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Christopher Beckwith

**The Introduction of  
Greek Medicine into  
Tibet in the Seventh  
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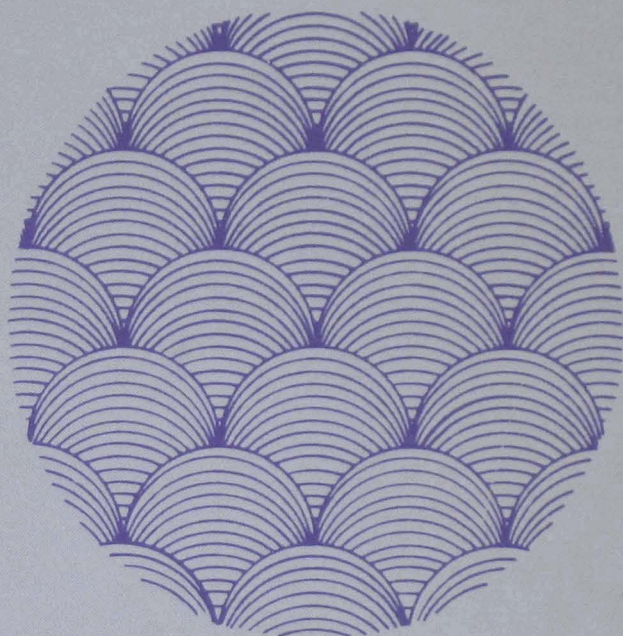
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# THE INTRODUCTION OF GREEK MEDICINE INTO TIBET IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES<sup>1</sup>

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The introduction of foreign medical science into Tibet has hitherto not been the subject of any detailed study, although Tibetan histories of medicine contain much information on the early development of medical science in the Tibetan Empire. In the present paper, an attempt is made to interpret all of the relevant passages from available Tibetan sources concerning the Greek school, the most important of the foreign systems of medicine introduced into early Tibet.

THE HISTORY OF MEDICAL SCIENCE in Tibet, a subject on which several major Tibetan historians wrote important treatises, is still practically unknown outside of the Tibetan-reading world. Western and Japanese Tibetologists, especially those dealing with the history of the Tibetan Empire, have so far primarily used Tibetan political (*rgyal-rabs*)<sup>2</sup> and religious (*chos'byuñ*) historical genres and, unfortunately, much hagiographical and apocryphal literature as well, to the virtual exclusion of anything else.<sup>3</sup>

At present, Tibetologists generally assume that Tibetan medicine was overwhelmingly Indian in origin or inspiration. Available historical evidence, however, points to the conclusion that medicine, at least during the first century of the Tibetan Empire (ca. 634-755 A.D.) was in fact primarily Western, and secondarily Chinese, in origin.<sup>4</sup> This should not be too surprising, since the cultural, economic, and political centers of the world outside Tibet at the same time were the Islamic Caliphate and the Chinese T'ang Empire.<sup>5</sup> Persian or Arab doctors could be found not only in Ch'ang-an, the T'ang capital, but in nearly every port of China.<sup>6</sup> Thus we find that the personal or "court" physicians of all the early Tibetan emperors, so far as the former are known, through the early part of the reign of Khri sroñ lde brtsan (755-ca. 794), are said to be from

"Khrom" (that is, the Eastern Roman, or Greek Byzantine Empire)<sup>7</sup> or "Tazig" (that is, the Arab-Persian Caliphate). The latter emperor appointed the three Tibetan students of his "Greek" physician as his personal physicians before appointing, according to tradition, the famous Tibetan G'yuthog yontan mgonpo "the Elder," a contemporary of the tantric teacher-magician Padmasambhava, to the position in the late eighth century. Apart from the corpus of material concerning G'yuthogpa, there appears to be very little historical information available about medicine under the later emperors.<sup>8</sup> The next period of Tibetan medical history discussed in reliable historical sources is that of the *phyi dar*, or "later propagation" of the Buddhist faith in Tibet (from the mid-tenth century). From this period on, Tibetan medicine appears indeed to be largely Indian in origin and inspiration.<sup>9</sup>

I. According to the sober historical accounts of Dpābo gtsug-lag 'phreñba, Sdesrid sañs-rgyas rgyamtsho, Dzaya pañḍita blobzañ 'phrin-las and Koñ-sprul blogros mthāyas, medical books were first brought into Tibet by the T'ang princess, Wen-ch'eng,<sup>10</sup> and were translated into Tibetan by Buddhist scholars in her retinue. Subsequently, physicians were invited from other countries, and also translated medical works:

## Dpābo gtsug-lag 'phrenba:

*/Boddu sman-dpyad byuñba'i thogma  
 ni zas-spyod spar-blañ phramo  
 tespa tsam  
 sñon nas byuñ la/  
 gzuñ rgyabzās  
 sman-dpyad chenmo tespa bsnamspa  
 hvaśañ mahādewa dañ dhārmakośas  
 bsgyur/ de'i tše rgyagar nas  
 badzrabhvāzā/ rgyanag nas  
 hen-wen-hañ-de/ stag-gziggi [sic]  
 khrom nas galenosste [sic]  
 smanpa gsum spyān drañs/  
 soso'i  
 lugs  
 duma  
 bsgyur/  
 thunmoñdu  
 mi  
 'jigspa'i mtshon-cha  
 zes bampo bdunpa  
 brtsams/<sup>11</sup>*

## Dzaya pañdita blobzāñ 'phrin-las:

*Chos-rgyal  
 sroñ btsan  
 sgampo'i  
 dussu  
 rgyamobzā 'on-ñiñ-koñ-jos  
 khyerba'i sman-dbyad chenmo zes byaba  
 hvaśañ mahādewa dañ dhārmakośa gniskiyis  
 bsgyurciñ/ yañ rgyagargyi smanpa  
 bharadhvadza dañ ryanaggi smanpa  
 hen-wen-hañ-de/ stag-gziggam khromgyi  
 smanpa galenas zes byaba  
 gsum spyān drañspa la brten nas/  
 rgyagargyi smanpas 'bu śag ma bu che  
 chuñ dañ/ sbyorba mar gsar/ ryanaggi  
 smanpas/ rgya dpyad thorbu che chuñ/  
 stag-gziggi smanpas/ mgo sñon bsduspa  
 dañ/ despo'i gtar-dpyad sogs  
 bsgyurciñ gsumga bsdoms nas  
 mi 'jigspa'i mtshon-cha  
 zes byaba bampo bdunpa  
 brtsams  
 nas phul/<sup>11</sup>*

## Sdesrid sañs-rgyas rgyamtsho:

*'Phagspa 'jig-rtēn dbañ-phyug  
 mirje'i tshul bzuñba sroñ btsan  
 sgampo rgyal-sar phebs nas/  
 miñ-tshig thamscañ yiger gdabtu  
 ruñba dañ/ rgyamobzā 'un-ñiñ-koñ-jos  
 bsnamspa'i sman-dpyad chenmor gragspa  
 haśañ mahādewa dañ dharmakośa gniskiyis  
 bsgyurciñ/ 'phags-yulgyi smanpa  
 bharadhvadza/ ryanaggi smanpa  
 hen-wen-hañ-de/ stag-gziggam khromgyi  
 smanpa gales-nos gsum rgyalpo'i  
 sñun gsoba'i phyir gdan drañs/  
 rgyagargyi smanpas 'bu śag ma bu che  
 chuñ dañ sbyorba mar gsar/ ryanagpas  
 rgya dpyad thorbu che chuñ/  
 stag-gzigpas mgo sñon bsduspa dañ  
 dephe// rmabya/ netso gsumgyi  
 dpyad sogs bsgyur/ gsumga  
 bkābgros-te mi 'jigspa'i mtshon-cha  
 zes byaba bampo bdun yodpa'i  
 gsodpyadkyi gzuñ gsardu brtsams  
 nas phul/<sup>11</sup>*

## Koñ-sprul blogros mthāyas:

*/Sroñ  
 btsan  
 sgampo'i  
 skuriñ la  
 'un-ñiñ-koñ-jos  
 sman-rtisikiy gzuñ bsnamspa  
 hvaśañ mahādewa dañ dhārmakośa  
 gniskiyis bsgyur/ rgyagar nas  
 bharadhvadza/ ryanag nas  
 hān-wañ-hvañ/ tazig nas  
 galenas zes byaba'i  
 smanpa gsum spyān drañs/  
 'bu śag ma bu che  
 chuñ/  
 rgya dpyad thorbu/  
 mgo sñon bsduspa  
 sogs  
 bsgyur/ smanpa gsum bgros nas  
 mi 'jigspa'i mtshon-cha  
 zes byaba lugs chen gsumgyi  
 gzuñdu gragspa byas/<sup>11</sup>*

Dpābo gtsug-lag 'phrenba:

"As for the beginning of the appearance of medicine in Tibet, formerly whereas just a few snatches of knowledge about diet had appeared, latterly the Chinese consort, having brought the (text) called *Sman-dpyad chenmo*,<sup>12</sup> it was translated by the *ho-shang*<sup>13</sup> Mahādeva<sup>14</sup> and Dharmakoṣa.<sup>15</sup> Then, three doctors were invited, from India Bharadvāja, and China Hsüan-yüan Huang-ti, and from Rome in Tazig, Galenos. They translated much from their individual schools. Jointly they compiled the seven-volume text called the *Mi 'jigspa'i mtshon-cha*."

