

RICHARDSON PAPER

HUGH RICHARDSON

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Ву

HUGH RICHARDSON

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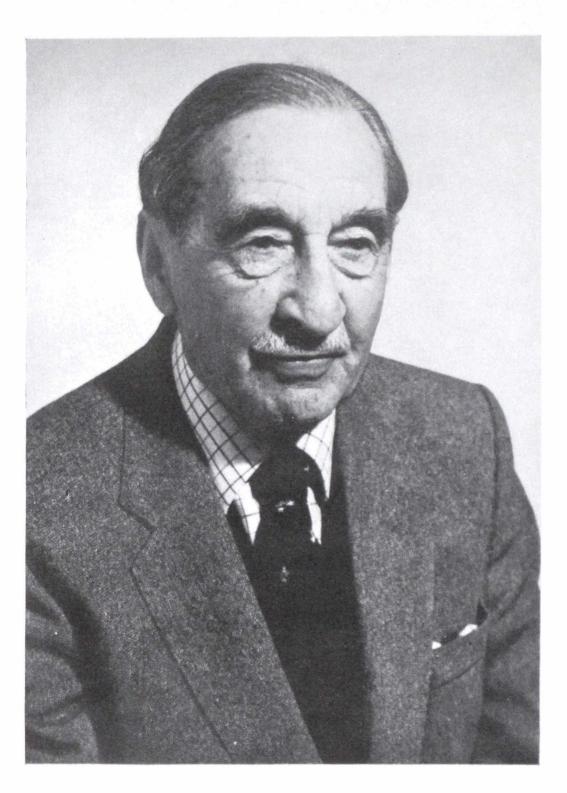
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Hugh Edward Richardson

Dedicated to HUGH RICHARDSON



RAJ BHAVAN, GANGTOK-787103 (SIKKIM)

27th August 1993

FOREWORD

Hugh Richardson's contribution to Tibetan studies has been unique. As a member of the erstwhile Indian Civil Service, he served for a total of nine years in Tibet and painstakingly acquired great knowledge and understanding of this little known region of the world. He has shared this knowledge with others, through his writings in books and articles published in many different parts of the world during the last fifty odd years.

In this volume are contained his contributions to the Bulletins of the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, published over a period of twenty years. Consisting of translations into English, of many original documents, some of them no longer in existence, they have valuable informative commentaries. They help form a unique picture of a vanished era and will hopefully be of assistance to future generations of scholars and students of Tibetan studies.

(R.H. TANTITANT)

Preface

Hugh Richardson wrote mainly on the Central Asiatic Region in general and Tibet and China in particular. Even at his advanced age, he has enthusiastically contributed papers on these regions to yarious Journals in India and abroad. His interest in Tibetan and Central Asiatic documents, inscriptions and history is well-known to scholars of these regions all over the world.

Hugh Richardson was born at St. Andrews, Scotland in 1905. Educated at Glenalmond College, Scotland and Keble College, Oxford. He joined Indian Civil Service in 1930. Served in Bengal until 1935, when he was transferred to Indian Foreign and Political Service. Posted to Baluchistan, he also served in the North West Frontier Province, and in the External Affairs Department at New Delhi. He held diplomatic assignments to Lhasa (1936-40 and 1946-50) and Chungking (1942-44). He retired in 1950 from active service. Well known for his linguistic abilities he is well conversed in classical Tibetan. He was visiting Professor of Tibetan language and History at the University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A. He was elected Honorary Fellow of the Keble College, Oxford; in Honorary LI.D. of St. Andrews University; and Honorary Fellow of the British Academy. Recipient of Sir Percy Sykes Memorial Medal, Richardson is also a leading authority on the ancient as well as modern history of Tibet. He made brief visits to deliver lectures at the University of Bonn and assisted the Museums of Zurich and Los Angeles.

Richardson's pupils and admirers have published a book entitled "Tibetan Studies in honour of Hugh Richardson" edited by Michael Aris and Aung Sen Suu Kyi (Warminster, Aris and Phillips, 1979; 1980). As an outstanding scholar on Tibetology, he took an active interest in all activities of the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology. He personally visited the Institute in the initial year. Since then he has been contributing many papers on various topics of Tibetology to our Bulletin, enriching and inspiring our efforts to promote the cause of Tibetan studies and Buddhism.

In appreciation of this octogenarian scholar's contribution in

the field of Buddhist studies, especially the history and culture of Tibet, I have been compiling a special volume consisting of his scholarly papers which were published in the Bulletin of Tibetology between 1965 and 1992. We wrote to Hugh Richardson about our programme and he not only consented to it but was kind enough to send us a bibliography of his articles.

A full-fledged appreciation of Hugh Richardson was recorded by Professor David Snellgrove, a well-known Tibetologist and the doyen of scholars on the Himalayas and the Buddhism practised over there. For readers here is an opportunity to sample and savour them and to do justice to perhaps the last distinguished historian on Tibet and countries adjacent to this country.

My thanks are due to Shri B. Ghosh, Assistant Director who has assisted me in this publication.

We are greatly indebted to Admiral (Retd.) R.H. Tahiliani, the Governor of Sikkim and President, Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology for his kind cooperation and guidance in bringing out the publication and also writing the Foreword for it. We take this opportunity to express our gratitude and thanks to him.

J.K. Rechung

Gangtok 27 August, 1993

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How Old Was Srong Brtsan Sgam Po?

The tradition perpetuated by Tibetan religious historians from Sa-Skya Grags-pa Rgyal-Mtshan onwards, that Srong Brtsan Sgam Po died at the age of 82 is probably not now accepted by any western scholar. It is explained by Professor Roerich in his introduction to *The Blue Annals* as due to the interpretation of the Manjusrimulatantra as a reference to Srong Brtsan. Other explanations might be suggested but it is my intention here only to outline broadly the salient points in the evidence before the XIIIth century — and the age of the religious historians — which militate against the traditional view of Srong Brtsan's age.

The date of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po's death is clearly determined. The Tibetan Tun Huang Annals and the Chinese T'ang Annals agree in putting it is a year which by western calculations is 650 A.D. The argument of Professor Hisashi Sato in favour of 649 is not conclusive and, in any evert, it makes small difference whether the death occured at the end of 649 or the beginning of 650 (the date which I prefer). The point is that, given this clear date for the king's death, it would, on the traditional view, be necessary to put his birth C 568. Against that, Roerich following Schmidt, favours the year 617 which is derived from an interpretation of Ssanang Ssetsen; but Ssanang himself depends on traditional sources and if 617 should prove so nearly right it would be more of an inspired guess than a calculation substantiated by early evidence.

The key date for Tibetan history of the time is contained in the T'ang Annals which record that in the 8th year of Cheng Kuan, which corresponds with 634 A.D., the Tsan p'u K'i Lung Tsan — who must be Srong Brtsan Sgam Po — sent envoys to the Emperor. Lung Tsan is said to have been a minor when he came to the throne. The Emperor returned his embassy and in a further Tibetan mission the king asked for a Chinese princess in marriage. When this was refused, the Tibetan king attacked first

the named tribes on the Chinese border and then China itself with the result that in 640 a Chinese princess was granted as his bride. This date agrees with the earliest Tibetan record, the Tun Huang Annals. If the traditional story is to be accepted, it would mean that when Srong Brtsan conducted his campaign against China and acquired his Chinese bride he was between 66 and 70. This does not appear very probable and there is a hint in the later tradition that this was not so; for some of the accounts imply that the minister Mgar was acting on behalf of a yound king when he conducted the marriage negotiations at the Chinese court.

There is at the beginning of the MSS of the Tun Huang Annals a damaged passage which the editors of the transcription and translation in Documents de Tuen Houang Relatifs à l'Histoire du Tibet have not reproduced. I intend to deal with this passage in detail elsewhere and all that need be said here is that the MSS of which through the kindness at the Bibliothèque Nationale of France I have secured a photo copy, carries the dating contained in the Annals quite clearly back to the year 634 and beyond. The passage of the Annals with which the published edition opens contains a summary of events before 650 from which date the record provides a short account of the events of each year. The summary as published refers briefly to two groups of events three and six years respectively before 650. The division into multiples of three appears to be significant and systematic. The summary shows that six years before the death of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po, i.e., C. 644, there was a revolt of Zhang Zhung; and that three years before that, there was trouble in Nepal and the Chinese princess arrived in Lhasa — viz, 641. From here the unpublished passage, which is continuous with what follows it, takes the historical summary back for a further considerable period. It shows that an uncertain number of years before the arrival of the princess in 641 (the part of the MSS which contained the exact figure is damaged) a younger brother of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po died in suspicious circumstances. If a threeyear period was used, the date would be C. 639. Then another uncertain number of years earlier it is recorded that Srong Brtsan Sgam Po undertook a military expedition against China. This must be the campaign

which led to the grant of a princess; and from the Chinese record it can be dated C. 635/636 — another three years interval. Then, a further uncertain period earlier came the disgrace and death of the minister Myang Mang Po Rje Zhang Snang. Allowing for another three year interval this would be C. 632/633. There is a reference to these events in a different part of the Tun Huang documents also, where they are put after the expedition. The more careful version of the Annals is to be preferred; but in any case, it is clear that the death of Myang was comparatively close in time to the expedition. One further paragraph — the first of the damaged passage — appears to relate to the deeds of Myang when he was acting as minister on behalf of the young king after his accession. In this case an interval of three years appears too short. From both Tibetan and Chinese records it is seen that Srong Brtsan was a minor when he came to the throne; it is not suggested that he was an infant. It is known that on his death he was succeeded by an infant grandson and so it is necessary in calculating the date of his accession to make reasonable allowance for two generations. Taking a further three years interval before 632/633, giving C. 629 for his accession, and assuming his age then to have been say 13 to 16 would not give enough time for the birth of a son and grandson. If a six year interval is assumed, on the analogy of the later part of the summary, we should have the year C. 627 for his accession.

If the later tradition were to be accepted, the accession of the king (at the conjectural age of 13 to 16) would have to be put C. 583/586. This would mean that the interval between the paragraph about Myang which can be dated C. 632 and the paragraph dealing with events after the accession would cover a period of nearly 50 years. On the analogy of the rest of the summary, which be it noted, is continuous and homogeneous, that is not acceptable.

The impossibility of the traditional story is underlined by what is known about the minister Myang Zhang Snang. Other parts the Tun Huang documents in Chronicle form show that Myang was active during the reign of Srong Brtsan's father. He was clearly older than Srong Brtsan and, as he died C. 632 at the earliest, he would have been, on the traditional theory, at least

75 when the expedition took place. Similar evidence applies also to another famous minister Khyung po Zu Tse, who was responsible for the fall of Myang; he, too, served Srong Brtsan's father. It is hardly possible that Chinese sources would not have remarked on this regime of an old king and ancient ministers; on the contrary, the clear impression is given that when Srong Brtsan first came in contact with the Chinese court C. 634 he was a young man. But the exact age at which he came to the throne and the exact date of his birth remain uncertain.

The traditional year of Srong Brtsan's birth is an Ox year (traditions which attribute an animal + element dating at this period of Tibetan history can not be treated as realistic); and it is on the basis of an Ox year that Schmidt calculates the date of the king's birth as 617. Since he died in 650 this would mean that Srong Brtsan fathered a son when he was only 16 years old and that his son did the same. This is certainly not usual in present day Tibet and cannot be regarded as probable. There is no evidence before the XIIIth century that Srong Brtsan was born in an Ox year but if the tradition be considered acceptable, the Ox year 605 would seem more reasonable. From the earliest records both Chinese and Tibetan — this seems a little too early and a date which would make the king somewhat younger at the time of his first contact with China seems preferable. It is not improbable that the dismissal of the hitherto dominant minister Myang and the expedition against China were the first acts of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po after he had reached years of maturity and decision; and my own preference is to treat the exact year of his birth as still debatable with the probability lying somewhere between the years 609 and 613, which would make him about 24 to 28 at the time of his campaign against China and 37 to 41 when he died in 650.

[[]Mr. Richardson prefers SRONG BRTSAN to SRONG BTSAN since BRTSAN is the oldest recorded form. For the usage BRTSAN in the nomenclature of the kings as in epigraphs reference may be made to this author's Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa (London 1952). BTSAN is a modern usage. BRTSAN and BTSAN have similar if not identical meaning. A twentieth century Mongol scholar, Geshe Choda, notes in his dictionary under the entry thus (Lhasa xylograph Vol. 2; also Peking edition Page 686). — NCS]

A Fragment From Tun Huang

My article "How Old Was Srong Brtsan Sgam Po?" in Vol. II, No. I of this *Bulletin* refers to a damaged passage at the beginning of the mss of the Tun Huang Annals. The present article publishes, for the first time, a transliteration of the text of that passage together with a suggested reconstruction and a translation. The importance of this fragment and the light it throws on Tibetan chronology have been examined in my earlier article.

The chronology of the early Tibetan Kingdom depends to a great extent on the annals from Tun Huang published in 1946 by Professors J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and C. Toussaint in *Documents de Touen Houang relatifs à 1' Histoire du Tibet* (THD). There are two mss containing these Annals; the longer is in two parts of which the first-and smaller-is in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris with the number Pelliot Tibétain 1288 (formerly Pelliot 252); the larger second part is in the India Office Library at London with the number 730 (formerly Stein Tun Huang 103, 19, viii, i). Another mss in the British Museum—Or 8218, 187—overlaps the former record at the year 743 and runs to the year 763 with a lacuna of seven years between 747 and 754. This is a quite separate compilation; it is not just a copy of the manuscript which is divided between Paris and London.

The Paris mss provides an explicit starting point for the year-by-year record of events which it contains. This is the dog year following the death of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po. That event is mentioned in the Chinese T'ang Annals under the first year of Yung Hui which corresponds to 650 A.D. The Tibetan bird year, preceding the dog year, would run from about February/March 649 to February/March 650. Internal evidence in the T'ang Annals suggests that Srong Brtsan Sgam Po died towards the end of that period—between January and March 650. From the dog year beginning in 650 down to the pig year 747 the mss contains a short comment on the events of each year. Before the first of those entries—that for 650—there is a passage in which the events of the preceding

nine years are summarised, thus taking the record back to 641 when the Chinese princess Mun Cheng arrived in Tibet as bride to Srong Brtsan Sgam Po. This date accords with the account in the T'ang Annals.

On p. 10 of THD the editors state "La relation commence six années plus tot"—i.e., six years before 650; this should, in fact, be nine years as started above. At p. 9 they also comment on the mss, as follows: "Sa partie superieure est lacerée sur le cote gauche. On peut constater cependant qu'il ne manque pas necessairement une partie superieure. Les premiers alineas, dont les tetes manquent, ne se terminent pas commes les alineas des années". Examination of a photographic copy of the mss, kindly made available by the Bibliothèque Nationale, shows that this comment refers to a number of fragmentary lines preceding the passage with which the published version of the mss opens. I offer here a transcription of the unpublished portion, followed by a suggested reconstruction, and a translation. Both the text and its interpretation are greatly clarified by two passages in the Chronicle Section of THD which relate to the events mentioned in the unpublished annals fragment and which contain very similar wording. The Chronicle makes little or no attempt at precise dating but gives in some instances a fuller and more popular presentation of certain events which are summarised more systematically in the unpublished fragment which is the subject of this essay.

Transcription

| 1. | 'khus nas/snying drung |
|------------|---|
| 2. | um pa'a/mtha' dag kyang |
| 3. | ••••• |
| 4. | snang glo ba rings nas/kho na'i bran pa tsab gyim po/ |
| 5 . | bkyon phab nas bkumo/mkhar sngur ba bshig go/ |

| 6. | lam du byung ste/'a zha dang rgya la'a |
|-----|---|
| 7. | dang 'a zha gnyis dpya' gcalto/ |
| 8 | na'a/btsan po gcen srong rtsan dang/gcung btsan srong gyis nold nas/gcung |
| 9. | l ta mkha's sregs 'khuste/mnyal gyi gzen tu/ gcung btsan srong/zhugsu |
| 10. | so/ |

NOTES

The number of letters probably contained in the massing part of each line, calculated by measurement, is indicated by the number of dots, which run from 30 in the first two lines to 7 in the last. The lines have been numbered for ease of reference.

- 1. Only part of the a bo is visible but of 'khuste in 1.9.
- 2. Indications of a zhabs kyu and the lower part of ma can be seen. After pa is what I take to be a bo followed by a shad. Above the letter is a mark which might be the trace of a reversed ki gu but is probably only a smear or the intrusion of part of a letter from the line above. The reading is, therefore, not absolutely certain; but of the Chronicle THD p. 111 "sum pa mtha" dag dmagis gdab myi dgos par..."
- 3. The space between line 2 and the next surviving line shows that a short line has been completely lost owing to damage to the mss.
- 4. only part of the superscribed s is visible but the context and comparison with THD p. 111 makes snang certain.
- 5. IN other passages of THD where this name occurs there is doubt whether it is *sngur ba* or *sdur ba*. Here *Sngur* looks more probable.
- 10. s is not complete: mo would be a possible reading but the traces are more like so.

Reconstruction of the Text

Words and letters which have been supplied are underlined.

- 1.khus nas/snying drung
- 2. <u>myang mang po rje zhang snang gis</u> sum pa matha' dag kyang
- 3. rnal mar bkug go/
- 4. <u>de nas lo x x na'/myang mang po rje zhang</u> snang glo ba rings nas/kho na'i bran pa tsab gyim po
- 5. <u>'khuste/myang zhang snang la</u> bkyon phab nas bkumo/mkhar sngur ba bshig go/
- 6. <u>de nas lo x x na'/btsan po khri srong rtsan gyis/shuld byang lam</u> du byung ste/'a zha dang rgya la'
- 7. dmag drangste/rgya dang 'a zha gnyis dpya' gcalto/
- 8. <u>de nas lo gsum</u> na'/btsan po gcen srong rtsan dang/gcung btsan srong gyis nold nas/gcung
- 9. <u>btsan srong gi zhal</u> ta mkha's sregs 'khuste/mnyal gyi gzen tu/gcung btsan srong/zhugsu
- 10. dgung du gshegso/

NOTES

- 1. The line is too fragmentary for anything but guess work. The reference may have been to events related in THD p. 111 beginning: "btsan po srong brtsan sgam po'i ring la // yab 'bangs ni 'khus'". In that passage the death by poisoning of the father of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po and the revolt of his subjects are mentioned. Snying Drung is a place name—see THD p. 31. The Padma Bka' Thnag Yig puts it in Snye Mo.
- 2. and 3. cf THD p. 111 lines 1—7 "ung gi 'og du myang mang po rje zhang gis/sum pa mtha' dag dmagis gdab myi dgos par/.....rnal mar bkug go" Another reference to the same events is in THD p. 101 "myang mang po rje zhang snang gis/sum khams tham 'shad' bangs su dgug par bka' stsal to //". The annals fragment seems to be closer to the former passage

- and I have, therefore, taken my reconstruction from there; but "bangsu bkug (or dgug) go" would be a possible alternative.
- 3. and 5. of THD p. 111 lines 13 sq and specially lines 22—27: 'ung nas zhang snang gi bran/pa tshab gyim po hu ste/zhang snang bkum ste //
- 4. The formula "de nas lo x x na" is found at the beginning of each section of the chronological summary with which the published text in THD opens. For the later part of the line see THD p. 111 lines 10—11: "ung gi 'og du btsan po zhabs kyis btsugs ste/byang lam du ma byung ma drangs par // rgya dang 'a zhas dpya' gcal lo/" It may be noticed that the king's name is given throughout this fragment as Srong Rtsan. The form Srong Brtsan is used in other parts of THD and also in several inscriptions of the VIIIth century. It is accepted by later Tibetan writers and I use it in the body of this paper.
- 7. dmag drangste is a speculative reconstruction. Some such phrase seems certain. Dra ma drangste, a possible alternative, seems to be used more of an attack on a specific place rather than of the launching of a general campaign. On the analogy of THD p. 111 lines 10-11 the phrase might have been dmag ma drangs par, suggesting that the enemy gave in without the need for a fight, a flattering historical inaccuracy which might not, perhaps be expected in the annals portion of THD.
- 8. lo gsum is suggested after comparing the small remnant of the letter which precedes na', with other possible endings: gnyis would be the only other possibility but in other sections of the summary the time interval is either three or six years.
- 9. Mkha's Sregs must, I think, be a personal name; and it is no more than a coincidence that it should contain the syllable sregs (burn) when Btsan Srong died by fire. Kha appears in several other names but I know no other appearance of mkha's; sregs is found in, e.g., Rgyal Sum Sregs (THD p. 35) and Lho 'Dus Sregs (THD p. 41). No surviving Tibetan clan name ends l ta; there is a personal name Rgyal Ta (THD p. 63) but on the analogy of the bran (subject) Pa Tsab in line 5, zhal ta (servant) seems the best suggestion here.
- 10. The activity described as 'khus, implying disaffection and treachery, is regularly followed by the death of the victim and there

can be little doubt that Btsan Srong, of whom no more is heard, died by fire as a result of some such treachery. Dgung du gshegso would fit the gap exactly; but if the expression "went to heaven by fire" seems strange, the alternative tshigs nas bkrongso (or gum mo) would be possible. I prefer dgung du gshegso which is the regular usage for the death of royalty.

Translation

Passages based on reconstruction of the text are underlined.
.....turning treacherous; at Snying Drung
.....Myang Mang Po Rje Zhang brought about the submission of all the Sum pa also.

Then after x years when Myang Zhang Snang became disloyal, his subject Pa Tsab betrayed him so that Zhang Snang was accused and put to death. Mkhar Sngur Ba was destroyed.

Then after x years the Btsan Po Khri Srong Rtsan set out on the north road and made war on the 'A Zha and China. Both China and the 'A Zha offered tribute.

Then after three years, when the Btsan Po, the elder brother, Srong Rtsan and the younger brother Btsan Srong had been reconciled, Mkha's Sregs, the servant of the younger brother Btsan Srong, betrayed him and the younger brother died in his bed by fire.

Names And Titles In Early Tibetan Records

The most valuable sources of information about Tibetan names and titles in the VIIIth to IXth Centuries are:

The Tun Huang Annals and Chronicles contained in *Docu*ments de Touen Houang Relatifs à l'Histoire du Tibet. Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint, Paris 1946. (THD)

Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents. Vol. II. F.W. Thomas, London 1951. (TLTD)

Inventaire des Manuscrits Tibétains de Touen Houang. M. Lalou. (LINV)

"Revendications des Fonctionnaires du Tibet". M. Lalou. Journal Asiatique 1955. (REV)

Tibetan Inscriptions of the VIIIth to IXth Centuries, variously edited by Professor G. Tucci, Professor Li Fang-kuei, and myself, in *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (TTK), *T'oung Pao* (TP) and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (JRAS) respectively.

The first and third of the three *bka'* tshigs (edicts) quoted in the XVIth Century Chos Byung of Dpa' Bo Gtsug lag 'Phreng Ba (PT) which can be accepted as copies of genuinely ancient documents. The edicts have been translated and transcribed by Tucci in TTK.

The names of Tibetan officials are recorded in a variety of forms. They can be written in extenso or abbreviated in different ways. In either case they usually contain elements the significance of which is quite well documented. One source of such documentation is the Lhasa Treaty Inscription of 821—822 which has the particular value of being bi-lingual. On that important occasion the appellations of the Tibetan ministers who witnessed the treaty were given in their fullest form; and it was stated at the beginning of the list that it contains the thabs dang mying rus of the witnesses.

Taking those terms in reverse order: (1) rus signifies the clan or patrilineal family name. Many of these rus are frequently recorded, e.g., Khu; Mgar; Mgos; Ngan Lam; Rngegs; Cog Ro; Mchims; Gnubs; Sna Nam; Pho Yong Bran Ka; Dba's; 'Bring Yas; 'Bron; Myang; Tshes Pong. I reserve for a later occasion a study of the original location of the various rus and their individual part in Tibetan politics; but it appears that one group of families of Central Tibetan origin, headed by the Dba's, were in constant competition with families, of which 'Bro was the most prominent, who came from the border regions or beyond and who acquired influence in Tibet through the marriage of ladies of their clan to a Tibetan King.

- (2) Mying (ming) is the current word for a personal name. A list of mying in the early use, with some comments on them, is given later.
- (3) Thabs, although unknown with that meaning in current Tibetan, clearly relates to rank or official title. It is found in TLTD II 361 and 370 rather obscurely; and in REV quite clearly in the form gral thabs. The meaning is confirmed by the Chinese version of the Lhasa Treaty Inscription where, as Dr. Li has shown in TP XLIV, thabs is the equivalent of the Chinese wei "position, rank, title"

The thabs include a number of official posts whose function is reasonably clear and others more open to speculation. The general word for a minister is blon. The Chief Minister was known as blon che; and he had as colleagues several Great Ministers or blon chen po who are described in the Lhasa Treaty Inscription as bka' chen po la gtogs pa which I have translated as "privy to the great command", and Dr. Lias "participating in the deliberations of important state affairs". Below these was a body of ordinary or lesser (phal or phra) ministers, described as bka' la gtogs pa; and at least on instance is found of the term bka' blon — TLTD II 47 — which is still used in Tibet as a title of the Zhabs Pad or members of the Bka' Shag.

Within those broad categories of greater and lesser, some

ministers held titles describing their specific duties. In the higher rank are found a ban de chen po, Great Monk Minister (this post only appears in the later years of the royal period), and a dmag dpon chen po, Commander-in-Chief. In the lower grade some ministers are described as nang blon and others as phyi blon, probably referring to their duties respectively within Tibet at the king's court and outside it on the frontiers or in occupied territory; of these the nang blon took precedence over the phyi blon.

Important posts, apparently connected with district administration were those of the brung pa and the mngan dpon. The brung pa, whose history has been examined in detail by Dr. G. Uray in Acta Orientalia Hungariea 1962, were closely linked with the organisation of Tibetan territory into ru. They cease to appear in the records after 745.

The mngan dpon appear to have been the trative officers of districts and the Lhasa Treaty Inscription indicates that they were connected with other officers known as khab so whose duties may have been similar to those of the modern rdzong dpon. The Khud pa chen po appears from the one surviving mention of this post (THA p. 23) to have been concerned with the receipt of property. Perhaps khud pa explained by S.C. Das at p. 148 of his Dictionary as "anything sent.. an article presented" is relevant. Another post appearing more frequently is that of snam phyi pa (Treaty Inscription; THD 106; TTK 103). This ranked third in the list of ordinary officials and preceded the military officers and officers of the Exterior. A group of fifteen snam phyi pa witnessed the third bka' tshigs quoted in TTK; their duties, therefore, seem to have been important and extensive. Snam phyi with the meaning "latrine" does not seem appropriate, for it is improbable that in VIIth century Tibet menial service around royal persons would have acquired the status of a formal privilege as it did in the court of Louis XIV. The number of such officials also militates against any such interpretation.

Further posts which are frequently recorded are: the bka' phrin blon (Treaty Inscription; TLTD; LINV; REV) whose duties were perhaps similar to those of the present day mgron gnyer

which include making known the orders of the ruler; the rtsis pa (Treaty Inscription; TLTD; REV) who can be assumed to have been the equivalent of the modern rtsis dpon, an officer responsible for the assessment of revenue and the keeping of revenue records: the zhal ce pa (Treaty Inscription; LINV; TLTD) who were judicial officers the name of whose post survives in the title of the code of laws attributed to Srong Brtsan Sgam Po — the zhal ce bcu gsum. Another judicial officer, named only in the Zhol inscription and in the XVIth century Chos Byung of Dpa Bo Gtsug Lag, was the yo 'gal 'chos pa. According to reliable Tibetan informants the term implies mediation and reconciliation ('chos) of conflicting parties ('gal).

REV contains a long list of official posts in the Sha Cu (Tun Huang) region most of which do not appear in documents relating to Central Tibet. Several of them — e.g., ru dpon, khri dpon, stong dpon — are based on the organisation by "horns", ten thousands and thousands, combining perhaps civil and military functions.

A general term for officers connected with military duties was dgra blon or dmag dpon another seemingly military rank — chibs dpon, — master of horse — survives as that of an officer of the Dalai Lama's retinue; the term dbang po also seems to have a military significance; and F. W. Thomas sees army rank in the word stag; but many of the instances he quotes are doubtful, although stag so in TLTD II 211 does appear to support his contention.

Official posts were divided into grades each with its special insignia consisting of ornaments and diplomas of different precious substances. In general the highest was turquoise, followed by gold, 'phra men, silver, brass, and copper (LINV 1071); but in THA p.60 there is mention of ke ke ru as the insignia of an award of special merit, apparently higher even than turquoise. Ke ke ru is described in Jaeschke's Dictionary as "a precious white stone"; perhaps it was jade or some hard stone. During recent road-making work near Rgya Mda' an ancient tomb was uncovered in which the remains of the dead were decorated with a circular medallion

of turquoise; and a similar ornament is said to have been found much earlier in a tomb near Nag Cgu Kha.

Some information about the grading and ornaments of Tibetan ministers is also found in the T'ang Annals (Hsin T'ang Shu). The Chief Minister is there called lun ch'e and his assistant lun ch'e hu mang. These two are further described as great and little lun. There is a Commander-in-Chief called hsi pien ch'e pu; a chief minister of the interior called nang lun ch'e pu or lun mang jo; an assistant called nang lun mi ling pu and a lesser one called nang lun ch'ung; a chief consulting minister — yu han ch'e po with assistants also designated mi ling and ch'ung. All the ministers taken together are descirbed as shang lun ch'e po t'u chu. Their ceremonial ornaments are, in descending importance, or se se, gold, gilded silver, and copper; they hang in large and small strings from the shoulder.

The above information can be generally reconciled with that from Tibetan sources; but the post of lun ch'e hu mang is not easily identified. 'Or Mang is the personal name of a Chief Minister who held office from 727 to C. 750; there may be confusion with that, or with the term 'og dpon which is applied in THD 102 to an assistant under training with the Chief Minister. The words mi ling and ch'ung stand for 'bring and chung "middling" and "small". Hsi pien is an unidentifiable term for a military officer. It might represent srid dpon (otherwise unknown) or as suggested by Professor Li Fang-kuei, may stand for spyan, a title appearing in REV. T'u chu, as suggested by Professor Li, may represent Tibetan dgu which may have either a plural force or its intrinsic meaning of "nine"; and it may be significant that in the Treaty Inscription the list of senior ministers contains exactly nine names. as does that in the Edict of Khri Srong Lde Brtsan — that of Khri Lde Srong Brtsan lists eight senior ministers. The Chinese records may, therefore, have preserved a trace of a Board of Nine Senior Ministers of which no mention has survived in Tibetan documents. From the list of ornaments, it would appear that phra men was gilded silver; but the Chinese list is shorter than the Tibetan and, of the analogy of mu men, a precious stone, I still have doubts whether phra men might not have been a variegated

hard stone such as agate or onyx which has long been highly prized in Tibet.

I do not propose to examine the rather scanty evidence about the personal names of the Tibetan royal family or the regnal titles of the kings, which fall into a pattern of their own;² but some other terms applied to important personages, and not designating specific official functions, may be mentioned. Chen po, "Great One", is sometimes used as a sort of title (TLTD 97.98; and 339); but this is rare and probably provincial. *Rje blas*, a term used of officials in high position, has caused some speculation. Thomas, although translating it in TLTD II as "Your Excellency", later, and more satisfactorily, concluded that it means "succession, or successor in a post".

