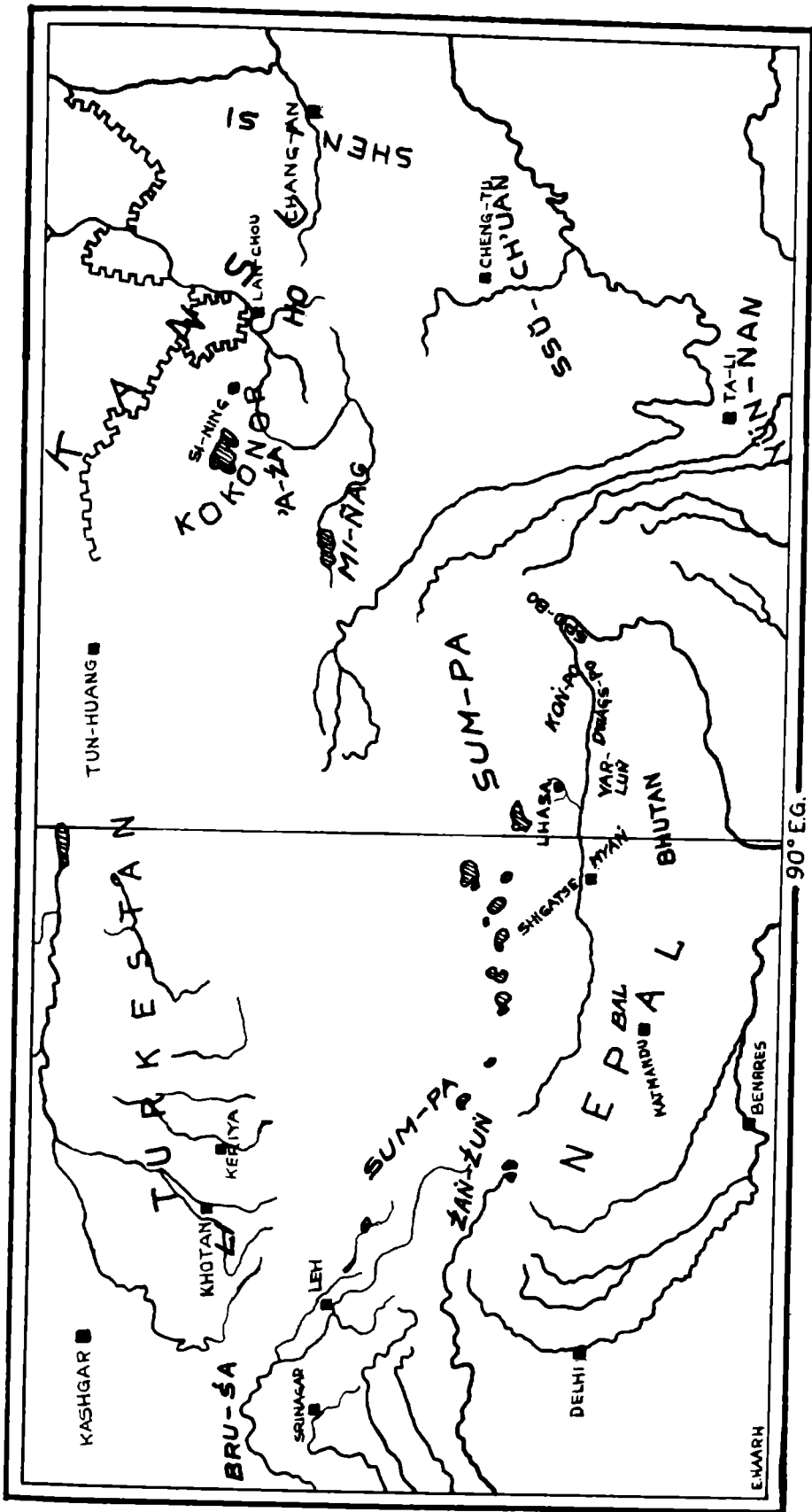


Plate X: Map of Tibet.

*Yar-luñ Dynastiet*

*Et studie med særligt henblik på myternes og legendernes bidrag til det gamle Tibets historie og oprindelsen og karakteren af dets konger*

*Af Erik Haarh*

Jo mere man arbejder med Tibets historie efter Kong Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po (død 650) og med grundlæggelsen af det Dynasti, der ligger bag dannelsen af det stortibetanske rige under denne konge og hans efterfølgere, des mere bliver det klart, at man for fuldt ud at forstå såvel handlingernes forløb som årsagerne til dem, må kende forudsætningerne for dette Dynasti. Dette Dynasti er på det nøjeste knyttet til landskabet Yar-luñ (udt. Jarlúng) i Sydtibet, og er derfor blevet kaldt for Yar-luñ Dynastiet.

Dette studie er begrænset til en undersøgelse af Yar-luñ Dynastiets stamtavle, dennes opbygning og enkelte dele, til en undersøgelse af de mytiske og legendariske traditioner, der er knyttet til dette Dynasti og dets tidlige konger, samt til en undersøgelse af traditionerne i forbindelse med kongernes død og deres grave, et emne der på det nøjeste er knyttet til og forklarer de fundamentale traditioner forbundet med opfattelsen af Yar-luñ kongernes status.

Disse emner burde være en del i ethvert arbejde om Tibets gamle historie, men er det kun sjældent. Enkelte tilløb på basis af den senere buddhistisk-tibetanske tradition forefindes, men intet systematisk arbejde over disse emner findes. I nyere tid har en række forskere, først og fremmest Giuseppe Tucci arbejdet med disse problemer.

Tibetanske kilder indeholdende oplysninger om disse emner er mangfoldige, men størstedelen deraf indeholder kun enkelte eller spredte oplysninger. Derfor er valget af kilder benyttet i denne undersøgelse begrænset til at omfatte sådanne kilder, som giver en systematisk fremstilling af disse emner, samt til sådanne kilder, der uddyber eller supplerer disse emner på en sådan måde, at de giver os betydningsfulde, nye oplysninger. En begrænsning findes ligeledes i det udvalg af kilder, der står til rådighed for os i samlinger, der er tilgængelige for tiden. Kildekritik kan ikke foretages i noget tilfælde, dertil er vor viden om Tibets litteratur for spinkel, og de arbejder, der findes derom, er baseret på et så reduceret kildemateriale, at de på baggrund af den i dag tilgængelige tibetanske litteratur må betragtes som værende uden værdi for dette studie.

Da dette studie benytter kilder fra mange tidsperioder, optræder der ustandseligt sproglige problemer, der ikke kan løses gennem noget hjælpemiddel tilgængeligt i dag. Da selve disse problemer i sig selv kræver en undersøgelse af et stort omfang, har jeg som en foreløbig forklaring til et flertal af problemernes løsning opstillet nogle tabeller over lydændringerne i de tibetanske verbalnominers forskellige former. Specielle tilfælde er forklaret i noter.

Gennem den følgende undersøgelse med alle dens enkelte resultater fremgår, at hovedlinierne i de tibetanske legender og overleveringer om Yar-luñ Dynastiet i perioden før Kong Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po er konstante. Desuden kan deres tilforladelighed som historiske kilder slås fast.

Foruden lokale variationer i kildernes fremstilling af emner, der undersøges, kan det fastslås, at der eksisterer tre hovedlinier indenfor den tibetanske overlevering: en buddhistisk, en Bon-po, og en før-Bon-po. Bon-po er den omkring Dynastiet organiserede religion, der forefandtes ved Buddhismens indtrængen i Tibet i det sjette århundrede.

Den buddhistiske tradition hævder Dynastiets forfader, gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's nedstamning fra et indisk kongedynasti. Heri indkorporeredes traditioner, der allerede var fast forankrede i de tibetanske forestillinger, såsom forfaderens nedstigen fra himlen ad et helligt bjerg og hans forbindelse med de himmelske guder, lHa. lHa, de ledende guddommelige udtryk for Bon religionen, blev accepteret af Buddhismen, der drejede deres universelle betydning over til en identitet med deva, det udflydende indo-buddhistiske gudebegreb.

Bon-po traditionen om forfaderens nedstamning fra de himmelske guder, lHa, var baseret på forestillingen om et tredelt kosmos, himmel-jord-underverden, der var eksistensmilieu for fugle – kød-spisere – fisk, hvis vigtigste udtryk var de himmelske lHa, de jordiske bTsan, og de underjordiske kLu eller de døde, mTshun. Kongernes forbindelse med lHa er udtrykt gennem titlen lHa-sras, lHa-Søn, deres forbindelse med bTsan gennem kongetitlen bTsan-po, og deres forbindelse med underverdenen gennem titlen sPu-rgyal, Døde-Kongen.

Før-Bon traditionen hævdede forfaderens nedstamning fra Te eller The, hvori Te var forestillingen om de aktivt handlende døde, der virkede iblandt de levende. Te var den ledende gruppe indenfor et religiøst system ved navn Mu (rMu). Dette system forestillede sig kosmos som en todelt verden i form af en æske, med en øvre og en nedre del. I denne æske begyndte skabelsen med det hvide og det sorte lys, med det mandlige og det kvindelige princip. Denne æske sammenlignedes også med en livmoder, der var ophavet til livet og endemålet for døden. De døde var forskellige fra de levende ved ikke at besidde livskraften, bLa.

Dette før-Bon systems forestilling om skabelsen var også nært forbundet med ideen om verdenen i lighed med et knækket æg og med forestillingen om alle væseners oprindelse fra æg, kosmiske æg eller blod-æg. Dette før-Bon system var et kvindeligt, matriarkalsk, med en stammoder, i modsætning til Bon-po systemet, der var mandligt, patriarkalsk, med en stamfader.

Yar-luñ Dynastiets første fase er forbundet med dette før-Bon system og er knyttet til Yar-luñ distriktet i Sydtibet eller den del af Yar-luñ, der var under Bya-klanen eller Fugle-klanen, hvis hovedsæde var fæstningen Yum-bu-bla-sgañ.

Yar-luñ Dynastiets anden fase er knyttet til indførelsen af Bon religionen og er karakteriseret ved et sammenbrud af Bya-klanens styre og en samtidig overtagelse af magten ved en udefra kommende. Gennem denne magtovertagelse knyttedes Yar-luñ til Dynastiet i Koñ-po. Denne magtovertagelse faldt sammen med Yar-luñ Dynastiets historiske begyndelse og er mytisk-legendarisk symboliseret gennem forfaderen gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. Den mand, der overtog magten i Bya-klanen, kan nedstamme fra Koñ-po Dynastiet, men kan ligesåvel nedstamme fra Fan-ni, der ifølge kinesiske kilder samlede tibetanske stammer til et rige omkring 433 e.K., ja er måske identisk med denne Fan-ni.

De ældste forestillinger om Dynastiets forfader er knyttet til de senere titulaturer 'O-lde-spu-rgyal og sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, men den senere dynastiske Bon-po tradition og den Buddhistiske tradition forbinder forfaderen med gÑa'-khri-btsan-po. Gennem de to første udtryk knyttedes kongerne og Dynastiet direkte til før-Bon forestillingerne om de døde, en forbindelse der var betydeligt fjernere gennem den sidste betegnelse.

Især for Buddhismen var en sådan forbindelse mellem Dynastiet og forestillinger om de afdøde og om forfædre kult en umulighed, da dette var i direkte modstrid med den indo-buddhistiske forestilling om saṃsāra, "sjælevandringen". Dette er årsagen til den konsekvente undertrykkelse af de to tidligere betegnelser for Dynastiets forfader, der er resulteret i en dominans i vore kilder for betegnelsen gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.

### *Kapitel 1:*

*Yar-luñ kongernes genealogi ifølge den almindelige tibetanske tradition; den præhistoriske og den historiske linie.*

Almindeligvis skelner man i studier af ikke-tibetansk oprindelse imellem en præhistorisk linie indenfor det tibetanske kongedynasti på 32 konger og en historisk linie på 10 konger. De historiske konger ken-

des fra et stort antal tibetanske kilder, hvorimod de præhistoriske indtil nu kun kendes fra et fåtal tilgængelige kilder. Da dette arbejde især beskæftiger sig med de tidligste konger, er det nødvendigt at få et så fyldigt billede som muligt af de tibetanske traditioner om dem. Dette gøres i skemaform.

Ingen tibetansk gengivelse af traditionerne kan betragtes som værende den korrekte og fuldstændige. Af hensyn til sammenligning imellem de forskellige versioner er den Femte Dalai Lamas Krønike lagt til grund for oversigterne og tabellerne. Undersøgelsen viser desuden, at den Femte Dalai Lamas gengivelse repræsenterer den orthodoxe buddhistiske tradition om Dynastiet. Tabel I viser, at der eksisterer tre hovedtraditioner om de præhistoriske konger, med forskellige antal konger og med forskellige navne på enkelte konger.

Den historiske linie kendes fra en række tidligere studier, og en oversigt over dens omfang findes i Tabel IV og Pl. I. Det viser sig, at der for den historiske linie kun findes een navnetradition.

## *Kapitel 2:*

*Navnene på de tibetanske konger, dronninger og prinser: den præhistoriske og historiske linie, de kinesiske navne på kongerne og kongenavnenes betydninger.*

Navnene på tibetanske kongelige personer kendes i mange, indbyrdes forskellige varianter, og ofte er flere forskellige navne benyttet om samme person, eller næsten identiske navne benyttet om forskellige personer. Derfor er enkelte personer i Dynastiet undertiden identificeret forkert. For at opnå den størst mulige sikkerhed ved bestemmelsen af de enkelte medlemmer af Dynastiet og for at få et sikkert overblik over Dynastiets omfang og inddeling, er navne på kongelige personer samlet i Tabellerne III og IV fra et så stort antal kilder som muligt.

Fra et repræsentativt udvalg af kinesiske kilder er hentet en oversigt over kinesiske gengivelser af de tibetanske kongenavne. Herigennem skulle usikkerhed ved bestemmelsen af de tibetanske konger i kinesiske kilder være fjernet.

De tibetanske kongenavne kan inddeles i flere former: oprindelige, personlige navne svarende til vore døbenavne, kongenavne, æresnavne, posthume navne, samt øge- og kælenavne. Kongernes navn som konge, kongenavnet, bestod af fire stavelser og var afledt af det personlige navn ved at foranstille stavelsen Khri, trone. Disse personlige navne og kongenavne var sakrale navne.

## *Kapitel 3:*

*Dynastiets inddeling i grupper:*

*grupperne i den før-buddhistiske og den buddhistiske del af Dynastiet*

Den tibetanske tradition skelner mellem en førbuddhistisk del indenfor Dynastiet og en buddhistisk, begyndende med Kong lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan.

Den før-buddhistiske del inddeles i fem eller fire grupper, med hver deres specielle gruppenavne. Alle overleverede beretninger om de førbuddhistiske konger går tilbage til samme tradition. Tilstedeværelsen af den anden gruppe i Dynastiet, kongerne Gri-gum-btsan-po og sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, er et senere træk i traditionen og er med tiden blevet karakteristisk for den buddhistiske overlevering.

Den buddhistiske overlevering har tre udviklingsfaser: den første er repræsenteret ved munken Prajñāvarman eller Śes-rab-go-cha, der levede under Kong Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, da Buddhismen for første gang blev officielt anerkendt i Tibet; den anden er repræsenteret ved lDan-ma-rtse-mañ, der levede under Kong Sad-na-legs, da Buddhismen nåede sit foreløbige højdepunkt under Yar-luñ kongerne; den tredje fase repræsenteres af de senere tibetanske forfattere, især efter år 1000, da Buddhismen gradvist blev fast etableret i hele Tibet.

Den buddhistiske del af Dynastiet inddeles i to grupper og tælles i generationer på forskellig måde. De to grupper kaldes sKyid-pa'i-gduñ-rabs, "De lykkelige Generationer", og Śin-tu-skyid-pa'i-gduñ-rabs, "De meget lykkelige Generationer".



Igennem deres placering af Kong lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan udskilles de tibetanske kilder i tre forskellige traditioner, afhængig af den anden gruppes tilstedeværelse eller fraværelse. lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan kan således være den 28., 27. eller 26. konge af Dynastiet.