Dzaya paṅḍita blobzañ 'phrin-las:

"At the time of the King of the Law Sroñ btsan sgampo, the (text) called the *Sman-dpyad chenmo*,<sup>12</sup> which had been brought by the Chinese consort Wen-ch'eng *kung-chu*, was translated by the *ho-shang*<sup>13</sup> Mahādeva<sup>14</sup> and Dharmakoṣa;<sup>15</sup> furthermore, the three (physicians) called 'the Indian physician Bharadvāja, the Chinese physician Hsüan-yüan Huang-ti, (and) the Tazig or Roman physician Galenos' having been invited, consequently the Indian doctor translated the '*Bu sag ma bu che chuñ* and the *Sbyorba mar gсар*, the Chinese doctor the *Rgya dpyad thorbu che chuñ*, (and) the Tazig doctor the *Mgo shon bsduspa* and the *Despo'i gtar-dpyad*, etc.; the three together compiled the seven-volume (text) called the '*Mi 'jigspa'i-mtshon-cha*' and presented (it to the throne)."

Sdesrid sañs-rgyas rgyamtsho:

"After Sroñ btsan sgampo—the glorious mighty world-sovereign who chose the way of justice—came to the throne, all speech could be put into writing, so the (text) known as the *Sman-dpyad chenmo*,<sup>12</sup> which had been brought by the Chinese consort Wen-ch'eng *kung-chu*, was translated by the *ho-shang*<sup>13</sup> Mahādeva<sup>14</sup> and Dharmakoṣa;<sup>15</sup> and three (men)—the Indian physician Bharadvāja, the Chinese physician Hsüan-yüan Huang-ti, and the Tazig or Roman physician Galenos—were invited to court to cure the illnesses of the king. The Indian physician translated the '*Bu sag ma bu che chuñ* and the *Sbyorba mar gсар*, the Chinese physician the *Rgya dpyad thorbu che chuñ*; the Tazig the *Mgo shon bsduspa* and the *Depho rmabya netso gsumgyi dpyad*, etc. The three consulted together, compiled anew a seven-volume text on medicine called the *Mi 'jigspa'i mtshon-cha*, and presented (it to the throne)."

Koñ-sprul blogros mthāyas:

"During the reign of Sroñ btsan sgampo texts of medicine and astrology having been brought by Wen-ch'eng *kung-chu*, they were translated by the *ho-shang*<sup>13</sup> Mahādeva<sup>14</sup> and Dharmakoṣa.<sup>15</sup> The so-called 'three doctors'—from India Bharadvāja, from China Hsüan-yüan Huang-ti, and from Tazig Galenos—were invited. They translated the '*Bu sag ma bu che chuñ*, the *Rgya dpyad thorbu*, the *Mgo shon bsduspa*, and so on. The three physicians consulted together and produced the *Mi 'jigspa'i mtshon-cha*, which became known as the *Lugs chen gsumgyi gtuh*."

While the schematic nature of the narrative should not lead one into making hasty conclusions about the trustworthiness of the information—a matter treated at length below—there are indeed grounds for not taking the words of these texts too literally.

First, the three foreign doctors supposedly invited to Tibet have very revealing names. "Bharadvāza," the name of "the Indian physician," is the name of the legendary founder of Indian medicine, the Ṛṣi Bharadvāja, who received teachings on the science of medicine from the god Indra and passed them on to other ṛṣis.<sup>16</sup> "Hen-wen Hañ-de" is a somewhat deceptive transcription of the name Hsüan-yüan Huang-ti,<sup>17</sup> which is one of the names of the legendary "Yellow Emperor" who is often credited with the creation of medical science in China, and who was supposedly the author of the *Nei ching*, or "Internal Classic," the most important book in Chinese medicine. "Galenos," as is immediately apparent, is a transcription of the name of the historical Galēnos, our Galen, the Greek who was considered to be the greatest of all physicians throughout the European and Muslim Middle Ages. Thus, it is obvious that the three names are actually the names of authors, two legendary and one historical, to whom are ascribed the most famous ancient medical works of their respective civilizations. Therefore, the sources should be interpreted as indicating simply that the works of these writers or of their schools were introduced into Tibet at the time of Sroñ brtsan sgampo (d. 649 A.D.).

There were several persons in Tibet at that time who were involved in the work of translation. The Chinese monk Mahādeva and the Tibetan Dharmakośa were already present at court and had translated the *Sman-dpyad chenmo* from Chinese. Furthermore, according to traditional accounts, one of the great ministers, Thon-mi 'briñ tore sambhoṭa, who had been educated in India and perfected the Tibetan writing system, was involved in the translation of Indian texts into Tibetan.<sup>18</sup> Much less is known about "Galenos" and the Greek school in Tibet at the time.

In the sources translated above, "Galenos" is said to be "from Tazig or Rome" and "from Rome in Tazig," a confusion also found in the Chinese *Hsin T'ang Shu*, where it is stated that Rome was under Arab sovereignty.<sup>19</sup> Because of the consistent use of the name Rome (written in Tibetan either *Phrom* or *Khrom*) in close connection with Tazig, there is no doubt but that, as proved long ago by Schaeder, the Greek "Eastern Roman" or Byzantine Empire is

meant.<sup>20</sup> The form of Galen's name is also revealing: it is not related directly to the Arabic form *Ġalīnūs*, or to the Syriac form,<sup>21</sup> but is an exact representation of the original Greek form of the name as it was still pronounced in at least one Byzantine Greek dialect.<sup>22</sup> Thus, there exists a possibility that an actual Greek transmitted the name of Galen and his medical tradition to Tibet. It is of course more likely that the name was transmitted through Sogdian or Middle Persian, where its form could have been \*Galēnos, since the Persians, at least from early Sassanian times on through the famous medical school at Ġundīsābūr,<sup>23</sup> were definitely familiar with Greek medicine. However, because of the absence of any recorded mention of the name of Galen in Iran or Sogdiana before the Arab conquest, potential Middle Persian or Sogdian forms are unknown, so that the Byzantines receive the credit by default. At any rate, it is not possible to conclusively decide the matter of provenance at present. One thing is virtually certain, however: the name could not have been transcribed as it was had it first been heard after the fall of the Tibetan Empire.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, there is no reason to doubt that the name and several works of Galen (or pseudo-Galen) became known in Tibet during the reign of Sroñ brtsan sgampo. But what were these works? The names given, certainly in abbreviated forms, for the works ascribed to Galen or his unknown translator, are highly problematical.

One of them, the enigmatic *Mgo sñon bsduspa*, which was perhaps an epitome or a collection of works dealing with the head, may perhaps be compared to Hippocrates' *Peri tōn en kaphalēi trōmatōn*.<sup>25</sup> This comparison is possible because both Biji Tsanpašilaha, the next physician of the Greek school, and Halašanti, the Tazig physician who followed him, also wrote works dealing with the head. Furthermore, T'ang dynasty period Chinese sources relate that the "Romans" (i.e., Byzantine Greeks) were particularly skillful at brain surgery.<sup>26</sup> One may then assume that any "Graeco-Arab" or "Graeco-Persian" doctors in Tibet, such as the one known as "Galenos," would have been thoroughly familiar with that kind of operation. The other two titles are certainly connected with each other, but it is difficult to determine which may be more correct. In any case, it appears more than likely that the *Despo'i gtar-dpyad* or "Gentle (?) Phlebotomy" of Blobzañ 'phrin-las's account was the same work as the first of the three parts of the corresponding work given in the other accounts: that is, the *Depho('i) . . . dpyad*.<sup>27</sup> It is also possible that the second version is

correct, so that its title was either a flowery one having little or nothing to do with the contents of the work, or else it was indeed a work dealing with the "Examination of Cocks, Peacocks, and Parrots"—Galen did dissect all sorts of animals, including birds, and wrote at length on his discoveries.<sup>28</sup> None of the other texts named can be identified, with the possible exception of the *Mi 'jigspa'i mtshon-cha*, which seems to have survived into later times.<sup>29</sup>

Subsequently, according to Dpābo gtsug-lag 'phrenba and Sañs-rgyas rgyamtsho,<sup>30</sup> the physician known as Galenos was retained as royal physician, and practiced and taught Greek medicine in Lhasa. Dpābo gtsug-lag 'phrenba relates (continued from the passage quoted above):

*Galenos blasmandu bzugs/ rus chunba bti slobtu  
sisalste rigs mtho dman medpa slobpar gnañ/  
"Galenos stayed on as royal physician. He gave  
instruction (in medicine, even) to the four lower  
classes, and ordered that they teach without (regard  
for distinctions of) higher and lower class."*

Sañs-rgyas rgyamtsho gives a much more detailed account of the events (continued from the passage quoted above):

*De las/ lugs chen gsumpo'i tshul-dag ma rtogs na/  
/smanpa chenpo'i grañssu mi 'groste/ /bdag dañ  
gžan la phanpar mi nuspas/ /bar-snañ mkhā la  
jiltar mthos bñhab bžin/ /bharadvadza drañ-sron  
chenpo dañ/ /galas-nos ni rgyal-tshab thubo dañ/  
/hen-weñ-hañ-de sabdag dbañ bskurba/ /phrul  
chen gsumpa bdud-rtsi bumpa bñhags/ /žes gsodpyad  
thamscad lugs-sde gsumdu bsdu nas 'chadpar  
mžad/ rgya dkar naggi smanpa gñis la rgyalpos  
byadgā phulte rañ-rañgi yuldu bžud/ galanos rje'i  
blasmandu bzugs/ phal-cher lhasar stan chagsñin  
bstan-bcoskyañ duma brtsamspar grags/ yum  
khabtu bžespar sras gsum byuñba'i cheba gtsañ-  
stoddu btañbas biji sogskyi brgyudpa dar/ 'brñpo  
g'yorpor brdzañspas lho roñgi smanparnams 'phel/  
chunba yabkyi skur bcarbar sogpo smanpa žes  
gleñ/ gales-nos la phyis mtshan 'dzoror 'bodciñ/ de  
la bodkyyi rigs bzañba 'gāžig slobpar 'dodpa ma  
gnañste/ rigs ñanpa rtug/ ljañ/ snigs/ rmoñs žespa  
bži sman-dpyad slobtu bcug/ rigs bzañ ñan dañ  
mtho dman medpar 'chossigpar bkā bsgos/ miñ  
'tshobyed smanpar btags/ byadgā la gtsigs chen dgu  
dañ gtsigs chuñ gsumste bcugñis gnañ/*