The title zhang, in certain clearly definable circumstances, signifies that the person so described or a member of his family was at some time in the relationship of maternal uncle to a king of Tibet. Families with this distinction, which figure prominently in early records, are Mchims⁴, Sna Nam, 'Bro, and Tshes Pong. From this title must be distinguished the term zhang lon (sic) which seems to be used as a general designation of ministers of all ranks and may there be the equivalent of the Chinese shang as in shang shu "head of an office".⁵

Another zhang relationship was that described as zhang dbon, "uncle and nephew" which existed between the Emperor of China and the King of Tibet as the result of the marriage of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po, and later of Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan, to Chinese princesses. There was a similar relationship between Tibetan kings, as zhang, and the 'A Zha chiefs, as dbon, through the marriage in 689 of the Tibetan princess Khri Bangs to the 'A Zha ruler. Other Tibetan princesses also married neighbouring rulers —in 671 a Zhang Zhung prince; in 736 a Khagan of the Dur Gyis (Turgesh); and in 740 the Bru Zha Rje. None of those rulers is specifically mentioned as dbon nor are they recorded as rgyal phran — "vassals", although at some times Bru Zha and parts of Zhang Zhung may well have been claimed as tributary. The King of Nanchao, at times a powerful ally, at others a formidable

enemy of the Tibetans, was accorded the title of Btsan Po Gcung⁶— the Younger Brother King; and it is possible that when Nepal was under Tibetan domination their king held the title of Btsan Po Gcen⁷— the Elder Brother King. But by the time of the edicts of Khri Srong Lde Brtsan and Khri Lde Srong Brtsan the only princes to be mentioned as rgyal phran are the Dbon 'A Zha Rje whose name is given as Dud Kyi Bul Zi Khud Bor Ma Ga Tho Yo Gon Kha Gan,⁸ the Rkong Dkar Po Mang Po Rje, the head of a princely family of Rkong Po who were ancient congeners of the Tibetan royal family;⁹ and the Myang Btsun Khri Bo, the head of a Myang principality which may have been the heritage of the great minister Myang Mang Po Rje Zhang Snang who was all-powerful in the early days of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po and was disgraced and executed in about 636.¹⁰

Other personages who may have been included among the rgyal phran can be seen in documents in TLTD and LINV relating to the administration of the border regions. The term rtse rje appears frequently, sometimes with a territorial label, e.g., the rtse rje of Sha Cu (Tun Huang); of Ka Dag; of Nob Chen (Greater Lob Nor); of Nob Chung; others are known by names, e.g., rtse rje Khrom Bzher Bzang Khong; rtse rje Ju Cug; and one is described as to dog rtse rie. That title to dog, which also appears frequently and is found in THD, is related by Thomas to the Turkic tu tuq; another title co bo (jo bo; zho co; jo cho, etc.) is related to the Kharoshti cojhbo; and a ma ca, a title used in Khotan, is identified as representing the Sanskrit amatya. The title ra sang rie is also found in connection with distinctly non-Tibetan, possibly Zhang-Zhung, names — Rid Stag Rhya and Spung Rhye Rhya —; and the title nang rje po, although similar in appearance to the well documented Tibetan rank of nang blon, may have had a special local significance. There is scope for further study of the distribution of these non-Tibetan forms.

Returning to the *mying*: it has been surmised that some frequently recurring elements in Tibetan names, apart from those identifiable as *thabs* and *rus*, signify some sort of rank or title. Bacot, etc., have translated the names of Khri Sum Rje Rtsan Bzher and 'Bal Skye Zang Ldong Tshab as 'le bzher Khri Sum

Rje Rtsang de Dba's" and "Bal Skye Zang, le Tshab de Ldong"; and it is noted there that bzher means "haut fonctionnaire". This is apparently mere guesswork; and a key to the significance of such syllables if found in three early documents — LINV 1240, 1415, and TLTD II p. 370 B — which seem to have been overlooked. Taking the first and last as examples, they read: (1) rus ni 'brom/mkhan ni mdo bzher/mying ni 'jong bu/rus ni 'brung yas/mkhan ni rgyal gzigs/ (quotation left incomplete); and (2) rus ni schu myes/mkhan ni brgyal gzigs/mying ni nya slebs/rus ni 'gra had/mkhan ni lang skyes/mying ni don rtse/rus ni 'bre/mkhan ni ... (document damaged).

The important element in each case is the word mkhan which seems to signify some sort of title by which the person was known. Mkhan with that specific meaning is not current in Tibetan today but is familiar as a suffix (like the Hindi wala) indicating a man's skill or profession — what he knows, and also what he is doing, e.g., shing mkhan, a carpenter; mdza mkhan, a potter; and 'gro mkhan, one who is going; bsad mkhan, one who has killed. Jaeschke, in his dictionary — followed as usual by Das — states that this suffix can also be used in a passive sense, e.g., sad khan ni lug, "the sheep which was killed". Such a use would be in line with the suggestion that mkhan in the old documents could mean how a man was known; but well educated Tibetans have denied that such a form is permissible in Tibetan today and I cannot recall any instances in classical Tibetan. Jaeschke's example is attributed to Western Tibet; and even if the practice is not now known in Central Tibet, the step between the two forms is perhaps not a very long one.

At all events, it is possible in the light of the two passages quoted above to analyse official names and titles even further than in terms of thabs, rus, and mying. For example: (1) Dba's Khri Sum Rje Rtsan Bzher. His rus is Dba's; his mkhan Khri Sum Rje; his mying, Rtsan Bzher, (2) 'Bal Skye Zang Ldong Tshab: his rus is 'Bal; his mkhan Skye Zang; his mying, Ldon Tshab. (3) Taking a name from the Treaty Inscription, Nang Blon Mchims Zhang Rgyal Bzher Kho Ne Brtsan. His thabs is Nang Blon; his rus, Mchims, he is zhang through relationship with the

royal family; his mkhan is Rgyal Bzher his mying, Kho Ne Brtsan,. (4) A name from THD, Blon Che Dba's Stag 'gra Khong Lod. His thabs is Blon Che; his rus, Dba's; his mkhan, Stag Sgra; his mying, Khong Lod.

Abbreviations of the names of officials take different forms in different documents but generally in each document a consistent practice is adopted. In THD two systems are used. For example (1) the full name and title of Blon Che Dba's Khri Gzigs Zhang Nyen is abbreviated to Blon Che Khri Gzigs — i.e. thabs + mkhan; and (2) when a rus is mentioned the mying is used and not the mkhan, e.g., Mgar Stong Rtsan Yul Zung, Dba's Mang Po Rie Pu Tshab, and Cog Ro Snya Zing Kong appear as Mgar Yul Zung, Dba's Pu Tshab, and Cog Ro Zing Kong respectively. These systems are followed in the majority of the documents in TLTD and LINV but two other systems also are found there, although in fewer instances than (1) and (2) above. They are: (3) some officials are described by their thabs, mkhan and mying but their rus is omitted. There is also an example of this in the Zhwa'i Lha Khang inscriptions where a member of the Myang rus is described as Blon Snang Bzang 'Dus Khong. In system (4) both thabs and rus are omitted and we find such names as Rgyal Bzher Legs Tshan — mkhan and mying only. Yet a further two systems appear in the edicts from PT which, it may be remembered, are not original documents. In the third edict there are a few instances of system (2) e.g., Cog Ro Khyi Btsan; Khu Mye Gzigs. These are rus + mying; but the greater number of the abbreviations are in the form (5) rus + thabs + mying, e.g., Cog Ro Blon Gung Kong. Persons who are zhang are described in a different manner from that used in the Treaty inscription. There the practice is Mchims Zhang, etc., etc.; in the edict the form is Zhang Mchims, etc., etc. The first edict produces system (6) using the thabs and the mying only, e.g., Blon Ngan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Gong is abbreviated to Blon Klu Gong; and in this edict zhang are also described by their mying only, e.g., Zhang Legs 'Dus. This usage may perhaps also be found in THD where the names Zhang Rgya Sto and Zhang Tre Gong look more like mying than mkhan; but

there is also an instance there of the name zhang Bstan To Re which is an established mkhan.

The forms of abbreviation are, therefore, numerous; but on the available evidence the most common system is (1), i.e., thabs + mkhan. The existence of a rus + mying abbreviation, however. makes it impossible to say with certainty whether all nobles possessed a mkhan; but as there are examples where the names of persons known to have possessed a mkhan are abbreviated to rus + ming, and as a very large number of mkhan existed — lists are given below, it seems probable that all nobles who attained ministerial rank were known by a mkhan. It seems equally probable that ordinary people did not have a mkhan. LINV 2169, for example, refers to persons only by their rus and mying; and many documents in TLTD and LINV relate to persons who can be seen from the context to have been farmers, soldiers, workmen and ordinary citizens. The names usually consist of two syllables only and many of them can be shown from established examples to be mying; the form of others differ from the usual mould of a mkhan, as can be seen from the lists which follow. Many of the names are prefixed by a rus, usually differing from the well established rus of the Tibetan nobility, and in many cases of non-Tibetan appearance. This is not surprising as the documents originate in the border regions and the rus fall into distinctive groups in the different regions. From Sha Cu (Tun Huang) there are such family, clan or racial names as 'Im; Hong; Le; Le'u; K'eu. The usual prefix for names from Khotan is Li and from the Tu Yu Hun, 'A Zha. The rus Ngan does not appear often but may perhaps refer to people of Sogdian origin. 11. Similarly the personal names fall into distinctive groups. From Sha Cu are found for example — Le Shing; P'eu P'eu; Hyan Ce; 'Im 'Bye Le'u; Wang Kun Tse : from Nob (Lop Nor) Spong Rang Slong; Nga Srong; Lbeg Ma; Nung Zul; Nir Sto: from Li (Khotan) Ku Zu; Ye Ye; Shi Nir; Gu Dod; Bu Du. Lists of such names have been collected by Thomas and can be seen in TLTD II.

Although it is not intended to examine in any detail names other than those of lay officials but it may be noted that the Tibetan monastic names which make their appearance towards the end of this period follow their own line, drawing on the Buddhist religious vocabulary, e.g., Ting Nge 'Dzin Bzang Po; Dga' Ldan Byang Chub; Rdo Rje Rgyal Po; Dpal Gyi Shes Rab; Byang Chub Bkra Shis; Don Grub; Ye Shes; etc.

To conclude this study I have extracted lists to show the nature of the *mkhan* and *mying*. The lists, which are not intended to be a full catalogue, are in two parts; the first contains examples established by their appearance in names given *in extenso*, the second contains *mkhan* and *mying* which are found in close association with established examples and show a similar character. They may, therefore, be assumed to be respectively *mkhan* or *mying*.

MKHAN

[A] Klu Bzher; Klu Bzang; Skye (Skyes) Bzang; Khri Gang; Khri Sgra; Khri Snya; Khri Snyan; Khri Mnyen; Khri Mnyes, Khri Do Re; Khri 'Bring; Khri Btsan; Khri Gzu; Khri Gzigs; Khri Bzang; Khri Sum Rje; Khri Sum Bzher; Khrom Bzher; Glu Bzang; Dge Bzher; Rgyal Sgra; Rgyal Nyen; Rgal Ta; Rgyal To Re; Rgyal Stong; Rgyal Tsha; Rgyal Tshang; Rgyal Bzher; Rgyal Gzigs, Rgyal Bzang; Rgyal Legs; Chung Bzang; Snya Do Re; Snya Do Re; Snya Brtsan; Snya Bzher; Snyan To Re; Stag Gu; Stag Sgra; Stag Rma; Stag Bzher; Stag Gzigs; Ston Nya; Ston Re; Ston Rtsan; Brtan Sgra; Brtan Bzher; Mdo Bzher; Ldon Bzang; Snang To Re; Snang Bzher; Snang Bzang; Dpal Bzher; 'Bring to Re; 'Bring Po; 'Bring Rtsan; Mang Rje; Mang Nyen; Mang Po Rje; Mang Bzher; Mang Rtsan; Mang Zham; Smon To Re; Btsan Sgra; Btsan To Re; Brtsan Nyen; Brtsan Bzher; Zha Nga; G-Yu Legs; Legs Snyan; Legs To Re; Legs Bzher; Legs Sum Rje; Lha Bzher; Lha Bzang.

[B] Klu Sgra; Klu Mayen; Klu Gzigs; Khri Dog Rje; Khri Rma; Khri Bzher; Glu Bzher; Dge Bzang; Rgyal Sgra; Rgyal Tshan; Stag Po Rje; Stag Bzang; Stag Sum Rje; Stag Sum Bzher; Brtan Bzher; Mdo Sgra; Mdo Bzang; Dpal Bzang; Dpal Sum Rje; 'Phan Po Rje; 'Phan Bzher; Byang Bzher; Mang Po Brtsan; Mang Zigs; Rma Sgra; Rma Bzher; Gtsug Btsan; Gtsug Bzher;

Btsan Bzher; Btsan Zigs; Btsan Bzang; Rtsang Bzher; Mtshan Bzher; Mtsho Bzher; Zhang Brtan; Zhang Bzang; Zla Bzher; Zla Bzang; Gzu Sgra; G-yu Sgra; G-yu Rmang; G-yu Bzher; Legs Sgra; Legs Bzang; Lha Dpal.

MYING

[A] Klu Gong; Klu Dpal; Skar Kong; Skyi Zung; Kha Ce; Khar Tsi; Khong Ge; Khong Sto; Khong Zung; Khong Lod; Khyi Chung; Khyi Ma Re Dod; Khri Gong; Khri Gda Khri Slebs; Gung Rton; Dge Tshugs; Rgan Kol; Rgya Gong; Rgyal Kong; Rgyal Sum Gzigs; Rgyal Slebs; Sngo Btsan; Rje Gol; Rje Chung; Rje Tshang; Nya Sto; Mnyen Lod; Stag Skyes; Stag Snya; Stag Snang; Stag Rtsan; Stag Tshab; Stag Lod; Brtan Kong; Brtan Sgra; Mdo Btsan; Mdo Lod; 'Dam Kong; 'Dus Kong; 'Dus Dpal; Rdog Rje; Ldong Tshab; Ldong Zhi; Ldom Bu; Ne Stang; Ne Brtsan; Ne Shags; Gnang Kong; Dpal 'Dus; spe Brtsan; Speg Lha; Spo Skyes; Phes Po; 'Phan Gang; Byin Byin; Sbur Cung; Sbeg Chung; Mon Chung; Mon Tshan; Myes Snang; Myes Rma; Rmang Chung; Smon Btsan; Smon Zung; Btsan Kong; Btsan 'Brod; Zhang Snang; Zhang Yen; Bzhi Brtsan; Zu Brtsan; Zin Kong; Zla Gong; Bzang Kong; 'Or Mang; Ya Sto; Yab Lag; G-yu Gong; G-yu Btsan; Ram Shags; Ri Tshab; Ri Zung; Le Gong; Legs 'Dus; Legs Po; Legs Tshan; Legs Gzigs; Shu Steng; Sum Snang; Gsas Mthong; Lha Sgra; Lha Mthong; Lha Bo Btsan; Lha Zung; Lha Lod; Lhas Byin; Lho Gong; Hab Ken.

[B] Klu Rton; Klu Rma; Klu Brtsan; Khyi Bu; Khyi Ma Re; Khri Legs; Stag Chung; Stag Legs; Stag Slebs; Dge Legs; Tre Gong; Thom Po; 'Dus Dpal; 'Dus Rma; 'Dus Tshan; Ldong Gang; Dpal Ston; Spe Rma; Gtsug Legs; Btsan Zig; Rtsang Brtan; Brtsan Legs; Gsas Sto; Gsas Btsan; Gsas Slebs; Lha Skyes; Lha Gong; Lha 'Bring Brtsan; Lha 'Brug Brtsan; Lha Legs.

The general appearance of the *mkhan* and *mying* can be seen from the above lists. Although most of the components are common to both, certain pairs of syllables occur far more frequently — though not exclusively — in one group or another. In the examples I have collected *bzher* is almost exclusive to the *mkhan*; while

slebs, legs, and kong, as final syllables, are exclusive to the mying. The instances where one pair or syllables appears to be used as either a mkhan or a mying are not a large proportion of the available material. Uncertainty on this point is increased by the apparently indiscriminate use of either mkhan or a mying after the title zhang; and perhaps also personages of border clans — e.g., those described as jo co — may not always have possessed a mkhan. Ordinary people on the border may have taken as personal names forms used in Tibet itself only as mkhan. In general one can detect a characteristic pattern in both mkhan and mying; and further research might remove doubt about the equivocal examples.

The same *mkhan* occurs in more than one family; and although some components appear rather frequently in certain *rus* — e.g. many Dba's names contain the syllable *bzher* — none is exclusive to any particular *rus*. More obviously, many people shared the same *mying*. Here, too, some syllables recur in particular noble families, e.g., many Cog Ro names end in *kong*. That syllable is not exclusive to Cog Ro nor is it found in all their names; but it does seem to be a frequent part of names from *rus* connected with the border regions and this may be significant.

Some of mkhan and mying can be translated after a fashion. Stag Sgra 'Tiger Voice'; Stag Gzigs, 'Tiger Look'; Khri Sum Rje 'Lord of Three Thrones'; Lha Bzang, 'Excellent Deity'; Stag Tshab 'As Good As a Tiger'; Smon Btsan, 'Powerful Prayer'; Lhas Byin, 'Blessed by God'; and so on. The translation of other syllables — e.g., the frequent bzher — is not clear; but it is not my intention to speculate on their meaning here. Generally, the mkhan appear more grandiose and complimentary than the mying. The existence of so large a member of mkhan excludes the probability that they were systematic titles (though an exception might be made for mang po rje)¹³ and the conclusion is that mkhan was a sort of sobriquet or name of honour conferred on persons of noble birth or high rank.

NOTES

- 1. Translations by S. W. Bushell in JRAS 1880; and P. Pelliot, L' Histoire Ancienne du Tibet.
- 2. There are three instances in THD of the proclamation of the name of a King: Khri 'Dus Srong in 685 at the age of nine; Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan in 712 at the age of eight; and Khri Srong Lde Brtsan in 756 at the age of thirteen. Of these the original name of Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan is recorded viz., Rgyal Gtsug Ru.
- 3. See Zhol Inscription S. Lines 3 and 4 TLTD 22-25; 59; 302; 339; and 404. Of these TLTD 22-25 is the most illuminating: "Bdag cag pha tshan spyi'i gnang ba'i rje blas ni ma lags/bdaggi pha Ma Ko Can sgos zho sha phul ba'i rje blas 'dir bdag cag Led Kong gi bu tsha rngo thog las bsko bar.." "That rje blas (right to office) which our father's family regularly enjoyed, does not (now) exist. The rje blas earned by the performance of services especially by our father Ma Ko Can ..let one from the descendants of our Led Kong who is capable be appointed to that rje blas."
- 4. A branch of Mchims seems to have been known as Mchims Rgyal; see the well attested Mchims Rgyal Rgyal Gzigs Shu Steng (Zhol and THD) also in the third edict in TTK: Mchims Rgyal Btsan Bzher Legs Gzigs; Mchims Rgyal Srong Snya Mon Btsan; Mchims Rgyal Stag Bzher. Rgyal Gzigs, Btshan Bzher and Stag Bzher, without a prefixed Rgyal, are known mkhan. That prefix does not appear in the names of other zhang who are identified as belonging to the Mchims rus.
- 5. See TTK, p. 58. Tucci does not however, notice the unexplained spelling lon which is most frequent in this term Zhang blon does appear in LINV 1166: Zhang Blon Chen po Zhang Khri Sum Rje; in TLTD II 222 Zhang Blon Khri Bzher; also in LINV 981 and TLTD II 148. But for zhang lon see LINV 113, 1155, 1083; REV passim; TLTD II 9, 21 137, and a dozen other instances. To these can be added ten instances of the form zhang lon chen po and some significant examples, e.g., 139 and 153 where a distinction is made between lon and blon, viz., Zhang Lon Chen po Blon Dge Bzang. The Shang lon che phra; and chags srid kyi blon po rnams dang zhang lon che phra are recorded as witnesses to a decree in the Zhwa'i Lhakhang inscription. In the

Zhol inscription it seems that a person not related to the royal family by marriage could be given the rank of zhang lon. It may also be noted that no examples are found of, e.g., lon che, nang lon, phyi lon, etc.

- 6. THD records relations between Tibet and 'Jang (Nanchao) as early as 703 in the reign of 'Dus Srong. In the next reign Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan, who had a wife from 'Jang, received an envoy from the Myawa—a part of the Nanchao kingdom. He is described in THD as having given the title bisan po gcung to the Nanchao ruler who is named Kag La Bong (Ko Lo Feng C. 768-779). This passage has been mistranslated by the editors on p. 150. Collation of information on Nanchao from Tibetan and Chinese sources needs to be undertaken. For the latter see W. Stott in TP 1963, where earlier works both in French, English and Chinese are cited.
- 7. See THD p. 19(46) relating to the year 707. "Pong Lag Rang du btsan po geen that balpho rgyal sa nas phab!" A Rebellion in Nepal about this time is recorded in the T'ang Annals; and if the reading is tho bal (as the editors seem to have taken it in their translation at pp. 40-41), it seems that the Nepalese king was described as Btsan po Geen, "the elder brother king."
- 8. The 'A Zha were conquered by the Tibetans in the time of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po; his son Gung Srong married an 'A Zha princess. When the 'A Zha later tried to defect to China the Tibetans in fury totally defeated them (670). Some, under a family called Mou Jong fled east and were settled by the Chinese around Liang Chou. The rest remained as vassals of Tibet. The marriage of princess Khri Bangs to the 'A Zha chief in 689 established the zhang dbon relationship which is referred to in a THD p. 78. "Bon 'A rie dang/zhang dbon gdad sa chom." The editors, reading dpon, quite miss the mark by translating 'Bon chef de 'A Zha (fut nomme [zhang dpon gdan tshom". Thomas, TLTD II. pt.6, reading dbon, gets nearer: "The 'Bon 'A Zha chief and the uncle (nephew?) resigned (exchanged?) their posts.", but the point is that on the king's visit, which was expressly to assert his authority, he and the 'A Zha chief were established in their proper places as Uncle and Nephew.

The matter is complicted by frequent references to the 'Bon 'A Zha (which must be distinguished from bdon) who seem to have

been a tribe or section of the 'A Zha. Perhaps the 'A Zha chief was both a 'Bon 'A Zha as well as being dbon to the Tibetan king; but the existence of such similar words may have caused confusion even in early days. There is no mention of 'Bon 'A Zha in Tibetan records until the 'Bon Da Rgyal in 675. This name is represented in the T'ang Annals as P'en Ta Yen, and the holder was a valiant ally of the Tibetans. Da Rgyal seems to be a princely title and other Da Rgyal, not described as 'Bon, are mentioned before 675. E.H. Parker in A Thousand Years of the Tartars, p. 110, says that the Tu Yu Hun who fled to China (670) became known as Hwun. Perhaps Sinologists can find a key there, or in the name Mou Jong.

- 9. See "A IXth Century Inscription from Rkong Po" JRAS 1954.
- 10. In JRAS 1952 (Zhwa'i Lhakhang) I suggested placing Myang in the Gyantse Nyang (Myang) Chu region; but I now think it far more probable that the home of the Myang family was in and to the west of the headwaters of the Myang Chu of Rkong Po now known as the Rgya mda' or Kam chu. The legend of Dri Gum Btsan po, although claimed in recent times for the Gyantse valley, is properly connected, as I am assured by several learned Tibetans with the lower course of the Rkong-po Myang Chu. The site of Zhwa'i Lha khang, where a leading member of the Myang family built a chapel, also points towards Rkong po.
- 11. The character which is most naturally represented in Tibetan, as in French, as ngan, is one of several names indicating Sogdian origin. There were colonies of Sogdians in Eastern Central Asia from Hami and Lop Nor to the Ordos, see J. R. Hamilton, Les Ouighoures; Li Fang-kuei, "Sog", in Central Asiatic Journal, 1957; E. Pulleyblank in TP, XLI, 1952. Perhaps the origin of Ngan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Khong may be sought there. The Zhol Inscription suggests that his family had newly come to prominence in Tibet. Might he have been not only a contemporary but also a fellow countryman of An Lu Shan whose Sogdian origin and whose name Rokshan have been established by Pulleyblank in "The Background to the Rebellion of An Lu Shan"?
- I note examples I have detected; there may well be several more.
 (1) Klu Bzher is found in REV as apparently a mkhan Blon Klu Bzher Sngo Btsan; but in TTK third edict, where many other

names are quoted with an established mying, it appears as Le'u Blon Klu Bzher; and in TLTD II the name appears without any title and therefore looks like a mying.

- (2) Legs Bzang I.INV 1230 and TLTD II 138 have Blon Legs Bzang a usual *mkhan* form. TLTD II 20 has Zhang Legs Bzang which is equivocal; but in LINV 1094, 1127 and 1175 it appears to be a *mying*
- (3) Khri Sgra is an established *mkhan* in THD pp. 65, 66; also in TTK third edict but in TLTD II 50 it seems to be a *mying*.
- (4) Stag Bzang is quoted by Thomas in TLTD III from a Miran document in the name Stag Bzang Khri Dpal; there are several instances in TLTD II of Blon Stag Bzang the usual *mkhan* form; but in LINV 540 it is found with what looks like a non-Tibetan *rus* name 'Bi Stag Bzang apparently as a *mying*.
- (5) Mdo Bzher, described as a mkhan in LINV 1240, appears in LINV 1078 apparently as a mying Shag Mdo Bzher.
- 13. Rkong Dkar Po Mang Po Rje is an attested rgyal phran (JRAS 1954 and TTK third edict). The Da Rgyal Mang Po Rje appears to have been an 'A Zha prince. The third edict mentions a Myang rgyal phran; the great minister of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po whose father led the movement which put Srong Brtsan's grand-father in power, is called Myang Mang Po Rje Zhang Snang. His family may have been awarded the status of rgyal phran for this service. Mang Po Rje is also found as part of the names of persons of special distinction from the Mgar Khu, Dba's and Cog Ro rus; but evidence is not conclusive.

NOTES

On Names & Titles

"What's in a name? that which we call a rose, By any other name would smell as sweet; So Romeo would, were he not Romeo call'd Retain the dear perfection which he owes Without that title."

That was Jullet in exasperation.

A name has no reality when one realizes the unreality of corporeal being (Skt. Pudgala/Tib. Gangzag) as the great sage Nagasena demonstrated to the Greek king Menander (C. one century before Christ).

Confronted with the reality of the mundane world (Skt. Samsara/Tib. Hkhor-wa) a name is as much essential as the cipher in mathematics. Once it goes into currency a name is much more than a name. For past history a name may be often more important than the corporeal being concerned. Study of names is more than an academic pastime for a linguist or an archaeologist. It is a fruitful field for a historian.

Hugh Richardson is reading the past history of Tibet direct from inscriptions and manuscripts, much of which have not been fully deciphered so far. Such texts bristle not only with archaic and obsolete spellings and constructions but also names, surnames, titles and occupational designations which throw light on cultural and socio-economic history of Tibet. Many of these became defunct in later times while several new ones coined on foreign words, say from Sanskrit, would be conspicuous finds. The article "Names and Titles in Early Tibetan Records" published in this number of the Bulletin, in the opinion of the author, "is some meat for the specialist" — but how about "the rest of your readers". The general reader, often described as lay reader, of this Bulletin has been evincing a wide, as opposed to narrow specialist, interest in the diverse contents of Tibetology and the editors of the Bulletin have

no doubt that this article will be ready by the general reader too. A note is appended here to indicate the role of names and titles in the migration, conflict, co-existence or commingling of cultures in Inner Asia and India.



In Mongolia a Buddhism was preached first in the 13th century and later, as is well known, by the Yellow Sect in the 16-17th centuries. Firm evidence about the first propagation is, borne among other facts, by names like Sang-ko-shih-li (Skt. Sanghasri), Badma (Skt. Padma), or Shahchia (Skt. Sakya) before the advent of the Yellow Sect (Henry Serruys). Darmabala (Skt. Dharmapala) was already a popular name in the 13th century and a grandson of Kubilai Khan bore this name.

In Tibet, as Richardson tells in his article, names drawing on the Buddhist vocabulary make their appearance towards the end of the 9th century. At the beginning only the monks and priests had names like Dgah-ldan Byang-chub (Skt. Tushita Boddhisattva) or Thon-grub (Skt. Siddhartha).

In India we have the nomenclature of the Kushanas to cite the naturalization of a foreign dynasty. We start with the two Kadphises, and passing through Kanishka, Vasishka Huvishka and a Kanishka reach Vasudeva.

On the other hand along with foreign dynasties and foreign races, many non-Indian words entered Sanskrit and other Indian languages. Iranian and Saka words found permanent place in Indian names. Words like Kaisara and Shaha made their advent long before the settlement of Zoroastrian (Parsi) immigrants on the Western Coast.

The ethnic problem regarding the Greeks (Skt. Yavana/Pkt. Yona) in India (Raychaudhuri vs. Tarn) will perhaps be solved only when more names in both Greek and Indic forms be available.

A word which connects India with Inner Asia and also holds key to the obscure past of the Manchu-Mongol complex is Manju. Not known to earlier Sanskrit vocabulary the word shines in the firmament of India, Nepal, Tibet and Mongolia in later days. Its antiquity competed with its sanctity in the Northern Buddhist world. When the earliest occurrence of this word and its peregrination are firmly located much of the cultural as well as political history of Inner Asia will be recovered.



Titles and designations provide valuable data for history. Derivation of Turk. Sart/Sarto from Skt. Sartha and that of Sib. Shaman from Skt. Sramana/Pali. Samana are now generally accepted. This writer holds that Skt. Brahmana could shape into Tib. Bla-ma. In ancient Khotanese dialects words cognate with Indic Brahmana were used to render the word Buddha (Harold Bailey).

Among important foreign titles which entered Indic vocabulary in the period of Iranian, Greek, Parthian and Scythian settlements are Kshatrapa, Shaha, Strategos and Meridarch; the last two were shrot lived; a Meridarch with Indian name was Viyakamitra.

The most important loan-titles in ancient India were Maharajadhiraja/Rajatiraja (Xshayathiyanam Xshayathiya: Basileus Basileon: Shahan Shah) and Devaputra (Tien-tzu). The Son of Heaven was indeed an innovation in a land where the highest approximation to divinity was Devanampriya (Beloved of the gods); this was an ancient Han concept migrating with the Yueh-chi (Kushanas). In later times, when the Dalai Lama and the Manchu Emperor became allies, the Tibetans called the Manchu as Gnambskos (Son of Heaven).

Orthodox Hindus learn with surprise that the word Thakura is not of Vedic antiquity. It is of Tokhar context and entered the Indic vocabulary in the Scythian Period (Buddha Prakash).

Some Indian titles found firm place in Tibetan language; the most well-known examples are Guru and Pandita. In Mongolia, Pandita became Bandita as Ratna (for Rin-po-chhe) became Erteni. During the first propagation, the Karmapa hierarch was given the Mongol title for abbot, master or priest, namely, Bakshi (Pak-

shi/Pashi). During the second propagation, the Gelugpa hierarch was called Ta-le (Dalai) and this remains the most historic loanword in Tibetan language.

In the previous number of this *Bulletin*, a contributor wrote how the word Lama (Bla-ma) became the group name of a Nepali speaking people.

*

Names and titles have made history. Going back to the early Indo-Iranian history one finds that the god of one was the demon for the other. Deva for one was Asura for the other. The horse and the sword often decided the respective merits of the two epithets.

NIRMAL C. SINHA

A Tibetan Antiquarian In The XVIIIth Century

It is a common place that Tibetan historians after the re-establishment of Buddhism in Central Tibet in the Xth century gave little space to events before that time which did not have an obvious religious significance. Nevertheless, several of them can be seen to have had some acquaintance with the early inscriptions, which existed in front of their eyes, and with records in monastery archives. For example, 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba, the author of the careful and invaluable "Blue Annals", quotes the 5th and 6th lines of the inscription on the east face of the Lhasa Treaty pillar of 821/822 (vol.nya. f 108 a.). He also states (vol. ga f. 40 b) that he has seen a letter on blue silk recording the grant of property to Myang Ting-nge 'dzin bzang-po, but he makes no mention of two inscriptions on stone pillars at Zhwa'i Lha-khang which still survive as witness of the fact.