#### *Kapitel 4:*

##### *Den mongolske tradition om de tibetanske konger*

Da de mongolske khaner af Yüan Dynastiet betragtede deres familie som efterkommere af de indiske dynastier igennem det tibetanske Yar-luñ Dynasti, igennem den ene af Kong Gri-gum-btsan-po's tre sønner, findes der oplysninger om de tibetanske konger i mongolske kilder. Nogle repræsentative mongolske kilder er benyttet her, idet et fuldstændigt materiale er unødvendigt i denne sammenhæng og ville sprænge rammerne for denne undersøgelse.

Den mongolske overlevering indeholder versioner, der er afhængige af Bon-po traditioner, især i forbindelse med den første gruppe indenfor Dynastiet.

#### *Kapitel 5:*

##### *Dynastiet og dets forbindelse med den præhistoriske, religiøse og kulturelle udvikling*

Forskellige udviklingsepoker indenfor den tibetanske kultur og religion er knyttet til de enkelte grupper af konger indenfor den før-buddhistiske del af Dynastiet. Disse er især knyttet til kongerne gÑa'-khri-btsan-po (nr. 1), Gri-gum-btsan-po (nr. 8), sPu-de-guñ-rgyal (nr. 9), rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan (nr. 24) og lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan (nr. 28).

Dynastiets oprindelse er knyttet til indførelsen af den oprindelige religion i Tibet, der kaldes for Svastika-Bon eller dMu-rgyal-Bon. Den repræsenterer forestillingen om den religionsform, der var i Tibet før Kong Gri-gum-btsan-po. Gri-gum-btsan-po og sPu-de-guñ-rgyal repræsenterer indførelsen af en ny religionsform, Bon-religionen i dennes særlige karakter som Dur-Bon eller Grav-Bon. Denne var nøje knyttet til de institutioner, der lå bag Dynastiet og kongernes status. sPu-de-guñ-rgyal repræsenterer den første konge indenfor det dynasti, der med tiden blev det historisk kendte Yar-luñ Dynasti.

Gri-gum-btsan-po, bag hvem der skjuler sig erindringen om en virkelig konge, udtrykker en krise i det tibetanske samfund. En ny religionsform indførtes med begravelsesriter og -kultus, en adskillelse mellem levende og døde i to verdener indførtes, og endnu en tredje verden indførtes, en himmelsk verden med himmelske guder, lHa. Denne nye religion belærte, at kongerne nedstammede fra lHa, at forfaderen til kongerne steg ned fra himlen for at herske blandt menneskene og beskytte dem mod de døde og disses repræsentanter, der indtil da havde levet blandt menneskene. Den hjælper de levende ved gennem ritus at skærme dem mod de dødes farlige tilstedeværelse og sørger for, at disse forbliver i deres egen verden, dødeverdenen. Begravelsen foregår nu i grave på eller i jorden, mod tidligere ved udkastning i vandløbene. De jordiske magter erstattes med de himmelske guder.

Således som Yar-luñ Dynastiets genealogi er overleveret os, fremtræder den som en behændigt gennemført syntese. Den 3. og 4. gruppe tilhører således ikke oprindeligt Dynastiet, men er selvstændige dynastiske linier. Desuden er den anden gruppe indsat i Dynastiet for at formidle indførelsen af Dur-Bon og for at formidle indførelsen af en dødelig konge i Dynastiet, idet kongerne skønt af guddommelig og derfor udødelig oprindelse nu efterlader et lig, der skal begraves.

Vore kilder viser, at der var tre forskellige tidspunkter for Dynastiets begyndelse: gÑa'-khri-btsan-po repræsenterer den mytisk-religiøse præhistoriske begyndelse, sPu-de-guñ-rgyal den mytisk-legendariske opfattelse af den præhistoriske begyndelse, og rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan den virkelige præhistoriske begyndelse. Samtidigt repræsenterer gÑa'-khri-btsan-po den patriarkalske begyndelse på Dynastiet og rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan den matriarkalske.

Kildernes beskrivelse af den kulturelle udvikling under de præhistoriske konger deler sig skarpt i to traditioner. Den ene tillægger gÑa'-khri-btsan-po indførelsen af alle kulturelle goder, den anden beretter om en kulturel udvikling gennem de forskellige grupper af konger.

## *Kapitel 6:*

### *De mytiske, præhistoriske og historiske linier indenfor Dynastiet.*

Den tibetanske tradition om de ældste konger indenfor Dynastiet er baseret på en mundtlig overlevering, hvilket vanskeliggør en vurdering af, hvornår der er tale om et præhistorisk og hvornår et historisk afsnit. I modsætning til de tibetanske kilders 32 konger før Kong Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po angiver de kinesiske kun 6. Den første er Kong Khri-rje-thog-btsan, nr. 27 i den almindelige kongeliste. Almindeligvis betragtes Konge nr. 28, lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan, som den første med nogen historisk realitet.

En række forskellige omstændigheder viser, at Dynastiets første og anden gruppe tilhører legendernes verden, dog således at kongerne gñā'-khri-btsan-po (nr. 1), Gri-gum-btsan-po (nr. 8) og sPu-de-guñ-rgyal (nr. 9) har en vis historisk realitet.

Den tredje og fjerde gruppe er selvstændige dynastiske linier, knyttet til Yar-luñ Dynastiet gennem enkelte virkeligt eksisterende konger. Disse enkelte konger, som Za-nam-zin-lde (nr. 16) og lDe'-phrul-gnam-gzuñ-btsan (nr. 17), tilhører en tid meget nærmere den historiske, end deres placering i Dynastiet lader ane.

Derfor må begyndelsen af den præhistoriske, men virkeligt eksisterende del af Dynastiet findes nogle få generationer før den femte kongegruppe, begyndende med Konge nr. 24, rGyal-to-ri-loñ-btsan. Under Kong lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan og hans nærmeste efterfølgere findes så begyndelsen på såvel Tibets som Dynastiets historiske tid.

## *Kapitel 7:*

### *Dynastiets begyndelse i den tibetanske tidsregning.*

Dateringer af Dynastiets begyndelse er meget sjældne indenfor de tibetanske kilder. En gennemgang af dem, der findes, viser, at der ikke eksisterer nogen tibetansk tradition med henblik på en tidsmæssig datering af Dynastiets begyndelse.

## *Kapitel 8:*

### *De kosmologiske og theogoniske sider i beretningerne om Dynastiet.*

De enkelte grupper indenfor den førbuddhistiske del af Dynastiet har betegnelser eller navne, der på forskellig måde henviser til kosmologiske og theogoniske begreber og forestillinger.

I den oprindelige version, hvori den anden gruppe ikke fandtes, gengav grupperne tilsyneladende et billede af den todelte verden, en øvre og en nedre del. Med den anden gruppe indførtes så forestillingen om en mellemliggende del, hvorved Dynastiets grupper tilsyneladende modsvarede et tredelt kosmos med en himmel, menneskets verden og en underverden. En nøjere gennemgang viser dog, at en sådan genspejling af kosmos i Dynastiets grupper ikke er til stede. Kun gennem kunstig brug af enkelte ord gennemfører een enkelt kilde fra 1508 en fuldstændig gengivelse af kosmos i Dynastiets grupper.

Gennem deres navne afslører grupperne kun forbindelse til to gudegrupper, lHa og bTsan, de to hovedgrupper indenfor de himmelske og de jordiske guder. Svage spor af et tilsvarende ældre system, repræsenteret ved rMu og lDe, findes også.

## *Kapitel 9:*

### *Dynastiet og dets oprindelse i lyset af den legendariske tradition:*

#### *Dynastiets stamfader og hans forbindelse med den første kongegruppe; Gri-gum-btsan-po og hans sønner.*

I de tibetanske kilder symboliserer de to første grupper en overgang fra en guddommelig, udødelig til en jordisk, dødelig eksistensform for kongerne. gñā'-khri-btsan-po og hans efterfølgere til Gri-gum-

btsan-po nedstammede fra de himmelske guder og efterlod intet lig, når de vendte tilbage til himlen. Gri-gum-btsan-po fødtes guddommelig, men gennem sin kamp med ministeren Lo-ñam overskærer han forbindelsen med guderne, symboliseret ved dMu-tråden eller dMu-stigen, og dør efterladende et lig. Sønnen, sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, den ene af hans sønner, er som hans efterfølger født dødelig og er derfor den første dødelige konge blandt menneskene.

Nedstigningen fra himlen er også symboliseret gennem beretningerne om forfaderens nedstigning ad det hellige bjerg til den menneskelige verden. Men den findes desuden også symboliseret indenfor den første kongegruppe selv. Disse kongers navne og deres mødres genspejler to verdensopfattelser om et tredelt kosmos: himmel-jord-underverden og ild-lys-mørke. En Bon-po tradition om disse konger genspejler derimod et billede af kosmos som et telt.

Triader er en gennemgående foreteelse i forbindelse med opfattelsen af forfaderen. Vi har således følgende triader: *gÑa'*-khri-btsan-po, *Mi*-khri-btsan-po, *Bya*-khri-btsan-po; de tre grupper levende væsener *Ña* (fisk), *Śa-zan* (kødædere), *Bya* (fugle), der befolker *underverdenen, jorden, og himmelrummet*; desuden findes forestillingen om Gri-gum-btsan-pos tre sønner *Ña*-khri, *Śa*-khri, og *Bya*-khri.

Da Kong Gri-gum-btsan-po dræbtes af ministeren, flygtede sønnerne enten til Koñ-po, eller til tre forskellige steder i Tibet, Koñ-po, Ñañ-po og sPo-bo, hvor de blev konger. I kilderne er der enighed om, at den søn, der kaldes til Yar-luñ for at blive konge, er sønnen, der flygtede til sPo-bo. Et flertal af kilderne identificerer ham med sønnen *Bya*-khri. En tradition, kendt fra Dynastiets tid, fastholder, at der var to sønner, *Śa*-khri, der blev konge i Yar-luñ, og *Ña*-khri, der blev konge i Koñ-po.

Sønnen, der blev konge i Yar-luñ, besad ganske specielle egenskaber; en række kilder beretter, at han fødtes overnaturligt. Nogle versioner beretter, at Gri-gum-btsan-po havde to sønner, og at hans dronning efter hans død ved guddommelig indvirken føder en tredje søn, *Nar-la-skyes*. Andre versioner beretter, at dronningen efter kongens død føder en fjerde søn, *Ru-la-skyes*. Han fødes fra et blod-æg og virkede som minister for den ægte søn, der blev konge i Yar-luñ.

Sønnen *Nar-la-skyes* ved siden af de to sønner *Ña*-khri og *Śa*-khri repræsenterer den døde konges *Yi-dwags* eller aktive døde-form, der søger efter sit eget lig for at få det begravet. Derfor forsvinder *Nar-la-skyes* også, når dette er sket.

*Bya*-khri, der kommer fra sPo-bo og bliver konge af Yar-luñ, gengiver traditionen om, at stamfaderen var en fugl, *Bya*. Ved dominans af andre traditioner fortrænges forestillingen om ham til fordel for først *Śa*-khri og senere *Ña*-khri.

Navnet *gÑa'*-khri-btsan-po's oprindelige form er *Ña*-khri-btsan-po, hvori *Ña* betyder fisk. *Ña*-khri-btsan-po og *Ña*-khri repræsenterer to opfattelser af Dynastiets stamfader. *gÑa'*-khri-btsan-po repræsenterer den generaliserende buddhistiske og den dynastiske Bon-po opfattelse heraf. Hver for sig har de deres egen legende-kreds, repræsenterende to opfattelser af stamfaderens natur og oprindelse: en himmelsk og en jordisk, én betinget af de himmelske guder, *lHa*, en anden betinget af de døde.

Igennem traditionerne om Gri-gum-btsan-po's tre sønner genspejles billedet af det tredelte kosmos, og gennem de to sønner det todelte kosmos, dvs. det himmelske og det jordiske system. Dernæst er sønnerne opfattet som stamfædre til forskellige lokale dynastier.

Den buddhistiske tradition stod overfor to forudsætninger for skabelsen af en buddhistisk overleveling: dels en tradition om tre brødre, og dels en tradition, der fremhævede en af disse frem for de andre. Denne besad medfødte mirakuløse egenskaber, var en inkarnation af de døde og var født fra et blod-æg.

Den buddhistiske tradition, der hævder forfaderens nedstamning fra et indisk dynasti, har to udviklingstrin i den proces, der førte til overtagelse af førbuddhistiske forestillinger. Den ældste tager sit udgangspunkt i forestillingen om tre sønner, medens den yngre tager sit udgangspunkt i Bon traditionerne om gudesønnen *gÑa'*-khri-btsan-po.

*Bya*-khri repræsenterer det første led i traditionen om dynastiets forfader eller stamfader, forankret i før-Bon-po forestillingerne. *Nar-la-skyes* repræsenterer den oprindelige Bon-po forestilling, og *Ru-la-skyes* det stede indenfor Bon-po forestillingerne, hvor det overnaturlige moment skilles fra kongen, dvs. da før-Bon forestillingerne om kongen erstattes af Bon-po forestillingen alene.

## Kapitel 10:

*Traditionerne om gÑa'-khri-btsan-po: gSañ-ba Chos-lugs, Grags-pa Bon-lugs og Yañ-bśaṅ-lugs.*

Overleveringen om den første tibetanske konge, gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, kendes næsten alene fra buddhistiske kilder. Derfor er den buddhistiske version oftest den eneste kendte, men bag den skjuler sig andre versioner. Indtil nu har man kun kendt den buddhistiske version og enkelte træk af Bon-po versionen. Af en tredje version har man indtil nu kun kendt navnet. Disse tre versioner eller traditioner kaldes på tibetansk for: *gSañ-ba Chos-lugs* (den Esoteriske buddhistiske Tradition), *Grags-pa Bon-lugs* (den Velkendte Bon-po Tradition), og *Yañ-bśaṅ The'u-raṅ-lugs* (den Yderst Esoteriske The'u-raṅ Tradition).

Ved en lykkelig omstændighed besidder Det kongelige Bibliotek, København, et manuskript, der for første gang belyser alle tre versioner eller traditioner. Dette tibetanske manuskript, bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu, erhvervedes for Biblioteket af H. k. H. Prins Peter under mindeekspeditionen for H. Haslund-Christensen i Sikkim. Dette manuskript danner nøglen til en forståelse af traditionerne bag Dynastiet og er indtil nu den eneste tekst, der giver så fyldige oplysninger, at den kan danne basis for en undersøgelse af de udviklede traditioner og forklaringer, der gives i tibetanske værker om Dynastiets oprindelse og karakter. De tre kapitler, der belyser disse emner, er offentliggjort i Appendix II og de enkelte kapitler er oversat i dette og følgende kapitler.

*gSañ-ba Chos-lugs*, den buddhistiske tradition, beretter om gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's nedstamning fra et indisk dynasti, et af Śākya dynastierne på Buddha Śākyamunis tid. Hvilket dynasti der er tale om, hersker der uenighed om i kilderne.

Der kan skelnes imellem to lag indenfor den buddhistiske tradition, en ældre der bygger på den brahmanske tradition baseret på Mahābharata og kampen imellem Kuru og Pāṇḍusønnerne, og en yngre der bygger på overleveringerne om Śākyadynastierne.

I begge disse lag er de mirakuløse tegn, hvormed gÑa'-khri-btsan-po er udstyret, et meget vigtigt element. De identificeres med tegnene på en Cakravartin eller en verdenshersker, eller med de såkaldte Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa og Anuvyaṅjana, tegnene på en Buddha. De tegn, der altid nævnes, er fugleøjne, der lukkes nedefra opad, fingre og tær forbundet med (svømme)hud, turkisøjnebryn eller hår, og medfødte tænder i underkæben. En sammenligning med de indiske tegn viser, at disse tibetanske tegn på forfaderen intet har med tegnene på en Cakravartin eller en Buddha at gøre. De er tegnene på Dynastiets stamfader, dets "totem", der derfor har været forestillet som en fugl, Bya. En sådan Fugleklan kendes fra Yar-luṅ.

*Grags-pa Bon-lugs*, Bon-po traditionen, beretter om stamfaderens oprindelse fra Srid-pa'i lHa eller blot lHa, de himmelske guder. Denne tradition, hvis fundamentale beskrivelse af kongen er lHa-sras, Gude-Søn, er for første gang tilgængelig i et større, sammenhængende hele gennem oversættelsen fra bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu. Indholdet herfra danner grundlaget for undersøgelserne i de næste kapitler.