"Then, 'If one were ignorant of the methods of the

three schools, one would not enter the ranks of the great doctors—just as, no matter how hard one would (try to) measure empty space in the sky, it would be useless for oneself and for others. Bharadvāja was designated "great Arhat," Galenos "head regent," and Hsüan-yüan Huang-ti "landlord." They were praised as "the three great magicians, the vessels of nectar." Thus, all medical science, after it was collected into 'the three schools', was explained (according to them). The king gave rewards to both the Indian and Chinese physicians, and they departed for their own countries. Galenos remained as the royal personal physician. He is said to have made his appearance<sup>31</sup> all around Lhasa, and also to have compiled many scientific works. It is said that, having taken a wife, he had three sons, of whom the eldest was sent to Gtsañ-stod, and the Biji, etc., lineages spread; the middle one was sent to G'yorpo and the doctors of the southern valleys flourished; the youngest, who stayed with his father, was called 'the Sogpo doctor.'<sup>32</sup> Galenos was later called by the name 'Dzoro, and as some upper-class Tibetans did not want to study with him, he suffered to teach medicine to the four low classes, the *rtug*, *ljañ*, *snigs*, and *rmoñs*. He commanded them: 'Cure the good and bad classes without (regard for) higher or lower!' He was given the name '*Tshobyed smanpa* ['The Life-giving Physician'].<sup>33</sup> As a reward he was given twelve (*gtsigs*)—nine large *gtsigs* and three small *gtsigs*."<sup>34</sup>

The most significant statement in this passage is doubtlessly that regarding the retention of a Greek (or Tazig) doctor, rather than an Indian or a Chinese one, as royal physician. At the very least, it indicates that at the Tibetan court the Greek medical tradition was sufficiently well known to be esteemed more highly than either the Indian or the Chinese tradition<sup>35</sup> and is perhaps indicative of the close contacts then existing between the Tibetan Empire and the Iranian world bordering it on the west. It is also highly interesting that this Western physician not only deigned to teach medicine to students of the non-noble classes, but also bid his students obey a moral precept, an additional detail reminiscent of the Hippocratic ideal. On balance, despite the obscurity of some of its details, and the probably non-historical nature of others, this passage does provide a vivid description of medical activity in early Imperial Tibet.

II. "Then, from the land of Rome, one called Bitsi



Tsanpašilaha was invited." Thus begins Dpābo gtsug-lag 'phrenba's account of the most important foreign physician in early Tibetan history, Biji Tsanpašilaha. The success of "Biji," who was personal physician to the emperor and author of an enormous amount of medical literature, and of his predecessor "Galenos," is clear proof that Greek medicine was initially the most important medical tradition in the early Tibetan Empire. Although the Indian, Chinese, and other traditions also played a part in the overall development of Tibetan medicine at the time of Emperor Khri lde gtsug brtsan (commonly known as Mes 'ag-tshoms), the Greek tradition was dominant in the area stretching eastward from the Atlantic Ocean through Tibet up to the borders of China, in which latter country it also enjoyed a certain prestige.

The Sdesrid's monumental *Khog'bugs* is again the most detailed source among currently available works dealing with the subject, although the texts of the royal edict and the physicians' oath apparently promulgated due to the influence of Biji are given only in the works of Dpābo gtsug-lag 'phrenba.<sup>36</sup> The existence of a historical person named Biji Tsanpašilaha is also well attested in other earlier works, including the *Rgyal-rabs gsalba'i meloñ* of Saskya bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan,<sup>37</sup> the *Bśad mdzod yid-bzin norbu* of Don-dam smra'ba'i señge,<sup>38</sup> and the apocryphal *Biography of Padmasambhava*, where he is called "the Chinese scholar."<sup>39</sup> The Sdesrid says:

Yañ de'i ishe khromgyi yul nas de'i skaddu biji  
 zespa'i smanpa miñ dhos tsampašilaha byaba  
 dpon-slob mañpo bos nas tsampašilahas rgyud  
 ſelgyi meloñ le'u lhabcupa/ de la brten nas byañ-  
 khog stodkyi dmar-byañ gsalba'i sgron-me le'u  
 zegñis/ smadkyi dmar-byañ phrulgyi ldemig le'u  
 ñer-lhapa/ yan-laggi bcos them-byañ le'u zegñispa/  
 dernamskyi 'grelpa gsañ ſika gsum/ ma śñiñgi  
 draba che chuñ gñis/ bu 'grelpa dmar nag gñis-te  
 dpyad ma bu bzi/ ſika chuñ/ dra chuñ/ sgronma/ ſi  
 chuñste śñiñ tig bsduspa'i bu bzi/ mde'u/ rnag/ me/  
 thig/ rtsa/ 'bras-rnamskyi bcos-te gcespa'i bu  
 drugste bsdomspas ma gsum dañ bu bcubdun/ de'i  
 steñdu bgegs sel gnadkyi sgronma/ rnag brtag thabs  
 chod bzi'pa/ skem-sman rin-chen gzir bžag/ rnag  
 skyugs 'jam 'dren bdud-rtisste thun-moñ ma yinpa  
 gsañba'i bu bzi sogs rgyaspa'i skor dañ/ 'brinñdu  
 bebun snagpo tika yañ-tig gñis/ śintu bsduspa yige  
 dmar chuñ rtsa 'grel tig gsum dañ/ byañ-khoggi  
 man-ñag le'u gsumga drilba la bdud-rtsi meloñgi

skor le'u cheba brgyad dañ chuñba bcugsumste ñer-  
 gcig/ rma skor gsum stonpa thig-le gsalba'i mdo  
 mgo byañ-khog 'brelmar bcospa/ don śñiñ/ rnampa  
 lña'i dpyañ-thag/ rgyanaggi drañ-sroñgis mdzadpa  
 rin-chen dbyig le'u bdun-cupa dañ/ mo dbyig le'u  
 bdunpa drilbas bampo ñiśu rtsa lñapa/ phyag-  
 rdorgyis mdzadpa mgobo'i risod-bzlog/[/ sprulpa'i  
 khye'us mdzadpa bdud-rtsi dar-yakan lhuñ-bzedkyi  
 'phrul'khor/ de'i 'grelpa haśañ krin-das mdzadpa/  
 mdobyañ che chuñ byaba dañ/ ñes-dmigs sum-cu  
 rtsa lñapa/ ro bkra 'phrulgyi meloñ le'u ñer-  
 drugpa/ ro bkra thagu dgu sbyor/ gson thig ro  
 thaggi rnam-gžag drañ-sroñ mi'i khogpa le'i  
 bcupa/ drañ-sroñ rgyun-śeskyis mdzadpar gragspa  
 byañ-khog khremskyi mdo žes byaba dañ/ yan-lağ  
 la drañ-sroñgi keñ-rus che chuñ byaba dañ/ le'i  
 bcugsumpa byaba dañ/ tshigskyi sdomskyi le'u žes  
 byaba dañ/ rin-poche'i mdzod phanpa smangyi le'i  
 bcupa dañ/ smanpa la rabtu gcespa'i le'u bti'pa  
 dañ/ rinpoche'i phrenba žes byaba le'u lhabcupa  
 dañ/ rinpoche'i dbyig le'u bdun-cuparnams bsgyur  
 nas rgyalpo la phul/ dernams phyogs gcigtu za'oggyi  
 sgrombur bžugspa la bladpyadkyi gžuñ 'tshoba'i  
 mdor grags/ gžanyañ de'i dus na haśañ mahādeba  
 dañ khyuñpo tsetse sogskyis sman-dpyad dmo  
 bsgyurbar bśadciñ/ tsampašilaha des phyis boddu  
 srid bskyañs/ biji'i rgyud śhar byuñ grub ruñ 'di  
 naskyañ 'phelbar grags/ slob-brgyud la žañ dañ  
 stoñ dañ brañti gsumgyis gtsos dumar 'phel/ de  
 gsumpos mdokhamskyi sokha bsrñpapo lo bti  
 byaspa'i byadgā la rgyalpos rgyud ſelkyi meloñ  
 rma bcos ma bu bcubdun sogs rgyas 'brinñ bsdud  
 gsum yige dmar chuñ dañ bcaspa gnañ nas rgyud  
 nas brgyudkyi blasmandu dbañ bskurziñ dmağ  
 naskyañ btonpar grags/ lalar stoñ bžer mespo lo  
 mgo dpyad/ brañti rgyal-mñes kharbur byañ-khog/  
 žañ lhamo gzi la yan-lag-rnamskyi bcos gnañyañ  
 zer/<sup>40</sup>

"And at that time, from the land of Rome, the physician (who was) in their language called biji (but) whose name was really called Tsampašilaha, after calling many scholars together, (this) Tsampašilaha translated [and/or compiled] the fifteen-chapter *Rgyud ſelgyi meloñ*;<sup>41</sup> basing himself on that, the forty-two chapter *Byañ-khog stodkyi dmar-byañ gsalba'i sgron-me*; the twenty-five chapter *Smadkyi dmar-byañ 'phrulgyi ldemig*; the forty-two chapter *Yan-laggi bcos them-byañ*; their commentaries, the *Gsañ ſika gsum* ['the three secret *ſika* (commentaries)']; the mother(-text)s *Śñiñgi draba che chuñ gñis*; and their son(-text)s *'Grelpa dmar*