The Lhasa Treaty Inscription was also known to the author of the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long who picks out words and phrases as though from a hazy and inaccurate recollection of its contents (f. 92 a) and recommends his readers to study the inscription if they want fuller information.

The comparatively recent discovery in the Chos-byung of dPa'-bo gtsug-lag 'phreng-ba (1565) of an exception to this sketchy approach to ancient documents was, therefore, a welcome event. A manuscript copy of this work was lent to me at Lhasa in 1947; and it appears that Professor Tucci saw a printed copy on his visit to Tibet about the same time. After widespread enquiry I succeded in locating the blocks at the Lha-lung monastery in Lho-brag and it was possible to arrange for a number of copies to be printed, some of which were sent to scholars in Europe. At that time the book was known to few Tibetans at Lhasa, probably because it had been mentioned unfavourably by the Vth Dalai Lama who may have been inspired in part by the fact that the Karmapa school, to which dPa'-bo gtsug-lag belonged, had been

his principal opponents when, with the support of Gushri Khan, he had invaded Tibet and defeated the gTsang king in 1642. In fact, where he criticizes dPa'-bo gtsug-lag, it is the Dalai Lama who appears to be mistaken; but his disapproval was enough to remove the work from the libraries of the Lhasa intellegentsia.

In that history is found, for the first time, the careful quotation of a complete VIIIth century inscription—that at bSam-yas. The author mentions the inscribed pillars at Zhwa'i Lha-khang (f 108). There is also a passing reference to the Lhasa Treaty pillar and short quotations from its east face (ja f. 132). In addition to this evidence of familiarity with ancient inscriptions there is the unique contribution of what appears to be verbatim quotation from the archives of some monastary probably bSam-yas, of two Edicts of Khri Srong-Ide-brtsan and one of Khri-LDe-srong-brtsan. These remarkable documents are authenticated by the survival on a stone pillar near Lhasa of an inscription recording an edict which is clearly the counterpart of the Edict of Khri IDe-srong-brtsan. The inscription has been published by me in JRASB 1949 has been examined more fully by Professor Tucci in his edition of it in Tambs of the Tibetan Kings, Rome, 1950.

Much of the other material in this history has the appearance of being drawn from ancient sources but it cannot be so clearly linked to its originals as can be the passage mentioned above.

From the foregoing examples it can be seen that Tibetan scholars had acquaintance, in differing degrees, with ancient documents although the fact that detailed reference rarely found their way into the surviving histories suggests that such documents were not regarded as of prime importance. It was, therefore, an unexpected thrill to be presented not long ago through the kindness of Athing Densapa of Barmiak, with a photogaph of a collection of copies of early inscriptions which had recently come into his possession. These were stated to be the personal papers of the ka:thog Lama, Rig-'dzin tshe-bdang nor-bu who lived in the XVIIIth century and they show that at the time of the Age of Reason in Europe and the scholarly researches of Sir William Jones in India, there was a Lama in Tibet who had taken pains

to collect and to annotate the text of many important inscription of the VIIIth and IXth centuries.

One of these inscriptions was hitherto unknown because the lettering on the pillar which contained it had become illegible through time. It dates from the reign of Khri Srong-Ide-brtsan and has now been edited by me in JRAS 1964. The other inscriptions are: that at the tomb of Khri IDe-srong-brtsan at 'Phyong-rgyas, which has been published by Professor Tucci in *Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*; the inscription from rKong-po published by me in JRAS 1954; the so-called sKar-cung inscription published by me in JRASB 1949 and by Professor Tucci in *Tombs of the Tibetan kings*; and two of the four inscriptions on the Lhasa Treaty Pillar which are known from the editions of Professor Li Fang-kuei Bisashi Sato and myself.

Missing are what is probably the oldest of such documents — that from the *Zhol rdo-rings* at Lhasa (C. 764) which does not appear to be mentioned by any historian although the conquest of the Chinese capital which is described there is known to them. Perhaps the tradition that this pillar was erected by a lay minister who was hostile to Buddhism led to it being ignored. Other inscriptions missing from the collection are those at Zhwa'i Lhakhang and at mTshur-phu, both of which relates to Buddhist foundations.

What is in the collection is, nevertheless, of great importance especially when it is seen that some of the material which the Lama acquired in the XVIIIth century may have been either originals or, more likely copies made as much as 250 years before his life time. This appears from a note at the end of his copy of the Lhasa Treaty Inscriptions to the effect that the copy was made in a water-tiger year 599 years after the water-hare year in which the pillar was set up. That is known to have been 823. It may be necessary to allow for a confusion in Tibetan chronology which has affected much of their dating from that period by the apparent omission of a cycle of sixty years; but, even so, the date of the copies is put firmly in the XVth century. Further, a note, perhaps made by the Lama himself, on the copy of the rKong-po inscription

indicates that when the text was checked on the spot with the original, about six and a half lines of the inscription were buried under sand. His copy was, therefore, taken some time before it came into his possession.

I am gradually making new editions of the inscriptions in the light of the Lama's texts. Although comparison with photographs, etc., showing the state of the inscriptions as they were some 20 years ago, discloses many inaccuracies in the Lama's copies, these are largely orthographic and his contribution provides much new information of real value. It is not my intention to discuss that aspect here; but I should like to attempt a short sketch of Lama's life in the hope that others with better-source at their disposal may be inclined to enlarge upon it. In a recent article "Nouveaux Documents Tibétains sur le Mi Nyag Si Hia" in Melanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demieville, published by the Presses Universitàés de France, Paris, 1966, Professor R.A. Stein mentions two biographies of Rig 'dzin tshe-dbang nor-bu which he saw at Gangtok. I have not had access to those works and have drawn only on the Rin-chen gter-mdzod and on verbal and written information from the present Ka:thog dBon sPrul-sku and the Sa-skya-pa Lama, sDe-gzhung Rimpoche.

Tshe-dbang nor-bu was born in 1698 in the Sa-ngan region of East Tibet and was soon recognized as the reincarnation of one Grub-dbang Padma nor-bu who carried on the spiritual line of gNubs Nam-mkha'i snying-po a teacher at the time of Khri Srong Ide-brtsan. The boy was ordained by the rGyal sras Rimpoche of Ka:thog the famous rNying-ma-pa monastery some 40 miles S.E. of sDe-dge, founded in 1099 by Lama Dam-pa De-bshegs and which takes its name from a hill, on the slopes of which the monastery lies, bearing near its summit marks resembling the letter Ka. Tshe-dbang nor-bu studied with the leading rNying-ma-pa teachers and also with those of the Karmapa with whom Ka:thog had a close connection. One of his contemporaries and friends was Karmapa Si-tu Chos-kyi byung-gnas, a famous XVIIIth century scholar; and, later, Tshe-dbang nor-bu became the tutor of the XIIIth Karmapa Zhwa-nag incarnation, bDud-'dul rdo-rje.

From Khams he went to Central Tribet where he received instruction in the Jo-nang-pa doctrines. Among the skills he developed was that of gter-ston, discoverer of religious texts and objects believed to have been concealed in the remote past. He travelled widely and his activities included the founding or repairing of monasteries in Western Tibet and in Sikkim, and the repair of mchod-rten (stupas) in Nepal. He was greatly revered by the Pholha-nams stobs-rgyas, the ruler of Tibet; and in 1751/52 when trouble arose between the princes of upper and lower Ladakh and there was danger of interference by the Dzungar masters of Kashgaria, Pho-lha and the VIIth Dalai Lama commissioned him to restore peace. That incident was referred to recently by the Chinese Government in their frontier dispute with India as evidence that Ladakh was at that time under the authority of Lhasa. In spite of complimentary remarks in Tibetan sources, it seems that his efforts did not bear lasting fruit. From Ladakh he went to Nepal and not long after, in about 1755 he died at sKyid-grong where there is a mchod-rten containing his relics.

The Lama is brought vividly to life by a passage in the biography of the 'Brug-pa Lama Yon-tan mtha'yas which shows his active personal interest in verifying his antiquarian material. Yon-tan mtha'yas describes how when he was at Lhasa about 1744 he met Ka:thog Rig-'dzin chen-po Tshe-dbang nor-bu sitting by the *rdo-ring* outside the gTsug-lag-khang and reading the inscription on it. A copy of that inscription is, as mentioned above, included in the collection now in Athing Barmiak's possession and it may well be that the notes and correction on it were being made at that very time by the Lama himself.

NOTES

Some Aspects of Tibetan Learning

Mr. Richardson's article (pp. 32-36) throws light on a little recognized aspect of Tibetan learing, namely, interest in antiquities and objects which are not directly connected with the Chhos (Dharma). He has appropriately hinted that Tibet in the first half of the 18th century (A.C.) had produced a Lama who had the same spirit of scientific enquiry as Sir William Jones, the founder of Asiatic Society of India, in the second half of the same century.

It is not denied—and such denial will be against the spirit and soul of Tibetan civilization—that from the time that the Sacred White Lotus (Dam-chhos-ped-dkar) blossomed in Tibet, all learning grew around and under the auspices of religion. History or historical scholarship was no exception. This process can be described in the words of a non-Tibetan scholar as in the following quotation.

"In the beginning Tibetan chroniclers were inspired by the Chinese tradition of Shih-chi (the Records of the Scribe-the Records of the Historian). This meant a meticulous regard for events and their dates. The Indian tradition with its indifference to mundane happenings and their chronological sequence was the antithesis of the Chinese Tradition. Under the Indian impact the Yig-tshang (Tib. for archives or records) changed its character and Tibetan scholarship founded its own school of historiography. Though the habit of chronological sequence and firm dating lingered all emphasis was now on the history of religion, its origins in India and its spread in the Trans-Himalayas. The Dharma was eternal and everything else was transitory. Therefore nothing but the story of the Dharma deserved recording. The ideal history was no longer the Records (Yig-tshang) or the Dynastic Annals (Rgyal-rabs) but the growth of the Religion (Chos-'byung). The scholars of Tibet, from Buston onwards, drew inspiration not from the China, nor from India but from the dominant phenomenon around them, the Social Milieu—to adopt a label from Arnold Toynbee's repertory".

"As Sinologist Balazs says, Chinese history was written by bureaucrats for bureaucrats. It will be true to say that Tibetan history was written by believers (Tib. Nangpa) for believers, by Lamas for Lamas".

"Tibetan historical writing has as its subject the dominant phenomenon—the Spread of the Doctrine. The facts recorded mostly relate to propagation, rise and development of different schools and sects,

building of monasteries and temples and the lives of saints and preachers. Much of the narrative is informed with faith and miracle. Yet a hard core of historicity with an authentic chronology makes the Tibetan historical literature an indispensable source today. It preserves most valuable data for the history of the neighbouring countries like India and Mongolia too."

I have taken the above excerpts from *Tibet: Considerations on Inner Asian History* by N.C. Sinha, with the kind permission of the publishers Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay.

I propose to draw the notice of the reader to the habit and custom of collecting and preserving ancient historical objects in the monasteries, temples and private houses in different parts of Tibet. Some of these objects were no doubt used in ritual and some were non-ritualistic objects used by Religious Kings, incarnations, monks and scholars, while quite a good number would have no direct connection with the propagation.

I may first mention Khyentse Rimpoche's (mKhyen-brtse-rin-poche) well-known guide book for pilgrims in Central Tibet (composed little more than a century ago), which is now available in English translation by Ferrari with notes by Petech and Richardson (Rome, 1958). The book gives an insight into the rich collection of relics, sacred art objects and many non-ritualistic items in the monasteries and temples concerned. Though there is much which a modern reader will call legendary, those objects and their description make a good source of information for historical enquiry. Date and provenance of an object can very well throw light on the chronology and contemporary life.

The objects which are directly connected with religion are kept in a separate apartment called Nang-ten (Nang-ten) in big monasteries and temples. The Nang-ten may contain a Dorjee (rDor-rje) or a Phurpa (Phurpa) used by an eminent Lama, a religious printing presented by a Mongol emperor to a Tibetan Lama, a set of Neten-chudug (gNas-brtan-bcu-drug/16 Mahasthaviras) in a unique clay model, a bell with the Sutra of Yedharma (All those things springing from cause, etc.). Now any of these may have an inscription in some obscure and archaic form, throwing light on Tibetan script. An usual decorative motif on a sacred object can tell a story of its own. The different types of representation of Neten-chudug contains much of iconography not yet known.

The objects which are not sacred relics or directly connected with the religion are known as Yang-ten (gYang-rten). The observations about Nang-ten would also hold good for the collection called Yang-ten. Besides much can be learnt about costumes and ornaments or bows and swords used from time to time. The cap of king Gesar and the sword of his uncle (Khro-thung) preserved in a monastery of Eastern Tibet, if available now, would stimulate a modern historian as much as they cause wonder to a Tibetan believer.

Among the important collections would be those of the great Sakya (Sa-skya) monastery, Tsorphu (mTshur-phu) and Tashi Lhumpo (bKrashis-lhun-po) in Central Tibet, Ka:thog (Ka:-thog) and Kashi (Ka-bshi) in Kham and Jeykubum (rje-sku-'bum) in Amdo, besides of course Jokhang, Samye and Potala. Private houses like that of Ragasha in Lhasa also could hold the attention of historians or antiquarians.

The coins and seals alone as collected in monasteries and private houses would bring to light many unknown facts and features not only about the history of Tibet but also about the surrounding countries. Catalogues containing most faithful illustration of coins and seals with description of such objects were popular. It is understood a few such books have been brought by some Tibetan refugees. It is much desired that these books are read by experts like Mr. Richardson along with Tibetan Lamas versed in reading ancient scripts and motifs.

Tibetan interest in geography other than religions geography is now known, thanks to Professor Turrel Wylie's publication of Zamling-gyeshed ('Zam-gling-rgyas-bshad) (Rome, 1962). The previous Situ incarnation had written a book of travels to Central Tibet in 1920s. Though much of the book is about monasteries and sacred places, it has much valuable information on roads and stages, rivers and passes, towns and villages.

Another scholar of 20th century (A.C.) Gedun Chhophal (dGe-'dun-chhos-'phal) took much interest in rock inscriptions and ancient books as can be seen from the pages of his wellknown White Annals (Tibetan text, printed in Darjeeling, 1964).

I have not written this note to supplement or to contradict in any way Mr. Richardson's article. On the other hand as a Tibetan I am thankful that a great saint scholar of Tibet, Ka:thog Rigzin Tsewang Norbu, has been properly appreciated for his many sided intellect. I understand that Mr. Richardson did not readily agree to publish what he considered a very hastily done first draft. I must thank the editor of the *Bulletin* who persuaded Mr. Richardson to contribute this first draft. Mr. Richardson will no doubt tell the modern scholars about the great scholars of Tibet later.

MYNAK R. TULKU

NOTES

Demchok

In his article on the Kathog Lama, Hugh Richardson refers (p. 36) to the modern Chinese reading of the Civil War in Ladakh and the Lama's peace efforts in 1751-52. For the general reader of this *Bulletin*, the facts may be detailed here.

Disputes between princes (or tribes or sects) in Inner Asia often led to alignments with or interferences by other powers in the neighbourhood. Such alignments or interferences would not ipso facto presume questions of sovereignty but could change the power structure. There would be thus anxiety on the part of the old and established powers to maintain status quo and peace.

When in 1750 the Dzunggar power threatened to interfere in the dispute between the princes of Upper and Lower Ladakh, the Tibetan authorities (Dalai Lama VII and Pho-Iha) had reason to strive for peace. Ladakh, though dominantly Nyingma and Kargyu, had intimate cultural and commercial relations with Lhasa. Pho-Iha had veneration for the Kathog Lama and knew that being not a Gelugpa the Kathog's stock would be high in Ladakh. The peace mission was therefore entrusted to a saint-scholar acceptable to the old Sects in Ladakh. His efforts however did not produce lasting peace.

Two centuries later the People's Republic of China read these infructuous peace efforts as the proof of Lhasa soveriegnty over Ladakh. Besides a specific claim to Demchok (bde-mchhog/ma-hasukha or sambhara) was advanced by the Chinese on the strength of a statement attributed to the Kathog Lama. The statement, as per Chinese quotation, runs thus: I arrived on the 10th day of the second half of this month at the sacred place of the Guru-Lhari Karpo of Demchock-which is the boundary of the King of Tibet with the King of Ladakh". Report of the Officials of the Government

of India and of the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question (New Delhi 1961), p. CR-38. The Chinese officials added "The Guru" referred to here is a term of respect for the Dalai Lama and "the sacred place of the Guru" means a territory of the Dalai Lama" and therefore claimed Demchock within Tibetan territory. (lbid)

Demchock is a sacred place within the Hemis complex. The Hemis complex is very ancient (old Sects) and antedates considerably the Yellow Sect and the rise of the Dalai Lamas. Along with Hemis, Demchock is associated with the wanderings of Maha Guru Padmasambhava, also called Guru Rimpoche or simply Guru. The great Nyingma Lama from Ka-thog undoubtedly referred to Mahaguru Padmasambhava and would not use the epithet Guru for the Dalai Lama. There is no evidence that the Nyingma Lama had any initiation or wang (dbang) from the then Dalai Lama. It is not customary for a Nyingma Lama, to describe a Dalai Lama to be his Guru without such special initiation.

The Chinese officials were aware of their weak contention or discovered the weakness of their contention later. In their own report, published nearly two years later and without any date of publication, the expressions "King of Tibet" and "King of Ladakh" are changed into "Rjewo of Tibet" and "Prince of Ladakh". Report of the Officials of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of India on the Boundary Question (Peking n.d.), p. 42. The expression King has the flavour of Austinian sovereign. "King of Ladakh" makes this king independent of the Dalai Lama and worse still "King of Tibet" reduces the Manchu sovereignty over Tibet. So rjewo (lord, master or ruler), one of the several titles of the Dalai Lama, is introduced on second thoughts.

NIRMAL C. SINHA

Further Fragments From Tun Huang

In vol. II no. 3 of this Bulletin I examined a fragment which has been omitted from the end of the Annals section of *Documents de Touen Houang relatifs à l' Histoire du Tibet*, Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, 1946 (THD). The passages to which I now draw attention come from the beginning of the short section on Ancient Principalities, etc. (pp. 80-82) and from the end of the Chronicle (p. 122). These fragments provoke more questions than they answer; but the historical and semi-historical documents from Tun Huang are of such rare value that every available sentence deserves to be studied.

The editors of THD state that the 5 lines which they omit from the beginning of the Principalities section are much damaged and are separated from the main body of the text by a considerable interval. The late Mlle Lalou has transliterated 3 of the lines in no. 1286 of her *Inventaire des manuscrits tibetains de Touen Houang* (LINV) and has quoted them at p. 161 of an article in *Journal Asiatique* 1959 (JA). As I have no photographic or other copy of the mss I can refer at present to those 3 lines only. The Tibetan text as given by Mlle Lalou is as follows; the attempted translation is mine.

(I) //gna gnyen mtha; bzhi'i rabs la//Ide'i gangs bar na/Ide za' gang rag ma/skyi la mda' na/skyi za'i 'd...(2)..... // dags kyi bshen mkhar na / dags za'i gyim pang ma'// mchims yul gyi dngul khur na / mchims.....(3) sha tshang ma'// gnyen ni mtha' bzhi // chab ni.

"As for the lineage of those who of old were associates on the four borders; in the midst of the snows of the IDe, the IDe lady Gang rag ma; in the valley of sKyi, the sKyi lady 'D...; in bShen mkhar of Dags, the Dags lady Gyim pang ma'; in dNgul khur of the mChims country, the mChims lady Sha tshang ma'. As for the associates on the four borders, their dominion......" The several different versions of the lists of principalities bordering on the territory of the Tibetan kings have been analysed by Mlle Lalou among her many memorable contributions to the study of the Tun Huang documents (JA 1965); I am concerned here only with some of the problems which this small fragment adds to an already complicated subject.

In some of the lists the princes, their capitals, consorts, and ministers are variously named. This fragment, which perhaps has no direct connection with the remainder of the *ms* reproduced at pp. 80-82 of THD, mentions only the consorts and their residences. The form za'i, rather than za, may strictly means "in the capacity of consort" but I have translated it simply as though it were za.

IDe is one of the dynastic names of the kings of Tibet whose seat was in the Yar-lung valley. The lady Gang-rag-ma does not figure in any of Mlle Lalou's lists but a IDe-za Gag-kar is named in LINV 1039 and a lord of Ga-gar Itangs in Yar-lung is named in LINV 1285 which Mlle Lalou has edited in JA 1959.

The lady of sKyi, whose name is effaced here, appears in other lists simply as sKyi bdag gi btsun mo—the queen of the master of sKyi. The mChims lady, Sha-tshang-ma is named in LINV 1039 but the place dNgul khur (Load of Silver), which recalls dNgul-mkhar in Zhang-zhung, is not mentioned elsewhere.

Dags has been left for special mention. bShen-mkhar appears to be place name; but in other lists the capital of Dags is called Shing-nad, Shing-nag, or Gru-bzhi. The name of the lady, here given as Gyim-pang, appears in other lists as Khung-phangs. The reading Gyim turns ones thoughts to two documents in *An Ancient Folk Literature From N.E. Tibet* by F.W. Thomas (AFL. pp. 16-19, 40-41) in which there are lengthy but obscure stories about a Gyim-po family. Where they lived is not clear but since names in the documents are given both in "the language of sPu-rgyal Tibet" and in "the language of Nam-pa" the Gyim-po must have had close connection with those two regions. Nam, which Thomas placed to the S.E. of the Kokonor region, has also been identified with the Nan Chao kingdom (R.A. Stein. Deux Notules, JA 1963,

note. p. 335). That is a long way from Dags-po; but the ruler may well have been supposed to have taken his consort from some other country. Gyim-po is also mentioned in a fragmentary inscription on the remains of a stone pillar from a site near Zhwa'i Lhakhang which was the territory of the Myang clan (JRAS April 1953 pp. 10-11). There it is associated with ancestral tribal names connected with Eastern Tibet—Cho phyi; mDa'; Tse: and Phyug-po (See AFL. 6,30,40; and R.A. Stein, Le Tribus Anciennes des Marches Sino-Tibetains, Paris 1959, pp. 5,12,16,57).

Although the lists of principalities contain at least one name viz., Lig Snya-shur-which it appears possible to place approximately in the early seventh century, other names go back to the legendary past and there is no way of fixing the lists in any particular period. That applies to the lady Gyim-pang in the fragment; but the syllable Gyim appears also in the names of persons who can be assigned to a historical setting. For example, sPug Gyim-tang rmang-bu was a vassal of Nag-seng of Tshes-pong, one of the nobles who combined to establish the grand-father and father of Srong-brtsan sGam-po in power. sPug Gyim-tang killed his wife for fear that she might betray the conspiracy in which he was engaged (THD) 104, 105 and 136). Those events can be put C. 580 A.D. Later, one sPug Gyim-rtsan rma-chungis recorded in the Tun Huang Annals as being sent in 653 to take charge of the administration of Zhang-zhung (THD. pp 13, 31). He is presumably the same as sPug Guim-rtsang rmang-cung who went to help the sister of the Tibetan king who had been married to Lig myi rhya, ruler of Zhang-zhung, and was badly treated by him. The visit ended in the subjugation of Zhang-zhung (THD. pp. 115-117 and 155-158). Although the rulers' names do not agree exactly, that event is probably to be placed C. 645 about which time as the Annals record "Lig snya shur was destroyed and all Zhang-zhung subjected" (THD pp. 13 and 29). A later subjugation of Zhang-zhung in 677-678 (THD p. 15) will not fit because the affair took place during the life time of Srong-brtsan sGam-po. If that is so, sPug Gyim-rtsan's experience in the affair of the princess may have been rewarded later by the appointment as governor. The name sPug, which has an un-Tibetan ring appears

in the lists of principalities as that of a minister of sKyi (whose ruler's name was rmang-po). The capital of sKyi is given as IJang, a name associated with Nan Chao (Nam). sPug also appears in the name of a monk apparently of non-Tibetan origin in the time of Khri IDe-gtsug-brtsan (LINV 996). The name may derive from some branch — perhaps an eastern one — of the widespread complex of peoples known as Zhang-zhung, whose western extension was in the kingdom of Lig snya shur in the neighbourhood of Lake Manasarowar. There would be nothing unusual in the use of such a person for dealing with others of similar racial origin. Another example can be seen in the activities of the cunning minister Spung sad Zu-tse who took part in the subjection of some Zhang-zhung peoples to Srong-brtsan sGam-po' father (TLTD II 54 and THD 139). The description of him as Khyung-po identifies him as belonging to a Zhang-zhung tribe; and the syllable sPung appears in other Zhung-zhung names, e.g., Ra-sang-rje spung-rhye ryung (THD 34) and cf. sNya-shur spu-ngas rye-rkyug (THD 33). Spung-sad Zu-tse was responsible for the fall of the great great Minister Zhang-snang of Myang, whom he supplanted C. 632 A.D. Associated with him in that coup was a man named pa-tshab Gyim-po who was a vassal of Myang. The reason for Pa-tshab's hostility to his overlord can be seen in the events leading to the establishment of the Yar-lung dynasty. The father of Myang Zhang-snang, a minister of a local prince probably in the upper valley of the Lhasa river, found himself on the losing side in warface with the prince of Ngas-po and was subjected to the overlordship of one of the ministers of his conqueror. The minister, Mnyan Ji-zung, was married to a lady of Pa-tshab who proceeded to humiliate the new vassal. Mang, therefore, organised a conspiracy against his new masters and in favour of the ruler of Yar-lung. The venture was successful. The prince of Ngas-po was signally defeated; and Mnyan and his lady were made subjects of their one-time vassal Myang. A Pa-tshab was, therefore, ready for revenge when an opportunity presented itself to help in the destruction of Myang Zhang-snang. (See Bulletin II. 1 and II. 3)

Mention of a person with the possibly eastern name of Gyimpo who was also a member of the Pa-tshab clan brings us to the second fragment which is printed at the end of the Tun Huang Chronicle (THD p. 122), but has not been translated there owing to its damaged condition. It is a typical example of the Chronicle style, a historical incident being illustrated by songs which are packed with allusion and aphorisms in language very similar to much of AFL. The transcription which follows has been revised slightly on the basis of a photostat of the mss which is fairly clear for the first half; for the rest I have generally accepted the version in THD although some of its readings are dubious. I have inserted in italics a few conjectural readings for which there seems adequate basis; and I have attempted a translation of those parts of the fragment which can be put into a historical setting or which are long enough to provide some meaning.

(I) mgar mang po rje stag rtsan dang pa tshab rgyal to re rgya la bres pa'i tshe// pa tshab rgyal to res klu blangs pa' / (2)na las// sman sha ni la' da's kyang/sha bkra' ni slad lus/na ning (3)..... gres bu ni spad bzangs nas/ma srin ni sdug gis bskyel/tsong ka ni che su (4)/rje'i ni skal pog pa rgya rje ni bsam lang zhig/pur myi ni skal pa ru rgya...(5).....chag pa // mgar mang po rje stag rtsan kyi mchis brang cog ro za khyo dang Idan chig rgya la (6).....mchid blangs pa' // nyen kar ni stag rtse nas/ lcags kyi ni khyim. zhig rgya ni na lo dra nas (7).....dud brda btang / meg le ni glang mar nas/ gser gyi ni sha la' drongs //ogs so ni (8).....' da's so ni hab chen gong/ 'drims so ni so go rtsa/brkyang so ni // yang dang steng (9).....ning snga/ jo pho ni stag rtsan dang /rgya rje ni bsam long gnyis/bstod.....ni do re (10).....ni sang lta na // 'brong bu ni rkos brag te/ na rtsi ni bgor.....la....(II) sgrol //

"When mGar Mang-po-rje sTag-rtsan and Pa-tshab rGyal-to-re fled to China Pa-tshab sang this song"...... Even if medicine has been put on the flesh, leprosy remains ever after. When they are old, even if their menfolk are wise, mother and daughter are pursued by sorrow. In great Tsong-ka...... The one whose lot it is to be ruler is Emperor of China. As for the man of Tibet*, in his lot, China...... is broken." The wife of

^{*} pur myi-spur-myi? referring to sPu-rgyal Bod.

mGar Mang-po-rje sTag-rtsan, the lady of Cog-ro.....to China, spoke like this: "From Nyen-kar sTag-rtse, a dwelling of iron (or" in lCags?). In China itself......from the net. sent smoke signals (or" sent signs of submission?.. From Meg-le glang-mar. (about one and half lines omitted). The lord sTag-rtsan and the Chinese Emperor bSam-lang, these two; Praised......" (the remainder is too obscure to attempt).

In spite of the damaged nature of the passage it can be seen to refer to the fall of the mGar family in 698/699 after some 50 years as effective rulers of Tibet. The Chief Minister at the time was mGar Khri-bring bTsan-brod, son of Srong-brtsan sGam-po's great minister, sTong-rtsan yul-zung. In the Tibetan Annals Khribring alone is named as involved in the disaster to his family (THD 39) but from the T'ang Annals it is learnt that when his troops would not fight against the Tibetan king Khri-'bring committed suicide together with many of his entourage. Other members of the family fled to China, among them a brother of Khri-'bring named Tsanpo, and Mangpuchich, the son of his elder brother. This can hardly be anyone but the mGar-po-rje sTag-rtsan of the fragment. In Deux Notules, referred to above, Professor Stein in a note, which deserves to be developed into an essay, quotes the T'ang Annals as recording the great honours given to a son of Khri'bring, named Louen Kong-jen, who submitted to China in 699 bringing with him 7000 tents of the 'A-zha. This too must be the Mang-po rie of the fragment. The influence of Khri-'bring in the 'A-zha country is seen in many entries in THD and there is mention of other members of the mGar in that region including one mGar Mang-nyen; but the family, or clan, was too extensive to attempt to identify him with Mang-po-rie.

The name of the Chinese Emperor bSam-lang appears also in line 26 of the East face of the Lhasa Treaty Inscription (rgya rje sam lang...) where it certainly refers to the Emperor Hsuan Tsung (713-756) though how the name came to be applied to him is not clear. Nor is it clear why that name is mentioned in conncetion with the flight of mGar Mang-po-rje which took place 14 years before his accession, during the reign of the usurping Empress Wu. Although her activities are known to the author of the Blue Annals, they have made no impression on contemporary

Tibetan records, or it may be that by the time when the song came to be recorded, the memory of the Emperor who had sent the Chinese princess Mun-Sheng as bride to Khri IDe-gtsug-brtsan had effaced most others.

The association of the Pa-tshab clan with the mGar is seen in (THD p. 37) which records joint operations in 690 by mGar 'Bring-rtsan rtsang-ston and Pa-tshab rGyal-stan thom-po. A common interest may have existed for some time. Pa-sthab, as has been seen, were associated with a minister of Ngas-po who was hostile to Myang. The lists of principalities show that mGar were also ministers of Ngas-po and although there is no evidence that mGar took an active part in opposing Myang and his protege the ruler of Yar-lung, they were not among his supporters. Later, although there is nothing to suggest that mGar joined with Pa-tshab and Zu-tse in the plot against Myang-sang, they were waiting in the wings and as soon as the alien Zu-tse, who seems to have had no clan to support him, was removed from the scene, mGar sTong-rtsan was ready to take up a position similar to that formerly enjoyed by the Myang.