*Yañ-bśaṅ-lugs*, traditionen der kun kendes tidligere fra to tvetydige referencer i den tibetanske litteratur, får ligeledes sin første offentliggørelse her gennem oversættelsen fra bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu.

Ifølge *Yañ-bśaṅ* nedstammer Dynastiets stamfader fra The'u-braṅ og landet sPo-bo eller sPu-yul. Dvs. at han nedstammer fra Te eller The, hovedgruppen indenfor et ældre theogonisk system. Disse Te er nært knyttet til forestillingen om verdensguderne Guṅ-rgyal, om de døde eller mTshun, og i visse sammenhænge med forestillingen om kosmos i form af et telt. Disse forestillinger er knyttet til et matriarkalsk, religiøst system, der opererede med et kvindeligt ophav. Gennem sin oprindelse fra landet sPu eller sPo-bo er stamfaderen knyttet til de døde, han er śugs-pa, en inkarnation af de døde.

## Kapitel 11:

*Myten om gÑa'-khri-btsan-po: forklaringen på Yar-luṅ Dynastiets oprindelse, den historiske realitet bag gÑa'-khri-btsan-po og gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's stamtavle.*

I de følgende kapitler behandles Bon-po traditionen om gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, således som den kendes fra Bon-po kilder og fra Bon-po traditioner optaget i den buddhistiske tradition.

Den etiologiske forklaring på stamfaderens komme ligger i en indre splittelse blandt de tibetanske folk i mange småstater, der var under fare for undertrykkelse fra alle verdenshjørner, en fare der var personificeret i de fire verdenshjørners herskere. Der var ingen fælles leder eller hersker for alle de tibetanske folk, og tibetanerne var ikke i stand til at forsvare sig mod eller etablere regulerede forhold til de guddommelige og dæmoniske magter i landet, manifestationerne af de døde. Til at sørge for alt dette søgtes en hersker.

I den etiologiske forklaring er der to traditioner, en der knytter sig til forestillingen om en lokal hersker, sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, og som gengiver det religiøst-mytiske aspekt i det etiologiske motiv, og en anden, der knytter sig til forestillingen om en alttibetansk stamfader, repræsenteret ved gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, og som gengiver det realitetsbetonede aspekt.

Bag gÑa'-khri-btsan-po som stamfader til Yar-luñ Dynastiet skjuler sig tre opfattelser; stamfaderen til et enkelt lokalt dynasti, den fælles stamfader til flere (tre) lokale dynastier, samt stamfaderen til de tibetanske konger i deres egenskab af alttibetanske konger.

I alle versioner, hvor gÑa'-khri-btsan-po som guddommeligt eller mirakuløst væsen stiger ned fra himlen for at blive menneskenes hersker, opfattes han som den stamfader, med hvem den tibetanske kongeværdighed blev indført; men det er vel at mærke den kongeværdighed, der er knyttet til kongerne i det tibetanske rige kendt fra historisk tid, riget under kongerne af Yar-luñ.

I de ældre lag i traditionerne er gÑa'-khri-btsan-po stamfaderen til et lokalt dynasti, i de yngre lag er han stamfaderen for de alttibetanske konger. Beretningerne om Tibets splittelse i de mange småstater, rGyal-phran, er knyttet til gÑa'-khri-btsan-po som alttibetansk stamfader i skikkelse af 'O-lde-spu-rgyal. Splittelsen fremtræder som en historisk realitet da Dynastiet blev etableret, men traditionerne henfører det til et endnu tidligere, præhistorisk tidspunkt.

Når præhistorie ses i forbindelse med Tibets historie, findes et præhistorisk fortillfælde i de kinesiske beretningers omtale af fyrsten Fan-ni af T'u-fa klanen, der omkring 433 drog ind i det tibetanske stammeområde og skabte en stat blandt dem. Situationen dengang og situationen beskrevet i forbindelse med Dynastiets stamfader stemmer overens. De kinesiske kilder anfører desuden, at Fan-ni antog navnet 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, hvilket navn benyttes for både gÑa'-khri-btsan-po og de enkelte konger af Dynastiet. Det alttibetanske aspekt i traditionerne om gÑa'-khri-btsan-po svarer derfor til dette præhistoriske fortillfælde for et dynastis begyndelse. Nogen direkte forbindelse mellem de to begivenheder er ikke nogen nødvendighed, men muligheden herfor kan ikke udelukkes.

gÑa'-khri-btsan-po, den første konge af Yar-luñ Dynastiet, havde selv en oprindelse og en slægt, men om disse er der meget forskellige beretninger. Foruden gSañ-ba traditionen om oprindelsen fra et indisk dynasti og Yañ-bsañ traditionen om oprindelsen fra sPu-yul og The'u-brañ, findes der Bon-po traditionen om hans nedstamning fra lHa eller Srid-pa'i lHa, de himmelske guder. Der findes enkelte overleverede stamtavler for hans guddommelige afstamning. Disse gennemgås og kommenteres, da de i vid udstrækning indeholder hentydninger til forhold, der er lidet kendt for os. For at uddybe disse forhold inddrages også gudernes stamtavler i undersøgelsen. I disse stamtavler optræder hentydninger til skabelsesberetninger, såsom verdenen i form af en æske, ga'u, hvori skabelsen begyndte med det hvide og det sorte lys, til opfattelsen af verdenen i form af et knækket æg, om de tibetanske stammers oprindelse herfra, og om det første menneske, Ye-smon-rgyal-po. Der omtales menneskenes, kongernes og gudernes fælles oprindelse fra Yab-lha-bdag-drug, det personificerede udtryk for de døde.

Desuden findes spredte antydninger af gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's oprindelse fra 'Od-gsal-lha, Lyseguderne. Begrebet lyseguder er ellers ukendt i de tibetanske overleveringer, og bag denne tradition ligger der da også det buddhistiske begreb 'Od-gsal, betegnelsen på mellemtilstanden mellem to verdensperioder, en tilstand hvori alt i kosmos lever imellem to epoker. Bag det skjuler sig også den tibetanske forestilling om 'O(d)-(l)de, "Guden fra 'O-distriktet i Koñ-po".

Fra vigtige kilder kendes også omtalen af hans nedstamning fra Mu, dMu, rMu eller sMu. Mu viser sig at være betegnelsen for hele det gudesystem, hvori Te eller The danner hovedgruppen. gÑa'-khri-btsan-po's oprindelse fra Mu er derfor det samme som hans oprindelse fra The'u-brañ i henhold til Yañ-bsañ traditionen.

Betegnelsen Srid-pa'i lHa, fra hvilke han ifølge Bon-po traditionen nedstammede, hentyder også til denne oprindelse. Ordet srid-pa viser sig gennem sin betydning af undfangelse at have forbindelse med det matriarkalske system bag Mu og The'u-brañ. Betegnelsen Srid-pa'i lHa viser derfor hen til en tradition, der bygger på både før-Bon-po og Bon-po traditioner.

### *Kapitel 12.*

*Det gamle tibetanske verdensbillede: de territoriale forestillinger om Tibet i forbindelse med legenderne om Yar-luñ Dynastiets oprindelse, det tibetanske verdensbilledes udvikling og betydningen af ru og rus.*

Foruden et verdensbillede i det lodrette plan findes der i de tibetanske kilder også et billede heraf i det vandrette plan. Dette kan have meget forskellig størrelse i territorial henseende, men det almindeligste er identisk med det indisk-buddhistiske verdensbillede med et centralt verdensbjerg omgivet af kontinenterne, bjergkæderne og oceanet. Dette verdensbillede er det almindeligste i den tibetanske litteratur, men i forbindelse med beretningerne om Dynastiets oprindelse optræder forestillinger om et langt mere begrænset verdensbillede. I forbindelse med Gri-gum-btsan-po og hans sønner optræder et verdensbillede, der omfatter de fire centraltibetanske områder Ñañ-po, Koñ-po, sPo-bo eller Dwags-po og Yar-luñ. I forbindelse med gÑa'-khri-btsan-po optræder kun de to områder Koñ-po og Yar-luñ. Den ældste tradition om Tibets udstrækning omfatter kun distrikterne Ñañ-po, Koñ-po og Dwags-po.

Det oprindelige verdensbillede i tilknytning til Yar-luñ Dynastiet omfattede derfor de fire distrikter i Centraltibet Ñañ-po, Koñ-po, Dwags-po eller sPo-bo og Yar-luñ. Placeret geografisk danner de en trekant, hvis vinkelspidser er Ñañ-po, Koñ-po og Dwags-po eller sPo-bo. Det fjerde distrikt Yar-luñ ligger på forbindelseslinien mellem Ñañ-po og Dwags-po. Et sådant trekantet verdensbillede bestående af fire komponenter dukker op igen i forbindelse med forestillingerne om de oprindelige tibetanske stammer, befolkningerne op til Tibets grænser, samt i forbindelse med farvebetegnelserne for verdenshjørnerne. I alle disse trekantverdensbilleder er hovedverdenshjørnerne NØ, SV og NV. Den fjerde retning findes ikke, hvilket svarer fuldstændigt til Landets fysiske opbygning, hvori syd er låst af gennem Himalayakæden. De forskellige billeder af verden viser en gradvis udvidelse af det tibetanske kosmos fra at omfatte Centraltibet og de fire oprindelige stammer i højlandet Tibet, til at omfatte områderne ved grænserne til det tibetanske højland, alle indskrevet i et trekantet billede, og hen til at omfatte det indiske verdensbillede med dets fire verdenshjørner.

I forbindelse med de territoriale begreber optræder ordene *ru* og *rus*. Ru betegner en administrativ inddeling af Centraltibet i fire oprindelige distrikter. Rus betegner stamme i videste forstand, uden nogen territorial betydning. Ordet benyttes især for de fire, senere seks, oprindelige stammer, der tilsammen udgør det tibetanske folk. De har intet at gøre med Tibet som et politisk begreb, men betegner de folk, der hører sammen som tibetanere, og som numerisk har udviklet sig fra 3 plus 1 plus 2 til seks.

### *Kapitel 13:*

*Betydningen af Bod og de tibetanske herskere før gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.*

Yar-luñ Dynastiet er uløseligt knyttet til begrebet Bod, Tibet, tibetaner, tibetansk. Ganske som de tilsvarende europæiske betegnelser er ordet Bod yderst elastisk i sit betydningsindhold, betegnende Tibet, geografisk som højlandet i Centralasien, Tibet som politisk statsdannelse af større eller mindre geografisk udbredelse, men også som betegnelse for alle de områder, hvor der lever tibetanske folk.

Gennem de tibetanske kilder gives der ingen løsning på ordet Bod's oprindelige betydning. Gennem europæiske arbejder må vi antage, at Bod og Bon, betegnelsen på den før-buddhistiske religion i Tibet, hører sammen. Bod betyder da "den der anråber". Bod er da først indført samtidig med Bon-religionen og er således en betegnelse, der hører sammen med Yar-luñ Dynastiet. Den kinesiske betegnelse for

Tibet, benyttet samtidig med Yar-luñ kongerne, er i moderne transkription T'u-fan. Den rigtige gengivelse er snarere T'u-po, T'ang kinesisk T'ou'-pi<sup>w</sup>et, med betydningen "de Bod (Tibetanere) der er under T'u(-fa klanen)", dvs. tibetanerne under Fan-ni's ledelse.

I forbindelse med beretningerne om de tibetanske herskere før gÑa'-khri-btsan-po forekommer en række navne for Tibet. Men disse er alle lokale og tidsbestemte. Intet af dem er et navn for Tibet i forhistorisk tid. Der findes ikke noget navn for det område hvorfra eller gennem hvilket Yar-luñ Dynastiet udvikledes.

#### *Kapitel 14:*

*Betydningen af spu og dets afledninger, således som det forekommer i traditionerne om Dynastiet.*

I forbindelse med fundamentale begreber, knyttet til Dynastiet og kongerne, optræder ordene spu og spur, således i sPu(r)-rgyal, sPu-yul, sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, osv.

Tydningen af disse ord ligger i komplekset omkring Gri-gum-btsan-po's død og sPu-de-guñ-rgyal, hans efterfølger og Dynastiets grundlægger, samt i formålet med kongens komme her i menneskenes verden.

Kongen kom af hensyn til menneskene, mi, bod-mi eller dud-rdog, der truedes af de farlige magter omkring dem; han kom som jævnbyrdig med disse magter, sa-dog eller dog-yab, dvs. de personificerede døde eller dødeverdenens magter. Kongen udtrykker Bon-religionens militante aspekt, og i hans evne til at beherske og undertvinge dødeverdenens magter ligger det altafgørende og oprindelige motiv til forfaderkongens tilsynekomst og grundlaget for Yar-luñ kongernes religiøse status. Dette oprindelige motiv genfindes i den buddhistiske traditions påstand om hans oprindelse fra Buddha gennem Śākya-dynastierne og hans deraf følgende status som verdenskonge og Buddhismens beskytter. Det samme fremgår af Yañ-bsañ traditionen, ifølge hvilken han tilhører begge eksistenser, de levendes og de døde. Herigennem behersker han begge verdener. Nøjagtigt det samme findes i Bon-po traditionen, hvor han ved at nedstamme fra lHa, gennem Yab-lha-bdag-drug er beslægtet med de døde.

Denne forbindelse med de døde og indførelse af nye begravelsesskikke under sPu-de-guñ-rgyal giver forklaringen på spu og spur. Bag begge ligger betydningen "lig", spur i betydningen "det rituelt ubehandlede lig" og spu "det rituelt behandlede lig". sPu-yul betyder derfor de Dødes Land, dvs. Tibet, hvor døde og levende ifølge før-Bon-po religionen levede sammen. sPu-rgyal, titlen på de tibetanske konger betyder derfor tibetanernes konge, i betydningen Døde-kongen.

#### *Kapitel 15:*

*Den tibetanske konges død og begravelse.*

De praktiske virkninger af forestillingerne omkring Yar-luñ Dynastiet i form af skikke eller ritus er kun sjældent kendt. Kun i forbindelse med kongernes begravelse og deres grave har vi et større kilde-materiale til vor rådighed.

Beretningerne om Kong Gri-gum-btsan-po og dennes død er en beskrivelse af en konges død og begravelse. Kampen med ministeren er forklaringen på, hvorfor en konge må dø før tiden, og overskæringen af forbindelsen med himlen, dMu-tråden, er det praktiske resultat heraf. En tibetansk konge må dø i tilfælde af mentale forstyrrelser som megalomani, der følger af fejhed eller af manglende vilje til at gennemføre sine religiøse forpligtelser. Desuden må en tibetansk konge dø, når hans søn og efterfølger når myndighedsalderen på 13 tibetanske år. Dernæst må han søge døden i tilfælde af fysiske defekter, forårsaget ved sygdom. Ingen kunne blive konge med fysiske defekter.

Beretningerne omkring Gri-gum-btsan-po og hans skæbne indeholder beskrivelser af begravelsesskikkene: indsnittene på liget, indgnidningen med zinner, fletningen af håret og opbevaringen af liget

til en foreløbig forrådnelse før den endelige begravelse. Ligeledes omtales ofringen af mennesker, de repræsentanter for de ledende klaner indenfor riget, der var adopterede brødre til den døde konge.

Der var fire hovedpunkter i den tibetanske konges begravelse: dødsfaldet, overførelsen af liget til et foreløbigt opbevaringssted, riñ-khañ, en behandling af liget med henblik på den endelige begravelse, btol-ba, og den endelige begravelse, mdad-btañ. Mellem første og sidste punkt forløb to år, i alt tre år af den tibetanske dyrecyclus. En gennemgang af et manuskript om begravelsen, udgivet af M. Lalou, den største og eneste samtidige beskrivelse af begravelserne, men desværre fragmentarisk, viser, at dette manuskript kun beskriver den allersidste del af den endelige begravelse.