*nag gñis*, the mothers and sons (together making) four works; the *Ṭika chuñ*, *Dra chuñ*, *Sgronma*, and *Ṭi chuñ*, being the *Sñiñ-thig bsduspa'i bu bñi*; the treatments of *Mde'u*, *Rnag*, *Me*, *Thig*, *Rtsa*, and *'Bras*, being the *Gcespa'i bu drug*; thus, added up together, three mothers and seventeen sons; on top of that, the *Bgegs sel gnadkyi sgronma*, *Rnag brtag thabs chod bñipa*, the *Skem-sman rin-chen gñir bñag*, (and) the *Rnag skyugs 'jam 'dren bdud-rtsi*, being the *Thun-moñ ma yinpa gsañba'i bu bñi* ['the four special secret sons'], etc., of the extensive group; (in the) middle, the *Bebum snagpo tika* (and) *Yañ-tig*, two (works); the very condensed one the *Yige dmar chuñ* (in its) *Rtsa*, *'Grel*, and *Tig*, three (works); the *Byañ-khoggi man-ñag* in three chapters rolled together and the *Bdud-rtsi meloñgi skor* in eight large chapters and thirteen small chapters, thus twenty-one in all; the *Rma skor gsum stonpa thigle gsañba'i mdo mgo byañ-khog 'brelmar bcospa*; the *Don sñiñ*; the *Rnampa lña'i dpyañ-thag*; the seventy-chapter *Rin-chen dbyig* and the seven-chapter *Mo dbyig*, rolled up together in twenty-five volumes, composed by the Chinese arhat; the *Mgobo'i risod-bzlog* composed by Phyag-rdor [Vajrapāñi]; the *Bdud-rtsi dar-yakan lhuñ-bzedkyi 'phrul'khor* composed by the *Sprulpa'i khye'u*; its commentary, composed by the *ho-shang* Krinda,<sup>42</sup> called the *Mdobyañ che chuñ*, and the thirty-five (chapter) *Ñes-dmigs*, the twenty-six chapter *Ro bkra 'phrulgyi meloñ*, the *Ro bkra thagu dgu sbyor*, the ten chapter *Gson thig ro thaggi rnam-gñag drañ-sroñ mi'i khogpa*; the works said to have been composed by the Arhat Rgyun-śes, called the *'Byañ-khog khremskyi mdo*', the *Yan-lag la drañ-sroñgi keñ-rus che chuñ*, the *Le'u bcugsumpa*, the *'Tshigskyi sdomskyi le'u*', the *Rinpoche'i mdzod phanpa smangyi le'u bcupa*, the *Smanpa la rabtu gcespa'i le'u bñipa*, the fifty chapter *'Rinpoche'i phreñba*, and the seventy-chapter *Rinpoche'i dbyigs*; and he presented them to the king. They remained [i.e., were kept] all together in a small trunk covered in heavy silk, and became known as the *Bladpyadkyi gñuñ 'tshoba'i mdo*. Furthermore, although at that time the *ho-shang* Mahādeva, Khyuñpo tsetse, and others had translated many medical (works and) were expounding them, that Tsanpañilaha later ruled [?] in Tibet. Even though Biji's lineage had previously been successful, henceforth it was increasingly famous. Led by the three (lineages of) *Žañ*, *Stoñ*, and *Brañti* it developed into many pupil-lineages. As a reward for those three having served as guards [?]<sup>43</sup> of Mdokhams for four years, the king

gave them (the medical texts) *Rgyud selgyi meloñ*, the *Rma bcos ma bu bcubdun* [i.e., 'the mother and son texts of the *Treatment of Wounds*, seventeen texts in all'] etc., together with the three (versions), the *Ēxtensive*, *Middling*, and *Condensed* [or 'Epitomized'], of the *Yige dmar chuñ*, and initiated them according to the tantras as personal physicians of his line, and also dismissed them from the army. So it is said. It is also said that to a few were given (the texts of) treatments: to *Stoñ bñer mespo*, the *Mgo dpyad* ['Examination of the Head'], to *Brañti rgyal-mñes kharbu* the *Byañ-khog* ['The Trunk'], and to *Žañ lhamo gñi* the *Yan-lag-rnams* ['The Limbs'].''

Since the title *Biji* (variously written *bidzi*, *bibi*, *bitsi*, *biche*) is specifically said to be a foreign work meaning "physician," possible Indo-Iranian origins come first to mind. Because the person concerned is elsewhere said to be from Tazig, it is not surprising to find in Sogdian the word *βyč-*, which means "physician."<sup>44</sup> The Tibetan form *biji* is a quite acceptable transcription of this word. The final syllable of his personal name, Tsanpañilaha, which is no doubt a transcription of a \*Campañilaha, is so far inexplicable. However, the facts that his name is obviously of Sanskrit derivation, that he is credited with the translation of several works with Buddhist titles or authors, and that none of his works is referred to by the Tibetan Buddhist historians as "pagan" (*mustegspa*), unlike those of his compatriot Halañanti,<sup>45</sup> make it virtually certain that he was a Buddhist. Biji's continued success under Khri sroñ lde brtsan, as well as his pupil Brañti's success, may be attributed to this circumstance. Thus the first royal physician who was also a Buddhist happened to be Biji (= "Bibi," etc.) Tsanpañilaha. This fact is very likely the origin of the later G'yuthogpa tradition that medicine was first introduced into Tibet (from India!) in ancient times by Bibi dgäbyed.<sup>46</sup>

Since Biji is said to have translated many Chinese works, in addition to those translations he made from, presumably, Indian and Iranian languages, and since he is consistently referred to in the *Padma bkāthañ* as "the Chinese scholar" (*Rgyanag mkhaspa*), it is indisputable that he knew Chinese, and had therefore come to Tibet via China,<sup>47</sup> where he had surely practiced medicine for many years.<sup>48</sup> Despite Koñ-sprul's statement which implies that Biji was involved in the compilation of the *Somarāja*, a famous medical work translated from Chinese at this time,<sup>49</sup> it is said in *Dpābo gtsug-lag*

'phrenba's account that this treatise was translated by a Chinese monk in collaboration with a mysterious figure named Rgyaphrug gar-mkhan.<sup>50</sup> The latter statement is confirmed by the lengthy treatment of the subject by the Sdesrid,<sup>51</sup> who does not include Biji among the translators. The vastness of this corpus of medical literature is all the more intriguing because of the difficulty of finding other clarifying references to the works cited, although there are a few exceptions discussed at the end of this paper.

The next accomplishment of Biji as royal physician under the rule of Khri lde gtsug brtsan (Mes 'ag-tshoms, d. 755 A.D.) was apparently the raising of the status of physicians in Tibet. The source for this is Gtsug-lag 'phrenba, whose account quotes two texts, the first an edict concerning physicians and the second an oath administered to the physicians, both apparently promulgated during the period of Biji's tenure as royal physician:

*Phyis gyim-san-koñ-jos rtsis dañ sman-dpyad mañdu bsnams/ hvañañ mahàthitha dañ rgyaphrug gar-mkhan lasogspas somaraisa le'u brgya dañ bcolñapa sogs bsgyur/ de'i tshe khrom nas bitsi tsanbañilaha byaba spyann drañs/ rgyalpo'i rje yin zes lharjer btagsste thamscadkyis blar kburba gralgyi dguñ la 'jogpa stan bzandü 'diñspa<sup>52</sup> zas skom spyann-gzigskyi mchog stobpa skyel-gsu<sup>53</sup> rias byedpa yon gserdu 'bulba/ byaspa drindu gzoba sogskyi bkär btags/ smanparnamskyiskyañ khyim mazes nas boskyañ skyel-gsu dañ zabs-gla gñen tshan yinyañ dkar dañ žurten bran-khol yinyañ bkur-sti dañ guspa dus mindu phradkyañ mdoñs gsol dañ bñen bkur/ dgrabo yinyañ dad-guskkyis blo gtodpa<sup>54</sup> zas nor la 'dod sred byas ruñ skurpa mi 'debs/ nadpa gsoba la žu'bul grags nas gtañ-rag rin-bskul gyge'u skyel sogs bcolña gtsigssu bzuñ/ mñäbdaggis smanpa blama dañpo yinpas byamspa bskyed nañpa<sup>55</sup> bu dañ slobma yinpas mchod ñan phyir ma brjod mdzañskyi khrel 'chorbas khyim-gnas la ñan<sup>56</sup> ma byed yarabskyi tshul la nodpas<sup>57</sup> zas la ma ñan sman-dpyad la lag-brñes<sup>58</sup> yodpas chad<sup>59</sup> la ma dgä thugs lcogpa<sup>60</sup> la khyad yodciñ thal-ñen yodpas lelo dañ tshod-yod ma byed sman-dpyad gnañdu<sup>61</sup> mi phogpas nadpa<sup>62</sup> la ñotsha dañ tshul'chos ma byed ces žalta bdun mdzad/ byañ-khog le'u lñabcu sogs dpyad rgyas 'brin bsduspa'i sman-dpyadkyi bstan-bcos mañdu byuñ<sup>63</sup>*