Returning to Mang-po-rje sTag-rtsan: it emerges from the fragment that his wife was from Cog-ro. That clan first appears in Tibetan history as sharing in the fall of Myang Zhang snang, and therefore on the other side from Pa-tshab. It is not named in the lists of principalities nor among the legendary ministers of early Tibet and may, therefore, have been of very remote or of humble origin. On the fall of the mGar a lady of Cog-ro became the wife or mistress of the Tibetan king 'Dus-srong. Although allusions to that union in the Chronicle are obscure, it appears to have been distasteful to one Khe-rgad mdo-smang who, after the death of 'Dus-srong, took part unsuccessfully in what must have been strife about the succession (THD 165-167 and 40). Later histories state that a Cog-ro minister escorted the body of 'Dus-srong back a central Tibet from the east. Thereafter, the clan appears as active in 'A-zha country and perhaps as being allied in marriage to the ruler of the 'A zha (TLTD. II 8-10). It continued to take a prominent part in Tibetan affairs down to the death of Ral-pa-can who married a lady of that clan and among whose murderers was one Cog-ro Lha-Ihod. The original home of the clan is uncertain but their association with the 'A-zha and the description of the lady of Cog-ro as 'Da', Cog-ro za suggests an castern home, perhaps connected with the Tshwa'i-'dam marshes. It is unfortunate that the fragment lacks the one word which would have shown whether the lady of Cog-ro did (as one might expect) or did not accompany her on his flight to China. As she and the lady associated with 'Dus-srong at about the same time are both described simply as Corg-ro za it is possible that they are one and the same and the wife of mGar sTag-rtsan was either captured by the king or joined him willingly. The tone of Khe-rgad's song — calling her a "widow" and apparently abusive of her — suggests the latter. At all events, the fragment makes it appear that re-examination of the connected songs in THD might be fruitful. The translators have missed the point that Khri gDa's (THD p. 921) is the name of a noble of the 'Bro clan who was associated with the Cog-ro at the 'Azha court about the years 706 to 710 in connection with the arrival of the Chinese princess as bride to the Tibetan king. One further speculation about the Cog-ro lady of the fragment suggested by the name of the Chinese king who reigned from 713 to 756. The two songs may relate to two different occasions and it might be that the lady of Cog-ro became the wife of mGar Mang-po-rje after the death of 'Dussrong; but this seems to be an improbable strain on the constructon.

The allusion to Nyen-kar raises another crop of speculations. A place of that name was almost continuously the residence of the Tibetan king 'Dus-srong from the first year of his life in 677 until his sixteenth year (693) during which time the power of the mGar was supreme. Nyen-kar had been the residence of an earlier king, Mang-srong, in several years of his minority when mGar sTong-rtsan yul-zung was in power. In the case of 'Dus-srong, hints of a movement against the authority of the mGar, which culminated in their overthrow in 698, can be seen almost as soon as the king ceased to reside at Nyen-kar. Although the home of the mGar appears from the Chronicle (THL p. 163-165) to have been Bya pu and it was in Bya-tshal of sGregs that 'Dus-srong took possession of the property of Khri-i 'bring after his fall, the

power of the family at its peak must have extended over much of Tibet, and Nyen-kar may have been a mGar strong hold in which the young King lived under their care. There were probably several places of that name but the Chronicle shows that Nyen-kar rnying-pa was in Ngas-po and it was of that principality that mGar were originally ministers.

Of other names mentioned in the song of Cog-ro za, if *lcags* does not mean "iron" it could refer to the fortress of ICag-rtse on the Szechwan border. Meg-le is mentioned several times in LINV in a context — the copying of religious books — which seems to place it on the eastern borders.

The overthrow of the mGar in 698/699 virtually eliminated them from Tibet. From Chinese records the slaughter of the clan and its associates seems to have been extensive. Others, as has been seen, took refuge in China where they became honoured and valuable officials. Professor Stein in his note referred to above identified members of the exiled mGar family in China of the borderlands in 793 and as late as 929; but in the records of the Tibetan kingdom the name does not figure again except for one appearance of a mGar'brTan kong as a minor official (bka'i yige-pa) in LINV np. 1959. There are no more mGar ministers in the Annals, nor among the witnesses to the bka'-tshigs of Khri IDe-srong-brtsan or to the Lhasa treaty of 822. Later histories, it is true, sometimes mention mGar in connection with the consecration of bSam-yas but this is not convincing without any contemporary support. sBa-bzed does not mention the name at all, while the reference in rGyal-po bka' -thang (f. 36) is cursory; and no mGar figures in the description of the military organization of Tibet in the bLon-po bka'-thang. From the XIth century onwards religious personages with the name mGar, or more usually 'Gar, are not infrequent. Noble families also claimed descent from that clan, in particular the Tshal-pa, the rLangs-from which the Phagmo-gru dynasty originated and the princess of sDe-dge. Those genealogies, which are full of obvious legend, do not refer to Nags-po but assign to the mGar a divine of heroic origin usually of indeterminate location but in the case of the sDe-dge legend apparently in the region of Tachienlu.

It is often assumed that mGar and 'Gar are simply alternative spellings. It so, the form 'Gar, which is more frequent in later works, may have been adopted to avoid confusion with the despised caste of blacksmiths (mgar-ba); but might not mGar indicate that the clan did have a remote ancestral connection with that craft? Professor Stein tends to dismiss this because the claim is not made by Tibetan writers, who love that sort of etymology. Nevertheless, the possibility may be allowed to remain open. In the earliest documents the name is invariably written mGar. The occurrence of 'Gar' in the Annals of Khotan, quoted by Professor Stein with reference to TLTD, is not from a Tun Huang ms but from a late xylograph and the recent edition by Mr. Emmerick shows that two out of four of the available xylograph versions read mGar. Although the early Tibetans certainly had the services of skilled metal workers, there is no suggestion that smiths were then regarded either with the aversion which became their lot later in Tibet or with the awe that in some other countries surrounded the worker in metal. Nor, for that matter, is there any hint of special treatment of those other occupations which later appear as outcaste in Tibet—butchers, potters, cutters-up of dead bodies. But the existence of a superior attitude towards smiths in Central Asia is seen in the special reputation of the Turks as black-smiths and their subjection in that capacity to their Juan Juan overlords (Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux p. 222). And it may be noted, for what it is worth, that when the ruler of Ngas-po who was the overlord of the mGar, was defeated his son fled to the Turks.

Even though the mGar family ceased to count for anything in the affairs of the early kingdom the well merited fame of their former greatness and achievements has never been forgotten. mGar sTong Yul-zung is still the favourite hero of story drama it is remarkable how much space and what favourable teatment are given to the mGar in the Tun Huang Chronicle which is principally a eulogy of the Tibetan kings whose authority the mGar overrode for a period. Two rather dubious members of the family are introduced into the lists of early minister (THD 130); sTong-rtsan yul-zung is suitable honoured (pp. 159-160) but it is Khri-'bring

btsan-brod who gets the most praise. It is true that the chastisement of the disloyal minister is mentioned (p. 149) and 'Dus-srong's long song of triumph after he had overthrown Khri-'bring is given full value; but the voice of the critic Khe-rgad is also heard even if indirectly (pp. 161-167) and one long section (pp. 167-169) is devoted to the skill and courage of Khri-'bring in debate and in war. The Tibetans of that day appear to have enjoyed, without partisan feelings, the achievements of any great man. In later histories there is no mention of the fall of the mGar; only the good is remembered.

In comparison with the great men of mGar, pa-tshab were of small stature; and in spite of the connection of one of them with the mGar, they survived in Tibet as junior ministers connected with the external administration and with military duties (Tombs of the Tibetan Kings. Tucci, Rome 1950. p. 55.). The name Pa-tshab occurs also in later religious histories and in recent times it has been held that the clan was connected with Pa-snam between Gyantse and Shigatse. That would not necessarily hold good for ancient times; and Professor Thomas identifies them with the Pangtshab clan which he locates in East Tibet. Whatever their origin they do not figure as ministers in the early lists of principalities nor are they named in that later Almanac de Gotha of Tibet, the bKa' thang sde lnga. Whether the combination of the names Patshab and Gyim-po, mentioned above, points to an eastern origin or not, the early legend and the Tun Huang Annals indicate clearly the extent to which the peoples and affairs of the eastern and north-eastern borders bulked in the story of the Tibetan kingdom. The persistence with which folk memory preserved that traditions is shown by the determination with which any family that later attained to greatness traced its origin and ancestry to that direction.

Ming-Si-Lie And The Fish-Bag

Many characteristics of the Tibetans in the VIIth to IXth centuries, as seen through the eyes of Chinese historians, are recognizable in their descendants of the present day. For example, the T'ang Annals describe how in A.D. 702 a Tibetan envoy to Chang'an explained his open delight at hearing Chinese music as due to his rustic origin in a remote border country. In recent times I found such professions of simplicity or ignorance by Tibetan officials used sometimes as a disarming gambit when they wanted to turn aside troublesome or contentious business. Neither party took such statements seriously. Nor perhaps did the Chinese in the T'ang dynasty for in 730 when the Tibetans asked for some of the Chinese classics a minister of the Imperial court warned against granting the request because it might increase the warlike abilities of the Tibetans who were not only aggressive but were endowed with energy and perseverance and were intelligent, sharp, and untiring in their love of study.

So much by way of introduction to the story of the fish-bag. In A.D. 730 there were discussions about a treaty between the Tibetans and the Chinese who had been at war almost continuously since 670. The leader of the Tibetan delegation to Chang'an was Ming-si-lie who is stated in the T'ang Annals to have known some Chinese and to have been on a mission to China before, in order to escort the princess of Kin-tcheng to Tibet. A banquet was given in his honour after which the Emperor conversed with him and gave him various presents including what Bushell translates as a "fish-bag" and Pelliot as a "bourse au poisson". Ming-si-lie accepted the other presents but politely declined the fish-bag saying that such ornaments were not used in his country and he did not dare to accept so rare a gift. In the New T'ang Annals the present which Si-lie declined is described as a golden fish.

Neither Bushell nor Pelliot throws any light on this incident but the key is to be found in that fascinating assemblage of miscellaneous exotic learning—The Golden Peaches of Samarkand

by Professor Edward Schafer. He writes (p. 26) that a fish in bronze, or rather, half such a fish was carried as a token by the envoy of each country that maintained diplomatic relations with China. On arrival, the envoy produced his half which was compared with the other half, kept at the Imperial court; and he would then be given appropriate facilities according to the protocol. The fish token was carried in a handsome purse attached to the girdle of a ceremonial robe which would also be presented by the Emperor. Accepting such a gift, even if it were got up in a specially valuable guise, would smack of the acknowledgement of "tributary" status. That was something the Tibetans would not endure. In Le Concile de Lhasa Professor Demiéville states (p. 180) that the Tibetan had precedence at the Chinese court over all other "barbarians". And it is recorded in the T'ang Annals that in 780 the Tibetan king rejected a letter from the Emperor because it was not phrased in terms of equality. The wording had to be altered to omit the offending expressions. Ming-si-lie's refusal of the "fish-bag" was, therefore, the act of an adroit diplomatist.

A rather similar Chinese manoeuvre was attempted in 1935 when General Huang Mu-sung visited Lhasa to condole on the death of the XIIIth Dalai Lama. He offered the Tibetan Government a golden seal in honour of the Dalai Lama. It is most unlikely that the Dalai Lama himself would have accepted such a gift from that source but the Chinese may have hoped to find the interim Government not yet quite sure of itself. Nevertheless, the offer was at first refused because, "as the Dalai Lama was temporarily absent from the body, there could be no use for a seal" I believe that it was eventually decided to be innocuous and was accepted as a contribution to the experses of the late Dalai Lama's tomb.

It is sad that such diplomatic skirmishes in Sino-Tibetan affairs were replaced in 1950 by the naked use of force.

References to the T'ang Annals are to the translations by S.W. Bushell in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880, and by Paul Pelliot in *Histoire Ancienne due Tibet*, Paris 1961.

NOTES

Phallic Symbols In Tibet

Phallic symbols are by no means an obtrusive feature, in the Tibetan scene. They are not connected with a cult such as the Saivite Hindu worship of the linga but are part of ancient geomantic practices, influenced perhaps by thos of China.

Although anthropologists might see phallic undertones in the white stone set up by farmers at the centre of each cultivated field in honour of the sa bdag — "the lord of the land" — or in the tall pillars erected at the royal tombs, these have no such overt association in Tibetan minds but are magical "nevel stones" or "earth pegs" (see R.A. Stein, Tibetan Civilization, 1972, p. 203).

Overt phallic sings were the realistic representation of the male organs, often painted red and surrounded by a bush of yak-hair, set over the main door of some farm houses in Tibet and Bhutan. These, I was told, were intended to avert bad influences in the immediate neighbourhood. A.H. Francke saw objects of the same sort in Ladakh (Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Calcutta, 1914, Vol. I p. 61); and the red painted pillars in front of houses there, recorded by William Moorcroft in 1822, may have had similar associations (Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan, 1841).

A rather surprising example existed on the roof of the Jo-khang, the Cathedral of Lhasa. Its presence and purpose are explained by a story in several Tibetan histories including the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i melong (14th century), the Chos-'byung of dPa'bo gtsug-lag phreng-ba (16th century) and the Chronical of the 5th Dalai Lama (17th century). It relates that when the Nepalese queen of Srong-brtsan sGam-po wanted to build the 'Phrul-snang' (the Jo-khang) at Lhasa and was looking for a suitable site, she consulted Srong brtsan's Chinese queen who had already built the Ra-mo-che. The latter had recourse to occult divination (spor thang) to ascert in the geomantic auspices. It was revealed that Tibet was like a female demon lying on her back and that chapels—known as the mtha'-'dul yang'—dul lha-khang rnams—should be built at vital, points on the extremities and the limbs of the demon in order to keep her in subjection. The 'Phrul-snang' itself was to be built on the 'O-ma thang, over the demon's heart. Eight specific topographic features around

the site harboured hostile influences that had to be countered in different ways. While some which were the haunts of 'dre, bdud and btsan spirits could be controlled by building a chapel or a mchod-rten, the evil omen emanating from a cave on a hillside to the east which resembled the private parts of the she-demon had to be opposed by setting up a phallus—dbang-phyug chen-po or dbang phyug mtshan—pointing in that direction. I was told that that sign, together with different apotropaic objects—a conch shell, a garuda image, a stone mchod-rten and a stone lion—prescribed to repel dangerous influences from other sources, was placed in semi-concealment under the gilded pagoda rooflet (rgyaphibs) on the east side of the Jo-khang roof.

The story of the bad omens and the magic to neutralize them is familiar to readers of Tibetan historical works but it may not be so well known that the symbols were actually placed on the Jo-khang itself and survived there until very recent times.

Following that example phallic signs were placed, unobtrusively and always on the east side, on several of the great houses of Lhasa; and there is one of stone, rudimentary but unmistakable, on the east side of the perimeter wall of the Dalai Lama's summer palace of Norbu Lingka, built in the 19th century.

Other manifestations, perhaps of the same nature, are the strange wooden figures, some nine feet high, standing usually in pairs, one male and one female, at the entrance to some villages in sPo-yul and Rkong-po. A photograph of one such pair can be seen in *The Riddle of the Tsang Po Gorges* by F. Kingdom Ward (1926); and a male figure is illustrated in *A Cultural History of Tibet* by D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson (1968). From those photographs it appears that the images were neglected and in a damaged state but it is evident that they were originally ithyphallic.

Pairs of similar crude wooden figures occur in many primitive cultures. For example, forked tree trunks shaped into male and female figures have been dug up from a bog in Sweden (Country Life, 19th April, 1968); more relevant geographically is a pair of wooden village guardians in the Nepal Terai, reduced to symbols, illustrated in Deux Fetes chez les Tharu de Dang by A.W. Macdonald in Objects et Mondes, 1969; while from a part of Nepal much closer to the Himalayan D.L. Snellgrove in his Himalayan Pilgrimage (1961) has a photograph of a pair of wooden images on the roof of a low caste Hindu house at Tibrikot where, he states, there is a large number of such figures; and, again, in

the Geographical Magazine for Dec. 1956 Verrier Elwin illustrates tall figures of bamboo and straw erected in the tribal areas of Assam to avert disease.

Although in the examples from Tibet the male figure looks something like one of the fierce deities of Vajrayana Buddhism, the resemblance is probably superficial for sPo-bo and upper rKong-po are regions where old practices were slow to die. The local name for the images is rendered phonetically by western travellers as "Tombe" or "Tembe". The Tibetan orthography does not seem to be known; but I wonder whether it may be connected with *Idem, Idem-po*, "statue, image, idol (standing upright)" see Das' Dictionary p. 712. Tibetan scholars at the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology or elsewhere may care to throw light on that and on other matters mentioned above.

NOTES

On a recent visit to Lhasa the French Scholar Madame Anne Chayet found some of the apotropaic symbols still on the roof of the Jokhang. Their purpose has perhaps been forgotten.

H.E.R. 1992

GENERAL HUANG MU-SUNG AT LHASA, 1934

It seems timely to follow up Dr. Sinha's interesting article "The Simla Convention 1914: a Chinese Puzzle" in the Bulletin of Tibetology, No. I (1977) with the story of an occasion when the Chinese were unwillingly reminded to the continuing effect of that document on Tibetan political thinking.

The Chinese Government was quick to take advantage of the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama by sending a mission to Lhasa under General Huang Mu-sung, a high ranking official, on the pretext of offering condolences. Present at Lhasa during that visit was Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhondup, Assistant Political Officer in Sikkim to whom the Indian Government owes much gratitude for the influence of his advice to the Tibetans and for the detailed information about the events of those six months which he was able to obtain through his long friendship with leading Tibetan officials. The negotiations which took place between the Chinese and the Tibetans have been summarized in my Tibet and its History, pp. 141-143 and in Tibet, a Political History by Tsipon W.D. Shakabpa, pp. 276, 277. Li Tieh-tseng in The Historical Status of Tibet, pp. 168-177 gives a longer account but it re-arranges the sequence of events to some extent and uses terminology of a more technical western character than can be readily encompassed by the Tibetan vocabulary; it may be of interest, therefore, to put on record a fuller account of the exchanges derived from Tibetan sources.

The first problem to face the new and untried Tibetan administration still deeply in the throes of internal intrigues, was the arrival of a radio set sent ahead of the general. Objections by the Kashag to its installation were ignored, but the Tibetans did not make an issue of this.

When the mission arrived on 25th April Huang, who had sent in advance a proclamation that he was coming solely for religious purposes, was received with exceptional honours. He himself made a good impression by tireless and courteous diplomacy, by a display of reverence and piety in holy places and by lavish gifts and entertainments. His retinue proved less popular and offended Tibetan susceptibilities in many ways. They rode furiously through the streets of Lhasa, brawled among themselves and, surprisingly to the Tibetans, failed to show proper respect to their leader. They also complained about the playing of "British music" — probably including God Save the King! —by Tibetan military bands. The monks showed obvious dislike of the visitors and mocked and jostled Huang's escort so much that they had to be restrained by a special order.

Huang's first move was to offer a seal and a memorial tablet for the late Dalai Lama. The Tibetan Government at first refused on the ground that as the Dalai Lama was dead there was no need for a seal; but, under pressure and finding there was nothing compromising on the gifts, the Kashag after consulting the National Assembly agreed to accept them. Huang then asked that all the high officials should go to his headquarters to receive the objects; but eventually he went himself to the Potala to make the presentation.

No one believed that Huang had come without any political purpose but, although he had private discussions with the Regent and high officials, he shrewdly refrained from making any formal overture. So, after sometime a meeting of the National Assembly was held at which it was decided to broach the question of the frontier, making it clear that "while Tibet and China should be considered as two eyes", Tibet must remain independent. The Kashag accordingly raised the matter with Huang and also referred to their difficulties over the Panchen Lama. Huang told them that he had met the Panchen and was certain he had no intention of trying to return to Tibet by force. As for political matters he pretended that he had come solely on religious business and had no authority to enter any sort of negotiations. The Kashag pointed out that he had been described as second only to Ch'iang Kai-shek and must surely have some power.

Huang then unfolded his brief. The Tibetan Government

should declare themselves part of China as one of the Five Races and should set up a republic. They should obey the instructions of the Central Government and in return they would be protected against all outsiders.

The National Assembly, which was consulted on all matters during Huang's visit, debated these proposals for two days and replied that Tibet had been ruled by thirteen Dalai Lamas and would never become a part of Chinese Republic. They would defend their independence to the last man against any invader.

When the Kashag reported this to General Huang his urbanity was somewhat ruffled and he tried the effect of scarcely veiled threats. The Panchen Lama, he said, had joined the Chinese Republic and if he tried to return to Tibet by force the Chinese Government would do nothing to stop him. The Kashag were not impressed and reminded Huang of what he had told them a few days before. Nevertheless, the matter was again referred to the National Assembly which re-affirmed its stand and signed a paper to that effect.

Huang, obviously disappointed, telegraphed to Nanking for instructions and, although he was advised to return, he did not give up at once. In another meeting he watered down his demands, saying that membership of the Five Races did not necessarily mean adopting a republican government. The important thing was that Tibet should rely on China. He said that Great Britain in a treaty with Japan had acknowledged that Tibet was subject to China. The Tibetans replied that they knew of no such treaty and, if there were one, it would not affect them. As for China's ability to help, they asked what the Chinese had one for Mongolia and Manchuria. The National Assembly was consulted again. They bluntly rejected all Huang's proposals and stressed their friendship with the British Government whose treatment of them even after 1904 they described as fair. China was the only enemy they had to fear.

Hung, determined to persist but not willing to risk the further loss of face, then handed over the negotiations to Wu Min-yuan

a member of his staff who had been born in Lhasa to a Tibetan mother. Wu visited the Kashag and explained that Huang was too severely disappointed to do any more but that he himself had some informal suggestions to make. It was believed in Lhasa that before Wu's approach large presents had been given to leading officials and it was expected that the Kashag might give way but that the National Assembly would stand firm. Wu's proposals, which were made in writing, were debated for several days both by the Kashag and the National Assembly. The points raised and the opinion of each body on them are detailed below:

1. "Relations between the Central Government and the Tibetan Government should be those of Benefactor and Lama.

The Kashag accepted this on condition that "Chinese Government" should be substituted for "Central Government". The National Assembly agreed.

- 2. "The Chinese Government should always regard Tibet as a holy and religions country". Agreed.
- 3. "Tibet has religion, men, and complete administrative arrangements, therefore, China should consider Tibet to be independent and should not interfere in its internal administration". Agreed.
- 4. "No Chinese troops should be kept on Tibet's frontiers". Agreed.
- 5. "Five thousand troops should be selected from the Tibetan army as Frontier Guards. They should be posted on the various frontiers and China should pay, arm, and train the troops".

The Kashag said troops could be posted on the frontiers but there was no need for a specially named force; and no pay or arms were wanted from the Chinese Government. The Assembly said it was not necessary to post troops on the frontiers unless an emergency arose.

6. "A Chinese Officer should be posted at Lhasa to advise the Tibetan Government. He should be given an escort out of the Frontier Force and should control the movements of the whole force."

The Kashag preferred that no Chinese officer should be posted at Lhasa. If one were appointed he should have nothing to do with the Tibetan army but he might have a small escort. The Simla agreement specified 300 men. The Assembly said that 25 servants should suffice for an escort and any Chinese officer should strictly observe the condition of non-interference in Tibetan internal affairs.

7. "The Tibetan Government should consult the Chinese Government before corresponding with other nations about external affairs"

The Kashag said that Tibet is independent and would deal with its external affairs without consulting the Chinese. The Assembly agreed, adding that the Tibetan Government would correspond with all nations, "headed by the British", whenever they wanted.

8. "The Chinese Government should be consulted about the appointment of officers of the rank of Shappé and above."

The Kashag refused but said that the Chinese Government could be informed after such appointments had been made. The Assembly agreed.

9. "China should recognize the boundary existing at the time of the Emperor Kuang Hsu". That apparently meant the frontier before the invasion by Chao Erh Feng in 1908-1910.

Both the Kashag and Assembly accepted that as favourable but demanded additional territory including Nyarong. Bathang, Lithang and the Golok country.

10. "China should fight or else mediate with any nations that try to invade Tibet".

The Kashag and Assembly replied that as Tibet is a religious country no one is likely to attack her. If anyone does, Tibet will deal with them without Chinese help. The question of mutual help could be considered if it arose.

11. "China should be informed when the incarnation of a Dalai Lama is discovered so that the Chinese Government can offer him a seal and a title".

The Kashag agreed. The National Assembly said that China should be informed only after the installation had taken place in order to avoid trouble such as was created in the case of the Sixth and Seventh Dalai Lamas.

12. "The Tibetan Government should invite the Panchen Lama to return at once, should restore to him his former powers, estates and property, and should guarantee that no harm should fall on him or his followers. If that were done the Chinese Government would take away his arms and munitions".

The Kashag and Assembly replied that the Panchen Lama being a religious person required no arms or ammunition; they would welcome him back and guarantee his personal safety if the Chinese took away his arms. They added that he should be asked to return via India in accordance with the wishes of the late Dalai Lama.

13. "All Tibetan officers in China should receive salaries from the Chinese Government".

The Kashag agreed. The Assembly said it was a matter of indifference to them but only officials appointed by the Tibetan Government should attend meetings.

14. "All half-Chinese in Tibet should be under the sole jurisdiction of the Chinese officer at Lhasa".

The Kashag and Assembly replied that when the Chinese were turned out of Tibet in 1912 the Tibetan Government asked all Chinese to return to China. Those born in Tibet sought permission to remain and signed an agreement to pay taxes and submit to Tibetan jurisdiction. This article was, therefore, unacceptable.

On receiving these replies Huang wrote to the Kashag asking that all of Wu Min-yuan's proposals should be accepted and laying particular stress on three demands: 1. that Tibet should admit subordination to China; 2. that all direct correspondence with outside nations should cease or, failing that, China should be consulted before appointments were made to the post of Shappé or higher ranks.

After long deliberation the National Assembly decided 1. that Tibet might be considered subordinate to China to the extent and on the terms laid down in the Simla treaty; 2. that Tibet would correspond with all nations, headed by the British, and would not consult the Chinese Government on the subject; 3. in view of religious ties, Tibet would inform China after the appointment of officers of the rank of Shappé and above.

The National Assembly expressly desired that the British Government should be a party to any agreement reached between Tibet and China. Huang refused bluntly to consider this last proposal but referred the other replies to Nanking. He was then ordered to return to China for consultation and he left Lhasa towards the end of October.

April and October 1934 and it is largely confirmed by the account of Li Tieh-tseng who admits in conclusion that the Tibetan authorities were not yet ready to place their trust and reliance on the Chinese Government of the day. The best success he can claim is that the Tibetans were willing in principle to resume full relationship once the overall differences were settled. The magnitude of those differences shown by repeated Tibetan assertions of their independence is something Mr. Li does not stress; and when in 1935 Mr. Williamson asked the Tibetan Government about their views on Chinese suzerainty they stated that the Simla Convention in exchange for territorial concessions from the Chinese they had definitely not accepted even the nominal suzerainty of China in their talks with General Huang.

Although, in the event, it was shown that the conditions of

the Simla Convention remained the guiding principle of the Tibetan Government, the British Government realized that by consenting in 1933 to the Tibetans attempting to reach a direct agreement with China provided it did not prejudice their obligations to the British Government, they had allowed a departure from the Simla Convention which might have led to an agreement being reached from which they were excluded. The earliest opportunity was, therefore, taken of letting the Tibetan Government known that the British Government would expect to be represented at any further such negotiations.

The Chinese, moreover, had succeded in making a small hole in the Simla agreements by leaving a small liaison mission at Lhasa; but by so doing they attracted a countervailing British Mission which continued in existence after August 1947 as the Indian Mission and in 1954 was converted into a Consulate-General.

A SCANDAL AT TASHILHUNPO

In 1946, while I was at Lhasa, when Tibetan guests were looking with me at illustrations in various books on Tibet we came across the photograph in Younghusband's India and Tibet (1910) of "the Shigatse Abbot" who visited him at Kampa Dzong in 1903. He was identified by my guests as the Skyabs-dbyings, the highest-ranking monastic official of Tashilhunpo and the equivalent of the Spyi-khab Mkhan-po of the Lhasa administration. Someone remarked that he had been dismissed from his post after his visit to Younghusband; and supposing that to have been due to the failure of his mission, I thought no more of it until, many years later, I came across the inside story in the papers of Sir Charles Bell, now in the India Office Records, where he relates the account given him in 1914 by the famous Lonchen Shatra (Bshad-sgra) of a notorious scandal at Tashilhunpo early in the present century. With the permission of the Director of the India Office Library and Records I have used that note as the basis of this article.

Some time before the British Mission to Lhasa it was reported to the Dalai Lama's Government that the Panchen Lama's father had been murdered and that the Skyabs-dbyings was engaged in sorcery against the Lhasa administration and was also trying to usurp the authority of the Panchen Lama. The Panchen on being asked about this replied that he wanted a thorough enquiry to be made; and accordingly a party of officials headed by Gsar-byung Shappe was sent from Lhasa for that purpose. It was discovered that the Panchen Lama's father had had an affair with the wife of another prominent Tashilhunpo official, the Gnyer-tshang Chenpo. The woman attempted to poison the Panchen Lama's mother who, as David Macdonald records in Twenty Years in Tibet, was a deaf mute so that she could marry the father. But the plot miscarried and it was the Panchen's father and some of his servants who ate the poisoned food. They were saved only by the skill of a doctor known as Badu Amchi who, as I learnt somewhere

(perhaps in another note by Bell) had accompanied the Skyabsdbyings on his visit to Younghusband at Kampa Dzong. A dog which ate some of the poisoned food was less fortunate. It died. The Gnyer-tshang Chen-po's wife tried to put the blame on her daughter but was found guilty and was banished and heavily fined. The record does not say so but she was probably flogged as well. The Panchen's father, who must at least have been innocent of the poisoning attempt, was fined and imprisoned in Phuntsholing Dzong. These proceedings were presumably carried out by the Panchen Lama's ministers headed by the Skyabs-dbying; but Gnyer-tshang Chen-po, who was even more influential than the Skyabs-dbyings, wanted further vengeance and presuaded the Skyabs-dbying to send orders to the Phuntsholing Dzongpon to have the Panchen Lama's father killed, which was done by clubbing him to death. In addition to this grave offence of which he was found guilty by Gsar-byung Shappé and his colleagues the Skyabs-dbving was shown to have sought to bring the Dalai Lama's Government under his influence by means of written magical charms which he kept beneath his seat and also of attempting to usurp the authority of the Panchen Lama. He and the Gnyer-tshang Chen-po were heavily fined and degraded. There were probably other lesser figures who received similar punishment. All the fines were made over to the Panchen Lama.

The official enquiry must have taken place sometime between November 1903 and July 1904. The "Shigatse Abbot's" visit to Younghusband lasted from July to October 1903. Younghusband to whom the Tibetan mind and Tibetan ways were a new experience describes him as courteous, kindly, innocent-minded and lacking in intellect. That judgement seems to underestimate the Tibetan ability to conceal shrewdness and strength of mind beneath a genuine calm and self-control and an assumed air of simplicity. Incidentally, W.D. Shakabpa states in his *Tibet* that the Shigatse delegation's visit to Younghusband was made on the instruction of the Lhasa Government. Shakabpa's history also shows that Gsar-byung Tshe-brtan dbang-phyug rdo-rje was appointed Shappé towards the end of 1903. In July 1904 he left Lhasa with the Dalai Lama in flight to Mongolia and, later, China. There is no

indication how long before the enquiry the various crimes had taken place.