Dødsriterne og begravelsesritualet viser, at den tilgrundliggende forestilling var den dødes fortsatte eksistens, og det endelige formål var oprettelsen af et sted, tilfredsstillende for den døde, men stadig eksisterende konge, indenfor gravens grænser. Det drejede sig ikke om at sikre den døde konge en himmelsk tilværelse blandt lHa. Derfor indrettedes overdådige gravkamre, nedlagdes kostbarheder og daglige nødvendighedsgenstande og ofredes heste og kvæg.

Den døde konge ændres fra at være et inaktivt lig, spur, ved begravelsen og placeringen i graven til at være et rituelt behandlet lig, spu, der i graven bliver en aktivt virkende død i dødeverdenen, gsin-po, farlig for de levende, gson-po. Derfor udfører Bon-po præsterne ceremonier, der afskærer den døde konge fra de levende, de "afskærer bDud". Gravområdet bliver et døde-domæne, et necropol, afskåret fra de levende menneskers territorium. De mennesker, der skal vogte og passe gravene, antager karakter af døde, de bliver selv i levende live "døde".

Omstændighederne ved de tibetanske kongers begravelse afslører, at den er baseret på forestillinger om en todelt verden, at kongen ved at blive anbragt i graven vender tilbage til sin oprindelse, rum. Ved at liget anbringes i en lukket kobberkedel, placeres det symbolsk i et kosmos, bestående af top og bund, det todelte kosmos forestillet som en æske, ga'u. Disse begravelseskikke har intet tilfælles med Bon-po forestillingerne, men går tilbage til før-Bon forestillinger. Kun igennem gravens placering på eller i jorden og ved at kalde graven for ri, et bjerg, ledes tankerne hen på Bon-po.

## *Kapitel 16:*

### *De tibetanske kongegrave, deres enkelte dele, opbygning, navne og placering.*

Som fastslået af Giuseppe Tucci og andre ligger de tibetanske kongegrave fra Dynastiets tid i Yar-luñ, i Sydtibet. Gennem beskrivelserne af dem kan det fastslås, at følgende elementer hørte med til udformningen af gravene: et indviet område, et gravkammer med en høj over, et sted til offergaver og begravelsesudstyret, et kapel til anakulten, en stensøjle med indskrift fortællende om den afdøde og hans slægt, samt grave til dem, der fulgte den afdøde i graven.

Gravkammeret var altid firkantet, kvadratisk, men gravhøjen opkastet over graven var oprindeligt cirkulær, senere blev også den kvadratisk. Det kvadratiske gravkammer var inddelt i ni indskrevne kvadrater, re'u-mig. Det midterste kvadrat benyttedes til selve gravkammeret, de otte andre til offergaverne, de var skatkamre.

Kapellet for anakulten var femdelt og formet som et kors med indgang mod vest. Grundplanet indeholdt desuden svastikategnet.

Gravnavnene var alle karakteriseret ved stavelsen ri, bjerg. Ganske som kongenavnene bestod de af fire stavelser og var karakteristiske for hver enkelt konge, ganske som kongenavnene.

Vi kender tre skildringer af gravene fra øjenvidner, men ingen af dem stemmer overens m.h. til disses identificering. Intet nøjagtigt kort over gravområdet er tilgængeligt, men ved at tegne et oversigtskort over de højder i landskabet, der kan skjule grave, på grundlag af tilgængelige kortskitser, fotografier og skemaer, har vi forsøgt en bestemmelse af gravene. Ved at samle alle litterære kilders beskrivelser af gravene og deres indbyrdes placering, kan man forbinde de i landskabet forekommende høje med kildernes beskrivelser af gravene, når man befinder sig på et bestemt sted i forhold til gravpladsen.



- Appendix I:* Transkription og oversættelse af Tun-huang Ms. 250 Paris.
- Appendix II:* Transkription og faksimile af bŚad-mdzod yid-bźin-nor-bu, kapitel 32–34.
- Appendix III:* Eksempel på hvorledes en tibetansk tekst er sammensat af forskellige episke fragmenter.
- Appendix IV:* Tibetansk kronologi: Den oldtibetanske rækkefølge af årstiderne var sommer, efterår, vinter og forår. Året var et luni-solar år med nytår i perioden 24/25 maj til 19/20 juli. Kongernes endelige begravelse fandt sted om vinteren, i perioden 3/13 november til 1/10 december.



## Notes

The notes are arranged in consecutive order within the single sections and chapters, as indicated below.

### *Introduction, pp. 11–18*

1. See especially G. Tucci 194; 195; 196. H. E. Richardson, *Tibet and its history*, London 1962. L. Petech, *Tibet. Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Herausgegeben von B. Spuler), 1. Abt., 5. Bd., 5. Abschnitt, Leiden 1966, p. 311–47. H. Hoffmann, "Tibets Eintritt in die Universalgeschichte", *Saeculum* I, 1950, p. 258–79.
2. See L. Petech, *Documenti dei missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, Vol. I–VII, Roma 1952–56.
3. The monumental study by R.-A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, Paris 1959. *Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises*, Volume XIII, has not been utilized here on account of the late date of the Ge-sar cycle, and on account of the very composite character of the Ge-sar texts, which presuppose a study of the present type before the overwhelming amount of material in the Ge-sar texts can be utilized.
4. Therefore, the translations of the Pad-ma bka'i-thaṅ-yig into French by G.-Ch. Toussaint, *Le Dict de Padma*, Paris 1933. *Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises*, Volume III, is almost intelligible. His rendering into French of Tibetan phrases and terms is too free and too many names are translated, quite often in a way not intended by the original expressions.
5. For the gTer-ma see G. Tucci 194.109 ff.
6. For the rules of number-references see p. 30.

### *Problems of translation and language, pp. 26–29*

1. See *Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan languages* (edt. by R. Shafer), I–II, Wiesbaden 1957–63.
2. See 191.
3. See 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11.
4. Of the two suffixes *-d* and *-s*, *-d* is only preserved in later Tibetan after vowels, not as *-s* which is also preserved after consonantal endings.
5. Prefix *'-* may in some cases be substituted by prefix *m-*.
6. Employed in Classical Tibetan below a gSal-byed to denote a long vowel.
7. In cases where *ya* is the stem having a prefix written before itself, our transcription employs an apostrophe, e.g. g'yag.
8. Also employed for final *-gs*.

### *Chapter 1, pp. 33–44*

1. A selected bibliography on the history of the Yar-luṅ Dynasty is available through the notes in 186.65–78. To be supplemented through the annual bibliographies in *Journal of Asian Studies*, formerly *Far Eastern Quarterly*. See also L. Petech, *T'oung Pao* XLVI, 1958, pp. 465–483, and R.-A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine*, Paris 1962, *passim*.
2. Translated p. 231.
3. Translated p. 143.
4. Error in the blockprint for *btsan*.
5. Copied from the handwritten transcription made by Jülg; see 159.34 f. The transcription of Jülg has been maintained.
6. See 69. *Tabelle I*; 177.23–30,165; Liu Li-ch'ien, *Hsü-Ts'ang shih-chien* (Tibetan history after Laṅdarma). Chengtu 1945, *passim*; B. Aoki, *Study on early Tibetan chronicles*, Tokyo 1955, *passim*. See also Tucci 193, *Tables*.

### *Chapter 2, pp. 45–71*

1. The standard reference names are printed in italics in the following Tables III and IV.
2. See p. 266 f.
3. See p. 301 ff.
4. Posthumous name. For etiological legend see p. 146.
5. *lCam*, consort.
6. See note 5 above.
7. See note 5 above.

8. *rGyal* = rGyal-po, king.
9. 'O-ma-ste, the District of 'O-ma.
10. 'O-za-te, somehow a misinterpretation of 'O-ma-ste (see note 9 above) and 'O-za, the Queen from 'O.
11. *rJe-ma(mo)*, Female Ruler.
12. (*Bri*-)Se-btsun, the bTsun-mo (Queen) from (Bri-)Se, or originally Se-mtshun, the Dead ancestor from Se (the Grave). Bri may be short for 'Briñ-mo, the Middle One.
13. For *bTsun* see note 12 above.
14. For *bTsun* see note 12 above. *Mañ-ma-rje*, title corresponding to Man-po-rje.
15. 'O-ma-l(s)de-(b)za(') 'Bri-btsun, the Queen from the district 'O-ma, the Middle Queen. See notes 9 and 12 above.
16. *sMan-bza'*, the Queen of sMan.
17. *Ru-yoñ-bza'*, the Queen of the Ru-yoñ Clan.
18. *g(r)No-za*, the Queen of g(r)No. *Mañ(-po-rje)*, title, see note 14 above.
19. 'Bro(ñ)-(b)za('), the Queen of the 'Bro(ñ) Clan.
20. *mChims-(b)za(')*, the Queen of the mChims Clan.
21. 'Ol-god-(b)za('), the Queen of the 'Ol-god Clan. 'Ol-goñ is a misreading of 'Ol-god.
22. *Tshe(s)-(s)poñ-(b)za(')*, the Queen of the Tshe-spoñ Clan. 'Bri(ñ)-(b)za('), Middle Queen, see note 12 above. 'Bri(ñ)-ma, the Middle Female One, instead of 'Bri(ñ)-bza'.
23. *Bal-mo-bza'*, the Queen, the Nepalese. *Khri-btsun*, Throne-Queen.
24. *lHa-gcig*, Lord, Lady.
25. 'Phags-ma, Sanskrit Āryā.
26. *Jo-mo*, Mistress.
27. *Žañ-žuñ-bza'*, the Queen of the *Žañ-žuñ* Country.
28. *Ru-yoñ-bza'*, see note 17 above.
29. *Mi-ñag-bza'*, the Queen of the Mi-ñag People.
30. Daughter of the King of Mi-ñag.
31. Chinese Wên-ch'êng Kung-chu.
32. *lHa-gcig*, see note 24 above.
33. *sGrol-ma*, Sanskrit Tārā. 'Phags-ma, see note 25 above.
34. *Jo-mo*, see note 26 above.
35. *rGya-mo-bza'*, The Chinese, the Queen.
36. *Moñ-za*, *Moñ-bza'*, the Queen of Moñ.
37. *Khri-lcam*, Throne-consort.
38. *Khri-btsun*, see note 23 above.
39. *sTod-luñ Moñ*, Moñ in sTod-luñ.
40. *Mañ-mo-rje*, see note 14 above.
41. 'A-ža-bza', the Queen of the 'A-ža People. *Moñ-rje*, short for Mañ-mo-rje, see note 14 above.
42. 'Bro-bza', the Queen of the 'Bro Clan. *Khri-sten*, Throne-Top. Maybe the same as *bTsan-mo Ga-tun* in 1.20/42.
43. 'Bro-khri-chen, Great-Throne from 'Bro.
44. *Mañ-po-rje*, title, see note 14 above.
45. The Queen of the Cog-ro Clan in 'Dam.
46. *mChims-(b)za(')*, see note 20 above. *bTsan-ma*, corresponds to bTsun-mo, Queen.
47. Chinese Chin-ch'êng Kung-chu.
48. *bTsan-mo* corresponds to bTsun-mo, Queen. See note 46 above.
49. *lCam*, see note 5 above.
50. 'Jañ-mo, the Woman of 'Jañ. *Khri-btsun*, see note 23 above.
51. *Jo-mo*, see note 26 above.
52. *sNa-nam-bza'*, the Queen from the sNa-nam Clan. *Mañ-mo-rje*, see note 14 above.
53. The way in which -sruom- is written suggests a choice between the vowels u and o.
54. *mNa'-bdag*, see p. 71.
55. 'Chims-bza', see note 20 above.
56. *mKhar-chen-bza'*, the Queen of mKhar-chen.
57. 'Bro(ñ)-bza', the Queen of the 'Bro Clan.
58. *Khri-rgyal*, Throne-Queen. *Mañ-mgo-btsun*, Queen of Many Heads.
59. See note 26 above.
60. *Khyi-rgyal*, error for Khri-rgyal, see note 58 above. The interchange of -r- and -y- as occurring in khyi and khri, is most certainly based on the similarity of -r- and -y- in the cursive writing. The interchange of khyi and khri is also manifest from the Koñ-po inscription (20).  
*Mañ-mo-btsan*, corresponds to Mañ-mo-rje, see note 14 above.
61. *Pho-yoñ-bza'*, the Queen of the Pho-yoñ Clan. *rGyal-mo-btsun*, Queen-Queen, the later and the earlier words for the consort of a bTsan-po. In later time btsun received the meaning of noble.
62. *Tshe(s)-(s)poñ-bza'*, see note 22 above.
63. *Pho-yoñ-bza'*, see note 61 above.
64. *Ru-yoñ-bza'*, the Queen of the Ru-yoñ Clan.
65. Nickname?, identical with the honorific name of King 33. For his other name from the Chinese sources *Ju-tse*, etc. see 157. passim.
66. *mNa'-bdag*, see p. 71.

67. *mChims-rgyal-bza'*, the Queen of the *mChims-rgyal* Clan.
68. *Cog-ro-bza'*, the Queen of the *Cog-ro* Clan.
69. *'Bro-za*, see note 19 above. *Mañ-mo-rje*, see note 14 above.
70. *mÑa'-bdag*, see p. 71.
71. Tibetan rendering of the Chinese name of this king, K'a-li-k'a-tsu (see p. 64).
72. *mÑa'-bdag*, see p. 71.
73. *lÑa'-bdag*, error for *mÑa'-bdag*.
74. *Cog-bza'*, the Queen of the *Cog-ro* Clan.
75. Tibetan rendering of the Chinese name of this king, Ta-mo (see p. 66).
76. See 171. passim; 168. passim; 177.34 f.; 221.87; B. I. Kuznecov, *Tibetskaja letopis' "Svetloe zercalo carskich rodoslovných"*, Leningrad 1961. p. 83 ff. See also 151, various notes, and P. Pelliot, "Quelques transcriptions chinoises de noms tibétains", TP 1915.
77. For *Tsu-chih-chien* see 157. passim. For *Hu-t'i-hsi-p'u-yeh* see p. 319.
78. See 91.108v.
79. Discussed by G. Tucci in 193. note 8.
80. Corr. *de'i*.
81. See 180.24–25, note 23.
82. Commented upon by Li (168).
83. Transcribed *'ond* in the edition of Bacot and Toussaint (1). According to G. Uray (198.331) it must be rendered *bond*.
84. See also 193. note 8.
85. See 225.205.30v ff.
86. See 213.97.7v ff. and 213.196A.9r ff.
87. For these sons see 157.125–64.
88. *Don-gcig-pa*, "the single and sole meaning", i.e. the homonymous (link).
89. *sPye*, derives from *dbye-ba*, distinctive feature. *sPye* is a causative-transitive derivative and means "that which constitutes the distinctive feature", i.e. the fundamental significance.
90. See 195.41,73.
91. See the problem discussed in 188.238–64.
92. *mTshan-gsol* = *mtshan gsol-ba*, see 10.48; 150.1036; 163.454.
93. This is expressed in the text of the treaty of 821–22, see 18.66. The official Tibetan conception of this relationship is expressed by W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet, A political history*, New Haven and London 1967.
94. See 176.67 f. and 124 f.
95. On the Tibetan ordinances respecting rank and precedence see 197.75 ff. and M. Lalou, "Revendications des fonctionnaires du Grand Tibet au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle". J. A. 1955, 171–212.
96. See 196.199–201.
97. In this connection we must consider the names of the royal tombs listed p. 391–92, which were as characteristic to each king as his regal name. These have the same structure as the supposedly posthumous names.