"Later, Chin-ch'eng kung-chu brought many (books on) Calculation and Medicine.<sup>64</sup> The ho-shang Mahàthitha<sup>65</sup> and Rgyaphrug gar-mkhan,<sup>66</sup>

etc., translated the one hundred and fifteen chapter *Somarāja*. At that time, the (physician) called Biji Tsanpañilaha was invited from Rome. Saying "He is the king's lord," they called him *lharje* ["god'(s) lord"], and the proclamation was published that everybody should honor (the physicians); seat them in the place of honor; set out excellent cushions (for them); feed them the best food and drink as presents; provide horses for them for coming and going; pay their fees in gold; be grateful for their work, and so on. And even if the physician calls from a beautiful house, (they should provide him) his transportation and fees; even if he is a relative, (they should provide) clean food and presents; even if he is a servant, (they should) honor and respect him; even though he does not meet (with patients) on time, (the patients should) wish him joy and be respectful; even though he is an enemy, (they should) be confident out of faith; even though he is greedy for food and money, (they should) not mistreat him; (even) when they are sick people crying out, petitioning to be cured, (they should) give thanks (to the physician); earnestly exhort him [?]; carry his bag (for him) [?],<sup>67</sup> and so forth, (altogether) fifteen (points), were sworn to. By the lord(s) [?]; as the physician-teacher is first (in importance), be kind (to him); as the insiders are sons and pupils, do not expound (medicine, to them) for the sake of (their) poor offerings; (as you are) pursuing learned piety, do not do evil to householders; (as you are) upholding the noble method, do not give out evil drugs; as there are assistants for (such) medical practices, be not willing to cut off (limbs, etc. [?]); as there are differences among oath-breakers, and as it is a crime to be extreme, be neither (too) lax nor (too) strict [?]; as you will meet people in the practice of medicine, do not be indecent and hypocritical to patients;<sup>68</sup> these seven instructions were given. He produced many medical treatises of the extensive, middling, and abbreviated (classes), treatment (-texts) such as the *Byañ-khog* in fifty chapters."<sup>69</sup>

Both of the texts quoted in this passage call to mind other similar texts in traditional Tibetan medical literature, such as the *Rgyud bñi*<sup>70</sup> and the *Biography of G'yuthog the Elder*.<sup>71</sup> The second, however, appears to be close enough to the basic tenets of the Hippocratic oath to be called a version of it. A comparison with another Greek version<sup>72</sup> of the famous Oath shows that the Tibetan one, while just as brief, is actually closer to the traditionally accepted version.<sup>73</sup> It is hoped that publication of

better editions will perhaps clarify some of the obscurity remaining in the highly unusual language of this text.<sup>74</sup>

Following the accession of Emperor Khri sroñ lde brtsan, three foreign doctors were appointed as royal physicians. According to the abbreviated account of Koñ-sprul blogros mthāyas:

*Chos-rgyal khri sroñ lde'u btsangyis rgyal-srid thogmar skyoñba'i dussu/ rgyagar nas dhārmardza/ rgyanag nas mahākyin'dā/ taziggam khrom nas tsanpañilahaste smanpachenpo gsum žal 'dzompa la sprulpa'i sras gsum gras/ de gsum bgros nas rgyal-khams soso'i lugs dañ bstunpa'i sman-dpyadkyi bstan-bcos rin-chen spuñspa zes byaba... gzuñ chenpo byas/*<sup>75</sup>

"When the religious king Khri sroñ lde'u btsan was first ruling, three great doctors—from India Dharmarāja, from China Mahākyin'dā, and from Tazig or Rome Tsanpañilaha—gathered together (in Tibet) and were known as the three miraculous princes. The three having consulted together, they wrote a great sourcebook on that medical literature of their individual countries which mutually agreed, called the *Rin-chen spuñspa* ['Jewel Mound'] . . ."<sup>76</sup>

Finally, according to the Sdesrid's account, Biji Tsanpañilaha's three pupils were appointed as "royal doctors" together, to succeed him, and they received a number of texts from him when he was leaving Tibet "to return to his own country."<sup>77</sup> Together this collection of texts, which was known as the *Pusti khaser* ("The Yellow Book"),<sup>78</sup> and also as the *Rgyalpo'i blayig 'od'bar*, was apparently transmitted, through the Brañti and other lineages, down to recent times,<sup>79</sup> and thus continued to influence Tibetan medical thought throughout its formative period.

In the narratives of Biji's pupils a certain schematic character may be noticed. However, as the three major medical schools (Brañti, Žañ, and Stoñ) named in these accounts trace or did trace their lineages back to Biji Tsanpañilaha and his three *sras* ("pupils" or "disciples"), the historicity and importance of Biji himself is all the more strongly confirmed. But the question of the development of these and other Tibetan schools of medicine—including the ultimately all-pervasive and highly syncretistic G'yuthogpa school—is one that is far too complicated to even touch on here.

III. The last of the Western physicians mentioned in the available historical sources as having come to Tibet during the Imperial period was a doctor from Tazig named Halañanti. He is included in the list of "the nine personal physicians of the king"<sup>80</sup> invited from abroad by the reigning emperor, Khri sroñ lde brtsan.<sup>81</sup> Again, the fullest account is to be found in the *Khog'bugs*, where the Sdesrid has also recorded an edict promulgated by the emperor for the benefit of these physicians.<sup>82</sup> He then lists the works of the individual doctors, including the one from Tazig:

*Stag-gzigi smanpas mgo bcos mustegskyi skor brgyadpa rtsa 'grel/ rtsa bcos man-hag ljon-tiñ che chuñ/ 'duspa bcos thabs rin-chen sroggi 'khor-lo/ sogpo ša stagcangyi rgyud/ dug gsoba gar-log rgyalpo'i ši gsos/... brtsamsñiñ bgyur/*<sup>83</sup>

"The Tazig doctor compiled and translated (the texts) *Mgo bcos mustegskyi skor brgyadpa*, basic text and commentary; the *Rtsa bcos man-hag ljon-tiñ che chuñ*; the *'Duspa bcos thabs rin-chen sroggi 'khor-lo*; the *Sogpo ša stagcangyi rgyud*; and the *Dug gsoba gar-log rgyalpo'i ši gsos*."

Unfortunately, this is all that is said about Halañanti. The references to a Sogdian (or Khotanese)<sup>84</sup> text and to the king of the Qarluq Turks<sup>85</sup> incline me to the opinion that *this* Tazig doctor, at least, came to Tibet from West Turkestan, and had perhaps been acquired during Tibetan military operations there. He may have been an Arab and a Muslim, despite his Sanskrit name, since the titles listed for him lack a Buddhist flavor and one is even said to represent a *mustegspa* ("pagan" or "non-Buddhist") system. Furthermore, the first work listed, "The Eight-part Non-Buddhist System of Head-treatment," reflects the medieval reputation which Greek and Arab physicians gained for advanced knowledge concerning head injuries and ophthalmology. Little further can presently be said about this last representative of Graeco-Arab or Graeco-Persian medicine in the Tibetan Empire.

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As indicated above, Post-Imperial medical works are currently assumed by most Tibetologists to be completely Indian in origin or inspiration.<sup>86</sup> Thus, it may seem somewhat surprising to find any mention of non-Buddhist or non-Indian works in traditional Buddhist medical literature, beyond the occasional

reference to books translated from Chinese. In fact, however, the writings of the G'yuthogpa tradition include several comments that support the veracity of the earlier tradition discussed above. In the "Biography of G'yuthog yontan mgonpo the Elder,"<sup>87</sup> the fact that the Greek school was especially strong in the area of urinalysis is correctly mentioned.<sup>88</sup> Most importantly, however, this work gives the names of several of the early physicians, along with the names of texts translated or composed by them, including the so-called "Greek prince" Btsampašila and his teachings, here called "*Khrom-gyi dBye-ba Drug-pa*."<sup>89</sup> Finally, in the narrative of the later so-called "Nine Tibetan Doctors," the first to be mentioned is the doctor Bibyi legs-mgon and his "system" called "*Po-ti Kha-ser*," a collection of the works of Biji Tsanpašilaha mentioned in the accounts of the earlier tradition, as already discussed above.

It is also noteworthy that the Bonpos, who are normally so anxious to ascribe the origins of things to *Žaṅ-žuṅ* or Tazig, fully corroborate these traditions. The recent Bonpo religious history *Legs-bśad mdzod*, which is based on much earlier works, remarks on the proficiency of the Greek<sup>90</sup> scholars in medicine,<sup>91</sup> and it makes the interesting comment that in pre-Imperial times, before the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet:

"... in India, Dharma flourished, in China 'astrological calculation' flourished, in Phrom diagnosis flourished, and in Tibet and Zhang-zhung only Everlasting Bon flourished, although other fields of study were also popular."<sup>92</sup>

Despite then, the confusion which has arisen from the superimposition of the traditions of the later "nine Tibetan doctors" and the G'yuthogpa legends onto the earlier tradition, it appears that the original sources for the early period are essentially quite trustworthy.