A possible sequel to those events may be seen in Macdonald's Twenty Years in Tibet where he mentions two dismissed officials of the Panchen Lama who took service under the Lhasa Government and were responsible for a great deal of the trouble between the Dalai and Panchen Lamas.

So far as I know, Bell's is the only account of the affair but examination of Chinese records might find some trace of it.

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Kim Sheng Kong Co: Fact And Fiction

THE popular tradition of a Chinese princess betrothed to a handsome young Tibetan prince arriving at Lhasa to find herself having to marry his elderly father Mes Ag-tshoms, "the old man with a beard", is recounted in greater or less detail in many Chosbyung works. Sba-bshad contains a long account, Bu-ston a brief allusion; the Rgya-bod yigtshang, Deb-dmar and Chronicle of the Vth Dalai Lama, brief versions; The Rgyal-rabs-gsal-ba'i me-long a longer one; while Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag with a Herodotean inclination to include all good stories, gives it full treatment. The Deb-ther Sngon-po ignores it completely.

The elements of the story are that the Tibetan king, Khri Lde-gtsug brtan Mes Ag-tshoms, had by his wife 'Jang-mo (Ljang-mo) Khri-btsun a handsome and talented son, 'jang-tsa (Ljang-tsha) Lha-dbon for whom a bride was sought; but as there was no one suitable in Tibet the Emperor of China was asked for a princess whom he granted. While she was on her way to Tibet the prince died and after mush heart-searching she agreed to marry his father.

There are many picturesque details relating to her knowledge of magic and geomancy and her reasons for accepting the old father as her husband. The story is repeated by R.A. Stein in his *Tibetan Civilisation* without the warning that it is mere legend; but the first Tibetan writer of modern history, Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, has pointed out its impossibility. It is true that Khri Lde-gtsug brtan did marry a Chinese princess and that his nickname in later histories is Mes Ag-tshoms, "the ancestor with a beard"; but the legend is a complete inversion of the facts.

It was an established instrument of T'ang diplomacy to grant a Chinese princess as bride to the ruler of a troublesome neighbouring people. That gave the Emperor a shadowy but not entirely ineffectual position as "father-in-law", a relationship assumed rather than real because the princesses were never actually daughters of the Emperor himself. On the recipient, who usually paid

a substantial sum in gold or jewels, the marriage conferred prestige and a dowry that might include control over some disputed border territory.

The marriage of the Chinese princess Mun Sheng to Srong-btsan sgam-po was a landmark in Tibetan history. On his death in 650 he was succeeded by his infant grandson Mang-srong; and whenever relations were sufficiently amicable, overtures for a treaty combined with another matrimonial alliance were regularly put forward by the Tibetans. That was done in 658 when the new btsan-po was still a minor, about eight years old. Another attempt was made in 663; and again in 676, not long before the death of the btsan-po, the Tibetans specifically asked for the hand of the Empress Wu's daughter the princess T'ai-ping.

The Empress, who had other plans for her, hurried her, temporarily, into a nunnery and refused the request. Even if the *btsan-po* had not died the climate was unfavourable owing to the offence caused by Tibetan aggression against the Tu-yu-hun, former vassals of China, and against China itself. But Tibetan pressure continued and soon after Mang-srong's death the Chinese princess Munsheng, the widow of Srong-btsan sgam-po, sent her personal minister to announce the event and to ask yet again for a matrimonial alliance. At that time the heir apparent, 'Dus-srong, was by Tibetan accounts only two years old. Chinese sources looking perhaps at the date of his proclamation in 685 describe him as about seven; at all events, he was very young and the request was ignored. Thereafter militancy and aggression under the Mgar regency and later by 'Dus-srong himself precluded thoughts of peace until 697 when overtures were resumed.

Eventually in 702 the Empress decided to accept the proposal. Almost simultaneously, 'Dus-srong died but the matter was quickly taken up by the grandmother of the heir apparent the infant Khri Lde-gtsug-brtan, the powerful lady 'Bro Khri-ma-lod who had probably been instrumental in earlier negotiations. Before a formal announcement could be made the Empress Wu was deposed but in 706 the Emperor Chung-tsung who had resumed the throne,

named an adopted daughter to whom he gave the title of princess of Chin Ch'eng, as bride for the Tibetan btsan-po.

The Chinese sources have been thoroughly examined by the later Professor P. Demieville in his masterly work, Le Concile de Lhasa and although there are some discrepancies and some details there are not precise, it is clear that the princess was considerably older than her husband-to-be, perhaps twelve years or more. The impression is also given that she had been earmarked for the Tibetan king as early as 702 when 'Dus-srong was still alive. So here is the inversion of fact at the root of the legend: A Chinese princess betrothed not to a handsome young prince but to a mature ruler, finding herself married instead not to an old man but to an infant btsan-po.

In 710 the princess was ceremoniously despatched to Tibet amid sentimental scenes of grief assumed, as Demieville suggests, to impress the Tibetans. Although to be sent to Tibet was a dreaded ordeal for any Chinese, the generalized description of Tibetan barbarism in the T'ang Annals can hardly have reflected the improved manners and culture of the eighth century; and, on the other hand, the elegance and luxury of the T'ang court under the Empress Wu had been accompanied by outrageous profligacy and inhuman cruelty.

But the princess Kim-sheng, as she is known to Tibetans, as a victim of international diplomacy had to face many difficulties in addition to rougher ways and surroundings in Tibet. Her husband was a boy of six; she was a devout Buddhist in a land where the doctrine was still on a tentative footing; and there was increasingly bitter warfare between China and Tibet.

By 723 unhappiness had compelled her to seek an opportunity of escaping from Tibet to Kashmir. Nothing came of the plan and, later, she seems to have acquired quite an influential position in Tibetan affairs receiving together with the *btsan-po*; envoys from China and entrusted to send messages personally to the Emperor.

There is no evidence that she had any children. She certainly was not, as some later histories would have it, the mother of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan. Her patronage of Buddhism had two important results, one favourable and one disastrous. The Li Yul Chos-kyilo-rgyus relates how for some 12 years she maintained in a gtsuglag-khang which she had founded, a body of Buddhist monks who had fled from persecution in Khotan. The gtsug-lag-khang was in all probability the Re-mo-che, known in early documents as the Rgya-btags Ra-mo-che, a fine contribution to religious architecture. Unfortunately in about 739 there was a severe epidemic of smallpox in which the princess died. Blame was laid on the monks from Khotan. They were expelled and the practice of Buddhism prohibited.

As for the handsome young prince 'Jang-tsha Lha-dbon, to whom the legend has it that the princess Kim-sheng was originally betrothed, he cannot have been born until some twelve years after she reached Tibet. His mother 'Jang-mo Khri-btsun was, presumably, the Lcam Lhaspangs who is recorded in the Tun-huang Annals as having died in 730. She was probably a lady of 'Jang (Nan-chao) which 'Dus-srong's father Khri Lde-gtsug-brtan, had reduced to subordinate alliance. Although she is not given the title of btsan-mo in the Tun-huang Annals she was of such high rank that her funeral ceremonies were recorded.

A final twist in the tail of the legend is that prince Lhas-bon (sic) is shown by the Tun-huang Annals to have died at an early age in the same year as the princess Kim-sheng. Khri Lde gtsugbrtan, the old man with a beard, outlived them both.

Memories Of Tshurphu

The death of His Holiness the Sixteenth Gyalwa Karmapa brought vividly to mind the several occasions when I had the privilege of meeting him and in particular two visits to his great monastery of Tshurphu.

The first was in 1946 on a journey from Lhasa to Gyantse by way of Tolung and Nyemo. I was met some four miles from the monastery by the Chandzo who escorted me to the Rinpoche's summer house in a pleasant grove of willows a little way from the monastery. A very large and comfortably carpeted tent had been pitched with, in the middle, a massive brass bedstead standing like an island in an ocean. The Yab Kusho, the Rinpoche's father, entertained me to lunch after which I was received by the Rinpoche himself in his bright, gleaming room looking out on a little flower garden in which stalked a fine peacock. His room was full of clocks of all kinds and was hung with cages of the birds he loved—budgerigars and canaries.

The Rinpoche was then about 23 years old, a large, calm young man with a ready smile and sense of humour. We enjoyed a long friendly conversation; and then, as I had to leave early on the following day, there was time for only a short visit to the monastery. On the next day I found that the Rinpoche's kindness had preceded me and that tents were pitched for my party at the halting place in Kharkha Drok, a wide upland grazing ground scattered with yaks. To the west, not far from my camp, the Lhorong Ma—chu flowed northwards towards the Karmapa Zhamar monastery of Yangpachen about 30 miles distant and too far for a visit. Beyond the river on the far side of the plain, plumes of steam rose from geysers of hot water. The region is now a source of geothermal power for Lhasa.

The grandeur and interest of Tshurphu Gompa, of which I had previously heard little and which had not, I think, been seen by a foreigner before, determined me to visit it again and I was

able to do so in 1950 to say farewell to His Holiness before finally leaving Tibet. After so many years my memory, even with the help of notes made at the time, can only sketch inadequately a few salient features of the great monastery with its stately chapels and halls, wonderful images, frescoes and thangkas, and religious treasures of all kind. I hope that some learned monk from Tshurphu now living at Rumtek may be moved to do for his old monastery what Dzasa Jigme Taring has done for the Jokhang at Lhasa and drew a detailed ground plan locating all the temples, chapels and soon, and listing their contents.

In the meanwhile, let me attempt to describe what I can. Although I have heard no definite news of the fate of Tshurphu in the "Cultural Revolution", I fear that the past tense must be used. The monastery stood in the shelter of a scrub—covered hill on the north side of a high, bare and narrow valley. In front, flowed a small tributary stream of the Tolung river. After passing through a narrow gate in the high wall surrounding the monastery one came to a wide paved courtyard with building on three sides, the west side being open. In the centre stood a stone pillar dating from the reign of Ralpachan and describing the foundation of a temple at Changbu in Tolung. It is opposite a flight of steep stone steps leading to a doorway, with a chain curtain, into what was perhaps a Gonkhang. I wondered whether this was the original site of the early temple but was told later that the pillar was formerly opposite the main assembly hall, farther inside the monastery. No one seemed to know about the Ralpachan's temple or the name Changbu.

The principal temple, lofty and dark, contained the famous brass image of Shakya Muni, known as the Ornament of the World, made in about 1265 on the instructions of the second Zha-Nag hierarch, Karma Pakshi. It was about 60 feet high and enshrined relice of the Buddha and of several early religious teachers. I had the impression that its head was rather flat. There is a well-known story that Karma Pakshi found the image was leaning to one side and that he sat in meditation beside it and by inclining his body brought the image to follow his movement back to the perpendicular.

The roof above the head of the image is surmounted by a gilded pagoda-rooflet (rgya phibs) which is said to be part of a very large such roof looted from India by the Mongols and abandoned by them near the China border. Karma Pakshi found it but cound not bring it all; the portion he did manage to bring was adapted to cover the head of the great image. Its rather dark colour was said to be due to its many vicissitudes. In the main temple there is a small chapel of Dus-sum Khyenpa, the first hierarch and founder of the monastery which is perhaps the oldest part of the whole series of buildings.

Another gilded roof surmounts a great hall in which were many Choten tombs containing the ashes and other relics of former hierarchs and other Karmapa Lamas. Fourteen of them were tall and massive, perhaps 40 feet high. That of Dus-sum Khyenpa with a simple clay-covered dome decorated lightly with painted figures reminded me of the tomb of Atisa at Nyethang. Round its base were some ornamental vases. Karma Pakshi's tomb was even more austere and its uncoloured clay dome was without any sort of decoration. The tombs of later hierarchs were rather more elaborate but were mostly of black-painted clay with golden ornamentation, much simpler and more impressive than the lavish golden tombs of, for example, the Drigung Lamas at Yangri Gompa or Drigung Thil. There were also tombs and reliquaries of some Red Hat Karmapas and some of the Pawo incarnations including the great historian Tsuglag Threngwa.

I was also shown many fine gilded images including one of the Ninth Zha-mar-pa (Red Hat) Lama said always to radiate noticeable warmth: also one of Lama Zhang who at one time created difficulties for the Karmapas but was reconciled to Dus-sum Khyenpa; and a very gaunt image of Milarepa said to be selfcreated, very different from the sturdy figure carved in rhinoceros horn by a previous incarnation and kept with other precious images in the Rinpoche's private rooms.

Wherever I went the monastery was clean and well kept and the monks had an air of quiet discipline and seriousness. Over the entrance to the principal temple is a wooden tablet painted blue and gold, given by the Chinese Emperor Yung Lo and inscribed with his name. The Emperor had a special devotion for the fifth incarnation, De-shin shek-pa as can be seen in the remarkable painted scroll which I have described and translated in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1959. It is about 50 feet long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height and has panels of elegant painting illustrating the miracle performed by the Lama on each of 22 days during his visit to China in 1407; alternating panels in gold lettering describe in five languages the subject of each Painting.

There are also treasures from the earlier connection of the Zha Nag Lamas with the Mongol Yuan dynasty porcelain vases, a carved ivory panel in the Rinpoche's room, bronze images, and a great gold seal inscribed in "Hor-yig", with a dragon on the handle. This seal is, I believe, safely preserved at Rumtek and examination should discover whether it is that given by Mongke Khagan to Karma Pakshi and later taken from him by Kublai and restored to the Lama Rangchung Dorje by the Emperor Togh Timur in 1331. I was also shown letters from Chinese Emperors and many other treasures including palm-leaf manuscripts.

One lasting memory of my second visit is the graciousness of His Holiness in offering to perform the wearing the Black Hat for our party. It is now fairly wellknown in Europe and America but at that time it was something of a mystery even in Lhasa; and my staff were awed delighted by the honour. We were all deeply impressed by the solemn ritual with its bursts of thrilling music and by the garve concentration with which the Rinpoche performed it. At the end, when he gave me a scarf of blessing, which I still have, I was greatly surprised and moved to be greeted by him with the touching of foreheads (dbu-thug). And with that in my mind I join the myur-du gsol-'debs, the prayer that his reincarnation may speedily appear for the benefit of sentient beings.

Tibetan Lamas In Western Eyes

The quiet competence with which many Tibetan exiles from their own land have found success in a new life in India, Europe and America is a fine example of their national resilience and initiative allied to a natural friendly charm and good manners.

That is no surprise to those who knew them in Tibet and I remember when Dr. David Snellgrove and I went in 1960 to discuss the future of the Tibetan refugees with the U.N. High Commission and were faced by a generally gloomy view that they would find it very difficult to adapt themselves to strange conditions, we vigorously maintained that, given a helping start, the Tibetans would rapidly do very well in their new surroundings.

Now among the many successful and popular figures in a variety of activities, there are many learned Lamas. Some have established teaching and meditation centres where they inspire their disciples by their dedicated sincerity and conviction. The most notable of the Lamas is, of course, the Dalai Lama.

On 17th March after two shells from Chinese batteries had fallen in the grounds of his summer palace when the hope of finding a peaceful outcome for the growing tension and hostility between Tibetans and Chinese had broken in violence, His Holiness left his capital secretly at night to seek refuge in India. A month later, after a journey full of danger and hardship, he arrived at Tezpur in Assam. Instead of the careworn exile some may have expected, the assembled pressmen saw a serene figure of great dignity and presence. He might have been a ruler secure in his throne paying a ceremonial visit; but behind the ease of manner and unfeigned friendliness many could perceive the spiritual depth which without affectation set the Dalai Lama apart from familiarity and made him effortlessly master of his surroundings.

There is beyond doubt something about a high Lama that is outside the ordinary experience of our Western civilization. Even among the lesser Lamas, of whom there were many, I found as

well as calmness, benevolence, dignity and humour, the unfeigned certainty - so much part of the man that it would never occur to him to analyse or explain it—that he was not only the person we see but the same who had lived in the bodies of many predecessors. He is as sure of that as that he is himself. I shall not speculate how that comes about now H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama has become an international figure, the friend of religious and political leaders all over the world but also accessible with direct simplicity to many thousands of ordinary people whom he influences by his teaching of peace, mutual understanding and goodwill. I am not going to attempt the impossible task of explaining him; charisma is not something to be put into words, only to be experienced in personal contact. What I set out to do is to recall how some earlier Lamas, who were never seen outside Asia, appeared to the eyes of the rare Western visitors who chanced to see them in the seven centuries or so preceding this.

The first foreigners to meet Tibetans were Franciscan friars in the 13th century, braving the arduous journey to the court of the Mongol Khans who took pleasure in assembling round them representatives of every available religion whose blessings they accepted, indeed demanded, indiscriminately. They also enjoyed hearing debates between champions of the different faiths. In 1254 William of Rubruck met at that court a red-robed Tibetan priest with whom he had a long conversation - in what language it is not specified - and from whom he acquired some ill-digested information. He also saw a ten-year old child-monk said to be a reincarnation of two predecessors. He took part in a debate with the Buddhists in which he claims to have triumphed. If the Tibetans were his opponents they probably enjoyed debating then as much as they do today and, in the end, it was they who won the Khan's favour. William brought to the west the first version of the six letter prayer which he represents as Om Mani Baccam. About half a century later another Franciscan, John of Montecorvino, was at the Mongol capital in Peking where he met a red-hatted "Tibetan" pope - the Grand Trutius, (perhaps the Tisri who was at that time Sa-skya Lama Ye-shes Rin-chen) but he has nothing significant to say about him.

Then and for many years to come, foreigners who came in touch with Tibetans were mainly missionaries and so, professional critics and rivals of Buddhism. Further, lack of a common language stood in the way of mutual understanding. An exception, at least to the extent that he was a layman, was Marco Polo who was in China and Mongolia some years before Montecorvino. It is not clear whether he actually spoke to a Tibetan but he has a good deal to say about the priesthood whom he describes in general as "idolaters" and "Baksi". He never uses the word Lama but mentions some idolaters as leading an ascetic life in great monasteries where the monks were of a superior kind. Marco's chief interest was in the more spectacular activities of the Bakshis who were able to control the weather and to perform miracles such as raising the Khan's drinking cup from one place to appear on the table in front of him. These persons whom he describes as generally dirty and unkempt, resembling perhaps some types of modern ngags-pa, were also credited with good deeds such as persuading the Khan to make charitable donations to the poor.

After the fourteenth century there was a long interval before a further meeting between foreign missionaries and Tibetans; and the scene moved from the east to the western spheres of Tibetan influence when the Jesuit Antonio d'Andrade paid a short visit in 1624 to the kingdom of Tsaparang. His mission had been sparked off by a report from a Portuguese merchant Diogo d'Almeida who claimed to have lived two years in Tibet, perhaps Ladakh, and affirmed that there were traces of Christian practices in that country, among them a bishop called Lama. That appears to be the first mention of the word in the western vocabulary. Andrade won favour with the lay ruler of Tsaparang who pressed him to return, describing him in a letter as his Lama. Andrade did go back the following year and met many Lamas with whom he could communicate after a fashion through one of them who spoke Hindi. But close relations or any real study of Tibetan religion were not possible because his patron, the king, was on very bad terms with his priesthood who before long brought about his fall; and with it the Christian mission too came to an end.

A nearly simultaneous Jesuit mission reached central Tibet

by way of Bhutan under fathers Cacella and Cabral. In Bhutan they saw the great reverence in which the Dharma Raja - the Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che—was held and the great state in which he lived but they were still seeking for traces of Christian practice and did not get the least idea of Tibetan religious beliefs. When they went on to Shigatse they became, like the Jesuits in Tsaparang. involved in rivalry between their protector the lay king and the Lamas of differing sects, and learnt little more about Lamas and their ways except that they gradually perceived that they were not relics of past Christianity. Moreover they did not display the bigotry of another pair of Jesuits, Grueber and D'Orville, travelling from China to India who were the first foreigners to see Lhasa. They declined to seek a meeting with the Dalai Lama, describing him as "that devilish god the father who puts to death those who refuse to adore him". Doubtless he kept that ungracious thought to himself at that time for he admits that they were treated with great kindness by the Dalai Lama's own brother.

At last, in the early years of the 18th century there came to Lhasa the first foreigner to acquire a sound knowledge of Tibetan and an insight into Tibetan thought and learning. It is difficult to exaggerate the greatness of Ippolito Desideri and impossible in a few words to summarize his achievement. On his arrival at Lhasa in 1716 he was graciously received by the actual ruler, Latzang Khan. Within nine months he had learned enough Tibetan to write, in traditional verse form, an exposition of Christian doctrine which he presented to the King and which created a great stir of interest. The King arranged for him to continue his studies first in Ramoche and later in Sera where he was allowed to celebrate mass for himself. His command of Tibetan led to many discussions with learned Lamas and he was engaged on composing a refutation of Buddhism when his studies were interrupted by the Dzungar invasion. The work, sadly now lost, was completed just before he had to leave Tibet in 1721. Later he wrote a careful account of Tibet, its people, customs, administration and, of course its religion. In general he shows a respect for the institutions and conduct of the Lamas and Monks; and he found, as has been agreed many times since, that there is much in common in the

moral principles and aims of both faiths; but his Christian beliefs made him denounce some aspects of Tibetan Buddhism as idolatrous and abominable. The sticking points then as later were Tibetan denial of a God and their doctrine of transmigration. Although he knew many Lamas and had one special favourite who taught him Tibetan, he paints no picture of the character and personality of any of them; it is only of his patron Latzang Khan, to whom he was much indebted and whom he obviously liked, that he gives any personal description.

He records the amazing veneration accorded to the Dalai Lama and to other Lamas too: "would to God", he says "that Christian Catholics showed one-hundredth part of such sentiments to... Religious of our Holy Church". And having seen the devotion of the common people to "Urgyen" which made them ready to sacrifice everything they had rather than give up their faith in him Desideri comments "I confess I blamed myself and was ashamed to have a heart so hard that I did not honour, love and serve Jesus, sole Master, sole and true Redeemer, as this people did a traitor and deceiver".

Desideri's view of reincarnating Lamas carried Christian logic to a conclusion which modern readers may find an excess of dogma. He was impressed by the recognition of past possessions and associates and by the claims by newly discovered Lamas to remember past existences and he rejects the idea that this is simply due to deceit and collusion; so, since it cannot be the work of God, it must be that of the Devil. But his careful examination of other Tibetan religious doctrines is generally impartial and acute.

The Capuchin missionaries who briefly preceded Desideri and continued after his departure until 1745, like him, enjoyed the protection and friendship especially of the lay chief administrator, Pholha Miwang, and also of the Dalai Lama and other monks. But they had no one of the calibre of Desideri among them and although several of them must have acquired the rudiments of Tibetan, only one, the gentle, devout, Orazio Della Penna is said to have been fully proficient in the language. They had

many close acquaintances among the Lamas with whom they held lengthy discussions; and they met the VIIth Dalai Lama on several occasions. They seem to have been more concerned with preaching their own beliefs than with attempting to understand those of the Tibetans and some of their letters show an amusing naivety. They claim to have proved in argument with learned Lamas that the Buddha was neither a deity nor a saint, that it was no sin to kill animals, and that the Lamas with whom they were debating could not possibly be reincarnations. The Lamas listened attentively. Orazio himself presented the Dalai Lama with a copy of his work refuting Buddhism. The Lama accepted it with interest and politely advised Orazio not to condemn the religion of other people. Nevertheless, one of the Capuchins reported that the Dalai Lama was teetering on the verge of conversion. All such optimism came to an abrupt end when a handful of lowly Tibetans whom they had converted were persuaded to disown their loyalty to the Dalai Lama. After being given every opportunity to recant, they received a comparatively mild flogging of twenty strokes and the Fathers who tried to intercede were told by their patron Pholha Miwang that they should not interfere with the faith of other people, adding "we do not do so". After a short time when Pho Lha and the Dalai Lama declined to receive them, they were once more granted audience and were treated with the customary kindness but it was made clear that their actions were, in Tibetan eyes, an unworthy and discourteous return for years of tolerant hospitality. That was in effect the end for the Capuchin fathers and for a permanent Christian mission in Central Tibet. Dispirited and out of funds, the good Orazio Della Penna, who had been for twenty two years in Tibet, left Lhasa in April 1745 only to die of weariness and sorrow at the age of sixty five soon after his arrival in Nepal.

Nearly thirty years later there was a mission of quite a different sort when Warren Hastings despatched George Bogle as his envoy to Tashilhunpo with the aim of encouraging friendship and commerce between India and Tibet. Bogle, an intelligent, observant and cheerfully sociable Scot, was singularly fortunate to meet in the person of the Third Panchen Lama the most powerful and popular figure in Tibet at the time and he has left the first lively

description of a great Lama as a warm human personality as well as a charismatic leader.

On his first reception at Tashirabgye Bogle was charmed by the engaging manner of the Lama and thereafter for the best part of five months was frequently in his company and in that of his hospitable, light-hearted family. The Lama clearly enjoyed Bogle's presence and treated him with the greatest consideration, sending dress and food to make his stay more comfortable. Bogle attended the Lama on his journey to Tashilhunpo, at formal reception and at religious ceremonies; and, more important, he had about thirty private meetings when the Lama who had a fair knowledge of Hindi, received him with friendly informality, spoke freely about all aspects of the political situation and approved of Bogle's hopes of closer relations between India and Tibet. Bogle was regularly invited to religious services and, from courtesy and in the interest of occupying his time, he always attended. He has described well enough what he saw of temples, services and so on but shows no real interest in the meaning of it all and on the one occasion when the Panchen initiated a convesation about religion Bogle seems to have absorbed little of his explanation of Buddhist doctrines and, on his part, made it clear that he was no missionary with an evangelistic axe to grind, and was politely vague and non-committal in his interpretation of Christian tenets. They came to the usual agreement that the moral aims of their faiths were similar

His close acquaintance with his host moved Bogle to admiration, respect and affection. He wrote:

"His disposition is open, candid, and generous. He is extremely merry and entertaining in conversation and tells a pleasant story with a great deal of humour and action. I endeavoured to find out, in his character, those defects which are inseparable from humanity, but he is so universally beloved that I had no success and not a man could find in his heart to speak ill of him."

He has much more to say about his gentleness, his preference

for conciliation, his diplomatic sagacity, and of the profound veneration and devotion in which he was held; and, in general he says "I never knew a man for whom on so short acquaintance I had half the heart's liking".

No foreigner has lived on terms of closer confidence and intimacy with a Great Lama; and Bogle parted from the Panchen, his family, Tibet and its people, with genuine sadness. Later, writing to his sister, he regrets the absence of his friend the "Teshu Lama" for whom I have a hearty liking and could be happy again to have his fat hand on my head".

Bogle may not have achieved any great practical success but he had paved the way for future friendly relations and Hastings determined to follow this up by another mission. Sadly the Panchen and Bogle were not to meet again; the former died in China in 1780 and Bogle a year later in Calcutta.

So, the next envoy to Tashilhunpo, in 1783, was Captain Samuel Turner, an English officer in the East India Company's army. Hastings was good at choosing men and Turner like Bogle was able, observant and intelligent, also he was patient and able to get on well with Tibetans but from the rather formal language of his account he seems to have lacked Bogle's Warm spontaneity and sense of fun, and he did not have Bogle's advantage in meeting any figure comparable to the Third Panchen Lama for at his visit the new reincarnation was only eighteen months old; but he has left, in the rather staid language of the eighteenth century, an enchanting account of his reception by the child:

"The Lama's eyes were scarcely ever turned from us and when our cups of tea were empty he appeared uneasy, throwing back his head and contracting the skin of his brow, and continued, to make a noise, for he could not speak, until they were filled again. He took some sugar out of a golden cup ... and stretching out his arm made a motion to his attendants to give it to me" Turner then addressed the child briefly for "it was hinted that notwithstanding he is unable to reply, it is not to be inferred that he cannot understand". During Turner's speech "The little creature

turned, looking steadfastly towards me, with the appearance of much attention while I spoke, and nodded with repeated but slow movements of his head, as though he understood and appreciated every word but could not utter a reply. His parents who stood by all the time eyed their son with a look of affection and a smile expressive of heartfelt joy at the propriety of the young Lama's conduct. His whole attention was directed toward us; he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents, as if under their influence at any time; and with whatsoever pains, his manners may have been so correctly formed, I must own that his behaviour, on this occasion appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any external action, or sign of authority".

The child, Bstan-pa'i Nyi-ma, grew up to be a personage of almost equal importance to his predecessor, Bogle's friend, and lived to the age of seventy three.

The promising start to relations between India and Tibet was stultified by the closing of the country after the Gorkha invasion in 1792, and it was left to Thomas Manning, a sensitive, intellectual, English eccentric to find his own way to Lhasa in 1811, apparently without serious obstruction. Manning was a friend of Charles Lamb who was fascinated by his "incomparable genius, congenial nature, sparkling eccentricity and addiction to occasional levity"; he was also a considerable linguist who became specially attracted to China and having mastered the language and manners, wanted to travel in remote parts. He arrived at Calcutta in Chinese dress which did little to disguise his nationality, and with a Chinese servant and the help of Chinese living in Tibet, he found his way through Bhutan to Lhasa. His fragmentary diary, though containing several significant observations, is largely given up to the discomforts of the journey. At Lhasa he paid his respects to the Chinese Amban and seems to have received official hospitality from the Tibetans, apparently in his role as a foreign physician. He had no difficulty in securing audience of the Ninth Dalai Lama, Lung-rtogs rgya-mtsho. At his reception Manning prostrated himself three times and offered a scarf and presents. His account is another classic: "The Lama's beautiful and interesting face engrossed almost all my attention. He was at the time about seven years old (actually, he was just six); had the simple, unaffected manners of a well educated princely child. His face was, I thought, poetically and affectingly beautiful. He was of a gay and cheerful disposition; his beautiful mouth perpetually unbending into a graceful smile, which illuminated his whole countenance. Sometimes, particularly when he had looked at me, his smile almost approached to a gentle laugh. No doubt my grim beard and spectacles somewhat excited his risibility". There was an exchange of formal questions and compliments before Manning withdrew. He says: "I was extremely affected by this interview with the Lama. I could have wept through strangeness of sensation. I was absorbed in reflections when I got home". He paid five more visits to the Lama but has left no detailed comment on those occasions.

In 1845/46 missionaries appeared once more at Lhasa. The Lazarist fathers, Evariste Huc and Joseph Gabet had set out in 1844 from the borders of China, north of Peking, on instructions from the Pope to survey the mission field in Mongolia. A long journey brought them at the end of 1845, by way of Nagchukha to Lhasa where they were received kindly by the Tibetans but with suspicious hostility by the Chinese Amban who evicted them after about three months and compelled them to return eastwards through Tibet instead of proceeding by the short journey to India. During their stay, like all missionaries before them, they received the patronage of the lay authority, in this case the senior minister, Shatra, whom they wrongly describe as the Regent. They were allowed to make a chapel and preach their faith and they had the usual anodyne discussions about religion with Shatra and a few monks. Owing to a smallpox scare they were unable to meet the Dalai Lama, Mkhas-grub rgya-mtsho, who was then about eight years old, and have little to say about him as a person. But they were much impressed by what they heard of the Panchen Lama, the same whom Turner had met in 1784, now sixty-five years old, a figure of majestic presence with a great reputation for sanctity and learning. He had also acted as Regent for eight months from September 1844 to May 1845. Petech appears to state that he remained at Lhasa until about September 1846 but this seems improbable for the missionaries, evidently did not meet him but were advised to go to Tashilhunpo to do so, which they were unable to do.

After the Lazarists the age of explorers and adventurers in the competition to be first into Lhasa, set in. The arrogant bullying and not infrequent deceit by some of these travellers did nothing to enhance the reputation of foreigners in Tibetan eyes. They met few Tibetans of any standing, had no common language and were generally more interested in the topography than the people.