### Chapter 3, pp. 72–91

1. See 157.147–48. See also p. 159.
2. The results of the early Buddhist historiography are the sources for that complex of historical texts called *gTer-ma*, of which we now have access to 18 different ones. Some of them have been commented upon by Tucci in 194.109 ff.
3. See G. Tucci's short synopsis of Tibetan historiography in 194.
4. The reconstruction of the Tibetan names is based on the Chinese renderings of the original Tibetan version by *Shalo-pa*. See also 169.115.
5. See 193.315–16.
6. *bLa-bžed*, is one of a series of three historical works. The two others are *rGyal-bžed* and *sBa-bžed*. See 184.V; 195.79 note 49; R.-A. Stein, *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa-bžed*. Paris 1961. Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Textes et Documents I.
7. The three kings in question are *lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan*, *Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po*, and *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan*. The three acts by which they are characterized are employed by Tibetan authors to distinguish them and the period of which they are the beginning within the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet. The *dBu-brñes-pa* is the falling down from above of the holy objects upon the castle of *Yum-bu-bla-sgan*, the *Srol-gtod* is the founding of *Ra-mo-che* and the calling of Indian monks, and the *Dar-ziñ rgyas-par-mdzad-pa* is the initiation of the first Tibetan monks in the newly founded *bSam-yas* monastery.
8. *sPañ-skoñ phyag-rgya-pa*, a text included in Kanjur, *lHa-sa* ed. *mDo, Za*, 52v–58r (Tōhōku nr. 267).
9. *Yi-ge-drug-pa*, *Šaṭakṣara*, the Six Letters, is the formula *Om ma-ñi pad-me hūm!* It is the essential formula of the *Karaṇḍavyūha-mahāyāna-sūtra* or *Za-ma-tog bkod-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa-chen-po'i-mdo*, a sūtra included in Kanjur, *lHa-sa* edition *mDo, Ja*, 314v–388r. It is also included in the *Mañi-bka'-'bum* (34.E.82r–140v). A whole section of the *Mañi-bka'-'bum* is devoted to the *Yi-ge-drug-pa* (34.E.286r ff.).
10. *Tsindha-ma-ñi skos-phor* also called *Tsintā-ma-ñi'i-gzuñs* by *Deb-ther-sñon-po* (184.38), is probably the text now included in *Mañi-bka'-'bum*, *Thugs-rje-chen-po'i sems rgya-cher-yoñs-su-rdzogs-pa žes-bya-ba'i gzuñs* (34.E.140v–185r).

11. They were considered incarnations of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuṣa, and Vajrapāṇi, or sPyan-ras-gzigs, 'Jam-dpal-dbyaṅs, and Phyang-na-rdo-rje, respectively.
12. See p. 106 ff.
13. See notes 8, 9, and 10 above.
14. In connection with this discussion of the various ways of counting the kings of the Yar-luñ Dynasty it may be appropriate to mention the existence of a *quite particular tradition*, which numbers forty-two kings before gLañ-Dar-ma, while the main traditions A and B number only forty-one and thirty-nine kings respectively.

The most prominent exponent of this particular tradition is 'Gos Lo-tṣā-ba gZon-nu-dpal, who in his Deb-ther-sñon-po (184.648) related with some pride that "from gÑa'-khri-btsan-po 'Od-lde till Ral-pa-can, 42 kings, without interruption of the line, protected their Tibetan subjects. Long was their lineage and great was their grace."

*This tradition is false and due to a misinterpretation of the historical events.* The number of forty-two kings is derived, not by a special way of counting the prehistoric kings, but by *introducing*, between Mu-ne-btsan-po and Mu-tig-btsan-po Sad-na-legs, a king who is unknown to all Tibetan sources with the exception of the few ones which are primarily based on Chinese records, such as Deb-ther-sñon-po (184.52) which quotes rGya'i-yig-tshañ in the version of Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, and the rGya-dpe quoted by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (64.131r).

As outlined in a previous paper (157), this interpolated king, Dzu-che-btsan-po or Tsu-chi-chien, whose possible existence and real identity has hitherto remained an unsolved enigma in Tibetan history, was *no king but a usurper*. He was the *elder brother of Sad-na-legs*, the prince Mu-rug-btsan-po who, under the pretext of being the guardian of his younger, evidently quite insignificant brother, the legitimate king, was the king de facto from the murder of King Mu-ne-btsan-po in 799/800 A.D. until he was murdered himself in 804 A.D. and the power was seized by the Buddhist hierarchy, the legitimate king still remaining a shadow king.

#### Chapter 4, pp. 92–98

1. See 159.13–16, 26–48, where W. Heissig points out the influence of Tibetan historical tradition upon the Mongolian one, mainly through the Śes-bya rab-gsal by 'Phags-pa and the translation into Mongolian of Tibetan historical records. See also K. Jahn, "An Indian legend on the descent of the Mongols", *Charisteria Orientalia præcipue ad Persiam pertinentia*, Praha 1956, 120–27.
2. Corresponds to gÑa'-khri-btsan-po.
3. For the problem of *me-mer* see p. 139.
4. Referring to the account of Gri-gum-btsan-po 80.4–5.
5. See Pavel Poucha, "Zum Stammbaum der Tschingis Khan", *Asiatica*, Leipzig 1954, pp. 442–52.
6. Tibetan: rGyal-rigs brgyud-pa'i rgyal-po bdun.

#### Chapter 5, pp. 99–125

1. Obviously the technique of making casein of milk and employing this chemically very resistant "glue" as cement together with earth or sand in building houses.
2. Yar-luñ or later Yar-kluñs, is the river basin or system of river valleys to the south of the River gTsañ-po, having its northern outlet at the present town of rTse-taṅ (see 108. map B and passim; 161. passim; 195. passim). It is now divided into two main river basins, Yar-kluñs to the East and 'Phyoñs-rgyas to the West. Formerly the rivers through these river valleys were called Yar-mo and Dar-mo respectively. These rivers join near the castle of Yum-bu-bla-sgañ. The royal castle at the Dar-mo River was called sTag-rtse, and the district 'Phyiñ-yul or Dar-thaṅ.
3. See p. 106 ff.
4. See p. 165 ff.
5. See p. 344 f.
6. *lHu*, part of an animal. *gZug*, part of a slaughtered sheep. 'Gra related to bgrad, to open wide.
7. 'Gin-ba = 'gyiñ-ba, distinction.
8. Translation deviates from that of H. Hoffmann 162.329–30.
9. See 162.298–99; 191.419–20. *Bal-thod*, -*mtshon*, see 162.209 and 299.
10. Also translated, but differently, by R.-A. Stein (191.420). For his comments on sGruñ see 191.426–33, on lDe'u see 191.433–37, on Ro-lañs see 191.426, on Ma-sañs see 191.426.  
Stein translated (191.420) the two enigmas this way: "Le gérant des seuils dans le village a des grands joints des os (?), qu'est-ce que c'est? Le vase dont le sommet a une tête, en augmentant devient gras (?), qu'est-ce que c'est?"
11. See 162.213 f.
12. H. Hoffmann quoting the edition from the Complete Works of the Fifth Dalai Lama, reads "rMu-rgyal-gyi don bsgyur", to which he could find no certain translation (162.316).
13. See 162.211ff.
14. See 162.211 ff. See also 200.101–03.
15. See 196.199. See also p. 342.
16. A common saying according to Bañ-rim sPrul-sku Thub-bstan-zla-grags tells that: rGyal-khrims gser-gyi gñā'-śiñ / Chos-khrims dar-gyi mdud-pa "The Royal Laws are a golden yoke. The Holy Laws are silken knots!"
17. See also 200. passim.
18. The work by sDe-srid Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, 1697. See 194.148; Tōhoku nr. 7035.

19. See p. 269.
20. For *dGe-god*, *Khyuñ*, and *Me-lha* see 162. s.v.; 172. s.v.
21. An ability also known within Buddhist schools, see 192 and 194 s.v. *gTer-ston*.
22. *Ju-tig*, see 162 and 172 s.v.
23. Corresponding to oracle, "Words of God", see 172.409 ff.
24. Scapulimancy, see 172.455 f.; C. R. Bawden, "On the practice of scapulimancy among the Mongols", *Central Asiatic Journal* IV, 1958, 1-31.
25. See the quotation p. 105 from *dPa'-bo gTaug-lag*, mentioning *Tshe* and *Co(g)*.
26. See p. 364.
27. See p. 266 f.
28. The same information is contained in a note in *Bu-ston's Chronicle* quoted on p. 153-54.
29. Because *šog(s)*, besides being a suffix-particle, may also signify *wing* (Flügel), *Schlagintweit* has been misled to the translation: "Von diesem Könige wurde das Schloss zu *Phyi-dvang-stag-rtse* fertig gebaut, von ihm ist der älteste Flügel (*šogs*) des Residenz-Schlossbaues". *Francke* goes still farther from the actual meaning of the text, by writing: "That was the commencement of building palaces and forts."
30. *sKyoñ-ba*, passive voice has been chosen.
31. *sDebs* = 'debs.
32. *sTar-ka* = *stor-kha*, related to *stor-khuñ*, drain, gutter.
33. *mDzo*, crossing of yak and cow. 'Dre, mule, crossing of ass and horse, mare and stallion.

### Chapter 6, pp. 126-128

1. See F. W. Thomas, "The Tibetan alphabet", *Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundertjährigen Bestehens der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, II, Philol.-hist. Klasse, Göttingen 1951, p. 146-65.
2. For the chronological aspects, see p. 129 ff.
3. A similar list in the *bLon-po bka'i-thañ-yig* (40.7v-8v) numbers sixty-one ministers from *gÑa'-khri-btsan-po* to *Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan*. They are arranged according to their clans, without references to kings. For the present problem this list is useless because no dates are involved.

### Chapter 7, pp. 129-133

1. For this see B. Aoki, *Study on early Tibetan chronicles*, Tokyo 1955.
2. The original text runs according to A. Macdonald (169.139, note 170): *Thub-dbañ sa-pho-'brug-la 'khruñs-pa-nas / lo-grañs chig-stoñ-gsum-brgya-lña-bcu-drug / 'das-pa'i chu-pho-khyi-la Bod-rgyal-gyis sña-ba gÑa'-hhri-rtsan-po rgyal-sar byon / De-nas dgu-brgya-drug-cu-rtsa-cig-pa chu-pho-khyi-lo mTho-ri-sñan-rtsan byon-pa-nas /brgya-dañ-go-bdun soñ-pa'i me-glañ-lo Sroñ-rtsan-sgam-po 'khruñs-nas ...*  
*Me-stag de lo-nas / deñ-sañ šin-stag / gyad-dkar dBus-gi gnas (douteux, écrit dbus-ginis) yin // ñis-brgya-ñis-ur-tsa-brgyad sñar 'das kun / dril-bas gsum-stoñ-lña-brgya-gya-lña soñ /*
3. The basic list is found in 72. Furthermore, see Per Kværne, forthcoming number of *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen.

### Chapter 8, pp. 134-137

1. See p. 11.
2. See 162.139.
3. See p. 140.
4. In this case we are not sure that a connection with the deities of The is present, but if present see p. 218 ff. for a description of this group of deities.

### Chapter 9, pp. 138-167

1. See also V. A. Bogoslovskij, *Očerk istorii tibetskogo naroda*, Moskva 1962, p. 27.
2. In the *Žaň-žuñ* language *tiñ-mu* means Tibetan *bar-snañ*. *Tiñ* itself means *g'yu*, turquoise (see *Ñi-ma-grags-pa*, *Tibetan Žang Žung Dictionary*, Delhi 1961(?), p. 9 and 16, and E. Haahr, *The Zhang-Zhung language*, *Acta Jutlandica* XL:1, Aarhus 1968, p. 32).
3. See p. 221-22.
4. On the change of the final consonant in *btsad-btsan*, see M. Lalou: "Tibétain ancien Bod/Bon," *Journal Asiatique* 1953, 275-76.
5. See p. 92 f.
6. T. Wylie (200.96-100) collected material about these sons and proposed that the tradition of two sons was due to an omission.

7. *Lags*, is most probably an error in the wood-block for legs.
8. *Cug*, from 'jug-pa.
9. Corresponds to *rluñ-dmar*, "red wind" or dust-storm.
10. *lDem-me*, *ldem(-pa, -po)* has various meanings: opposition; unstable, vibrating, flexible, variable; dishonest; riddle; plot, trap; in the *Žaň-zuñ* language it corresponds to Tibetan *śiñ*, tree, wood (see E. Haarh, *The Zhang-Zhung language*, Acta Jutlandica XL:1, Aarhus 1968, p. 36, s. v. *byung-lDEM*). Two possible translations thus present themselves: "a fire which moves up and down" or "a wood-fire". See also p. 124, *ldem* = *ldu'u*.
11. See Siegbert Hummel, "Die Gottheiten der Schulter in Tibet", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 34, Roma 1959, 183–197; 172. *passim*.
12. In 150.1098 called 'Phyoñ-rgyas *Grañ-mo-grañ-chuñ-gi zom*, by 1.100/128: *Grañ-mo-gnam-bse* (the last mentioned one has erroneously been taken as a personal name of the king by Bacot and Toussaint).
13. See p. 227.
14. *bKar* = *dgar-ba*.
15. See note 11 above.
16. *Yab-'jañ-gi-bu*; 'jañ is related to 'jañ-ba (devour, swallow) and 'dzañs-pa (consumed, spent, be at the end). The name or expression may be translated as "the Son Whose Father Was Swallowed" or "the Son Whose Father Had Ceased (to Live)."
17. *Rags* is related to *reg-pa*, to come into contact with. *IHa-la dmod-pa rags* therefore means, "by conjuring he came into contact with *IHa*."
18. A text in the *Bon Kanjur*, see 162.331–32; H. Hoffmann, "Zur Literatur der Bon-po", *ZDMG* 94, 1940, p. 170.
19. *Bon-po'i chos*, means both the teachings and the texts of *Bon-po*.
20. *Sribs kri Čanbyuin kübñ Gri güm btsanbo tñ-dü gurban kübñ bolboi* : Ša gri : Ńa gri : Bya gri : gurban bui :  
*Grigüm btsanbu qān tñi sedkili ada utugadālun* : Lonam kemēkü moriči nigen tūsimeľ-du : či bida qoyor bayıldun üyiledkü kerektei kemēksen-dü : Lonam ögülebei : gaqča ejen-lügē bi gaqča albatu bayıldızi ülü bolqu kemēñ ayıladqaqsan-du : erke ügei üyiledükxen-dü bayılduqui boljon : saga kigēd sari oduni ödür ebdereldeküi čak boljon üyiledbei :  
tende qān čingnāči sonor kemēkü qubilgāñ nigen ölökkčñ noqoi buyigi : Lonimñ dergede čingñölqā ilgekxen-dü : Lonim tñi medeji nöködür qāñ namai alaqa ireküi-dü čečegñ nöküñ abul ügei : qāñ terigün-dü qara kib böñ : mang-nai-du toli uyan : barñ emdü üne geni üküdel ačñ : Jññ emdü qulugunayin üküdel ačñ : ildü tarki-du ergiülün : ulāñ čartu ünēsü ačiqulā : bičidaqu ügei kemēñ ögülebei :  
ölökkčñ tere qāñ-du tögünčilen ayıladqaqsan-du : tere metü üyiledüye kemēñ Jarlık bolun : nöküdür tere metü üyiledči Lonimi alaqa ödö bolboi : qaškırın üyiledükxen-dü ulāñ čar ürkükxen-dü ünüsü ačıksan ünēsün burkiraksan-yēr nidün inu bütebei : ünegeni üküdel-yēr dayısuči tenggeri žayılabai : qulugunayin üküdel-yēr sakusun tenggeri žayılabai : ildü tarkidu ergiülükxen-yēr sülder tasurabai : tende Lonim qāñ mangnayin toľidu tusalači sumār qarbuqsan-du qāñ qalıbai :  
qāñ gurban kübñ Kungbo Ongbo sBobo gurbūla busu oron-du dutābai :  
tende tūsimeľ Lonim qāñ sangsar bulāñ-zi : qāñ qatuyıgi mori qadagalāči bolgoboi : gaqča tenggeri okini inu nayızınar bolgoboi :  
tende eke qatun tere mori tejikē odun untaqsan žöden-dü : Yarlıha-šambuyin qubilgāñ nigen čagāñ kümün-lügē neyileldükxen žödülen : noyır serikxen-dü dere tus-eče nige čagāñ buqa boči odqoi üjebei : tegēd nayıman sara boluqsan-du : eke qatun tññ-eče küdölün čidaqui undur-mayın čak monggolčok nigen čusu töröböi : orkiqulā beye-eče boluqsani tula örösökü metü bolun : tejikülē ama nidün nige čü ügei amui kemēñ : nigen dulāñ kübüdeč-tü dürün ümüdüni šungqarčaq-yēr orözi talibai : nige kedün qonok boluqsan čak-tu odči üzeksen-dü : nigen kübñ bolji barıksan-du :  
tñi nere čü Ńanggin kübñ Ru töröksñ kemēñ aldaršıbai :  
tere arba kırıksen čaktu mini ečige kigēd qāñ-nogōd qamıga oduqsan bui : kemēñ eke-eče asaguqsan-du : eke urıdani tuži-nogōdi nihta nomloksan-du : Ru töröksñ eldeb arga bēr Ńangč'u Sakyamoni-eče ečigeyin kūr olun : mŽingyol Dartang-du ečigeyin yası barıbai : tūsimeľ Lonimi alači : gurban aqa bēñ žalaqa odboi : Šakri kigēd Ńa-kri qoyor ese žalaran Küngbo kigēd Ńangboyın ejen bolun ödügē čü izör ündüsüel bui :  
küzi örgün kübñ Bya-kriyi žalabai : Yarlung-du sññ skü-mkar mČing-?-sdač-rje-yi barıbai : eke inu kübñ Bya širētüü bariži tenggeri-dü tamalga orkiqsan-du : oktorgui-eče dön garči čim kübñ tere bügüde-eče ilaqu boloyu :  
kübñ tñi bügüde-eče ilaqu kemēbeču : sKüde (copyist error for sBüde) güngrgyal kemēñ aldaršıbai :  
qāñ tere qan oro barıbai : tūsimeľ inu Ru töröksñ bolboi :  
qāñ tūsimeľ qoyorın čaktu gYüñg-grüñ-gin Bon bolboi : baqši gŠen-rabs-mibong kemēkü sDaks gzhaks olmin urtu goldu beye qubilun : nayıman yeke oron terigütēñ Bumbuyın nom-nogōdi Žang-zong-yin oron-eče orčiülün örgüñ delgerđlün üyiledbei :
21. *sMar-khams* in eastern Tibet is perhaps a mistake for *sMar(sMra, sMu) Žaň-zun*, or the Uncle of *sMu, sMu-žañ*, who gave the holy weapons to *gŃa'-khri-btsan-po*.
22. The other versions of the legend require that *srid* is *rgyal-srid*.
23. By writing *bLo-ñan* (Wicked Mind), *Hor chos*-byuñ forces a meaning into the otherwise unintelligible name *Lo-ñam*.
24. See p. 96 f. and 142.
25. *Drir-skum* = *grir-skum*.
26. Phonetically based writing for 'Phyiñ-ba.
27. See p. 210 ff. and p. 142.
28. *Che brgyud*, *che* is either *che-ba* "great" as translated here, or an error in the printing block for *tshe* "life-time". In the last case the verse line has to be translated: "There were sixty-one generations."