In a note at the end of his section on the history of early Tibetan medicine, Sans-rgyas rgyamtsho writes that whereas in political and religious history there is a hiatus between the earlier and later periods, in medicine there was no break in the tradition.<sup>93</sup> He then lists some of the foreign medical "schools" or "systems" known in Tibet, with the names of their purported founders, and unequivocally states that the texts of their systems had been transmitted down to his own time, the early eighteenth century. He includes in this list, among others, the Uḍḍiyāna school of Jinamitra, the Nepalese school of

Sumatikirti, the Tazig school founded by a still unidentified *ʔUrbaya* (or *ʔUrwaya*, *ʔUrvaya*, etc.), and the Greek school of Tsanpašilaha.<sup>94</sup> The brilliant nineteenth century scholar Koṅ-sprul blo gros mthāyas similarly confirms the trustworthiness of the early tradition:

*/Bairos rtsis sman bsgyur sogs gterma'i sgros/*  
*'dzoro biji mthābzi blasman brgyud/ /lochen*  
*bairotsanas chos bon rtsis sman 'dresmar bsgyuro*  
*žes sogs gterma khaciggi tshig sgros la khuṅs bcod*  
*nas/ brtagpar slaba'i bod gžuṅ maṅpo bairos*  
*bsgyurba'i rgya gžuṅdu bzunba sogs ni dpyod-ldan*  
*mkhasparnamskyis bkag zinciṅ/ debzindu bod*  
*sman mkhaspa mi dgu chos-rgyalgyi dussu byunbar*  
*'chadpa'aṅ sintu norte dedag phal-cher bstanpa*  
*phyidargyi skabssu byunba yin la/ goṅ smos*  
*'dzoro/ biji mthābzi gsumpo ni chos-rgyal bla-*  
*smangyi brgyudpa ma 'khrulba yinno'<sup>95</sup>*

"The statements of the rediscovered texts that Vairo(cana) translated (texts on) 'Calculation' and Medicine; the tradition of the royal doctors 'Dzoro [i.e., 'Galenos'], Biji, and Mthābzi; (the fact that) it is said that the great translator Vairocana translated Buddhist, Bon, 'Calculation', and Medical (texts) indiscriminately, and suchlike; (the fact that) trusting the statements of several rediscovered texts<sup>96</sup> as sources, several easily examined Tibetan texts translated by Vairocana were taken by him from Chinese texts—(all this) has been silenced by the learned scholars; and thus, although they relate how the Nine Learned Tibetan Doctors appeared at the time of the religious kings, it is quite wrong, since they mostly appeared in the time of the later propagation of the (Buddhist) doctrine, and the tradition of the above-mentioned three—'Dzoro, Biji, and Mthābzi—(as) royal physicians to the religious kings, is not mistaken."

One need not add much to this plea for broad-minded acceptance of the heterogeneous origins of early Tibetan science.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that one of the three disciples of Biji Tsanpašilaha was Branti rgyal-mñes, who was the founder of the very important Branti lineage which survived in Tibet in direct descent down to the last century and in indirect descent down to the present day.<sup>97</sup> As a consequence, it would appear that the *Khrom lugs* or "Greek school" of medicine indeed exercised a profound influence on the development of Tibetan medical science.

## ABBREVIATIONS

CTS	<i>Chiu T'ang Shu</i> , see Liu Hsü.
DBLB	<i>Dpag bsam ljon bzañ</i> , see Sumpa mkhanpo yeśes dpal'byor.
Dpergyun	see ?Akhuchiñ śes-rab rgyamtsho.
DTT	<i>Documents de Touen-houang</i> . . . See Bacot, et al.
HTS	<i>Hsin T'ang Shu</i> , see Sung Ch'i, et al.
Khog'bugs	see Sdesrid sañs-rgyas rgyamtsho.
LR	<i>Ladwags rgyal-rabs</i> , see Francke.
MD	<i>Mkhaspa'i dgāston</i> , see dpābo gtsug-lag 'phrenba.
RGD	<i>Rdzogs-ldan gtonnu'i dgāston</i> , see Nag-dbañ blobzān rgyamtsho.
SGM'	<i>Shongyi gtam metog 'phrenba</i> , see Nelpa Pañḍita.
TCTC	<i>Tzū-chih T'ung-chien</i> , see Ssü-ma Kuang.
TFYK	<i>Ts'e-fu Yüan-kuei</i> , see Wang Ch'in-jo, et al.

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my sincerest gratitude to my friend and colleague, Mr. Michael Walter of Indiana University, for helping me with various problems encountered in the course of my research for this paper.

<sup>2</sup> I prefer to transliterate bisyllabic and polysyllabic Tibetan words without adding hyphens, except for those cases in which reconversion into Tibetan script may be unclear, as follows:

(1) Within compound words, whenever any preceding syllable ends in a consonant or consonants. Thus, whenever preceding syllables end in vowels, no hyphen is used. Likewise, all suffixes are attached to preceding syllable without hyphens, regardless of whether or not they end in consonants or vowels; when a following syllable begins with 'a chuñ, no hyphen is necessary; bisyllabic and polysyllabic words not analyzable into discrete morphemes—usually old loanwords, such as *yontan*—do not require hyphens. The suffixed quotative converb, since Tibetan writers do not always follow the classical rules when using it, is best written as a separate word, without a hyphen.

(2) When the suffixed conjunctive converb in its *-te* form is added to a syllable ending in *-s*, where a hyphen is required to distinguish the combination from ones having the *-ste* form.

Otherwise, the transliteration follows the English system as used by Hugh E. Richardson in his *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa* (London, 1952) and other publications, with the following minor differences of

additions: *ñ* for his *ñ*; <sup>ˆ</sup> in syllable-initial position, <sup>ˆ</sup> in subscribed position, and <sup>ˆ</sup> in final position (i.e., written on the line) for his *h*; <sup>ˆ</sup> for the glottal stop, *ʔa chen*; a tie <sup>ˆ</sup>, used to indicate the omission of *tsheg* between syllables, as in Sanskrit words or abbreviations.

<sup>3</sup> Vostrikov (1970:176) was the first Tibetologist to deal at length with histories of medicine in the course of his discussion of the different genres of Tibetan historical literature. In addition to the *Khog'bugs*, he also discussed several of the general works used in this study under the genre heading appropriate to each work as a whole. Unfortunately, he neglected several specialized historical works on the arts (*bzorig*, usually mistranslated "technology") listed in <sup>2</sup>Akhuchin's *śes-rab rgyamtsho's* bibliography of valuable books, *Dpergyun* (1974, ja:50r[p. 504]).

<sup>4</sup> The only Tibetologist who has paid any attention to the subject, beyond a word or two in passing, is Rolf Stein, who devoted a half page to the Greek school in his *Tibetan Civilization* (1972:61). More recently, Rechung Rinpoche has published translations from Tibetan medical histories which provide a little more information on this school, in his *Tibetan Medicine* (1973). However, the belief in the Indian origin of Tibetan medicine from the very beginning is still expressed in the first line of Kania's review (1978:137) of Rechung, for example. In fact, the standard Tibetan political and religious histories state that the sciences of medicine and *rtsis* ("calculation," including astrology) were introduced into Tibet from China during the reign of Gnam ri slon mtshan (see for example LR:30, SGM':5v, MD:12r, RGD:10, DBLB:94v). It is not perhaps superfluous to add that Pingree (1974:67) is unfair in his criticism of Rechung Rinpoche's summary account—certainly far from perfect, it is true—of the early history of medicine in Tibet (taken apparently from the Sdesrid's *Khog'bugs*) which he labels "incredible" without saying why, and without citing a single Tibetan work on the history of medicine, or on any other subject for that matter. Per Kvaerne, in his review of Rechung's book, does mention Galenos very briefly as a "Persian (or perhaps a Byzantine Greek) doctor" (1973:71).

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the relations between the Tibetan Empire and other contemporaneous civilizations, see Beckwith (1977).

<sup>6</sup> A Sogdian (*hu*) physician, apparently specializing in ophthalmology, treated the well-known Chinese monk Kanshin during the latter's travels to Japan (Takakusu 1928:467). Two Sogdian Buddhists accompanied Kanshin, one of whom may have written or translated a work on astrology there (*ibid.*, p. 30); and a Persian doctor accompanied a Japanese embassy on its return to Japan in 736 (*ibid.*, p. 7). The very interesting, now fragmentary,

contemporary account of the Caliphate written by Tu Huan, a relative of Tu Yu's who was captured at the battle of the Talas River in 751, states that Greek (or "Roman," Ta-ch'in) physicians were especially good at treating the eyes and dysentery, while "some can spot a sickness before it happens, or open the brain to remove bugs" (Y. Tu 1935, 193:1041). Similarly, the *Hsin T'ang Shu* says of the Eastern Roman Empire that "they have excellent physicians who can open the brain and remove bugs in order to cure eye diseases" (HTS, 221b:6261). On foreign communities in China in general, see especially the fascinating work by Edward Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (1963:14ff.).

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 6 and note 20.

<sup>8</sup> But see below, p. 22ff. for a discussion of the G'yuthogpa corpus and other traditional, semi-legendary materials which corroborate the historical evidence on early Tibetan medicine.

<sup>9</sup> The eventual obscuration of the actual origins of medicine in the imperial period is probably due to the long subsequent reign of Indian medicine over the earlier schools. This was already pointed out by Koñ-sprul (see below, pp. 24-25).

<sup>10</sup> The section of the *Mkhaspa'i dgāston* dealing with imperial history (MD, ja:29v) says: *Gzosna bcobrgyadkyi dpe/ sman-dpyad chenmo/ rtsiskyi por-thaḥ brgyad-bcurḥnams bkurbar źus-te rgyalposkyaḥ dernams daḥ rinpoche daḥ dar-zab sogs mthāyaspar brdzaḥs/* "[When Princess Wen-ch'eng was about to leave for Tibet,] she requested that she be given a copy of the *Gzosna bcobrgyad*, the *Sman-dpyad chenmo*, and the *Rtsiskyi por-thaḥ brgyad-bcu*, and the king gave along with them also precious jewels and silks beyond count." The pious Confucian Chinese historians naturally fail to mention that the princess brought non-canonical books to Tibet, but they do note that noble Tibetan youths were sent to China for education in the Confucian Classics of Poetry and History (HTS, 216a:6074).