It was not until the mould of exclusion was broken by the rough wooing of the Younghusband expedition that a Great Lama was seen again by foreigners. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama after his enforced flight to China was met by the American diplomat W. W. Rockhill who spent a week with him at Wu-tai shan. He comments on the Lama's undoubted intelligence and ability, great natural dignity, quick temper but kindly cheerfulness; his thoughtfulness and courtesy as a host. He also describes his personal appearance in considerable detail. The Vicomte D'Ollonne also met the Dalai Lama at Wu-tai shan for a short rather formal visit from which he got an impression of the Lama as a statesman and man of action. Later, the friend of longest standing and closest intimacy was Sir Charles Bell who looked after the Dalai Lama when he took refuge in India in 1910 and was in constant contact with him when he was invited to Lhasa in 1921. Bell has written about the Dalai Lama with deep affection and respect in 'Portrait of the Dalai Lama', which I cannot attempt to summarize: enough to quote him that the Dalai Lama and he were "men of like minds". From Bell's account the powerful personality of the Lama emerges clearly but it is as a strongminded man of action and administrative ability and political interests rather than of deep spirituality and that is the impression conveyed not only by Rockhill and D'Ollonne but also by the Japanese Kawaguchi and by Political Officers who visited Lhasa after Bell until the death of the Dalai Lama in 1933. He was nevertheless profoundly learned in Buddhist doctrine but apparently in an intellectual way and he was eager in his position as head of the church to see that the standard of teaching and achievement in religious studies was improved.

By contrast, his contemporary the Sixth Panchen Lama impressed all who met him by his gentleness and spirituality. Sir Frederick O'Connor, who was fluent in Tibetan, enjoyed a warm friendship with him beginning with visits to Tashilhunpo in 1904 and 1905; he later accompanied the Lama on his visit to India. O'Connor tells a pleasant story that on their first meeting, the Panchen Lama, referring, without the need of explanation, to the visits of Bogle and Turner to two of his predecessor, expressed his pleasure at meeting British officers "again" and recalling the happy relations he had with them. He also showed O'Connor a number of presents - watches, china, silver and so on - received on those early occasions. O'Connor writes with affection of the gentle and saintly character of the Lama and the love and reverence of his people towards him. Unfortunately he was drawn innocently into a short-lived plan in which O'Connor, perhaps carried away by his admiration for the Lama, sought to set him up as a substitute for the absent Dalai Lama. This had tragic consequences for the Panchen Lama who was to end his life in exile, and for the peace of Tibet. Sir Charles Bell wrote of him: "Truly the Tashi Lama has a wonderful personality. Somewhat short in stature, with a fair and healthy complexion, the smile with which he regards you is touched with the quiet saintliness of one who prays and works for all mankind, but it is at the same time the smile of a friend who takes a personal and sympathetic interest in your own concerns. It is not surprising that he should be loved by his people. It is good that there is such a man in Tibet; it is good that there are such men in the world". The great explorer Sven Hedin described him in even more enthusiastic terms: "Wonderful, never to be forgotten, incomparable Tashi Lama", and related the deep impression made by his calm, dignity and courtesy and his wide humanity: "Extraordinary, unique, incomparable!

The participation of the Panchen Lama, whether willingly or not, in political matters beginning with the plans of Frederick O'Connor and continuing through his enmeshment in Chinese designs on Tibet since his flight from Tibet in 1926 until his death in 1937 are a sadly uncharacteristic story. And the involvement of the two Great Lamas in international politics to some

extent robbed them of their remote mystery but, although there remained an aura of spirituality it made them more credible human beings.

Today the balance has changed. The present Panchen Lama is something of an enigma. In the early days of the Tibetan tragedy he appeared as the political creature and puppet of the Chinese; and contentious and offensive words were put into his mouth. But people who have met him lately emphasize that when he is able to speak for himself he is a true Tibetan and Buddhist.

The Dalai Lama - Chos-srid gnyis-ldan, Master of Religion and State - is inevitably and deeply concerned with the politics of his country and when he speaks of them, which he does mainly on special occasions and when he is specifically asked about them, he makes his views and meaning clear but in balanced and temperate language. In his daily life and in his public utterances politics are subordinated to his deep, innate feeling for religion, and the good of all beings. His radiant, generous spirituality in all he says has restored the mystique of the incarnate Lama underlying his warm humanity and approachability.

As I have said charisma is not to be described. I make no further attempt to do so and will only add my twentieth century work-a-day account of a child Lama to the incomparable descriptions by Turner and Manning.

On 6th October 1939 the whole population of Lhasa, so it seemed, had congregated in bright cool autumn weather on the plain below Rikya monastery some two miles from Lhasa, where a great camp had been ornamented with auspicious designs in blue, sheltered the tent proper, the roof of which was even more splendidly decorated with religious symbols in gold, red and blue and with golden peacock figures perched on the roof pole. The front was open showing the inner walls lined with splendid gold, red and blue brocade hangings and with bright banners hanging from the supporting poles. In the centre stood the tall throne of the Dalai Lama, covered in patterned gold and red brocade. There was a lower throne at one side for the Regent. The crowd waited

in tense excitement which was heightened when the band of the Dalai Lama's bodyguard, which had gone out to meet him, was heard in the distance; and soon in a cloud of dust and of incense smoke from burners all along the route, the first banners of the procession came in sight. Long trumpets sounded from the monastery above and the crowd pressed forward eagerly. A small troop of Chinese soldiers in dusty quilted clothes came first at a quick pace and then a long line of mounted men, carriers of banners and symbols, and then the whole body of Tibetan officials in ascending importance in magnificent brocades and white or crimson tooped hats'. At last in the centre of the cavalcade we saw a small carrying chair draped in yellow silk, and through the glass window the face of the little Dalai Lama could be seen looking calmly but curiously at the mass of people prostrating themselves by the roadside, many weeping with joy. The procession moved at a rapid pace up the hill to the monastery where the child was to have a short rest and change his clothes. Soon he was carried down the winding path in the large gilded state palanquin with eight bearers in yellow silk and red tasselled hats. The whole official body accompanied him into the camp to the Peacock Tent where he was lifted on to the throne by his Lord Chamberlain. Everyone then took their proper places in the enclosure and we members of the British Mission and those of the Nepalese and Chinese, were led to our seats. Our were just in front of the Dalai Lama's father, mother and family. The Regent opened proceedings by prostrating three times before the Dalai Lama and then offering him a scarf; after which the officials began to file past to offer white scarves and receive the blessing. The child, wearing yellow brocade and a yellow, peaked hat with a fur brim sat quitly and with great dignity, completely at ease in these strange surrounding, giving the proper blessing to each person, with both hands or one, or with a tassel on the end of a rod, according to their rank. He looked often in our direction, partly because we were so near to his parents but also it seemed, fascinated by our unfamiliar appearance; and when our turn came to offer our scarves he was smiling broadly and as I bent down for his blessing he took a pull at my hair. But a greater centre of amusement and interest were the rosy face and fair hair of Reginald Fox, the Mission Radio Officer, the Dalai Lama felt his hair for quite a long time. After us the stream of worshippers continued to flow for over an hour until at last tea in a golden tea-pot studded with turquoise was brought in; the tea was first tasted formally by a high official then poured into a jade cup and offered to the Dalai Lama. He was then lifted down and carried back in state up to the monastery.

Although not surprisingly he seemed a little tired at the end of the long day his behaviour through the whole ceremony was movingly impressive. He maintained a calm and interested appearance and a look of happy benevolence. The rapt devotion of the Tibetan crowd could almost be felt and all of us like Manning experienced "the strangeness of sensation".

Later, Sir Basil Gould came to Lhasa for the installation ceremony. By then I had left Lhasa but Gould has left a very full account of the story of the discovery and recognition of the child as well as of the enthronement. He tells of his receptions by the Dalai Lama, describing his steady gaze and absorption in what was going on, and using the language of Isaiah "Unto us a child is born".

When I returned to Lhasa in 1944 and on many later occasions, I was formally received by the Dalai Lama and never failed to be impressed, as he grew up, by his composure, his self-possession and his look of kindly interest. As he was a minor all my time in Tibet and state affairs were conducted by the Regent, I never had an opportunity to meet and talk to him privately. During much of that time my friend Heinrich Harrer was frequently in contact with the Dalai Lama whose curiosity about the outside world and things mechanical he was able to satisfy in many ways. Harrer has told his remarkable story in 'Seven Years in Tibet'. I was fortunate in being able to exchange, through him, messages with the Dalai Lama to whom I used to send cinema films, illustrated magazines and books, and flowers from our garden. But it was only after he had reached safety in India that I was able to meet him personally on several occasions, first at Mussoorie in 1960 and then at Dharamsala in 1961 when I was privileged to enjoy

his hospitality at delightfully informal family lunch and dinner parties. At those meetings I could feel the immediate impact of his personality. Behind the simple often humorous friendliness of manner shone a transparent goodness, an inner peace devoid of hatred and a wide compassion not only for the pressing needs of his own people but for the wider troubles and cares of all humanity. That feeling perhaps developed even great intensity in the travels he was later to undertake all over the world and in his meetings with leading religious and political figures in many countries.

For me, my experience in those meetings in India showed that "His Holiness' was not merely a title but a reality.

Chos-dbyings Rdo-rje, The Tenth Black Hat Karmapa

Two books on Lamas of the Karmapa tradition have been published recently: "Karmapa, the Black Hat Lama of Tibet" by Nik Douglas and Meryl White (Luzac, 1976) and "The History of the Sixteen Karmapas of Tibet" by Karma Thinley (Prajna Press, 1980). The former contains short accounts of the lives not only of the Black Hat (Zhwa Nag) but also of the Red Hat (Zhwa Dmar) incarnations and of several other great Lamas of the Karma Bka'-brgyud sect. The second concerns only the sixteen Black Hat Lamas.

The accounts in both books are collated from a number of sources but neither author refers to the Rnam-thar Chen-mo of each great Lama, mentioned in such works as vol. pa of the Chos-'byung of Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag 'phreng-bo, which are presumably the 'official' version. If any of these have survived in India it would be valuable to have them published in accessible form.

The existence of the two books mentioned above may seem to make it unnecessary to attempt any more biographies of the Karmapa Lamas; but neither of them is actually a translation from any of the sources. There are, in fact, few full translations of Tibetan rnam-thar in western languages. The Padma Bka'-thang is in a category of its own; but we have the magnificent hagiography of the lives of Marpa by Jacques Bacot and of Milarepa by Evans Wentz, the more straight forward biography of the great scholar Bu-ston by David Ruegg, and the lives of four simple Lamas of Dolpo by David Snellgrove. The Karmapas were for some five centuries not only religious leaders but were actively involved in the politics of Tibet and I would like to convey the original flavour of Karmapa biography by translating the rnam-thar of at least one of their famous statesman—Lamas.

The lives I find of particular interest are those of the Fifth

Black Hat, De-bzhin gshegs-pa who established a close connection with the Ming Emperor Yung Lo; the Fourth Red Hat, Chos-grags ye-shes who, in alliance with the Rin-spungs princes, was the most influential figure in Tibet after the eclipse of Phag-mo-gru about 1492; and the Tenth Black Hat, Chos-dbyings rdorje, in whose time the power of the Karmapa was supplanted by that of the Gelugpa through the might of the Oirat Mongol armies of Gushri Khan. As an experiment I have started with the last which is the shortest of those to which I have access because I can use only one source — the series of brief lives in "Chos-rje Karmapa sku-'phreng rin-byon gyi rnam-thar mdor bsdud dpag-bsam khrishing date 1851 and attributed by Thinley to Mendong Tshampa Rinpoche Ngaydon Tenjay.

The text is rather staccato and elliptical here and there. Some obscure points have kindly been clarified by the Tibetan scholar Samten Karmay but there are probably passages, especially relating to religious practices, which I have mis-interpreted. Nevertheless, I hope that the course of events and the style of the biography have in general been fairly represented.

Several of the incidents appear in a different light from that in the two works mentioned above. The "invitation" to the court of the Golok ruler Chang Mowa (Lcags-mo-ba) is seen to have been virtually the kidnapping of the child by two Lcags-mo Lamas for the sake of gain. There is no hint in the other biographies of the difficulty the Zhwa Dmar had in obtaining care of the child, or of various other unpleasant intrigues. The part said to have been played by Chos-dbyings rdo-rje in averting a Mongol invasion in 1635 is here, more probably, attributed to the Rgyal-tshab Rinpoche. The Lama's suffering and hardship during his flight from the Mongol army are related in more vivid and moving language than in the other works, as is the devotion of his personal attendant, the Rim-gro-pa, who served him faithfully in adversity for over thirty years. And the relationship of the Karmapa with the Fifth Dalai Lama, though touched on only briefly, seems more realistic than the account in Thinley's work.

There is a strange discrepancy from the chronology in Gelugpa

histories in the attribution of the attack on the Karmapa's Camp to the year 1644 rather than 1642.

The stories are, of course, written from one point of view and to get a balanced picture of the period other sources such as the history by W.D. Shakabpa could be consulted. But the *rnam-thar* is not to be read as history but as the progress through earthly vicissitudes of a Lama whose character is well depicted, in the closing pages, as gentle, compassionate, retiring, unworldly, indifferent to misfortune, contemplative, artistic, a lover of animals, and essentially good.

In the translation which follows, suggested readings for the few passages where the text is illegible, are shown in brackets.

The sayings in verse of the Lama when a child are shown by asterisks.

A short *rnam-thar* of the tenth incarnation, Rgyal-mchog-chos-dbyings-rdo-rje.

As was foretold in a detailed communication by the late Lama, at the time of his death, to Gar-dbang Thams-cad mkhyenpa(1) about the place where the next holy incarnation would appear, in the lowest gorge of the eighteen great gorges of Mdo-khams, a country nowadays known as 'Gu-log(2), a father named Dhi-tsha khyi-ku-thar and a mother named A-mtsho had three sons, the eldest, Nam-mkha', the middle one A-'bum and the youngest, this present Lord born on the 28th day of the first month of the wood-dragon year (1604) at sunrise, without any difficulty to his mother. While he was still in the womb his mother had seen in a dream the form of Guru Padma, all radiant with light, enter her body; and she had other such wonderful dreams. She therefore called him O-rgyan skyabs. As soon as he was born he sat up on his haunches. He took a pace in each direction and uttered the essence of the six-letter formula and the Rdo-rie gcod-pa. When he was one year old his mother asked for an initiation from a certain Lama but the child would not hear it. When they said "He is the Khyi-thul incarnation of the Guru" the child said

"He is not Khyi-thul, he is Rang-byung Dga'-rad rdo-rje"; and he did reverence to him and received the initiation and blessing.

The late Lama in his lifetime was not greatly skilled as an artist but when his attendant the Lha-bris Sprul-sku Phan-bde laughed about that the child said "Later, I shall make you ashamed"; and accordingly, while he was still quite small, he painted pictures of deities and made rosary beads of many coloured wools. He made (a little seat) of straw from a bundle he was carrying on his back saying "Good Fortune:" and he said "I am the Karmapa, sound the rgya-gling well."

Having taken rebirth as one full of compassion, he said at the time of sheep-shearing "Do not harm the creatures in this way", and he wept. Loving all sentient creatures as dear friends and sacred beings, he said "Whenever I see flocks of sheep and cattle I regard them as myself and it pleases my mind". One day when his father was carrying him on his lap on horseback he said "Give me the whip and the reins" and when they were given to him he said "This creature by its nature goes where it pleases but if one instructs it regularly it becomes easy to govern, one should so instruct living creatures everywhere and direct them straight to deliverance and peace". Again, when he washed in a flowing stream or in rainwater he said "Water cleans the body; the whole flowing river of the scriptures cleans away the impurities of the mind". When it was time to eat and drink he told his rosary and repeated the six-letter formula.

At that time when it was widely reported that the Karmapa incarnation had been born in 'Gu-log country, the Lcags-mo Lamas, uncle and nephew, devised a wicked trick and giving many presents to the 'Gu-log Governor Padma and to the father and mother, they constrained the incarnation together with his father and mother to be presented to Zla-ma(3) of Lcags-mo and installed him there. When he was five years old, being covetous of wealth, they took him towards the Rma-chu. Rma Sbom-ra(4) escorted him and there was a shower of rainbow light and flowers. Many wild animals accompanied him. The Lcags-mo uncle and nephew grabbed the many presents that were offered to him.

At one time when a remour arose that the reincarnation of the Karmapa had been born at 'Bri-khung, the Lcags-mo-pa saying "Wherever this boy under our roof, the father and son, may go, let us go too", and they also went to Dbus. The All-knowing Zhwa Dmar who was staying at that time at Rtsa-ri Mtsho-dkar, sent his Gzim-dpon Mngon-dga' secretly together with servants, and gave the child the name Chos-dbyings rdo-rje as ordained by the Adamantine Word of O-rgyan Chen-po, and he offered services of confirmation and a letter expressing his respect. Offerings of tea, and homage in large measure came from the king of 'Jang Sa-tham and from Dbus and Gtsang. When he was seven years old the Yang-ri(5) Drung-pa, who was known as Shag-rog-pa, in the guise of a monk offering flowers, invited him to the assembly tent and made a pretence of offering a service of good fortune. Then on the 14th day of the twelfth month more than three thousand monks of the Great Camp(6) of the All-knowing Zhwa Dmar and of Zur-lcog and Nyin-byed came there. On the fifteenth day, at Rgyal Phur 'Prod, the Father and Son met together. On the 23rd day of the first month of the Lo-gsar the All-knowing Gar-dbang. with incense in his hand, invited him to the Great Camp and performed the enthronement on the lion throne and the ceremony of good fortune. He gave into his care the black hat(7) with the gold frontlet, the seal, the umbrella and so on; and he made the great offering of lamps and incense. All the religious communities separately paid homage to him; and he put on the hat and performed the prayer of dedication. The All-knowing Zhwa Dmar said that the incarnation with his father and mother should be entrusted to him but the Yang-ri drung-pa and the Lcags-mo-ba did not agree and fearing that if they made over the child to the Zhwa Dmar they would not be able to get possession of his wealth they were not willing to give him up. Then the Si-tu Rinpoche also came but the Yang-ri-ba and Lcags-mo-ba would not allow him to make a peaceful settlement.

The Sog-po king Kho-lo-ji(8) invited the Father and Son but, fearing that the Sog-po and the Sgar-pa might carry off the child, Yang and Leags took him to another place as a means of evasion. At that time by severing the connection with the hundreds

of blessings of long life resulting from the meeting of Father and Son, all the ways to good fortune were thwarted and it was widely said to have caused great damage to the Karmapa faith.

One day when a stone, the size of a man's head, by the side of a river was broken open and many green worms came out, in pity for creatures in hell he uttered "Om Mani padme hum" and as soon as he cast his eyes on them they effected transmigration. At the age of eight he showed skill in the mystic dances expounded in the tantras. The many images, both painted and carved, which he made were really a delight to the eye(9). He received great gifts from the Emperor Wen Li—fifty rgya-ma of white sandal wood, two hundred lengths of silk for outer and inner garments, and so on. Also many gatherings of the faithful from other places offered great gifts when he gave them audience. An invitation was received from the King of 'Jang Sa-tham." (10)

In those days, treasuring dearly the rosary given him by the All-knowing Zhwa Dmar, the wishes of his heart were set only on prayers for a speedy meeting. Taking as his model the best petitions from Dbus and Gtsang and by exercising his artistic skill, he became without an equal in writing and reading. At 'Bumnyag he left the imprint of his foot on a stone. Accompanied by the deity Kam-po Rdo-rje dpal-brtsegs he came to Gnas-nang, Kong-po and Ri-chab and other places made offerings. He settled quarrels and disputes.

At this time, thinking mostly how the needs of the future might be met, when the king of 'Jang and the Sog-po king once again invited him, he went to Sog-yul. He imposed vows against taking life upon king Da'i-ching (11) and all others, monk and lay. When a fire broke out on a mountain he quenched it by laying on his hands. At the age of eleven he went to Dbus. At Pha-bong Zhabs-chen two of his foot-prints appeared. At the invitation of Tsher-lung Drung-chen and the Gar-dbang he went to Zur-mang, he proceeded to Tshog-dbu of Bde-mchog. On the occasions when he performed the ceremony of wearing the hat at those places, because the Karmapa and Zur-mang-pas took the side of the Zhwa-Dmar, the Yang-ri-ba and Lcags-mo-ba were

afraid that he might be abducted and they increased their precautions.

At Spam-gzhung a deer pursued by a hunter's hound came to the door of his tent to seek refuge. He blessed it by the rite of G-vung-drung Nor-bu and, tying a knotted scarf round its neck. he gave it absolution. The deer and the hound became like mother and son. He paid the price to the hunter who made a vow not to take life. And on all beings on the way by which he went by bestowing religious teachings and presents he imposed the rule of the ten virtues and so on, and gave them the purpose of severing the chain of cause and effect. When the god Gnyen-chen Thang-lha himself came to welcome him everyone saw a fair-complexioned youth with his hair in five braids, carrying a crystal censer in his hand. The Lama's living tent was filled with rainbow-coloured rays and a shower of flowers fell. With an ever-incresing array of escorts he came to Yangs-pa-can (12) and Mtshur-phu. (13). He was installed on the great lion throne. The whole region of Mtshur-phu and Gnas-nang was bathed in rainbow light and so on, just like the sort of wonderful magical manifestations there were on the occasion when De-bzhin gshegs-pa went to the Chinese imperial palace.

When he was twelve the Lama Dpa-bo Gtsug-lag rgya-mtsho performed the rite of offering his hair-lock and ordained him dge-bsnyen in front of the Gandola shrine. He gave him the name Dpal-ldan 'Jig-rten gsum-gyi'dren-pa sku-bzhi lhun-grub Chos-dbyings kun-tu khyab pa'i 'phrin-las rtag-pa'i rdo-rje 'Gyurmed Yi-bzhin snying-po rgyas-pa zla-med mngon-par mtho-ba'i dpal (The glorious leader of the three worlds, the self-originated four-fold body, the glory of the changeless essence of all wishes, the peerless manifestly exalted thunderbolt who perpetuates the good deeds and doctrine of all-covering heaven). Guided by his firmness and the encouragement of Sgrol-dkar, with rergard to the precious Bka'-'gyur of the Buddha, the tantras, oral indoctrinations, commentaries and explanations of commentaries, the granting of initiation, the collected works of the late Karmapas and so on he received, beyond measure, initiations, empowerments

and instruction of great profundity. That is all set out in the greater rnam-thar.

The Chos-rje addressed his teacher the Dpa-bo Rin-po-che and asked "How long will you live?" He replied "since I have not the gift of foreknowledge and the like, I do not know". The Chos-rje answered "I assure you, you will live to be sixty three". He meditated unceasingly on a selection of the sutras. Having been invited by the Gtsang Sde, (14) on the way, at Na-ga ring Lake when he had thrown in the proper offerings, the second the music was heard from within the lake and the sky was filled with rainbow light. At Zab-phu-lung he had a vision of O-rgyan Rin-po-che with his retinue. Received on a grand scale by the Gtsang Sde Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal; he pitched camp at Rnam-gling Klusding. Great offerings were made. At Gsung-rab-gling when he saw a fresco painted by the Ninth Lama he said "This is stangely unlike the work of a mere maker of images".

When Yang and Leags were constantly making demands on the Lho-brag Sgar-pa the Lama himself issued an order not to do so in future. At Pa-nam a boy of turquoise-blue colour came and bowed before him. The Lord Dpa-bo said that because of three Klu Demon brothers whom the Lord Rang-byung-pa had formerly bound by an oath of subjection, there was turquoise colour everywhere.

With the Gtsang-Sde escorting him on grand scale he came to Bsam-rtse Klu-sding. He performed the ceremony of wearing the hat. Great offerings were made: hats for a regular wear, robes, a gold seal and so on were presented. The prince Karma Bstan-skyong dbang-po made the great offering (incense, lamps, flower and so on) when he was received in audience.

At that time he heard an interpretation of picture of Ka-la-pa (Shambhala). As for poetry no sooner did he hear the mnemonic verses of Lord Dbon Nam-mkha' than he knew them. He was unrivalled in his knowledge of the substances and measurements of the three symbolic offerings (sku, gsung, thugs); and he was especially fond of Ladakhi bronze.

Yang and Leags together slandered the father and mother and two nephews to the Gtsang Sde and caused them to be evicted from the Camp. The Byang Bdag-po and others came for audience, with presents. A golden letter arrived from the Chinese Emperor Da Ming Wan Li with great presents of eighty lengths of silk for outer and inner garments, and so on. In Lho-brag the Lord Dpa'-bo gave great presents. When going to the Rong-po Rdza-la he left imprints of his feet. The Sa-skyong (15) ruler together with his court officials and ministers having provided a great escort, he came to Sne'u Gdong-rtse. At the time there arrived a golden letter and many especially valuable gifts from China and 'Jang presented by the Sa Tham King.

He went towards Tsa-ri. At Dga' Ma-mo set up sixteen thousand four hundred images of the Sixteen Arhat disciples. In general, wherever he went, he satisfied the converts with the three blessings. When anyone offered to take the vows of a hermit he gave him an image of the Lord Mi-la; and to those who took the vow to repeat continually the Six Letter Prayer he gave a picture of 'Phagspa Spyan-ras-gzigs drawn by himself. To the householders in general he administered the vow not to take life and not to accept banquets of meat and chang nor to provide these for others. If they wanted long life, let them not take life. If they wanted good fortune, not only should they utter their worship to the Precious Ones but also they should refrain from offering worship to demons by the repetition of Bon Spells.

In Kong-po, Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-mtshon snying-po came to meet him. In accordance with secret instructions in the Chos-bdag (?) he presented a group of images of the Precious Ones, a horse and a pig, hidden treasures he had discovered. Smyung-gnas Raschen, seated on a litter because he was of ripe old age, surrounded by a retinue of several hundred smyung-gnas-pa came to meet him and gave many presents of robes and so on. When the Lord Dpa-bo fell ill, the Chos-rje himself performed religious ceremonies and even acted as attendant on the sick man who was thus relieved of his illness.

Although he had continuously listened to sermons for many years he did not himself pronounce any.

When the Lord Dpa'-bo caused the evil deeds of Yang and Lcags to be revealed, the Sku-rab-pa (16) and the Gtsang Sde took counsel together and made each of them go into retirement separately. The other Lcags-mo-ba were banished to their own country and the obstacles troubling the Great Camp were removed afar. After that, at the instigation of Sde-pa Spel-dmar, the Gtsang Sde put Yang and Leags in prison. Although the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che made an appeal to him, accompanied by presents, the Gtsang Sde disregarded this and made war on the Sku-rab-pa. The Chos-rie sent to enquire from the Zhwa Dmar Rin-op-che about an auspicious day for an urgent meeting and asked that protection should be given to the Sku-rab Governor and his people who had committed no offence. The All-knowing Zhwa Dmar came, and there were excellent results from the meeting of Father and Son. The Zhwa Dmar and Zhwa Nag together with Dpa'-bo and Tre-ho. The father and mother and two nephews of Chos-rje also entered the Camp. Although the Father and Son together gave instructions restraining the Gtsang Sde and Sku-rab, the Gtsang Sde would not listen. Because the Gtsang Sde seeming to be victorious at that time, disobeyed the orders of the Lama it happened to him according to the saying that the fate of one who regards only his present action is as different as it is from thinking of a field and possessing one; and on his way up the Gtsang Sde died of small pox. Although the Father and Son were invited to Gtsang they did not go there; and the representatives abused them greatly. It was well known that Shag-ram-pa, the Yang-ri Drung-pa had given the impression that in future he would control both religious and temporal affairs and because of great hatred for the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che who was responsible for that former wish not being fulfilled, he became a great obstacle to the good of the Father and Son.

At that time gifts sent by the Cha-gar king and the Khar-kha king, from among the Yu-gur people, were received. The Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che gave to the Rgyal-ba'i dbang-po all his possessions, his camp, his estates and his monk attendants. The re-

incarnation of the Rgyal-tshab Rin-po-che was recognized. After that, the Gtsang Sde having invited them they went together. Great gifts were offered.

In his twenty-first year, with the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che acting as *mkhan-po*, Dpal Gtsug-lag rgya-mtsho as *slob-dpon* and Si-tu-Chos-rje Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan as *gsang-ston* he was fully ordained in the presence of the assembled monks. By way of Lhasa and the Gnam Mtsho he came to Mtshur-phu. The Zhwa Dmar and Zhwa Nag together made the vases to be buried for the subjection of the earth when the precinct wall was being built. From the Lord Gar-gyi dbang-po he heard much religious doctrine and from the Lord Dpa'bo he heard an abundance of sermons. The Chos-rje offered many images of the deities painted by himself.

On the further invitation from the Gtsang Sde they went there. With a mounted escort and a procession of monks they came to Gyantse. Great offerings were made and all prisoners were released. From there they went gradually to Sa-skya and there was a meeting between the Bdag-chen and the Chos-rje. On the Rtsib-ri he had a vision of the Siddhas. At Ding-ri Gling-'khor he meditated extensively and he had a vision of Dam-pa kun-dga'. With the deity Tshe-ring-ma escorting him he came to Chu-dbar. He had a vision of Rje-Mi-la wearing monk's robe and smiling at him. Father and Son both carried stones on their backs for building a chapel. When fire broke out on a hill he quenched it by reciting the Bden-tshig. Then the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che went on pilgrimage to Nepal and Chos-rje went on pilgrimage to Gangs Ti-se. There many remarkable signs such as visions. He saved the lives of all the animals offered to him by the 'Brog-pa herdsmen. When he went to Skyi-grong the news came that the All-knowing Zhwa Dmar was going to India; he was very sad and shed tears. Having asked advice from the Lord Dbon Nammkha' how to prevent this he sent a letter to the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che with a present of gold.

At Ding-ri Gling-'khor Dpal-mo-thang an assembly of monastic patrons petitioned him saying "why should you travel without a fixed abode rather than stay here as Priest for the King?" He answered each of them with a verse. Going to Chu-dbar he painted many thangkas. When he went to welcome the All-knowing Zhwa Dmar, the Father and Son met at Spro-bde Bkra-shis-sgang. He offered a jar of precious water from Mtsho Ma-pham and they washed in it. The Lord Zhwa Dmar gave him many special gifts from India and Nepal. Carrying on his back the Lord Zhwa Dmar's religious books and ritual ornaments the Chos-rje went to Chu-dbar. When a letter arrived from Lho-brag that the Dpa'-bo Rin-po-che had died the Chos-rie was greatly grieved; and soon after, the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che, having given a promise about the place where his reincarnation would appear, manifested the signs of passing into the Void. Tre-ho Rin-po-che then become the personal attendant of the Chos-rie. The precious body was brought to Mtshurphu with religious ceremonies every day. The 'Jang king presented two hundred Srang of silver and many pearl rosaries. Many of the faithful gave their personal possessions and the memorial ceremony was performed on a grand scale. The Chos-rje himself laid the foundation of the precious mchod-rten for the Rin-po-che's remains and carried stones on his back for building its chapel. He painted many images for the memorial ceremony and fetched water on his back for tea and thug-pa for the assembly of monks.

He sent one hundred and eight mystic adepts to Chu-dbar after enquiring about their religious devotion. Perceiving that there was a change of faith in Dbus and Gtsang he formed the wish to go to Mdo-khams; and he sang many songs of sorrow and repentance. The Umbrella-holding Mongol kings Ar-pa-lang and Chog-thu (17) and others asked for a meeting but it was not granted. Saying that the Be-ri king who refused to let the Mongols pass, although a Bon-po seemed to be a true Karmapa, he pardoned him for having previously blocked the road. Then the Chos-rje went on foot on pilgrimage to Tsa-ri. Then he returned to Lho-brag and performed a hundred thousand circumambulations, outside and inside, round the images of each Jo-bo Sha-ka. He offered to the Jo-bo Rin-po-che three silk scarves tied with ribbon; and the next day he received round his neck from the Jo-bo Rin-po-che a scarf with three knots. He caused the faithful to have greatly increased faith in the two forms of Jo-bo Sha-ka and so to perform virtuous acts such as prostrating themselves on the circuit around the images.