29. G. Tucci (197.88–90) summarizes the information on the ministers and the administration of Old Tibet from dPa'-bo gTsong-lag, and here we find the ranks dGuñ-blon, Nañ-blon, bKa'-blon, and dBañ-blon.
30. 1.100/128, mentions in the list of ministers as the third one, Khu lHa-bo-mgo-gar. A connection between the two names is obvious.

Chapter 10, pp. 168–230

1. See 162.152–53.
2. The tradition of the (Buddhist) Law.
3. The tradition of Bon.
4. See p. 83; 157.147–48.
5. Also "appearance".
6. Schlagintweit translated (69.830): "die drei Genossen königlicher Genealogien: "Die Siegesstandarte der Beamten", "Bleibt es ein Geheimnis", "Aufgelesene Körner". Francke (68.76) translated: "Although there are (books called) Rgyal-spun-po-gsum-khug-blon-poñi-rgyal-mtshan, the gSañ-ba or Hbru-bdus and many others. . . ." Petech (177.25) had no comments on this line except characterizing it as "a rather confused passage." In his introduction to the edition of the text (68.7) Francke listed the sources mentioned in the La-dwags rgyal-rabs, but had no further comments on the sources mentioned here. Hoffmann follows Francke (162.312).  
We prefer to interpret the line in the following way: "There are the three Brethren-rGyal-rabs: the Khug blon-po'i-rgyal-mtshan, the gSañ-ba, or the 'Bru-bdus, and many others."  
This means, that there were three kindred traditions of the royal genealogy, i.e. Khug blon-po'i-rgyal-mtshan, gSañ-ba, and 'Bru-bdus.  
gSañ-ba is the gSañ-ba Chos-lugs which we are going to study in the following.  
Khug blon-po'i-rgyal-mtshan most certainly refers to an otherwise unknown historical text mentioned by Das (150.146 s.v. khugs-pa), "rGyal-rabs Khugs-pa Thugs-rje-chen-po'i yañ-tig-las gsañ-ba po-dge, is the name of a historical work containing accounts of the succession, dynasty, etc., of kings narrated by Khugs-pa Thugs-rje chenpo" referring to rGya-Bod yig-tshañ 9.  
'Bru-bdus, otherwise unknown, is perhaps somehow connected with 'Bru-tsha or Bru-śa. Is bdus short for bsdus? 'Bru is also one of the original Tibetan Rus (see 190.45 f.).
7. See 184.x–xi.
8. According to the text, 18.
9. See 190.11 ff.
10. The lines in square brackets are notes printed in small letters in the blockprint.
11. Chinese *San-miao* 三 廟, see A. O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, Berlin 1930 ff., s.v.
12. Text in square brackets is a note printed in brackets in 51.
13. I.e. Mañi-bka'-'bum.
14. Ought not to have been translated. Corresponds to Tibetan bTsan-thañ-sgo-bzi.
15. Identical with the author of the bKa'-gdams chos-'byuñ, 1494 A.D., Las chen-rgyal-ba (see 70.48v; 93.307v; 184.1050; J. van Manen, "Contribution to the bibliography of Tibet", JASB 1922, p. 115).
16. The quotation of these two lines must come from a gTer-ma text, as indicated by the gTer-bśad. This gTer-ma is probably a Pad-ma bka'i-thañ-yig, as indicated by the reference to the sLob-dpon chen-po, who is probably Pad-masambhava.
17. See G. Tucci, *Indo Tibetica*, IV/1, Roma 1940, p. 102. A triad constituted by Vajrapāñi, Mañjuḥṣa, and Avalokiteśvara.
18. 'Phags-pa'i thugs-rje, Ārya-karuṇā, is a well-known epithet for Avalokiteśvara, especially in texts depending on the tradition of Mañi-bka'-'bum.
19. More literally: "unlike (those acting) the ways of Karma, (which results in) changing the lifetime," i.e. not participating in the chain of rebirths.
20. See the corresponding expression on p. 185.
21. Corresponds to the *Jñana of Padmapāñi* on p. 183.
22. Translated by H. Hoffmann (162.315) from the identical version of the Fifth Dalai Lama: ". . . da erkannte er, . . . dass der in die Schönheit des Meru verliebte volle Mond das Gletschergebirge des Yar-lha śam-po gleichsam (mit seinen Strahlen) umarmte". He translated "chu-šel-gyi dbaño-po" as a synonym for Moon, following the common Sanskrit tradition. But we prefer to consider *chu-šel* and *dbaño-po ña gañ-ba* as two compounds connected by *gyi*.
23. In note 14, at the place in question, Das writes in Tibetan letters gSal-rgyal, but yet he transliterates Ka-sa-la rgyal. Obviously the note has been placed in the wrong place, or Das has made an erroneous identification.
24. See 170. passim.
25. See 159.26 ff.
26. Also quoted in the sNar-thañ Kanjur, 90.13v.
27. *Srid-kyi mcho-ga*, i.e. srid-kyi cho-ga or sambhavavidhi.
28. See 150.53 f.
29. *rTse-duñs* = brtse-gduñs.
30. *mNos-grub* = dños-grub.
31. *Mo-la yin-gyi bu*, literally: the sons existing in (or: according to) the *Mo*. For *Mo* see 172. chapter XXIII.

32. *Phrod* < 'phrod, sprod.
33. See 150.439. Officiating priest.
34. Good, *legs-pa*. The other versions have *zais*, copper. There seems to be a change through *bzan-po*, good, to *legs*, good.
35. *bGreñ* = bsgreñ. 'Dzug-mo = mdzub-mo.
36. *mÑa'-ba* = gña'-ba.
37. See 150.1148.
38. Mentioned by Tucci 194.741 and quoted in note 51.
39. *Pha-myiñ-gi yul*, translated into French by Toussaint (1.125) as "pays du nom de son père". Pha-myiñ, later pha-miñ (Father-Name) signifies the relatives of a bride (see 150.815), i.e. those relatives who in case of the bridegroom's death could take over his responsibilities, take the Name of Father.
40. See p. 170.
41. Error for Ma-bañ or Ma-phañ.
42. See p. 185.
43. 68.28: 'gebs.
44. 68.28: bdud-po. Error for duñ-so.
45. 68.28: correctly gsad.
46. Corr. rkañ-mgyogs, runners.
47. Error for Gyañ-mtho.
48. See 143.22; see also p. 180–81.
49. These have recently been studied by Edgerton only (152).
50. Traces of the appearance of this "totem" of a birdlike nature may be found in the mask and dress of the dancers described by Halfdan Siiger, "Dancing pilgrims from Tibet", *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, Bind 51, Copenhagen 1951, p. 1–26, see especially 5–6, 12, 15–18, and 23 ff.
51. See p. 140.
52. Repeated by the Fifth Dalai Lama (70.102r f., translated by G. Tucci, 194.647 f.).
53. For the 13 Khri-skor see 194.252 ff., 680 ff.
54. 1.117: yun-kyi sriñ, error for yuñ-kyi srid.
55. A separate study on the ritual installment of the Tibetan king and the epics connected with this occasion will appear later.
56. May also stand for *Bya-bu*, Bird son.
57. For *srid* and *bsrid* see p. 269–70.
58. *Phub* < 'bubs-pa, to put on a roof.
59. *Phod* and *mod* < pho and mo, with an added da-drag.
60. *Po* and *mo* are here employed in their senses of masculine and feminine.
61. This and the following three geographical names are the names of the four continents in the Indo-Buddhist picture of the world. Purvavideha = Lu-'phags-po in the East; Aparagodāniya = Ba-glañ-spyod in the West; Jambudvīpa = 'Dzam-bu-gliñ in the South; Uttarakuru = sGra-mi-sñan in the North. See J. Schubert, "Das Reis-Maṇḍala", *Asiatica*, Leipzig 1954, p. 584 ff.; E. Haahr, "Contributions to the study of maṇḍala and mudrā", *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen 1958, p. 65–68, 75–80.
62. *Thor-tshugs*, a plaited tuft of hair, toupee (150.595). Similar to the coiffure of the shaman (see 196.201; 162.209).
63. *sNam-pa* = nam-pa. *mKhar-ba*, 'khar-ba, corresponds to the stick of the Buddhist mendicant priests, mkhar-gsil?
64. *rGya*, the meaning is not definite here, China or India?
65. "The people or men who are not lHa."
66. "The maternal uncle sMu."
67. The dangerous birth position is *praesentatio caudae*. The blessed one is *positio sinistra, praesentatio occipitis positio posterior*.
68. *Sa-steñ*, surface of the earth.
69. *Yab-kyi duñ*, verbally the paternal primordial; 'phar-'phyuñ, appeared. 'Phar-ba (150.848), to leap up, means here "the things which came forth".  
A similar series of weapons are known from the Ge-sar epics, see 191.481 note 51,455, and 427–28.
70. Perhaps error for glañ(-po); then it means "the ox tethering itself".
71. *brTod* < rtod-pa.
72. *Da* = mda'? If so the passage means "the green grass of the valley meadow."
73. *bSil-ma* "the cool, snowy one" or "the scattered or very composite one."
74. *Dar-rkab* = dar-skab, silken skirt.
75. 'Bru-bcud, the nourishment of grain.
76. *bDud-rtsi* = Sanskrit amṛta.
77. 'Bras-chañ, rice-beer.
78. Signifies annexation of new territory, in the sense of "census and registration" of the territory.
79. The usual short form of ban-dhe, which is improbable here.
80. See 196.200–01.
81. *Da*, error in the blockprint for de.
82. See Geza Uray-Köhalmi, "A Tibetan diminutive suffix," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 2, 1952, p. 183–220.  
As mentioned on p. 219, The is found in the following forms: The'u, Thib, Thil, Thel, sDe, and rDe'u. The'u-brañ is known in the forms: The-rañ, The'u-rañ, The-brañ, and The'u-brañ.

The affinity of The'u (rDe'u) and Thel (Thil) is established through the well-known connection of spre'u and sprel, and the interchange of i and e is well known in the medial position.

That The'u is a diminutive is questionable. Rather we consider it a shortened form of The-bo/po. Most probably the development is thus: \*The-bo/po-rañ → The-'u-rañ → The'u-rañ → The'u-urañ → The'u-brañ.

The meaning thus changes from The-rañ, "The themselves", to The'u-brañ, "The-Followers".

83. See the preceding note 82.

84. See 150,162,172, and 194 s.v.

85. See p. 141.

86. In gZer-myig (138.I.23r) the mother of gSen-rab-Mi-bo is named rGyal-bzad-ma, in rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi-'byuñ-gnas (see 172.459) Phyi-rgyas-bzed-ma, bZaṅ-za-ram-btsun-ma, or Chu-lcam, but in the drum-divination still performed in Sikkim she is addressed as A-ni-Guñ-lha'i-rgyal-mo (172.457 ff.).

87. See 106.98 and 108-48.

88. See p. 325-26.

### Chapter 11, pp. 231-270

1. For 'greñ see G. Uray, "'Greñ, the alleged Old Tibetan equivalent of the ethnic name Ch'iang," Acta Orientalia Hungarica 19, 1966, p. 245-56.

2. *Dud-rdog*, see p. 312-13. In the work of G. Uray (see note 1), he discusses both 'greñ and dud, concluding that 'greñ means "man" and dud "beast". For our interpretation of *dud* see p. 311 and 313. 'Greñ and 'bañs, are two terms employed for the subjects of bTsan-po, which are not identical in meaning. 'Bañs seems to be Tibetans living in the old feudal state which was created around the Yar-luñ Dynasty. It is related to the word dbañ, dbañ-po, and it means "those under the power." 'Greñ on the other side seems to be employed principally for those subjects which were annexed or subjugated by the old feudal state during its expansion. We think it is related to the word 'grañ-ba, to count and number. It is thus connected with the Tibetan procedure of rtsis (see note 78 above), annexation of new territories through a census.

3. 1.100 has transcribed dud-rñog.

4. Usually written Guñ-thañ.

5. Probably for gsañ or gsoñ, valley, ravine country.

6. *Chos-bzañ*, "Good Law", must not be connected with *Dam-pa'i-Chos*, the Tibetan equivalent to Sanskrit Saddharma, "the Good or Holy Law", a term employed for the Buddhist teachings and the Buddhist religion.

Chos is an integral idea of the Tibetan royalty, being the religious law entrusted to the sacerdotal class (see 196.199). But it means more than that. *Chos* signifies the Universal Order and the organized sequence of events in both the nature around us and the society, guaranteed by the right behaviour and the presence of the Tibetan king or bTsan-po, and controlled, interpreted, and effected by and through him.

Chos-bzañ is therefore the expression of the universal order and a term expressing the harmony between the king and the universe. It is therefore included in the formula containing the royal prerogatives, known from inscriptions from the time of the Dynasty.

Etymologically *chos* is related to 'chos-pa, chod-pa, 'chad-pa, and gcod-pa, all having the basic meaning of "cutting, dividing, arranging in a certain way or system." Chos therefore means "something arranged according to a system."

7. For the problem of these four kings see A. Macdonald, "Note sur la diffusion de la "Théorie des Quatre Fils du Ciel" au Tibet," Journal Asiatique 1962, p. 531-48. Here Macdonald discusses the works of Pelliot and Stein.

8. See p. 268.

9. See p. 238.

10. Another rGyal-phran list has been edited by M. Lalou, "Fiefs, poisons et guérisseurs," Journal Asiatique 1958, p. 157-201. Together with A. Macdonald she collected material on the rGyal-phran from more manuscripts from Tun-huang in JA 1966, 189-215 (Catalogue des principautés du Tibet ancien). The first mentioned has not been included here, because no new material for our study can be obtained. The second came too late to be included here.

11. *Gan* = 'gan(-can/-pa).

12. See 191.501-02.

13. *sNo*, corresponds to rNo in the list of Ms. Paris 249, see 1.80.