<sup>11</sup> MD, tsa:46r et seq.; *Khog'bugs* 77v (p. 583) et seq.; *Blobzaḥ 'phrin-las, thob-yig, ka:78v* et seq.; Koñ-sprul 1970, I:214v (p. 583), et seq. Although the interrelationship between the four versions is not quite clear, it is obvious that they all depend ultimately upon some earlier source which has not yet been reprinted, if indeed it still exists. Therefore, the present comments will be limited to discussion of the materials available to me. Of the many works listed in <sup>2</sup>Akhuchin's *Dpergyun* (1974, ja:50r[p. 504]ff.) the only medical history *per se* which has so far been published again is the Sdesrid's *Khog'bugs*. Das lists a *Gsorig chos'byuḥ* in his list of abbreviations of works consulted (1902:xxx), but I have not been able to identify this work.



<sup>12</sup> This title is reminiscent of the Chinese term *ta yao* ("great medicine") used for the alchemist's drug of immortality.

<sup>13</sup> *Ho-shang*, the Chinese word for a Buddhist monk and taken as a loan-word into Tibetan (*hvašan*, which always refers to a Chinese monk), is only a title, and not actually a part of proper names.

<sup>14</sup> This Chinese monk appears in lists of the early translators of Buddhist texts, such as those in *MD* (Vol. *ja*:17v) and Padma dkarpo's *Chos'byuñ* (1968:59v [p. 318]), as well as in other works.

<sup>15</sup> Dharmakośa is listed among the early translators as having been a pupil of Thon-mi sambhoṭa. (Loc. cit., in note 11).

<sup>16</sup> See Filliozat (1964:2ff.).

<sup>17</sup> The Tibetan transcriptions have lost the *wazurs* that they no doubt originally had, so the transcriptions should be amended to read *Hven-ven-hvañ-de* or *Hwen-wen-hwañ-de*, a not unreasonable transcription of the Chinese name. Koñ-sprul, in his brief account of the history of medicine in China, has *Hañ-ti rgyalpo* ("king Hwang-ti"); the character *ti* is sometimes transcribed in Tibetan *di* (See for example Roerich 1976:57); and homophonous syllables for *hsüan* and *yüan* have been transliterated into Tibetan as *hen* and *wen* or *dben* (pronounced /wen/ also) (op. cit., pp. 51 & 56 respectively).

<sup>18</sup> See the thorough discussion of Thon-mi in Hoffmann (1976:15-17).

<sup>19</sup> *HTS*, 221b:6261.

<sup>20</sup> Schaeder (1933:24ff.).

<sup>21</sup> In Syriac spelled *GLYNS* or *GLYNWS* (Merx 1885: 244-245; Gottheil 1899:187), in Arabic *Ġaltnūs*.

<sup>22</sup> Meillet (1935:316).

<sup>23</sup> Elgood (1951:46ff.). In Arabic, the Greek school of medicine was called *al-ṭibb al-yūnāniyy*.

<sup>24</sup> Final *-s* in Tibetan was probably silent by the time of the "later propagation" (ca. 950 on) but, more importantly, by the turn of the millenium the Arabicized form was universal in Muslim lands, including especially Iran, as we know from the great activity of translation going on by the ninth century in the Muslim world (Dodge 1970, II:693ff.; Elgood 1951:102ff.; Sezgin 1970:6,13ff.), and this form could have been transcribed into Tibetan as \**Gyāllnūs*, or \**Jāllnūsi*, or the like.

<sup>25</sup> Commonly known under its Latin title *De capitibus vulneribus*, and called in Arabic *Ġirahat al-ra's* (Sezgin, 1970:45).

<sup>26</sup> See note 4.

<sup>27</sup> Most of the titles given in the sources are apparently abbreviated. Furthermore, since only volume *ja* of *Dpābo gtsug-lag 'phrenba's* history has been photographically reproduced, and since all the important works used in the

present study are still only available in one edition, it is often impossible to say what might be a real variant, and what simply a modern copying mistake.

<sup>28</sup> The titles of two of Galen's works sound more promising than others, in that their contents might actually correspond to their titles, namely:

1) *Peri tēs epi tōn zōntōn anatomēs* (or *De animalis vivi dissectione*) a work lost in the Greek, but apparently preserved via an Arabic translation called *Kitāb fi taṭnḥ al-hayawān al-hayy*, in an early Latin edition under the title *De anatomia vivorum* (Sezgin 1970:100); and

2) *Peri tēs epi tōn tethneōtōn anatomēs* (or *De animalis mortui dissectione*) also lost in the Greek, but preserved in an unpublished Arabic translation known as *Kitāb fi taṭnḥ al-hayawān al-mayyit* (op. cit., p. 100). Both of these works have so far been inaccessible to me.

<sup>29</sup> This work might not have been written in Tibetan, but was perhaps the same as, or constituted the major part of, the *Mi 'jigspa brgyadkyi mshon-cha* translated into Tibetan by a doctor from Dolpo named Khyolma rutsi a century later, under Emperor Khri sroñ lde brtan. According to Koñ-sprul (1970, I:214v [p. 583]), this text was also known as the *Lugs chen gsumgyi gzuñ*, and it appears that this system was transmitted under the name *Kyoma rurtse* (Rechung 1976:203).

<sup>30</sup> Koñ-sprul says only *Galenus la 'dzoro źes smanpa'i rigs-brgyud byuñ*, "In Galenos the lineage of physicians called 'Dzoro originated." (Koñ-sprul 1970, I:214v [p. 583].) Blobzan 'phrin-las is silent on this.

<sup>31</sup> Literally, "(his) mat appeared," i.e., he spread out his mat and practiced medicine on it.

<sup>32</sup> This quote does sound rather formulaic, and as the *Biji* lineage had not yet appeared in Tibet by this time, the *Sdesrid's* "it is said" seems justified.

<sup>33</sup> This title is reminiscent of *'Tshobayed gzonnu*, the name in Tibetan translation of Kumārajīva, a famous Indian physician who was the disciple of the court physician at Taxila (Rechung 1976:12-13) and supposedly the teacher of Bibyi dgābyed (ibid., p. 179).

<sup>34</sup> *Gstigs* in Classical Tibetan usually means "oath," but here it would appear to have the meaning "(royal) grant" or "deed," as is also concluded by Richardson in his edition and translation of the inscription dedicated to Stag sgra klu khoñ (1952:26, 29, 31).

<sup>35</sup> It is notable that at such an early date medical science should have reached such a high level in Tibet, and that it could claim even greater achievements in the next century. How unfortunate that the spread of religious dogma and the resulting mutual antagonism—with Islam's victory to the west and Buddhism's victory at home—cut off from the Tibetans this source of scientific inspiration.

<sup>36</sup> Koñ-sprul's account (1970, I:214v [p. 583]) is too

condensed to be of much interest, but he does confirm the basic facts given in the other accounts, especially in the line: *Khromgyi yul nas biche tsanpašilaha byaba'i smanpa mkhaspa bkug nas lharjer bkurte* . . . "The learned physician called Biche Tsanpašilaha having been summoned from the land of Rome, he was appointed Lharje . . ." Koñ-sprul also mentions (*ibid.*) the work *Pusti khaser*, the system of Biji as it was transmitted to his lineage.

<sup>37</sup> Kuznetsov's romanized version of the relevant passage reads (1966:162): *bi tsi tsan tra śris sman spyod mang po yang sgyur ro*, with the variant readings (?), listed at the foot of the page, *tsandra, śris, dpyad*, and *bsgyur*. Another edition (Thuma 1973:204v[p. 406]) has *pirtsī tsantra śris sman-dpyad mañpo yañ bsgyurro*. The corruption of the name is transparent, and the line may be corrected and translated "Biji Tsanpašilaha also translated many medical works."

<sup>38</sup> The two editions at my disposal are essentially identical: . . . *Khri sde gtsug rtan 'ag-tsomgyi skuriñ la/balpo'i smanpa darmašila dañ/ khrom sman rtsanpa hašan gniskyis/ smangyi rgyud-rnams sgyur[r]o/* (N. Delhi ed., 1969:84v[p.168]); . . . *Khri sde gtsug rtan 'ag-tsom skuriñ la/balpo, i smanpa darmašila dañ/ khrom sman rtsanpa hašan gniskyis / smangyi brgyud-rnams bsgyurro/* (Thimphu ed. 1976, *ka*:90v[p. 180]). " . . . During the reign of Khri sde gtsug rtan 'ag-tsom, the two (physicians), the Nepalese physician Darmašila and the Greek physician Rtsanpa the *ho-shang*, translated many medical treatises.

<sup>39</sup> See the translation by Toussaint (1933:231ff.) which must, however, be used with some caution. The translator has, for example, omitted the epithet and one part of Biji's name, which should be: *Rgyanag mkhaspa birje btsanpayis* . . . (Peking ed. 1839:209v) "The Chinese scholar Birje btsanpa . . ."

<sup>40</sup> *Khog'bugs*, 79v (p. 160) ff.

<sup>41</sup> I have not found it possible to either identify or, in all cases, accurately translate these titles. In certain cases where it is not clear whether an item constitutes a title or a descriptive phrase of uncertain identity, I have provided a translation in brackets. The reader of Rechung Rinpoche's book (1976:15-18) is strongly advised not to accept without careful checking his renderings of the titles.

<sup>42</sup> This might be a variant for Mahākyin'dā. Cf. note 64.

<sup>43</sup> The meaning of *sokha sruñpapo* in this context remains unclear to me.

<sup>44</sup> Benveniste (1940:250). Other forms are β'yc̄ and β'cyw (op. cit., p. 248). The middle Persian word for "physician" is *bizišk*, written *bcšk'* (Nyberg 1974:48). The final -a of the Indian forms, *vaidya* and its Prakrit developments, would certainly not have been transcribed with a final -i, which all of the Tibetan forms exhibit.