An invitation from the Sa-tham king arrived and the Lord and his attendants went there gradually. He invited the Rgyal-tshab Chen-po Grags-pa mchog dbyangs and took part in meditation [(? rjes sgrub mdzad;) secured his help?].

The O-rod Bstan-'dzin Chos-rgyal (18) launched an attack on Gtsang. Before this when a Mongol army had come, the Rgyaltshab Chen-po Grags-pa Mchog dbyangs, at the request of the Gtsang Sde, was able to turn it back. But this time, although the Father and Son gave orders to stop, they were not able to turn them back. Through the Panchen Rin-po-che they appealed to the Great Fifth. The Panchen gave a reply to the Rgyal-ba'i dbangpo to this effect. "I guarantee that in relations between the Dgelugs-pa and Karmapa there is no disagreement and I know nothing of such deeds concerning the Karmapa faith". But although the Karmapa received a written order granting their independence, malicious presons caused disturbances and because a great war broke out the Chos-rje went to Lho-brag. He recognized Kun-tu bzang-po as the Dpa'-bo incarnation.

To his attendant Kun-tu bzang-po he gave a bowlful of curds. a bell in a case, five pens, and a thousand rolls of paper, telling him he was needed as his personal disciple. The evil deeds of the Gtsang Sde once again caused the Chos-rje great concern. Although some of the ministers, because of the disgrace brought on the court, explained that they did not agree with the Gtsang Sde his purpose did not change; and when a Kong-po army arrived the Chos-rje said "This has happened because you would not keep still before. Now go back and contrive to keep quiet. But if you do not obey, you yourself must bear responsibility to the Karmapa doctrine of which Mtshur-phu is head. I am going to submit to the Great Fifth". It was generally said that because a demon was sitting in the hearts of those leaders of the Karmapa way so that they relied on the Gtsang-pa and abandoned their responsibility to the Karmapa faith, the Great Fifth, therefore, disregarded his order that the Karmapa faith should be independent.

The Chos-rie saw that the condition of ruler is like honey mixed with poison since the Karmapa and the Gtsang-pa sought to combine religious rule with affairs of state and so brought about the evil deed of war, and that a wound that strikes this way into the centre of the faith of one's heart is in accordance with the repeated pronouncements of O-rgyan Chen-po that by the fortunes of men nothing can be achieved. After that, Father and Son went into religious retreat at Lho-brag for a short time. He made many pictures of deities and he began to distribute all his wealth to the poor. He went to Mtshur-phu, Gnas-nan and Gtsang Nyin-byed. An inauspicious conjunction of stars prevented the Chos-rje and Rim-gro-pa from going to Khams. On the New Year day of the water-sheep year (1643) he conferred full ordination, upon the Rgyal-tshab Chen-po and the Rding-tsha incarnations and first vows upon the dpa'-bo Sprul-sku. In the monkey year (1644) Stag-lung Bkra-shis dpal-grub came to meet him. (19).

An order came from the Priest and Patron of the Government (the Dalai Lama and Gushri Khan) that the Karmapa should take an oath not to subvert the interests of the Dge-lugs-pa. To which the Chos-rje replied "It is not necessary to do so. I formerly took an oath that I would never subvert or cause dissension between the Karmapa and the Dge-lugs-pa." And because at the time of the Gtsang Sde Phun-tshogs Rnam-rgyal he disobeyed orders in the matter of the Sku-rab-pa the Chos-rie had been greatly troubled and it was undoubted that the purposes of the Gtsang-pa and the Great Camp were quite different, he therefore thought he should be allowed to take an oath that, let alone any question that he might cause subversion, he had never done so in the past. But the priest and Patron misinterpreted his meaning and became angry. The Skyi-shod-pa and the Mongol army surrounded the Great Camp. The Chos-rje and the Rim-gro-pa escaped from the camp and went to Mkhan-pa Ljongs. Some of the soldiers saw him as a deer; some saw him as a vulture, and although they pursued him they could not catch him. The armies destroyed the Great Camp. Some monks were wounded some were killed. During the time of his flight there were many different reports; that the Chos-rje with four disciples had been seen to come to Bsam-yes; that he

had been seen to come to Lhasa; that he had been seen to come to Kong-po Rgod-tshang. The soldiers sought but could not find him. For twelve days between the monkey year and the bird year (1644-1645) the Chos-rje and his disciple, those two lacked food and clothing but O-rgyan Rin-po-che gave them nectar and they suffered neither hunger not cold.

For three years from this time the Rim-gro-pa Kun-tu bzang-po never loosened his waist band, and for thirty years he continued untiringly in the service of the Lama. After that time the Chos-rje shared his seat with him and by giving him many of the three symbols (rten) and consecrating them and in other ways, he showed his great regard for him.

Then they went to Tsa-ri. Offerings were made to them of the necessities for making the upper circuit. When they went to the seven Klo-pa houses they were offered many gifts of honey and so on. When he was offered the choice between a roll of red brocade and one of soft woollen cloth, he compared the thickness and choose the woolly cloth saying "This is real Klo-pa stuff". A musk deer which they gave him followed close behind him. About a hundred monkeys came to meet him and gave a display of their gambolling. He went to Mtsho-dkar and saw many visions. In the fire-dog year (1646) he cane to Ka-nam Se-ba-sgang at the time of Lo-gsar. The gifts that were showered on him like rain he immediately gave for religious offerings. Knowing that the Zhwa Dmar reincarnation had been born he sent Karma Snying-rje and Karma Don- 'grub to perform religious ceremonies and to present nectar, a while carpet and a rosary, together with a letter and a gold srang for the father and mother.

In the pig year (1647) an invitation came from the Sa-tham king. He went to Kha-ba dkar-po. Escorted on a grand scale by the Sa-tham king's Chief Minister Karma Stobs-Idan and others, he came to Rgyal-thang. The king 'Chi-med Lha-dbang, the father with his son and queen together offered a great ceremony at the Lo-gsar of the wood-mouse year. There were boundless gifts. He performed the ceremony of wearing the black hat, and preached virtue. There was display of fireworks after which the Chos-rje,

seated in a tent of white cotton at the summit of a hill-pass. offered prayers for all blessings. As special presents at their first meeting, the king gave a golden Wheel of the Dharma, a white conch shell with a golden fin and so on. Putting his head on the Lama's feet he asked for prayers of compassion for his late father Mi-pham Tshe-dbang. On the next day, for about three rgyanggrags (about five miles) along the road on the right and left many thousands of people, kneeling, set out holy water, incense and flowers on table in front of each of them. Accompanied by religious ceremonies, with the sound of many kinds of musical instruments. the camp was pitched by them in the Bha-she pleasure park. Then when the palace had been splendidly decorated both outside and within, he was invited by a great welcoming party of some five ministers and took his seat on a golden throne. Great gifts were presented: the Eight Lucky Signs in pure gold, the Seven Jewels of Monarchy, a bre (about 1 lb.) of gold and one of silver, silk stuffs, and so on. He performed the ceremony of wearing the hat and gave initiations in the recitation of the Yig-ge drug-pa. He expounded the merits of 'Phag-pa Spyan-ras-gzigs according to the words of Dam-chos Pad-kar and he gave extensive religious instruction about causes and effects with regard to the prince more than all other, and about the necessity following therefrom of praying to that tutelary deity and repeating the Yig-ge drug-pa. Then the nine great ministers each invited him separately and did him reverence. He caused them to understand the meaning of cause and effect in everything; and to the accumulation like a great cloud by way of presents and wealth offered as a religious duty from below, he gave blessing from above.

Up to the time of the Seventh Karmapa, the 'Jang king had been one who worshipped heaven and offered living sacrifices, but when the All-knowing Mi-bskyod Zhabs visited that country the elephants saluted him and when he wished to ride they knelt down to the ground; so the king, thinking he must be a god, obeyed whatever he said and followed his command to accept the ten virtues. And until the present time the kings have been converts to the Karmapa doctrine. It is said that in that country there are more than one hundred and twenty households.

Then the king distributed to the Rim-gro-pa and all the other teachers great quantities of possessions and made a complimentary speech in excellent style on his success in inviting so holy a saint. One hundred zho of gold were given for the funeral rites of his father and the Chos-rje made a prediction that he would attain the body of a god. Although the king asked him to stay there forever, he did not like the bustle and noise and went towards Rgval-thang. At Bya-rgod Dgon many people of Spo, 'Bor, Sga and 'Dan came to meet him and he satisfied all with religious teaching and material goods. Then, intending to meet the Zhwa Dmar reincarnation, he gave all his possessions to the Rim-gro-pa: and the Chos-rie himself, dressed as a beggar, having loaded all his necessities on one horse, went alone into Gu-log country. His horse and clothes and whatever he had were looted by robbers and as he went begging, barefooted, both his feet suffered sores from the frost and cold. When he had neither food nor clothing someone gave him a bowl that had been broken into five pieces and joined together with thread; someone else gave him a felt cloak, and he enjoyed comfort in these. When the wounds on his feet would not heal, a householder brought him medicines. One day when he was scouring the inside of his broken bowl with ashes he drew a picture of the Bodhisattva Stag-mo lus-sbyin and did reverence to it. Then as he went on his way some people recognized him and many came to meet him. About one hundred horses from the 'Brog-pa tribes and many other offerings were made to him.

When the Zhwa-Dmar came to know of it, one of his relatives arrived to escort him. Then the Sprul-sku himself came to welcome him and doing great reverence, presented a pearl rosary. The Chosrje gave the Sprul-pa'i-sku gold, silver and so on, all objects to give him every pleasure; and he also satisfied his kinsmen with riches. When he went to his birth place he saw his house destroyed and the country devastated, all signs of the transitory nature of the world. In a pleasure garden he composed a eulogy of the Twelve Deeds of the Buddha and sent it together with news of his condition to the Rim-gro-pa. From all directions many people came to meet him. The horse that had been stolen by robbers

was returned to him. And the Rim-gro-pa not wanting to stay in Li-yul came from there. The Father and Son together preached sermons of all sorts. He recognized the reincarnation of the Lord Dpa'-bo. He took the hair-lock of the Zhwa Dmar incarnation; and he gave final ordination to several monks. The Sixth Gar-dbang and the Lord himself repeatedly performed acts of penitence. When he was fifty years of age an invitation was received from China but he did not go. Again great presents were sent. In the same year, the Great Fifth who had gone to China in the water-dragon year (1652) returned from there.

In the wood-sheep year (1655), the Chos-rje acting as Mkhanpo and the Rim-gro-pa as Slob-dpon, together with others. gave final ordination to the Si-tu incarnation, Chos-rgyal mi-pham 'phrin-las rab-brtan; and in the same year he gave monastic vows and final ordination to about a thousand monks of 'Jang-yul. Then having been invited by the Sa-tham king, Priest and Patron took part in many initiations and religious instructions. At this time, from Mtshur-phu, the Rgyal-tshab Chen-po, thinking he was about to die, sent word that his reincarnation would appear in that region. At the time of merriment at the iron-mouse New Year (1660). the Rim-gro-pa gave a New Year feast to the Chos-rje Karmapa, the Zhwa Dmar, Si-tu, Dpa'-bo, Phag-mo, Zhabs-drung, Zhwasgom and other incarnations. The Sa-tham king also offered a new year entertainment. A messenger arrived with a letter from the Emperor Shun-rtsi. The Chos-rje gave detailed instruction to the Zhwa Dmar and many others in the mudras of the Rdo-rje and dril-bu and in the realization of the Six Principles of the Doctrine and so on. Again presents were received from the Emperor Shun-rtsi, his queen, sons, and ministers. The Emperor requested that the seal should be changed and recognition accorded in the manner in which it had been done during the reign of the Ta-Ming. He replied "I have no desire to receive a new seal which is a worldly matter". Although his attendants urged him, he said "Nothing of the sort in necessary. You simply seem to want the presents of silk. By my foreknowledge I see many parts of China engulfed in a sea of blood". The Si-tu incarnation especially, finding it difficult to bear the great deterioration of the Karmapa doctrine, requested that he might be reborn as a prince of China and so restore the religion. But the Chos-rje prevented him, saying "Nowadays even if you were to do that, the doctrine would not become perfect. There is no need for mere simulacra of the faith. If you hold that idea, it will be an obstacle to you meeting me regularly"

He recognized the reincarnation of the Rgyal-tshab Rin-poche. Formerly when Mongol troops captured the Great Camp and all the Karma monasteries were seized, the Rgyal-tshab Chen-po Grags-pa Mchog-dbyangs and the Lord Ngag-dbang bkra-shis dpal-grub composed a very able petition and so some twenty-one houses of religion, above all Mtshur-phu, Yangs-pa-can, Nyinbyed-gling; Legs-bshad-gling, and 'Od-zer-gling were granted to them. In gratitude for that all the Karmapa monasteries caused him to take charge of Mtshur-phu and appointed him as head of each of the religious communities; and the embers of the faith were kept alive. He went to Lhasa with a suitable welcoming party from the capital. The Priest and Patron of the Government did him great honour. When the Chos-rje himself was staying for the time at Mtshur-phu or in Lho-brag a letter from the Fifth Dalai Lama was sent through the Stag-lung Zhabs-drung Bkra-shis dpal-grub that if he (the Karmapa?) would act in the same way as the Rgyal-tshab Rinpoche had been doing he would become a welcome chaplain. But by reason of the destiny of sentient beings that would not be beneficial. When there were recriminations between the Stag-lung Zhabs-drung and the monastic communities because of that, the Lord (Rgyal-tshab) himself went to Lhasa and explained the situation. An oath had to be obtained from the Zhabs-drung. After that he went to Lhasa to explain how some persons had sought to cause dissension with the Priest and Patron of the government. He had audience with the Great Fifth, the Priest, and the Patron and as well as convincing them he gave great presents. Presents of recognition were received from the Gtsang Sde and the Oirat queen. When the Great Fifth arrived back from China the Rgyal-tshab went to Lhasa and accompanied by a simple escort from Rtse and Shod (monk and lay officials) he was received by the ruler and they had much cordial conversation. The Mkhan Hu-thug-thu of the Oirat royal lineage sought

audience and initiation from him and prayed that later he might take rebirth in his retinue. This Lama's successful achievements for the Karmapa doctrine were very great and the Stag-lung Zhabsdrung was his equal. In the earth dog year (1658) at the age of fortytwo he passed away in the Zhal-ras chapel at Mtshur-phu. Having acquired freedom to choose his own reincarnation, by the power of his perfect vow, he was born as the son of a householder in 'Jang-yul where the Great Karmapa was living. And because he would have to control the monastic seat of Mtshur-phu until the next most excellent incarnation of the Chos-rie should appear. he had promised to become a son of the Lama's Lineage. From his birth, before he was grown up, he remembered his past residence and told many tales of Mtshur-phu. He was installed at the age of three and at the age of eight he took the dge-bsnyen vows. He was given the name dpal Nor-bu bzang-po 'gro-'dul Kun-tu dga'-ba'i rgya-mtsho rnam-par rol-po dgos-'dod char-du 'bebs-pa bzang-po dpal.

The Chos-rie gave to the Zhwa Dmar, the Si-tu and the Rgyaltshab head-dresses of red and gold which he himself had made. To the Zhwa Dmar, the Si-tu, Rgyal-tshab, Dpa'-bo, Phag-mo Karma Rin-chen, Sprul-sku Chos-skyong bzang-po, Sprul-sku Bskal-bzang snying-po and many others, he gave verbal instruction in the Precious Bka'-'gyur. When Rig-'dzin Mi-gyur rdo-rje met him for the first time, he presented a self-formed golden crescent moon, a hidden treasure which he himself had discovered. The Chos-rje recognised him as a genuine gter-ston. He made very extensively all those offerings of valuables prescribed in the Vinaya. Then, since it was necessary to install the Zhwa Dmar, the Rgyaltshab and the Dpa'-bo incarnations, he gradually processed towards Dbus, he satisfied with preaching and with material gifts all the communities of monks and laymen on the way. At Spro-lung he met the Zhabs-drung and they had extensive and pleasant conversation. He went to the Potala and met the Great Fifth who enquired at length about his travels and his religious practices. Since the Chos-rje was advanced in years and hard of hearing the conversation was conducted through the Rim-gro-pa. A banquet and excellent presents were provided. When he visited the Jo-bo

at Lhasa visions without number were seen. The Chos-rje himself seemed to become Srong-brtsen sgam-po of old and to merge into the heart of the Jo-bo. When the Dalai Lama gave permission, he left; and not long after, his illusory outward appearance contracted and at the age of seventy-one, on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the wood tiger year (1674), at dawn, he passed peacefully into the infinite. About that time his whole room was filled with a white radiance and there were other such wonderful portents which it is not necessary to detail. His precious body was brought to Mtshur-phu and the incarnation Lamas who were his spiritual sons, with the Rim-gro-pa and others, took part in the perfect performance of the funeral rites, offering lamps, building the silver tomb, carrying out religious ceremonies and offerings, and consecrating the tomb.

Briefly, the progress to perfection of this late most excellent Lama was that by his compassion, so far from harming any creature even an ant, he loved them all as one loves an only son. He specially loved dogs and beggars, all the poor and needy and afflicted, and satisfied them all lavishly with gifts from his own hand. So far from ever doing harm, in return for harm he would lovingly confer benefits. Being perfectly accomplished in his understanding of the Phyag-rgya Chen-po, he perceived the visible world as illusion, and through the vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity he was never affected by feelings of happiness or sorrow. By his nature devoted to intensely calm concentration in progressive meditation on his personal deity the compassionate One, he constantly repeated the Six Letter Prayer. Fierce spells and magical practices had no place in his mind. Meat and chang never touched his tongue. He never failed to make confession twice a month. He passed his time in the creation of the three precious symbols and in making offerings; and the religious paintings he completed were without number. He himself said "In poetry and painting there is no one in Tibet better than I am" — Saying also "I am one who delights in Spyan-ras-gzigs", the works of his hand were like nectar for the eyes.

The band of disciples of that Lama were: the Zhwa Dmar Ye-shes snying-po who became the guide of the next Most Excellent

Incarnation the continuer of the lineage of possessors of wisdom: the Rgyal-tshab Chen-po Grags Mchog unparalleled in good deeds for the Karmapa doctrine; and his equal, the Zhabs-drung Bkra-shis dpal-grub; the Rim-gro-pa Kun-tu bzang-po, without peer in his service to the person of the Lama; Si-tu Chos-rgyal mi-pham: Dpa'-bo Kun-tu bzang-po; and his reincarnation 'Phrin-las rgyamtsho; Rgyal-tshab sprul-sku Nor-bu bzang-po; Mkhas-grub Ra'ga-asya; Mkha-reg Karma Bstan-srung; Khyab-bdag Grub-dbang; Phag-mo Zhabs-drung; Zhwa-sprul Bskal-bzang snying-po; Sprulsku Karma Chos-skyong; Sa-tham Lha-btsun Karma Rin-chen; Rgyal-sras Kar-phun; Karma Bstan-skyong; Karma Bsam-grub; Karma Chos-'Phags; Karma don-grub; 'Bam-chen Dbon; Jo-stan mkhan-po; Ri-bo-che'i Chos-rje; Rdi-tsha sprul-sku; Ne-ring Chosrje; Yol-mo sprul-sku; Zur-mang Gar sprul Rin-snying; Rtogs-Iden Blo-gros; those who have shown renunciation of wordly affairs (bya-btang-bstan rnams); Che-tsang sprul-sku; Rtse-le sprul-sku; Tsher-lung drung-pa; Rgod-tsang sprul-sku; Nor-bu rgyan-pa; Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-mtshon snying-po; Zhabs-drung Dkon-mchog; Gong-ra lo-chen; with other personal disciples in general from among those holy beings and several whose minds were united by the bond of the holy religion.

"Lord of all beings at a time when the age was full of dissension. By the power of his compassion like banquet of pure food. When the heart of the doctrine was assulted by foreign troops; when the great expanse of the earth was crowded with corpses; when through the destruction of the three precious symbols all beings were in misery; he then by the power of his compassion was Lord of beings who had no Lord. Who but he was the second Ruler of the Sakya?" Thus it is was said.

NOTES

- 1. Gar-dbang Thams-cad mkhyen-pa: the sixth Zhwa Dmar, Choskyi dbang-phyug.
- 2. 'gu-log, 'Go-log, Mgo-log, Ngo-log: a fierce nomadic tribe living near the Rma-chu, the upper waters of the Yellow River and the Am-nye Rma-chen range, much given to brigandage.

- 3. Zla-ma: a monastery in the 'Go-log country.
- 4. Rma-Sbom-ra: the mountain deity of the Am-nye Rma-chen range-
- 5. Yangri: a great monastery of the 'Bri-khung Bka'-brgyud-pa about 65 miles N.E. of Lhasa.
- 6. The Great Camp: The Zhwa Nag and Zhwa Dmar Lamas spent much of the year travelling between their many monasteries and the headquarters of their lay patrons, and maintained what was virtually a tented monastery with a regular retinue of officials and servants known as Sgar-pa.
- 7. The black hat is a mystic treasure of the Karmapa, said to be made from the hair of a hundred thousand Mkha'-'gro-ma and given by the Chinese Emperor Yung Lo to the Fifth Karmapa, De-bzhin gshegs-pa. It is worn ritually at a special ceremony by the Zhwa Nag Lama.
- 8. Kho-lo-ji: a prince of the Turned Mongols and a great nephew of Altan Khan.
- 9. Three Beautiful images carved from rhinoceros horn by Chosdbyings rdo-rje, now in Rumtek monastery, are illustrated in Nik Douglas book.
- 10. 'Jang-Sa-tham: a Nakhi kingdom centered on Likiang on the upper Yangtze.
- 11. Da'i-ching: a title of Kho-lo-ji (n. 8)
- 12. Yangs-pa-can: the principal monastery of the Zhwa Dmar Lama, on the upper waters of the Lho-rong Chu in Snye-mo.
- 13. Mtshur-phu: the principal monastery of the Zhwa Nag Lama, in the Stod-lung valley, founded in 1187
- 14. The Gtsang Sde: Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal, ruler of the greater part of Central Tibet at that time.
- 15. The Sa-skyong: the representative of the enfeebled former ruling family of Phag-mo-gru.
- 16. Sku-rab-pa: Governor of a region in Dvags-po.

- 17. Ar-pa-lang (Ar-sa-lang) and Chog-thu: for the curious history of their intervention in Tibet see W.D. Shakabpa "Tibet" pp. 103-104.
- 18. Bstan-'dzin Chos-rgyal: Gushri Khan.
- 19. The account of chronology and events following Gushir's attack on Gtsang is sketchy and difficult to reconcile with other sources. The final defeat of Karmapa resistance was in 1642 or early 1643 at latest, not 1644. Its centre was Rdzing-phyi north of 'Ol-kha. it is not clear whether Chos-dbyings-rdo-rje was there or in one of the other centres perhaps Lho-brag. The Mkhan-po Ljongs where he took refuge is probably the semi-legendary secret valley in north Bhutan which would agree with the story of Douglas' version that he was miraculously transported to Kurtod (Skur-stod) in northern Bhutan. At all events he made his escape and is next recorded in Tsa-ri.

Early Tibetan Inscriptions: Some Recent Discoveries

Inscriptions on stone from the eighth and ninth centuries are among the best sources of information about the early history, social conditions and religion of the Tibetans and also about the state of the language at that time. Not long after I had completed an edition of all those I was able to collect in Central Tibet two hitherto unrecorded inscriptions and additional material on one other have come to light. One of the new discoveries was made by Geshe Pema Tshering of Bonn on a visit to his homeland in East Tibet. On a free-standing pinnacle of rock, known as Brag Lhamo, in the district of Ldan-khog he discovered a short inscription of obvious antiquity with a group of Buddhist images in low relief alongside it. He has referred to his discovery briefly in Zentralasiatische Studien of the University of Bonn, vol. 16. where there is also an illustration of the rock; and in collaboration with Dr. Helmut Eimer he is preparing a full analysis and description which it is to be hoped will soon be published. In the meantime he has very kindly sent me a photograph of the inscription and valuable information about the site and has generously allowed me to mention it in advance of his detailed study.

From the photograph it can be seen that the inscription, though badly damaged, is of considerable interest not only for its contents but also as showing that such documents are still to be found. Thetan writers in the past did not generally attach sufficient importance to these relics of their past to record them in full. Exceptions were the Karmapa historian Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag phreng-ba (1504-1566) and the great Ka-thog scholar Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1696-1755). The discovery of this inscription by Geshe Pema Tshering and of those at Lho-brag, to be mentioned later, shows that a new generation of Tibetan scholars is aware of the value of such documents; and it is to be hoped that the greater freedom of travel in Tibet may lead to further discoveries.

Previously known inscriptions from Central Tibet are carved

on stately pillars of dressed stone but this one at Ldan-khog, like that from Rkong-po, is on a natural rock face, perhaps implying either an absence of suitable stone or a less affluent milieu; and owing to the nature of the surface the lettering lacks the precision and regularity of that on the stone pillars and tends more to the character of some of the eighth and ninth century manuscripts from Dunhuang.

What has survived places the inscription in the reign of Khri Srong-Ide brtsan (755-C. 800) and most probably within its last ten or fifteen years. It is remarkable for it strong emphasis on the devotion of the btsan-po to Buddhism. Other inscribed pillars of his time and the Chronicle from Dunhuang certainly record his acceptance of the faith, his vow to maintain it, and the foundation by him of the great temple of Bsam-yas; but in the commemorative inscription near the royal burial mounds at 'Phyongs-rgyas he figures as combining devotion to Buddhism with responsibility and regard for the old religious practices. In the first part of that inscription he is described as maintaining the wisdom of the gods lha'i gtsug lag-and acting in accordance with the religion of sky and earth—gnam sa'i chos—after the customs of his ancestors; at the end he is seen as a convert to Buddhism— 'jig-rten las 'das pa'i chos bzang-po brnyes nas. But even in that last paragraph the title accorded to him-'phrul-gyi lha byang chub chen po, "Great enlightened supernaturally wise divinity"—brings together elements from both the old faith and the new.

By contrast, in the Brag Lhamo inscription Khri Srong-Idebrtsan is known from the start by the purely Buddhist epithet, Byang-chub-sems-dpa', "of perfect spiritual enlightenment". In the damaged line that follows, it seems possible to detect references to the traditional qualities of royalty reflecting his glory, byin, and military might, dbu-rmog brtsan; but there does not seem to be any mention of the old religion; and the inscription is unique in referring to the correct translation of Mahayana sutras—(theg-pa chen-po mdo) sde mang-mo zhig gtan la bab par bsgyur to. The text seems to go on to state that by that merit, the Chos rgyal—a title by which Khri Srong-Ide-brtsan is designated in the 'Phyongs-rgyas inscription—and many hundreds of thousands of others en-

tered into deliverance. He is credited also with the extensive foundation of temples. Certainty on these readings and interpretations must, however, await the result of Geshe Pema Tshering's study.

More substance is added to these significant passages by the edicts of Khri Srong-Ide-brtsan preserved in vol ja of the Chos'byung of Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag which I have described elsewhere as embodying the first Tibetan Chos-'byung and which can be dated between 779 and 782 A.D. They show that even at that time, generally regarded as the early years of the flowering of Buddhism in Tibet, there were centres of Buddhist practice not only at Lhasa, Bsam-yas and Khra-'brug but also in Bru-zha (Gilgit), Zhang-zhung territory in the north west, and Mdo-smad in East Tibet.

The inscription and group of Buddhist carvings at Brag Lhamo suggest that there was an early religious foundation in the vicinity, Teichman who visited "Dengko" in 1918 mentions "the celebrated Drolma Lhakhang" which had been seen earlier by A.K. that redoubtable pandit of the Survey of India. The temple is said to have contained a famous image of Drolma (Sgrol-ma) which is suposed to have flown there from Peking. Dr. Eimer has pointed out that the Sgrol-ma Lha-khang of Ldan-khog, not far from Brag Lhamo is claimed—in spite of differences in the orthography in several writers—to be one of the temples founded by Srong-brtsan sgam-po to dominate the frontiers. The name might reflect some tradition about his Chinese bride who was deemed to be a goddess: but it cannot be overlooked that there is a possible later connection with A-phyi Chos kyi Sgrol-ma, the protecting deity of the 'Brikhung sect whose founder came from the Skyu-ra Dru Rgyal family which was all powerful in that region.

Whatever may be made of these confused traditions, the inscription clearly shows the influence of Khri Srong-Ide-brtsan in that region. Whether the Buddhist carvings are contemporary with the inscription is a matter for consideration. The Bodhisattva figure, the only one of which I have seen a photograph, appears to be the supporter on the left side of a central figure within a circular aureole in a group which Pema Tshering has identified as Amitayus,

Avalokitesvara and Vajrapani. It recalls drawings in manuscripts of the eighth or ninth century from Dunhuang and some paintings in cave temples there of which the style seems to show more Central Asian than Chinese characteristics. Dr. Eimer has pointed out that an adjustment to the end of the first line of the text shows that the inscription was made after the carving; but the impression, to me, is that both are part of a single devotional exercise.

It would be tempting to see the carving as a rare example of early Tibetan art. Ldan-khog was former territory of the Sum-pa or Mi-nyag which was conquered by the Tibetans in stages between the seventh and early eighth centuries and there is no suggestion that the Chinese had any presence or influence there during the Tang dynasty. But especially after the Tibetan conquest of the border cities of China's north-west there was a good deal of coming and going between the two countries. Chinese religious teachers visited Central Tibet and a Chinese craftsman cast the great bell of Bsam-yas. Chinese workmen and artists are traditionally, and credibly, said to have taken part in the building of Bsam-yas; and it is possible that the carvings at Brag Lhamo were the work of the Chinese or of the non-Chinese people who, as documents from Dunhuang show, were employed in many capacities in that region.

Dr. Eimer has informed me of a short Chinese inscription at Ldan-khog which might have a bearing on the matter; it appears to refer to a "heavenly woman" or "women" but neither its meaning nor date is clear.

It may be remembered that Ldan-khog was among the many border territories conquered by Chao Erh-feng in 1908. He planned to establish a district headquarters there and, although his death and subsequent Tibetan successes frustrated that design, Teichman found a Chinese yamen there is 1918 and it continued side by side with a Tibetan official until at least 1932.

Elucidation of that any many other questions awaits Geshe Pema Tshering's forthcoming work. In the meantime I am grateful that he has permitted me to bring his important discovery and some of its problems and implications to the notice of students of Tibetan epigraphy and history.

The second discovery is described in Bod Ljongs Zhib 'Jug (2) 1982 in two articles by Pa-sangs dbang-'dus, one in Tibetan, the other in Chinese. For an understanding of the latter I am greatly indebted to Professor South Coblin of the University of Iowa who has translated relevant passages and given me valuable advice.