14. *mChims*, clan-name (see 1. passim).

15. *Ya-yogs*, see p. 314 ff.

16. *Rum*, see p. 313 ff.

17. *gDod* = gdod-ma.

18. *Byid* < 'byid-pa, to pass away, disappear; dbyi-ba, to wipe out.

19. See 190.199-200.

20. *Mar*, generally means below, etc. Here taken for *rma*, wound, suffering.

21. *Nar* related to *mnar*, to suffer.

22. *bThun* and *thun* < *mtu*, for which see 190.200, and p. 115.

23. See p. 80-81.

24. See 196.199.

25. *Du* = dus.

26. See R.-A. Stein, "Une source ancienne pour l'histoire de l'épopée tibétaine, le *Rlans Po-ti bse-ru*," *Journal Asiatique* 1962, 77-106.  
 27. *brGyad* error for *brgyud*.  
 28. *Šen* error for *šin*.  
 29. See 194.140.  
 30. *Duñ*, *gduñ*, and *'khruñ-ba* are related.  
 31. See also 190. *passim*; A. Macdonald, "La naissance du monde au Tibet", *Sources Orientales I*, Paris 1959, p. 419-52; 194. *passim*.  
 32. See p. 139.  
 33. *Khyi'u* = *khye'u*.  
 34. *rGoñ* = *go-ña*, *goñ*.  
 35. *bŽis* error for *bžes*.  
 36. "The maternal uncle upon the throne of China."  
 37. See Chapter 10, note 61.  
 38. A similar account is presented in a Bon dictionary, rendered in both the *Žañ-žuñ* language, the dialect of *sMar*, and Tibetan:

*rNal*-'byor *Ñi-ma-grags-pa*: *sGra-yi-don-sdeb sNañ-gsal-sgron-me* (Tibetan Zang-Zung Dictionary), Lahore Press, Delhi 1965, p. 8-9:

*Miñ-ni gu-mun khrun-ži leg*  
*Yod-liñ šim-to khrul-ži lig*  
*Sañ-guñ leg skyel wer-ži skya*  
*Tiñ-zañs wer-ži lig-mi sñum*  
*Gan-ti mu-le da-dod ju*  
*Sa-cis dhiñ-niñ cu-snis-gyad*  
*Miñ-niñ mu-gum tiñ-tiñ ju*  
*Ge sKya Mur-tiñ Ru-tra Ku-tra*  
*dMu-žag re-hab kha-muñ gu-dun lig*  
*Tig-tig zad-dra tiñ sum-ži*  
*Ba-sum mi-sum leg-ži sum*  
*Da-dod de-cu mu-si skyi*  
*Ha-ra sad-ci še-skya-ci*  
*La-sad ne-bar še-khod-rtsal*  
*Šu-nig wer-hrim ki-la-ya*  
*Gyi-gran tsi-ta tsakra rbad*  
*Gyi-gran gyi-še-la sne-tse rbad*  
*Dun-tse še-thun ša-'bal rbad*  
*Gyer-tse pu-la pho-yañ bteg*  
*Gran-gyi luñ-ni ne-rud ar*  
*Tiñ-tiñ Ku-tra šin-ni rbad*  
*Ge Tsa Mur-ti Ma-muñ dañ*  
*Wer-suñ Ku-trig bran-du rkyes*  
*Yo-niñ lig-ži Gyer-gyi žin*  
*dMu-kha mu-la ñi-ri še*  
*Zla-ri 'dzar-wag du-phañ gylil*  
*Slas-ži mu-le ci-phrug smar*  
*Tiñ-mu phyasañs tiñ-un grag*  
*Byuñ-seg-skye-la žuñ-žag nil*  
*Dañ-ra phyiñ-la mar tsa yug*  
*rNil-rwañ mu-la sañ-go rtse*  
*Slas-ži lji-la hrañ has-ti yug*  
*Nam-mu se-to guñ-yig smar*  
*rNil-rwañ sañ-zur byuñ-ldem leg*  
*Ba-ni ne-ra khri-rtse smar*  
*Rad-na mi-sdum rañ-ha spuñs*  
*Mu-tsug še-tsu li-lo smar*  
*Sad Ni Gyer sum mu-tsug žin*

*Med-khams mun-pas bskal-pa bsril /*  
*Yod-khams dkar-po bskal-pa srid /*  
*Sañs-po srid skos rgyal-po rje /*  
*Chu-lcam rgyal-mo srid-pa'i yum /*  
*sTañ-dbyal kloñ-du sprul-pa'i bšos /*  
*Miñ-po sriñ-mo bco-brgyad-do /*  
*Med-khams nag-po ltaš-ñan bšos /*  
*bDud bTsan kLu Srin-po 'Dre-gdon /*  
*mKha'-ldiñ lto-phye mo-nag dgu-ru srid /*  
*Žiñ-dañ sa-bon chu gsum-bžin /*  
*Pha-gsum ma-gsum srid-pa-gsum /*  
*De-bžin rgyu-mthun so-sor skyes /*  
*Ye-šes lha-yi thugs-rje-yi /*  
*sTag-la me-'bar mthu-stobs-kysis /*  
*bGegs-la mña'-gzu phur-pa-zor /*  
*dGra-bgegs sñiñ-la ral-gris snun /*  
*dGra-bgegs sñiñ-la mduñ-gi 'bug /*  
*Ban-log sñiñ-rtsa sta-res bacd /*  
*Bon-log mgo-la tho-ba rgyob /*  
*dGra-yi glo-ba me-dpuñ bsregs /*  
*lTas-ñan 'Dre-gdon mchin-pa chod /*  
*bDud bTsan kLu-bTsan Ma-mo dan /*  
*rGyal-'goñ The'u-rañ g'yog-tu bskos /*  
*Yod-khams srid-pa Bon-gyi 'dzin /*  
*Nam-mkha'i dbyiñs-la ñi-ma šar /*  
*Zla-ba gza'-skar sprin-rlañ 'khyil /*  
*Sa-gži'i kloñ-du lo-tog bzañ /*  
*Bar-snañ gsal-la g'yu-'brug sgrogs /*  
*dPag-bsañ-šiiñ-la bya-khyuñ ldiñ /*  
*rGya-mtsho'i kloñ-la gser ña mgyogs /*  
*Gañs-ri kha-la señ-ge rtсал /*  
*Sa-yi thog-la rta dañ glañ-chen mgyogs /*  
*gNas dañ khañ-pa mdzod-mig bzañ /*  
*Gañs-ri g'ya'-brag rtsi-šiiñ srid /*  
*Pad-ma me-tog 'bras-bu bzañ /*  
*Rin-chen drañ-ma ri-ltar spuñs /*  
*bKra-šis phywa-tshe loñs-spyod bkra /*  
*lHa-Mi Bon-gsum dMu-thag 'dzin /*

- ... ..  
 39. See p. 318.  
 40. See p. 234.  
 41. *rNal*-'byor *Ñi-ma-grags-pa*, *sGra-yi-don-sdeb sNañ-gsal-sgron-me* (Tibetan Zang Zung Dictionary), Lahore Press, Delhi 1965.  
 42. *Mu*, *mu-ye*, *dmu*, *tiñ-mu*, *nam-mu*, *mu-guñ*, *mu-tig*; *mu-le*; *mu*; *mu*, *mu-ye*, *mu-ne*, *mu-khyuñ*, *dmu*, *dmu-kha*, *dmu-ri*, *druñ-mu*, *mu-tsug*, *mu-har-rtser*, *dmu-ra*, *mu-sañs*, (*d*)*mu-un*; *nam-mu*, *mu-guñ*; see E. Haarh, *The Zhang-Zhung Language*, *Acta Jutlandica XL:1*, Aarhus 1968.  
 43. See 172. *s.v.*

## Chapter 12, pp. 271–288

1. See 190. s.v.
2. See p. 140, and 162.147.
3. See 162. s.v.
4. See p. 271–72.
5. See p. 279–80.
6. See the discussions in F. W. Thomas, *Nam. Publications of the Philological Society* 14, London 1948, p. 1 ff.; 11.4–13; 190. *passim*.
7. See also 11.6 and F. W. Thomas, *Nam. Publications of the Philological Society*, 14, London 1948, p. 33, 134–35.
8. See A. von Gabain, “Vom Sinn symbolischer Farbenbezeichnung,” *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 15, 1962, p. 111–117.
9. See p. 156.
10. See Chapter 10, note 61.
11. See G. Uray, “The Four Horns of Tibet according to the Royal Annals,” *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 10, 1960, p. 31–57.
12. 194.715.
13. See R.-A. Stein, “Notes d’étymologie tibétaine,” *Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême Orient* 41, 1941, p. 208.
14. See p. 267.
15. *rGyal-srid*, most probably a denominator for the kings.
16. *gŽis* error for *gñis*, two.
17. *sToñ*, error for *stod*.
18. For these continents see Chapter 10, note 61.
19. A very well-known tradition, frequently included in the introduction to historical works in Tibetan, relates that Tibet was inhabited by different animals, *gLañ-po-che* and *Ri-dwags* in Upper Tibet, *Ri-dwags* and *sPre’u* in Central Tibet, *sPre’u* and *Brag-srin* in Lower Tibet. According to *Pakṣa-yā* (93.281v), the latest version, the tradition says:  
sTod mÑa-ris-kyi cha ni glañ-po-che dañ ri-dwags-kyi yul /  
bar dBus-gTsañ-gi cha ni ri-dwags dañ spre’u’i yul /  
sMad mDo-khams-kyi cha ni spre’u dañ brag-srin-gyi yul /
20. For this problem see Appendix III, p. 415 ff.
21. See p. 256 ff.

## Chapter 13, pp. 289–300

1. B. Karlgren (*Analytical dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris 1923) 22; 176.1.
2. T’ou’, see Karlgren 1129 and 176.1; *pi’wet* is not included by Karlgren, nor Pelliot. But based on Karlgren 748 and Pelliot (176.1) *fa* = *pi’wet*, we propose the rendering of *po* in T’ang Chinese as *pi’wet*.
3. See W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, Sct. Petersburg 1895, p. 429.
4. See p. 244 ff.
5. See 196.200.
6. Tucci (194. s.v.) reads *g’yag*.
7. Hoffmann (162.346) reads *dod*.
8. *rKañ(-dmag)* and *sGyogs(-mda’)*?
9. *rÑa-mo*.
10. *lCañ-śes*.
11. *Lañ-btañ* and *liñs-btañ*.
12. *Doñ*, quiver(?); *ral* = *ral-gri*, sword(?).
13. *Phuñ-chuñ* = *dpuñ-chuñ*, infantry(?).
14. See p. 248–49.
15. See p. 269–70.
16. “Outward (execution of) power.”
17. The second stage of rulers is *Rus-chen-bzi* and *gDuñ-drug*.
18. See p. 293.
19. In this connection we shall suggest the possibility of an analogy between *Sil-ma* and *Zar-ma* or *Zer-ma*. According to the *Avadāna-kalpa-latā* IV.11 (150.1097) *zer-ma*, equal to *zags-ma* signifies “a drop,” and *zel-ma* (163.490) signifies “a small chip”. We are dealing in all these cases with the same fundamental significance, that of *dispersed* or *separated particles*, deriving from *gsil-ba*. Bearing in mind that the *Zar-ma-skyes-drug* are omitted by all the Buddhist versions, a relationship between *Zar(Zer)-ma* and *Sil-ma*, of partly etymological, partly phonetical nature, may possibly and perhaps with the conscious aid of Buddhist authors, have lead from *Zar-ma* or *Zer-ma* to *Sil-ma*, which only occurs in the Buddhist versions.

## Chapter 14, pp. 301–326

1. In 1.110 printing error *grañ*. *Grañ* = *drañ*
2. For the Nam language see F. W. Thomas, *Nam. Publications of the Philological Society* 14, London 1948.

3. For the sMar or dMar dialect of the Žaṅ-zuṅ language see rNal-'byor Ņi-ma-grags-pa, sGra-yi-don-sdeb sNaṅ-gsal-sgron-me (Tibetan Zang Zung Dictionary), Lahore Press, Delhi 1965.  
In this dictionary (p. 16) *mu-saṅs* means Saṅs-rgyas in Tibetan, Sanskrit Buddha; see E. Haarh, *The Zhang-Zhung language*, Acta Jutlandica XL:1, Aarhus 1968, p. 37.
4. I.e. the king (*rgyal-po*) who is a *The'u(-brañ)*, the foremost (*thod*) of kings (*rgyal-po*).
5. See Table IX where the rulers are the Ma-saṅs-spun-dgu.
6. This introductory line indicates the melody or rhythm to be employed reciting the song. For similar lines see 191.494.
7. See 1.86, 127, and 128.
8. *Dog-yab*, interpreted as "fécondant la terre".
9. *Char* < cha.
10. *mGur-cu* = mgur-chu, pedestral of a cupola in a caitya. *sKu* in sku-mgur-cu, corresponds to the expressions thugs-gur and riñ-gur, the catafalques in the funeral procession (see p. 373 ff.), and means corpse.
11. See p. 141, and 221 ff.
12. See p. 364.
13. See p. 134 ff.
14. See p. 139.
15. See p. 112–13.
16. See p. 112 and 315.
17. See p. 112.
18. sBa-bžed (44.18) thus lets Śantaraksita say: sŅon yab-mes-kyi sku-rim-la / lHa kLu gdug-pa-can-rnams dam 'og-tu mtshud-pas / Bod-khams-su gNod-sbyin gdug-pa Chos-la mi-dga'-bas ltas-ñan des rgyal-po'i sku-tshe thuñ-ba de-las gyur-bas / sLad-kyi lha Chos-bgyi-bar 'tshal-bas / lHa kLu dam 'og-tu btsal-'tshal / U-rgyan-gyi yul-na dge-sloñ Padma-sam-bha-wa zes-bya-ba mthu-can gcig mchis / . . . . "Under the previous generations of father and forefathers were the noxious lHa and kLu placed under oath, whereby the noxious gNod-sbyin in Tibet were not pleased with the (Buddhist) Doctrine and with those bad omens shortened the life of the King. A change from that must appear, and in future the lHa must be asked to act the Doctrine, the lHa and the kLu beseeched to accept the oath. In the country of U-rgyan there lives a powerful Buddhist monk called Padmasambhava. . . ."
19. For details see 162.342.

#### Chapter 15, pp. 327–379

1. Funeral customs similar to those of the Tibetan kings are described by Turrell Wylie, "Mortuary customs at Sa-skya, Tibet," HJAS 25, 1965, p. 229–42. See also S. Hummel, "Die Leichenbestattung in Tibet", Monumenta Serica 20, 1961, 266–81.
2. Mes-ag-tshoms, Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, and gLañ-Dar-ma were murdered. gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan and Mu-ne-btsan-po were poisoned, 'Dus-sroñ died in war.
3. See T. Wylie, "Ro-langs: The Tibetan Zombie," History of Religions 4, 1964, 69–80. Traditionally all ro-laṅs are animated by spirits of the gDon class. A type of these ro-laṅs are activated by an evil demon without benefit of human conjuration. Greatly feared, this type of zombie seeks to turn other people into ro-laṅs, and drastic measures are taken to prevent the spread of its contamination. (Loc.cit. 72).
4. 162.405: 'thab-ya.
5. 162.405: smras. *sGras* < sgro-ba.
6. 162.406: thag. *Thabs-zla* = 'thab-zla-bo.
7. *Gral* < 'grol.
8. G. Tucci (194.733) writes that this story "most probably has preserved the record of a solar myth and of a popular feast akin to those of ancient China, in which an image or rather a man was hit with arrows in order to bring down the sun, possibly at the end of winter."
9. See especially 194.716.
10. *rKyañ* < rkyoñ-ba, to stretch. Das (150.78) mentions according to the rGya-Bod-yig-tshañ, that it is "a rope lowered from the top of a mountain or from the roof of a lofty house."
11. 'Breñ, a leather or hide strap (150.933). *dBu-'breñ*, strap for the head.
12. See 194.734; 162.191.
13. See Siegbert Hummel, "Die Gottheiten der Schulter in Tibet," Rivista degli Studi Orientali 34, Roma 1959, 183–97. Compare Anthropos 56, 1961, p. 288.
14. The Tibetans count by anno incipiens.
15. Or: "he saw a being (sems-can) appear as a gŅan".
16. H. Hoffmann (162.299) translates: "später aber bekam sie eine grünliche Gesichtsfarbe und magerte ab." We prefer the following translation, not including the word complexion: "*she became emaciated and greenish.*"
17. *Lan* = len.
18. *Khal*, a measure of dry goods, a burden or load (150.143).
19. *sKyal-pa* = skyel-pa, a sack or leather bag (150.79), not Ladungen as translated by Hoffmann (162.300).
20. *sMan-pa*, physician.
21. *sBra* = sbrag-pa, to pile up.
22. *Mi-chos*, "the popular religion", see R.-A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine*, Paris 1961, p. 158 ff.
23. Pelliot (176.2) translates "race".