<sup>45</sup> See below, p. 21 ff.

<sup>46</sup> See for example Rechung Rinpoche's translation of the biography of G'yuthog the Elder (1976:178-181). Cf. note 4.

<sup>47</sup> The modern Tibetan biographical dictionary of Khetsun Sangpo (Mkhas-btsun bzañpo), which strongly supports this, relies on other sources unknown to the present writer (1973, I:495).

<sup>48</sup> As late as the middle of the ninth century, the Persians in Yang-chou contributed to a building project within a Buddhist temple complex (Reischauer 1955:168). Although the subject has not, to my knowledge, been dealt with, the very large number of Persians in China, particularly in Ch'ang-an and several port cities, would seem to be directly connected, at least in part, to the fall of Khorasan and Transoxiana to the Muslim Arabs and the subsequent conversion of the area to Islam by various methods, which sometimes included persecution of Buddhism and other faiths.

<sup>49</sup> I have already found a considerable amount of material on this subject, with which it is impossible to deal at length here. The book was preserved at least until the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama, as it is mentioned in his great *gsan-yig* ("Record of Teachings Received"), the *Gaṅgā'i churgyun* (1970, I:20r[p. 39]).

<sup>50</sup> *MD, tsa*:46v(p. 859).

<sup>51</sup> *Khog'bugs*:78v-79v (pp. 158-160).

<sup>52</sup> Here, and in the following notes, I have made what I consider to be necessary corrections in the text. The Lokesh Chandra edition (*MD, tsa*:46v-47r[pp. 859-860]), for textual purposes hereinafter referred to as MDlc) has *'dinsba*.

<sup>53</sup> *skyii-gsu* MDlc.

<sup>54</sup> *giodba* MDlc.

<sup>55</sup> *nadpa* MLDlc. The usually clear distinction made in this edition between *d* and *ñ* is, as Tibetologists generally concede, mostly nonexistent in Classical *dbucan* texts. Unfortunately, there is no way to determine how clearly such distinctions were made in the original text used to make the MDlc hand copy printed in New Delhi.

<sup>56</sup> *khyim nas lag ñan* MDlc. This makes no sense to me.

<sup>57</sup> *gnodpas* MDlc. Same comment as in note 56.

<sup>58</sup> *lag ñes* MDlc. Same comment as in note 56.

<sup>59</sup> *chañ* MDlc.

<sup>60</sup> *thug gcogpa* MDlc. Perhaps "soup" is intended to correspond to the "beer" in note 59.

<sup>61</sup> *gnaddu* MDlc. This reading would also make sense.

<sup>62</sup> *nañpa*, MDlc. This makes no sense in the present context.

<sup>63</sup> *MD, tsa*:46v(pp. 859-860).

<sup>64</sup> According to the *Old Tibetan Annals* (DTT:20, 42) she arrived in the capital, Rasa, in the first half of the Dog year 710, and must have had a very speedy journey, since

she only left China on March 2, 710 (CTS 7:179). It is said in the *Hsin Tang Shu* that when the princess was about to leave, "The Emperor contemplated the youth of the princess, and bestowed several myriad (pieces) each of brocades and silks, an assortment of talented craftsmen to be her attendants, and he gave her Kuchean music(ians?)." (HTS 216a:6081). Pelliot (1961:96) translates this passage thus: "L'empereur, songeant que la princesse était très jeune, il lui donna des [pièces de] soie brochée et unie, désigna plusieurs myriades de comédiens et d'artisans pour aller à sa suite et lui donna une musique de Kieou-tseu (Koutcha)." Again, the princess' non-canonical book collection is not mentioned by the Confucian historians, who only later note the request of the Chin-ch'eng princess for copies of the *Mao Shih*, the *Li Chi*, the *Tso Chuan*, and the *Wen Hsüan* (CTS 196a:5232). These books were granted by imperial order in 731 according to the *TCTC* (213:6794), which omits the *Wen Hsüan* from the list. The *TFYK* 999:11723 gives 730, but this is probably a mistake.

<sup>65</sup> Perhaps the same as Mahākyin'dā? Cf. note 42.

<sup>66</sup> I am unable to identify this name, which is perhaps apocryphal.

<sup>67</sup> Some of these injunctions seem to be paralleled in the G'yuthogpa literature (Rechung 1976:186). I am not at all sure of the meaning of the last three items, of which the latter two appear to be abbreviated.

<sup>68</sup> Since this text is generally so close in sense to the original Hippocratic Oath, it deserves a more detailed study, one which cannot be presented here. (See note 74.) For a careful line-by-line analysis of the Greek text, see the brilliant work on the subject by Ludwig Edelstein (1953; repr. 1967).

<sup>69</sup> See above, p. 12ff., for the list of his works.

<sup>70</sup> See for example Rechung (1976:91).

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., pp. 186, 303, 309-310.

<sup>72</sup> See Dindorf (1839:1133-1134).

<sup>73</sup> Edelstein (1967) has clarified much of the obscurity in the original Greek version by demonstrating that it was purely Pythagorean in origin.

<sup>74</sup> An indeterminable part of the uncertainty remaining in the translation is due to the deplorable condition of the only edition of this work available to me, which condition (original or not) renders parts of the first text and most of the second text unintelligible without editing. If or when original Tibetan materials stored up in the great libraries of Europe and India become more easily available to researchers, no doubt the translation and the interpretation of this and of other texts dealt with here (particularly those quoted from the *Mkhaspa'i dgāston*) will have to be revised.

<sup>75</sup> 1970:215r (p. 584).

<sup>76</sup> For a longer account and a more complete list of the texts, see the Sdesrid's *Khog'bugs* (81r-82r [pp. 163-165]).

<sup>77</sup> Op. cit., 82r (p. 165); cf. Koñ-sprul (1970, I:215r [p. 584]).

<sup>78</sup> According to Koñ-sprul (op. cit., 215v [p. 585]) and the *Khog'bugs* (82r [p. 165]).

<sup>79</sup> See Rechung (1976:203) and my concluding remarks, p. 22 ff.

<sup>80</sup> *Khog'bugs* 87v (p. 176).

<sup>81</sup> Here there is some confusion in the sources, concerning the introduction of the Chinese physician Stog-gam ganba, also known as Mthābzi smanpa. For example, according to the *Mkhaspa'i dgāston*, he is supposed to have become the personal physician (*blasman*) of the emperor around this time. The same book does give an interesting alternative version of the appointment, however (*MD, tsa:47r* [p. 860]):

*/Bitsi'i slobma stoñ bzer mespo brañti rgyal-mñes  
zañ lhamo gzigz-rnamskyañ mkhaspar gyurste  
rgyalpo'i blasmandu bkur skad/*

"However, it is said that Bitsi's pupils, Stoñ bzer mespo, Brañti rgyal-mñes, and Žañ lhamo gzigz, having become learned, were appointed as the king's personal physicians."

This indicates that more than one account of the same period existed. In my opinion, it is difficult to accept the historicity of the Chinese physician, who does not even have a Chinese name, despite the argument of Koñ-sprul quoted below (pp. 24-25).

<sup>82</sup> *Khog'bugs* 88r-88v (pp. 177-178). The only relevant passage not paralleled in other texts is the beginning:

*/tshomdzad smanpar gyurpa 'dirnams la/ /bod'bañs  
mgonag yoñskyis bkurbar gyis/ /ciphyir 'di ni  
tshesrog sterba'i phyir/ /mgonag yoñskyi lha ni  
bitsanposte/ /devis bkurbas mtshanyañ lharjet  
thogs/ . . .*

"All of the black-headed Tibetan subjects shall be respectful to these men who have become 'Tshomdzad smanpa' ['life-giving physician']. Why this? Because they give life. The god of all the black-headed people is the Emperor, and because he has honored them, they shall also receive the title *Lharje* [lit., 'god-lord'] . . ."

<sup>83</sup> *Khog'bugs* 88v-89r (pp. 178-179).

<sup>84</sup> Taking *Sogpo* here as "Sogdian". However, see the article on this name by Helmut Hoffmann (1971), in which it is demonstrated that the name *Sogpo* usually refers to the Khotanese.

<sup>85</sup> See Hoffmann's excellent article on the Qarluqs in Tibetan literature (1950).

<sup>86</sup> See note 2.

<sup>87</sup> Cited here from the somewhat unreliable translation of Rechung Rinpoche, since this important work has unfortunately not yet been reprinted in Tibetan.

<sup>88</sup> *Rechung* (1976:202).

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203. Without the original Tibetan, it is difficult to ascertain what the text actually says. *Rechung* has translated it "The prince of bTsam-pa Shi-la, the son of Mu-rje The-khrom, the king of Khrom, taught the teaching of *Khrom-gyi dBye-ba Drug-pa*."

<sup>90</sup> *Khrom* ("Rome") is consistently written *Phrom* in this work.

<sup>91</sup> Karmay (1972:75).

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>93</sup> *Khog'bugs* 90v (p. 182). Cf. Blobsan 'phrin-las in his *Thob-yig* (Vol. *ka*:79v-80r).

<sup>94</sup> *Khog'bugs* 90v91r (pp. 182-183).

<sup>95</sup> Koñ-sprul 1970, I:215v (p. 585).

<sup>96</sup> See for example the quotations in the *Khog'bugs* (86r-86v [pp. 173-174]).

<sup>97</sup> See the Preface (in English) to the reproduction of the Brantü tradition medical work *Man-kag rinpoche'i gter-mdzod*, written by G'yuruñ rin-chen (repr. Gangtok, 1974). So far as I can determine, the only other Brantü tradition work recently reproduced is the *Gser bre chenmo* (Leh, 1975).



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