24. Pelliot (176.82) translates "subordinées."
25. 人 jén may substitute 犬 ch'üan, dog. Following Pelliot (176.82 note b) we prefer 人 jén.
26. See p. 107.
27. See p. 315 and 317.
28. The preta or paśu living in the underworlds; see L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*. 2nd ed. Cambridge 1934, p. 89 ff.
29. See p. 313.
30. This may also refer to the piercing of the chest referred to in Chinese sources (see p. 345 and 360-61).
31. See p. 360.
32. See 176.3.
33. 共 人. See also 176.81: "ayant la vie en commun."
34. *dPon-g'yog*, "Master-Servants". Generally conceived as "Master and servant."
35. For these peoples see also 161. passim; F. W. Thomas, *Nam*. Publications of the Philological Society 14, London 1948, Introduction; W. E. Eberhard, *Kultur und Siedlung der Randvölker Chinas*, Leiden 1942, passim.
36. I.e. heart, liver, lungs, stomach, and kidneys.
37. Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao: the corpse(s).
38. See p. 364.
39. See 172.8.
40. See p. 345.
41. *lDeñ-khri*, corresponds to steñ-khri or gdan-khri, throne or fundament on which the objects are placed.
42. *Chob* = tshab.
43. I.e. gSer-las bzeñs.
44. 'Bre, a measure of dry goods.
45. *gTer*, something voluntarily hidden.
46. *Le* = lo.
47. Here the quotation from the original document has been closed.
48. For *re'u-mig* see p. 386.
49. 'Dom, the distance between the tips of the middle fingers of the two hands with arms stretched out.
50. *Da* = de.
51. Or flight of stairs.
52. Or two.
53. See p. 364.
54. "Bright (polished?) copper vessels."
55. "Silver vessels."
56. See p. 353, where it is called a cup. The expression must be a name of the cup, meaning "Silver seal (net?) of the Heavenly Judge(s)."
57. "Water enclosure," meaning water-basin?
58. Refers to the well-known legend of the disappearance of King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po and his wives into the statue of Avalokiteśvara in the Jo-bo-khañ of Lhasa.
59. Or "smeared with gold."
60. Corresponds to khal-ri, khal-ru, kha-ru.
61. *Glags* = glegs.
62. "Guardians of the Tomb, having the quality of a deceased".
63. "Black-Food"? May correspond to *lto-ba dan nags-ma*, food and officinal plants.
64. This is the Buddhist expression for to die, corresponding to the normally employed one dGuñ(gNam)-la gśegs-pa.
65. *bŽaṅs* = bzeñs.
66. The following chapter of the rGyal-po bka'i-thaṅ-yig, deals with the bŽeñs-kyi-lha-khañ, the chapel or temple built in connection with the tomb.
67. "The Dead Ones", i.e. the Dead and the Guardians of the tomb.
68. *bLa-mchod*, generally signifies the offerings made to the bLa-ma, or the officiating bLa-ma (150.438; 163.383). The following description shows however that the meaning of *bla-mchod* is an offering brought at the tomb. Therefore *bla* in this connection means "life-power" and *bla-mchod* "offering to the deceased", "offering for that which distinguishes dead and living".
69. "A bow's length."
70. See p. 364.
71. See p. 364.
72. See p. 350 and note 56 above.
73. *sKor* = sgoñ, see later p. 354.
74. *Kha-byañ* or *Byañ*, introductory document, foundation document or inventory. *lDe-mig*, "key" or "description of the method for access."
75. *mDa'*, an arrow's length.
76. 'Dom, see note 49 above.
77. *Khru*, the distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger.
78. *Señ-ldeñ*, Sanskrit Svadira, Acacia Catechu? *gLa-gor* = gla-phor, a birch?
79. *mChal* = mtshal.
80. *mChin-bu*, see p. 362, and 150.434.

81. *Mar-gyi g'yag*, figures of Yak made of butter, similar to the butter figures made for the New Year festival.
82. These years are the eleventh, fifth, second and eighth years of the animal cycle. The offering therefore occurs every third year. This period of three years occurs in other connections, see p. 342.
83. See p. 381 and 195.35 f. The rDo-rin has been discussed by A. W. Macdonald, "Une note sur les mégalithes tibétains", J. A. 1953, 63-76.
84. I.e. a bZens-kyi-lha-khañ, see note 66 above.
85. Administrative area; see G. Uray, "The four Horns of Tibet according to the Royal Annals," Acta Orientalia Hungarica 10, 1960, p. 31 ff.; L. Petech, "Tibet". Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abt., 5. Bd., 5. Abschnitt, Geschichte Mittelasiens, Leiden 1966, p. 321.
86. See note 83 above.
87. Three kinds of dances: *Gar* a mimic, dramatic dance, *Bro* a chassé-croisé, *Œon* (printing error *Œen*) a mixed dance (?).
88. *Nog-du gyur* is not translated by M. Lalou. We consider the expression identical to dños-su gyur.
89. Chiu T'ang-shu (213.4.3v6): bTsan-po died 1st year Yung-hui, 5th month. Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.199.16r7-8): died 1st year Yung-hui, 5th month, cyclic day Jên-hsü, i.e. 24th day = 28th June 650 A.D.
90. *Phyiñ-ba*, the district in Yar-luñ where the royal tombs were located, see p. 380. Not to be translated as in 1.30.
91. Chiu T'ang-shu (213.5.14v3-5): 1st year T'iao-lu, 10th month (Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.202.25r7): cyclic day Kuei-hai = 24th January 679 A.D.) Wên-ch'êng Kung-chu informed the Imperial Court of the mourning for bTsan-po. Chinese envoy (Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.202.25r9): Sung Ling-wên) was sent to attend the burial.
92. The Chinese Imperial Princess who in 641 came to Tibet to marry a Tibetan bTsan-po (see Petech, l.c. p. 315 (see note 85 above)). This Tibetan bTsan-po is generally identified with Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. But we have reasons to believe that she was married to his son Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan. This will be discussed in a forthcoming study on the later history of the Yar-luñ Dynasty.  
Chiu T'ang-shu (213.196A.7r7-8) and T'ang-shu (220.216A.8r8-9): 1st year Yung-lung died Wên-ch'êng Kung-chu. Kao-tsung sent envoys to perform the rites of condolence. Tzū-chih t'ung-chien (225.202.30v9-10): 1st year Yung-lung, 10th month, cyclic day Ping-wu, died Wên-ch'êng Kung-chu = 1st November, 680 A.D.
93. Great-grandmother of King Mes-ag-tshoms, Queen of King Guñ-sroñ-buñ-btsan, generally known under the name Khri-skar.
94. Grandmother of King Mes-ag-tshoms, Queen of King Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan.
95. Mother of King Mes-ag-tshoms, Queen of King 'Dus-sroñ.
96. Queen of King Mes-ag-tshoms.
97. Chiu T'ang-shu (213.9.6r7-8) and T'ang-shu (220.96.6r7-8 and 216A.8r1): Chin-ch'êng Kung-chu died in 28th year K'ai-yüan = 740/41 A.D. But Chiu T'ang-shu at another place (213.196A.19r8-9) dates this, spring of 29th year K'ai-yüan, i.e. 741 A.D.
98. See Table XV, p. 424.
99. *dGuñ-du gšegs*, see p. 119. *Noñs*, to be no more alive (163.307). The other meanings of the word (see 150.744 and 753; 163.307 and 311) rather point towards a meaning of "to grieve, mourn," i.e. indicates the effect of dying and death upon the surviving relatives.
100. I.e. father, mother, King, etc.
101. *Riñ* means long, and possibly signifies the corpse during the (long) time when placed in the Riñ-khañ before the final burial.
102. See p. 364.
103. See p. 380 ff. For burial in tumuli see H. Nachtigall, "Die erhöhte Bestattung in Nord- und Hochasien," Anthropos 1953, 44-70.
104. See p. 350 ff. and 362 ff.
105. See p. 368 ff.
106. See p. 387 ff.
107. See note 80 above.
108. Phonetic rendering of 'Phyoñs-rgyas.
109. See p. 381.
110. "Having interior ornaments," employed both as name and description of the tomb.
111. Not immediately identifiable with mo-mtshun of which she is an incarnation (see p. 226).
112. A support for this assumption may be found in the generally employed expression for the dying of a bTsan-po, dguñ-du gšegs.
113. Short for mnab-kyi sgye-tshal, "vessels with food"(?).
114. *Drul* < 'drul, rotten, putrified.
115. *bZens-gsol* see 150.1086; 4. 16.
116. *dGuñ-ka phan-phun-na*, translated by M. Lalou (4.16): "pendant de nombreuses nuits." We associate phan-phun with phan-tshun "to and fro, hither and thither" in the sense of "the whole." The expression is otherwise unknown to us.
117. M. Lalou (4.16 note 3) prefers phywa-cha to phyag-cha of the text.
118. See p. 371.
119. *gLa-sgañ* and *mDa'-rgyud* are two medicinal plants, *Cyperus rotundus* or *pertenuis* and a plant employed against childbed fever (150.673).
120. *gTad*, fixed.
121. Pit, see 4.21.
122. M. Lalou (4.20) translates "anciens biens privés de l'âme."



123. See Peter Aufschnaiter, "Prehistoric sites discovered in inhabited regions of Tibet," *East and West* 7, Roma 1956, p. 74–88, especially Site XII; Turrell Wylie, "Mortuary customs at Sa-skya, Tibet," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25, 1964–65, p. 229–42.
124. *sDer-rgyu*, by M. Lalou (4.351) identified with *sder-kyu*, "un croc." Most probably a "dibble" is indicated by this term, "plate-claw."
125. Related to *snol-ba*, *nal*, *nal-phrug*, and *nal-bu*.
126. *Bas* = *byas*.

### Chapter 16, pp. 380–397

1. Hoffmann (162.265) translates "gandhakūfi mit Gittern".
2. Hoffmann (162.266) translates "mit durchbrochenen Wänden nach Art der Schachbrett-Quadrate".
3. See 169.72 ff. and 194.136.
4. See 194.727.
5. King *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal* is the first for whose tomb we know a name. For this name see p. 146 and chapter 9, note 12. Through this name the giving of special names to the royal toms is connected with the foundation of the Yar-luñ Dynasty because *sPu-de-guñ-rgyal* is a progenitor of the Dynasty.
6. *Brus* < 'bru-ba.
7. This refers to the opening and looting of the tombs carried out in 877 or 937 A.D. (see 195.42).
8. See note 110 above. *Bañ-so dmar-po*, "the Red Tomb" is the popular name of the Tomb derived from the name *Muri-smug-po*. *Señ-ge-rtšigs-pa* "Lion building". Richardson (181.83–84) and Wang (221.85) mention a stone lion found at one of the tombs.
9. See G. Tucci, "The validity of Tibetan historical tradition," *India Antiqua*, Leiden 1947, p. 311 note 10; 194.713 ff.
10. Printed in italics in the Table XIII, p. 395–96.

### Appendices, pp. 401–424

1. 1.97 prints: *yan*.
2. *mTsham* error for *mtshan*.
3. See p. 227.
4. *Drod* < *bro-ba*.
5. '*Dran-bda*', later form 'gran-bda'. The French translation "Ayant provoqué à la lutte" is possible, but questionable. *bDa*' means "accuse, drive, chase." Therefore we propose the following three translations: 1. accused of contending, vying; 2. contending for, he chased; 3. fighting and hunting.
6. *rGal* < *rgol-ba*.
7. Or "Can I fight the Enemy?" or "Can You fight the Enemy?"
8. "We are not equal" or "You are not equal."
9. Or "You cannot." For the French translation of the passage IIIa–b see 1.123.
10. *Ral-gyi* = *ral-gri*.
11. 1.97 prints *glan*.
12. I.e. from a *mtshan* or *mtshun* to a human being, an ape, a descendant from the Ape and the Rock-demoness. Possibly *spre'u* is here a substitute for an original *Te'u*. See p. 226, 301, and 218 ff.
13. See p. 313 f.
14. Verbally "one hundred closed copper vessels." The frequently occurring *brgya*, one hundred, is most probably a later substitute for an original *rGya* or *rHya*, for which see p. 156 and 277.
15. 1.97 prints *kyan*.
16. *Drug*, following 1.125 we translate this as *dug*.
17. 1.125 translated "L'année dud sna-pho," commented "Peut-être année du bétail mâle." This interpretation is untenable. The sentence runs: *dud sna pho(i)-lo*, "He subdued the different Dud(-gro)." For *dud* see p. 313. *Phol* < *dbol*, 'bol, 'bal.
18. 1.125: "emportant sur son sein l'enfant," not paying any heed to *lton*, which possibly has some connection with *rTon-pa*, *lto*, and 'don-pa.
19. 1.98 prints *brgyis*.
20. *dByal* < 'byol.
21. *Thor-to* = *thor-cog*.
22. *Phom* < 'bam-pa.
23. Here transcribed *mdañ*, see discussion p. 361.
24. *sKu-mtshal*, generally an expression for blood. Here a respectful form of *mtshal*, vermilion or cinnabar.
25. *Pyol* < 'byol.
26. *Char*, see p. 312.
27. Large iron pans for parching grain.
28. Related to *dño*, shore or bank, and *ñogs*, slope or shore.

29. *mNas*, \* $\sqrt{\text{nañ}}$  inside, related to *mna'*, take an oath, and *gnañ-ba*, to command. The expression *mnañs-su-bc(h)ad* has a phonetic similarity to *dbañ-su bcad*, to subjugate. The expression therefore means "brought to take the (feudal) oath" or "brought under command." The French translation runs "emmenés au royaume."
30. See p. 310, and Chapter 14, note 6.
31. *ITan* is related to *sta-gri* and *dgra-sta*.
32. *Goñ* = *goñ-bo*.
33. Mistake for *rañ*?
34. *brLa'* = *bla*.
35. See discussion p. 312.
36. "The fire-place is below." *sGyed-po*, a small fire-place (150.330). *sGyed-po* may also be related to *skyed-po* or *skyes-po*. In this case the sentence means, "The Born One is below."
37. 1.100 prints *rnog*.
38. 1.128 translates: "Et qui vais, me plaisant aux bêtes à crinières."
39. Section IV, p. 408–09, is translated on p. 190–92, Section V, p. 409–11, is translated on p. 213–16, and Section VI, p. 411–12, is translated on p. 217. Section II, p. 407–08, is translated on p. 233.
40. See Chapter 11, note 6.
41. *Dud* < 'dud-pa.
42. *Bañ-thañ* = *bañ-gtañ* < *bañ-gtoñ-ba*.
43. *Sil*, see 150.1269.
44. *Gor* = *rdo* (150.231).
45. This line is obviously enlarged with the added *kun-gyi*.
46. *Tshul* are the ways and manners transmitted from former times, to be distinguished from *khriims*, the rules established by the king and the government.
47. See Chapter 11, note 6.
48. *sLe-ba* = *sle-po*, *sle-ba*, *sle-bo* (150.1300).
49. *bTsun* here = *mtshun*. *Son* < *gson-po*.
50. The fir or pine tree.
51. The Yar-mo River in Yar-luñ.
52. See p. 371.
53. Compare the compilation by Chang Kun, "An analysis of the Tun-huang Tibetan annals," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 5, Hongkong 1959–60, p. 125; and Luciano Petech, "Glosse agli Annali di Tun-Huang," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* XLII, Roma 1967, pp. 241–279, especially p. 255 and 256–58.

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