It appears that there are two inscriptions, similar in meaning, on rock faces in Lho-brag near the headquarters town of Do-ba rdzong (Towa) now known as La cha. There is some confusion about the exact sites as the position of one of them is given in the Tibetan text as near the village of 'Dus-byung 50 le-bar to the west (Chu lha'i phyogs) of the district town of Lho-brag Hsien, while the Chinese version indicates that the distance is 5km, northwest of the same place. The position of the other is more easily determined being to the north-east (dbang phyogs) of the same place, at the junction of the Lho-brag nub-chu and the Sman-thang Chu. The Chinese version agrees generally except that it gives the direction as east of the country seat of Lo cha. The Sman-thang Chu can be identified with the Mandong Chu of the Survey of India map, 1925, which though approximate in that area, shows it a short distance to the east of Towa. If the two inscriptions are similar and relate to the estates and privileges of the same family it seems probable that they would not be very far apart and the distance of 5 km. for the 'Dus-byung site is the more acceptable. In the Tibetan text 50, Inga-bcu may be an error for bco-Inga-

The Tibetan article (T.) states that out of more than 150 tshig rkang only eighteen or nineteen survive in an obscure condition (gsal la mi gsal). Each article contains a copy of what can be read at one of the sites—it is not specified which. In each the number of syllables is about 140. According to Tibetan dictionaries tshig rkang means śloka, gāthā; but in the Chinese article (C) it is rendered as "syllable or word"—i.e., a single Chinese character. In classical Tibetan usage, as I am informed by Mr. Ngawang

Thondup Narkyid a scholar with a special interest in Tibetan linguistics, tshig-'bru is a syllable and tshig a complete word—e.g. btsan and po are tshig-'bru and btsan-po is a tshig; so it appears that Pa-sangs dbang-'dus has treated tshig-rkang as the equivalent of tshig-'bru. The number of lacuna is marked in T. as 18; in C. it is apparently 34. C. may have tried to show single effaced letters while in T. the same author may have estimated missing words.

Such differences and many other points could be elucidated if there were a photographic record but it appears there is none and it must be assumed that both copies come from field-notes of an eye-copy or eye-copies by the same person from the same original. It is, therefore, surprising that there are so many differences between the two versions and perhaps more surprising that in most instances the roman transcription in C is preferable to the Tibetan text in T. Some of the differences are in presentation: T shows the reversed ki gu and writes dang—rather badly—with the d above the ng. In C. a number of words are improbably run together, e.g., nyenye, skudang and so on; and there is no punctuation, which is indicated in a few—probably by no means all instances in T. These are of less significance than fifteen differences in the readings. In nine of these C as clearly preferable; and it is unacceptable in only two but there are also two omissions and one printer's error. One difference is debatable as will be mentioned later. In the last line of both T. and C. comparison with other inscriptions shows that sgreng bu is an error for sgrom.

Out of this careless confusion I have collated the following text: I have not inserted additional punctuation.

Btsan po lha sras gyi zha sngar lde sman ide'u cung / glo ba nye nye sku'-dang chab srid la dphen pha'i rje blas dka' ba bked byed nas bka's gnang lde'u cung gi pha¹ lo snang gi bu tsha pheld rgyud nam zhar srid g-yung drung dang mtshungs pha dang khol yul las stsogs pha myi dbri myi snyung ba dang/lde'u cung gi mchad gyi/rim gro bla nas mdzadde nam cig dbon sras gang gi ring la ral yang / bla nas stong sdes brtsig phar gnang nge lde'u cung gi pha² lo snang gi bu tsha pheld rgyud x phu

nu x x cig yang bka' gyod x gtsigs shan x x x x x x x x x dbu snyung gnang ba dang rkong kar po lha btsan x x sa x x x x blon po dang bu bzhi zhang lon gi bro bor ba'i gtsigs gyi sgrom³ bu ni phyag sbal du bzung ngo

Notes: 1. T reads kha lo snang, this is discussed later.

- 2. C omits kha lo snang gi
- 3. T and C read sgreng

A provisional translation follows:

"Whereas Lde Sman Lde'u cung has been very loyal to the btsan-po, the divine son, and has continuously taken trouble in performing the duty of rie blas to the benefit of our person and the state, it has been granted by order, that the status in perpetuity, the service tenure lands and so on, of the line of male descendants of Lo-snang the father of Lde'u cung shall never be decreased and never diminished, and that the rites for the tomb shall be performed by the higher authority and, for ever, in the time of all our descendants damage to it shall be repaired by the higher authority, the Stong-sde. And if older or younger brothers of the line of male descendants of Lo-snang the father of Lde'u cung are involved in an accusation, for one occasion a decree dismissing the imputation shall be given. This has been granted on oath and the casket containing the edict which has been sworn, as witnesses, by Rkong Kar-po Lha-btsan.....and the ... minister and the four Zhang-lon sons has been deposited in the archives"

The language regarding the grant of status and privileges is generally similar to that in the edicts on the north face of the Zhol-rdo-rings and those at Zhwa'i Lha-khang and De-mo in Rkong-po. The terms rje-blas, khol-yul, dbon sras, phu nu, etc., have been studied by several scholars to whose work reference is made in my Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions, Royal Asiatic Society, 1985. The passage about overlooking an accusation on one occasion is supplied on the basis of the west inscription at Zhwa'i Lha-khang, 1.40 and the supposition that the lacuna after shan would contain some such word as brtegs implying an imputation against someone's character. As in other inscriptions leading persons in the state took part in the royal vow. The first

named here is the feudatory ruler—rgyal phran—of Rkong-po or a member of his family; other names are lost in the effaced passage and the last—bu bzhi zhang lon— which I have taken to refer to four brothers, perhaps local, holding the rank of zhang lon which covered the main body of officials, might perhaps be understood as the Bu-bzhi minister although there is no instance of a family holding that name.

The most unusual part of the inscription relates to the provision that the burial rites of Lde'u-cung should be attended to by the Stong-sde, the Governor of the Thousand District, presumably of Lho-brag. The only other record of such a favour is the presentation by Srong-brtsan sgam-po of a stone, on which an oath had been sworn, to be the foundation of the tomb (*mchad*) of a noble minister of the Dba's clan (Dunhuang Chronicle f. 109).

The recipient of so signal a distinction must have been of very high standing; but there is no mention of Lde Sman Lde'u cung or any similar name in the *mss* from Dunhuang or in the lists of witnesses to the edicts of Khri Srong Lde-brtsan and Khri Lde -srong-brtsan or to the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 821/822; nor is there any trace in later works which show some knowledge of early records, such as the Bka'-thang-sde-lnga and the Chos-'byung of Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag. The question may, therefore, be asked whether the name is that of an office or function and denotes the *Sman* of the royal family, whose patronymic was Lde. Lde'u-cung might imply a cadet member of that family.

Sman immediately suggests a physician and it may be significant that one of the memorials to Lde-sman Lde'u-cung is near Sman-thang—the plain of medicinal plants? There is an extensive later tradition about the introduction of medical science to Tibet which has been examined fully by Professor C. Beckwith in J.A.O.S. 1979. The account in Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag vol tsa tells how after a basic medical treaties was brought to Tibet in the seventh century by the Chinese bride of Srong-brtsan sgam-po's physicians were invited from India, China and Khrom of Staggzigs—"Persian Rome" (Byzantium?). A century later more physicians came from other neighbouring countries, Kashmir, the

Turkic lands, and Zhang zhung; and Tibetan physicians were trained, beginning with the famous Gyu-thog Yon-tan Mgon-po. The association of the name of Galenos, the second century Greek physician, with the first group of visitors shows that the tradition is overlaid with legend but that is not to deny that it has some historical basis; and there is evidence of the practice of medicine in the time of the Tibetan kingdom in at least three mss from Dunhuang. In one of them, Pelliot Tibétain 1044, the method is attributed to India and is linked with the name of the Lha'i Drangsrong 'Phrul-chan Ha ta na bye thag; another, Pell. T. 1057 is in similar language; and in another, Pell. T. 127 there are references to medical knowledge from Ta-zig, Dru-gu (the Turks), and Zhangzhung; but there is not definite mention of a Sman-pa in this connection unless perhaps in 1.160 of Pell. T. 127—sman ba'i (sman pa'i) yon-tan.

On the other hand there are numerous references, principally in works on divination, to *sman* of another sort—supramundane beings, many of them female such as the *mu-sman* and *mtsho sman*; others were *sman* of the earth, sky, water, mountains and so on. They have survived in the demonology of Tibetan Buddhism and of Bon as protectors of the faith. In the early times they were associated with other godlings and were especially concerned with the fortunes of the royal family and noble ministers about whose well-being or the opposite, they made prognostications. Many instances, described as *chu sman gyi mchid, mu sman gyi zhal nas*, etc., can be seen in *mss* from Dunhuang, e.g., Pell, T 1043 1. O.L.740.

In order to communicate such messages a medium was needed. Madame A. Macdonald (Spanien) who has made a profound study of those divination *mss* in Études Tibétaines, 1971, notes that the *mu-sman* spoke through the mouth of an old woman. Perhaps the persons stated in Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents (F.W. Thomas) II pp. 394, 395 to have been appointed to serve, or petition, (*gsol*) various local deities had a similar function. Madame Macdonald also suggests that some of the beings connected with divination may have been part human and part divine; and it may be possible to see the Lde Sman Lde'u-cung as a forerunner of

such present day spirit mediums as the State Oracle of Gnas-chung who in ordinary life is a human being but when possessed by his patron deity becomes a sort of god.

The reference to the performance of rje blas implies that the Lde Sman had some official status. Certainly, the art of astrology, closely allied to divination, had official recognition in the Rtsis-pa Chen-po who is named among the ministers who witnessed the Sino-Tibetan treaty; and the inscription at Skar-cung shows that there were persons who advised the ruler about dreams and omens. The second edict of Khri Srong-Ide-brtsan in the Chos-'byung of Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag also refers to interpreters of signs and portents who exerted influence on the royal court.

The debatable reading where the Tibetan text of the inscription has kha lo snang and the Chinese has pha la'o (lo) snang might have a bearing on the matter. The Tibetan version would be quite out of keeping with normal usage by which either a personal or family name follows that of the clan or family without the particle gi, gyi, or kyi; so, if it is correct, there must be something unusual. Kha-lo means "guidance" and Kha-lo-snang might mean a person who gave guidance, perhaps an interpreter of the sayings of a sman. But too many problems follow from the speculation and the general reliability of the version in the Chinese article makes the reading Pha Lo-snang the more probable.

Whether Lde Sman Lde'u-cung was a physician or a spirit medium (or, indeed, neither) his services to the btsan-po were such that the privileges granted to him were extended to future generations of his family. Seemingly he had no son so the grant is made to the other male descendants of his father. Similar grants are seen in the north inscription on the Zhol rdo-rings where it is made not only for the direct descendants of Stag-sgra Klu-khong himself but also to other male descendants of his father; and in the Zhwa'i Lha-khang inscriptions where since Myang Ting-nge-'dzin was a celibate monk, his father receive the favour.

The name of the btsan-po who have the edict for Lde Sman Lde'u-cung has not survived so the regnal period of the inscription

cannot be definitely determined. There is no evidence that the title Btsan-po Lha-sras was used in the time of Khri Lde-gtsugbrtsan but it is applied to Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, Khri Lde-srong-brtsan, and Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan Ral-pa-can alike.

Orthography may provide the significant clue. The da drag. which is found in the Lho-brag inscription, appears in all other surviving inscriptions in varying numbers; but in its extensive use of the archaic pha for pa that at Lho-brag is comparable only with those on the Zhol rdo-rings which are the earliest known and can be dated C. 764. In later inscriptions that usage is very rare. Another point in common between the Lho-brag and Zhol inscriptions is that in neither is there any trace of Buddhist influence. It is arguable that the latter date from a time when the revival of Buddhism in the twentieth year of Khri Srong-Ide-brtsan—i.e., C. 762 A.D., was in its very early stages. The possibility that the Lho-brag inscription reflects popular non-Buddhist religion is not necessarily convincing evidence that it antedates the Buddhist revival, for their memorial inscriptions show that both Khri Srong-Ide-brtsan and Khri Lde-srong-brtsan combined respect for the old religion of the gods nad worship of earth and heaven with their acceptance of Buddhism; but it certainly does not run counter to the early date suggested by the orthography and allows the Lho-brag inscription to be tentatively assigned to the early years of the reign of Khri Srong-Ide-brtsan.

It is to be hoped that Pa-sangs dbang-'dus who has made this valuable discovey, can provide further information which might throw light on the many uncertainties, in particular details of the second inscription and, if possible, photographs or at least a sketch of the lay-out of the texts.

The third subject is some important new information about the inscription at the bang-so—the tumulus tomb—of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan at 'Phyongs-rgyas. When Professor Tucci and I visited the place in 1949 only the upper part of the pillar could be seen above ground; the rest was buried in a field-bank which had been built up over the centuries. Some twenty-two lines of the text were immediately visible but, with the help of the monk guardian,

a local woman and boy were engaged to dig a narrow trench which allowed a further twenty-five lines to be seen with considerable difficulty and discomfort. Of most of these only fragmentary, and sometimes doubtful, readings could be recorded. My findings were published in J.R.A.S. 1969(I).

Now the Chinese authorities have had the whole pillar excavated and enclosed in a small building. Mrs. Tamara Hill of San Francisco, who was able to photograph the pillar, very kindly sent me some colour slides showing that it rest on a stone tortoise and has a carved decoration of snakes and dragons on its east face. It proves to be a monument of even more imposing dimensions than I had surmised.

Subsequently through the kindness of Professor South Coblin I have seen an article in Chinese by Bsod-nams dbang-'dus and Chang Chien-lin in Wen-wu 1985 (9) of which Dr. Roderick Whitfield, Professor of Chinese and East Asian Art at the University of London, has generously given me a summary. The article, which describes the excavated pillar is illustrated with rather poorly reproduced photographs and drawings of the remarkable reliefs on the side of the pillar and on the underside of the small stone canopy, also of the stone tortoise which is carved from the upper part of a block of dressed stone over one metre high. The pillar itself is said to be 5.6 metres in height and the monument overall from base to finial to be 7.18 metres.

The article includes twelve lines of the inscription in Tibetan letters with a transcription in roman. They are said to be the last of a total of fiftynine lines and therefore appear to join up with the fragmentary readings in my article mentioned above. The text is too badly damaged to allow a continuous translation and some of the readings are dubious. For example snga has been read three times for what must be dang written with the letter ng subscribed under the d as is frequently seen in other inscriptions. Srim in 1.10 is highly improbable and zhongs in 1.11 is doubtful. Nevertheless enough survives to show that there are echoes of some passages in the first part of the inscription eulogizing the traditional attributes of royalty—thugs-sgam bka'-brtsan (1.4)—

and the martial prowess of the *btsan-po* in commanding the allegiance of neighbouring rulers (ls. 7 and 9) but what is important is the clear reference to the Buddhist faith which has not been mentioned earlier. That is not really surprising for Khri Lde-srong-brtsan's devotion to Buddhism is attested in his Skar-cung inscription and the related edict preserved in the history of Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag, also in the Sgra-sbyor of which fragmentary *mss* from Dunhuang survive. Although much damaged, the closing lines on the pillar appear to mention the death of the *btsan-po* and end by ascribing to his *bang-so* the name Rgyal-chen-'phrul by which it is known also to later historians.

The final burial rites of a *btsan-po* customarily took place about two years after his death in a tomb which had probably been prepared while he was still alive. The pillar can therefore be dated between 815, the year in which Khri Lde-srong-brtsan died, and 817 by when the burial would have taken place.

The decoration on the pillar, about which and connected matters I have had much valuable advice from Professor Roderick Whitfield and Mr. Waldimir Zwalf of the British Museum, combines Indian and Chinese motifs with the latter strongly predominating. On the east and west faces elongated dragons appear to pursue each other in a scattering of Chinese "cloud-heads" above a group of writhing serpents. The cloud design also appears on the underside of the canopy together with flying apsaras or vidyadhara figures at each corner and the sun in the centre of the east side and the moon on the west. The sun and moon are also carved at the head of the inscription on the pillar itself.

The whole is a substantial example of the progress of glyptic art in Tibet, the earliest survivals of which appear to be two carved doorways in the Jokhang of Lhasa which was founded in the seventh century (see Liu-I-ssu, Hsi-tsang fo-chiao i-shu, pl. 3., and Sis and Vaniš, Der Weg nach Lhasa pl. 32). These resemble Licchavi work ascribed to the seventh century illustrated in pls. 13-15 of The Arts of Nepal by Pratapaditya Pal I, 1974. Their Indian lineage may be seen in many examples from the elaborate 5th century doorway at Deogarh (B. Rowland, The Art and Ar-

chitecture of India, 1967, pl. 77(B) to Bodh Gaya in the early Pala period (Asher, the Art of Eastern India, pl. 11. pl. 119). There are also in the Jokhang massive wooden pillars, probably of the same period, with carved capitals showing scrolling and flying figures (Liu I-ssu op. cit. pl. 6 and Jisl, Siś and Vaniš, Tibetan Art pl. 17). The antecedents of such work can be seen in carving at Cha Bahil in Nepal and Nalanda (Pal p. op. cit. pls. 79 and 157). The carved lions and grotesque human head on beam-ends in the Jokhang (Liu I-ssu op. cit. pl. 5) may also be from the seventh century but while there are similar figures of a later date—e.g., at Samada C. 12th century (Tucci, Transhimalaya, 1973 pl. 126) there is a lack of earlier examples.

The next survivals are the rock carvings at Brag Lhamo. From the small part I'have seen the iconography appears to be of Indian origin—perhaps modified by passage through Central Asia and executed by Chinese trained craftsmen as I have suggested above (p. 5). When a photograph of the whole group is available it may be possible to draw comparisons with groups of a central Buddha accompanied by supporting Bodhisattvas on either side, from Swat to Dunhuang.

Of the same reign are the dragon and lion figures on Khri Srong Lde-brtsan's commemorative pillar at 'Phyongs-rgyas (Richardson, Early Burial Grounds in Tibet and Tibetan Decorative Art of the VIIIth and IXth Centuries, C.A.J. 1963 pl. 15). The carving is badly effaced but the appearance of the quite freely drawn lion on the upper part of the pillar is generally similar to that of the lion supporting Manjusri in paintings from Dunhuang, while the traces of dragon figures on the lower part resemble the stylized carvings on the pillar of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan which are in a tradition that can be traced back to the Han dynasty. I have seen nothing closely comparable to the serpent design on the same pillar; it may be inspired by Indian mythology (see e.g. Pal op. cit. pls. 90 and 252). Sun and moon symbols like those on the Khri Lde-srong-brtsan pillar appear on a painting from Dunhuang of Akas'agarbha with an inscription in Tibetan (B.M. Stein 168). The tortoise base is a Chinese symbol of longevity.

Other examples from the reign of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan are the *rdo-rje* thunderbolt and swastika carved on the bases of the Zhwa'i Lha-khang pillars; the former is rather elaborate and not unlike the designs in the paintings from Dunhuang. Of the same reign is the base of the Skar-cung pillar with a bold pattern of mountains in Chinese style; the fluted canopy and elaborate finial also show Chinese influence.

The most notable survival from the reign of Khri Gtsug-Lde-brtsan Ral-pa-can is the rather battered stone lion on the tumulus at 'Phyongs-rgyas. The treatment of the mane and the concealed ears resembles that of the hair of a Garuda image in Nepal (Pal op. cit. pl. 100) but there is also a Chinese feature in the depiction of a muscle on the foreleg rather like that in a well-known Tang marble lion (L. Sickman and A. Soper, Art and Architecture of China, p. 1. 61b); but the attitude of the latter is quite different. A pair of lion figures of the 8th century from Nepal are rather nearer (Pal, op. cit. pl. 163) but the closest similarity is a lion from Tumshuq illustrated in Von le Coq, Von Land und Leuten in Ost Turkestan) so the artistic origin of the figure is uncertain.

Another recent article in *Wenwu* shows that excavation of the base of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty pillar at the Jo-khang of Lhasa reveals that the pillar rests on a stone tortoise. Further, at 'U-shang (On-cang-do), where Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan founded a temple, there is an eighteen-foot tall pillar of well dressed stone with an elegant stone capital, but uninscribed, which also stand on a stone tortoise. In the courtyard of the chapel which was said to have been completely restored by the late Dalai Lama, there is another pillar of reddish stone with a rather heavy capital; it is decorated on its sides with the *Bkra-shis rtags-brgyad* and other religious symbols. Although the pillar looks old, the carvings are in such good condition that I was doubtful whether they could be original; nevertheless these symbols are found in drawings from Dunhuang (e.g. *The Silk Route and Diamond Path*, UCLA Art Council 1982, p. 148).

Conclusions from a limited body of evidence are necessarily

speculative. It is known from Chinese records that the Tibetans were highly skilled in fine metalwork and also that they decorated the tombs of their warriors by painting white tigers on them; but nothing of that survives and from the examples considered above it appears that after the initial influence of Indian models, probably by way of Nepal, Chinese influence prevailed. That is not really surprising for after the brief honeymoon period during the reigns of Srong-brtsan sgam-po and Tang Taizong hostilities, which were almost continuous, brought Tibetans into close contact with Chinese frontier towns. Moreover, there was rarely a complete interruption of diplomatic relations. Envoys from each side regularly visited the court of the other and for forty years from 641 to 681 and a further twenty-nine years from 710 to 739 a Chinese princess with her own ministers and retinue lived at the Tibetan capital. But a new closeness of relationship came with the establishment from the decade 776 to 786 of a Tibetan colonial regime in the Chinese fortress cities of the north-west on the approaches to the Silk Route. There the Tibetans employed Chinese gentry as officials and other local people as translators, scribes and so on; and there they were in contact with Chinese teachers of Buddhism in a tradition which preceded their own conversion. Recent scholarship, notably that of Yoshiro Imaeda and R.A. Stein, has shown the extent to which Tibetan official thought and language were influenced by those of the Chinese classics. Chinese teachers and craftsmen made their appearance in Central Tibet in the later part of the reign of Khri Srong-Ide-brtsan and the tradition that Chinese artists as well as Indian and Nepalese, took part in the decoration of Bsam-yas C. 779 is not impossible to accept.

Lesser examples of monumental art in the capitals and finials of several inscribed pillars may support that trend. The earliest on the *rdo-rings* at Lhasa Zhol which dates from C. 764 before the main influx of Chinese visitors, is small, simple and slightly upcurved; it is surmounted by two stone steps on which rests a small stone dome not unlike the drum of stupa, crowned by a well-carved finial consisting of three circular ornaments enclosed in a scrolled border. Tibetan observers regarded it as the *Yid-bzhin nor-bu*, the cintamani; in this case perhaps three in one. The cano-

pies of two other pillars of the same reign—that at Bsam-yas dating from C. 779-782 and the memorial of the btsan-po about twenty years later—are also plain; the former is surmounted by a gilded ornament symbolizing the sun resting on an upturned quarter moon and topped by a small knob; it can hardly be original and is not an integral part of the pillar. The other supports a dome-shaped stone, like that at Zhol, with a badly weathered cone-shaped finial, possibly a lotus.

Several of the capitals of the next reign beginning C. 800, have a more marked Chinese appearance. The canopy of the Skarcung pillar is handsomely fluted and is topped by an elaborate object which, again, Tibetans described as the cintamani.

The capitals at Zhwa'i lha-khang are absolutely plain and lack finials, having apparently been damaged when the pillars fell down some time after the tenth century. The carving on the underside of the canopy on the pillar at Khri-Lde-srong-brtsan's tomb has already been described; there is also a small scroll decoration round its edge; and the comparatively flat canopy is surmounted by a round lotus bud upported by a beaded collet. From a recent photograph there appears to be some cement at its base suggesting it had been knocked off and replaced since I saw it in 1949.

Of the pillars from the reign of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan (815-C. 838) that at Lcang-bu has sharply upturned corners and the sides are decorated with a Chinese pattern of clouds. The canopy on the treaty pillar near the Jo-Khang is simple and has a decoration of clouds. That on the uninscribed pillar at 'U-shang is slightly upturned and has a simple decoration on its side. Those three and the small pillar in the courtyard at 'U-shang all have conical cintamani finials in slightly different forms and in varying states of preservation. That on the Treaty Pillar is similar to the finials at Skar-cung.

The valuable contributions to the study of early Tibetan art as well as history, social conditions, and language in the three articles examined above give hope that the interest in such matters by Tibetan and Chinese scholars is only the beginning of a continuous search for survivals of Tibet's past. Apart from further possibilities in less well-known parts of central and south-east. Tibet, it is probable that the Tibetan empire which extended from Hunza to the north-western frontier of China has left more traces than those discovered by Sir Aurel Stein ad Paul Pelliot. Wilhelm Filchner has mentioned in A Scientist in Tartary, 1939, p. 144. the finding of small lion figures of heavy stone and many other relics at the site of a Tibetan burial at Tsagan Usu some ninety miles south-west of the Kokonor. The Tibetan scholar Gedun Chophel notes in The Blue Annals (Roerich), I, P. 63 that there was near Xining an inscribed stone pillar mentioning the Three Learned Men of Tibet in the late ninth century; and Miss Mildred Cable recorded an old Tibetan temple in a thinly populated area near Dunhuang. The former fortress towns of the Chinese border from Liangzhou to Anxi where there were Tibetan administrative centres in the eighth and ninth centuries might be worth investigating; and so might Bla-brang Bkra-shis dkyil. Further, there are throughout Tibet large numbers of ancient burial mounds, often not recognized as such, and although Tibetan susceptibilities might be offended by the excavation of hallowed places like the bang-so of Srong-brtsan sgam-po, scientific exploration of lesser sites could yield much evidence of the past. There is a series of great conical mounds some 500 feet in circumference seen by the pandit A,K, near the monastery of Jador north of the Gnam-mtsho (Tengri Nor). In one of them there are open passages and nearby there is a large gateway in the rock through which the god Nyenchen Thanglha, the protecting deity of the Tibetan Kings, is said to pass.

Many remains may have been destroyed by time and by man but there is still a chance of some significant discoveries; and it is important that anyone fortunate enough to find some unknown monument, document or artifact should not fail to record it photographically.

Reproduced from the The Tibet Journal, Vol XII, No. 2, Summer, 1987 A note from the author is added on the following page.

NOTE

Reference page 125 line 37

Since completing the above I have seen in **The Religions** of **Tibet** by the late Professor Tucci, pp. 232 and 238, reference to the **Ide'u** as a group of diviner-priests possessing a sacred character as protectors of society.

Dr. Michael Aris has drawn my attention to a tradition from Ngang in Bhutan that Khri Srong-Ide brtsan had a "beloved natural son" (thugs nye-ba'i sras zur-pa) called Lde-chung Don-grub upon whom he conferred the province of Lho-brag. (Michael Aris, Bhutan, p. 138). Even though the tradition seems to be distorted it shows that the name of Lde-chung survived in the memories of the Bhutanese who had long connections with Lho-brag.

The family appears to have survived in the Mkhas-pa Lde'u, author of the Lde'u Chos-' byung attributed to the twelfth century.

H.E. Richardson

More Early Inscriptions From Tibet

Tibetan scholars in occupied Tibet and their Chinese colleagues have recently shown an active interest in searching for evidence relating to the early history of the country. Their researches have produced several valuable additions to the number of inscriptions of the 8th and 9th centuries already on record. The lower part of the pillar at the tomb (bang-so) of Khri Lde-srongbrtsan has been excavated revealing the hitherto concealed part of the inscription and carved decoration on the sides of the pillar; and new inscriptions from Lho-brag have been recorded. I have discussed these discoveries in an article in the Tibet Journal Vol. XIII No 2, 1987. Now, in a recent issue of Bod Ljongs Zhib Jug the discovery is reported and discussed at length by Chab-sprel Tshe brtan Phun Tshogs of two iscriptions on a rock face at Ldan-ma brag-rtsa near the village of Ri-mda' in the district of Byams mdun (Brag g-yub) under the jurisdiction of Chamdo. There is a Chinese version of the article as well as one in Tibetan. Both record the texts of the inscriptions, the Chinese in Roman transcription, the Tibetan in Tibetan letters. There are several small differences between the two versions and in all such instances that in the Chinese version seems the better. Unfortunately there is no photograph of the inscriptions or the site but it is stated that some readings may be in doubt owing to the difficulty of copying the text from the steep cliff. Nevertheless, the texts are coherent and the inscriptions are of considerable importance.

There is a carving on the rock face of Ranm-par Snang-mdzad accompanied by the Eight Spiritual Sons of the Buddha and below them is the figure of the Klu Mi-mgon dkar-po who is identified by Nebesky Wojkowitz as the chief of the sa-bdag -Lords of the earth-of Mar-khams. The two inscriptions are a brief summary of the tenets of the Buddhist faith relating to the consequences of different actions, which is identified by the author as from the 'Phags-pa bzang-po spyod-pa'i smon-lam, and the other records

the occasion for the making of this religious memorial and the particulars of the persons connected with the offering of the carving and the prayer. The inscription relates now in the reign of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan, many great nobles, the queen Mchims-za Legs-mo-brtsan and many others were brought to deliverance by eminent monks. Its donors were (Ba?) Gar Ye shes dbyangs and other monks; and the occasion was the opening of negotiations for a treaty of peace with China by the famous Monk-minister Bran-ka Yon-tan, the Chief Minister 'Bro-Khri gzhu ram-shags, the Nang Blon Khri sum-bzher and others. Finally the names of the supervisor of the work, the stone-carvers and other workmen are recorded. The inscription is dated in a monkey year which can only be 804 A.D.

Many of the persons named are known from early documents. The Jo-mo legs-mo brtsan appears together with her two "Sister Queens" 'Bro Khri-mo-legs and Cog-ro-Brtsan-rgyal, as taking part in the vow of Khri Lde-srong brtsan to preserve the Buddhist faith which is recorded in the Chos-byung of Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag phreng-ba vol ja ff 128-130. The Dge-slong Bran-ka Yon-tan is the famous ban-de Chen-po Bran-Ka Dpal Chen-po Yon-tan who became Chief Minister of Khri-Lde-srong-brtsan's successor Khri Gtsug lde-brtsan Ral-pa-can and who was the principal Tibetan witness to the treaty with China achieved in 821 and recorded on the pillar outside the Jo-khang of Lhasa. That inscription shows that negotiations had begun in the reign of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan but had come to nothing at that time. The Great Minister Zhang 'Bro Khri-gzhu ram-shags was the general who subjugated the 'Jang (Nan-chao) in the reign of Khri Srong Lde-brtsan and became Chief Minister about 796. He too was a participant in the religious vow of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan, as was the minister Dba's Khri sum-bzher mdo-brtsan. I have not been able to identify the donor monks or the supervisors who all bear Tibetan names; other foremen, stone carvers and workmen have apparently non-Tibetan names and some are described as Chinese.

These inscriptions and carvings from the Chamdo area, which indicate the existence of a religious community in the vicinity of Ri-mda', are further evidence of the spread of the Buddhist faith

through all of Tibet after its revival by Khri Srong-Lde-brtsan about the middle of the eighth century. When his son, Khri Lde-srong-brtsan, recorded his vow to maintain the faith he directed that copies be sent not only to temples and monasteries in Central Tibet but also to Bru-zha (Gilgit) and Zhang-shung in the west and to Mdo-smad and the governors of the occupied frontier territories of the borders of China in the East. Documents from Tunhuang give lists of many monasteries in the neighbourhood and of religious teachers of the monastic centre of Mdo-gam, Kan-chou and Go-chu as well as in Central Tibet.

Evidence of another religious community in Mdo-smad, earlier than that at Ri-mda', was found at Brag Lha-mo in Ldan Khog some 150 miles to the north by Geshe Pema Tshering of Bonn who recorded and photographed inscriptions and carvings of Buddhist deities on a rock face there. These have been briefly discussed in my article mentioned above. It would be of great value if photographs of the inscriptions and carvings near Ri-mda' could be made available to allow comparison of the orthography and to throw light on the development of religious art in Tibet.

The foregoing is only a preliminary note based in first impressions of an article which deserves much fuller examination.

NOTES

The article entitled "More Early Inscriptions From Tibet" by Hugh Edward Richardson was published in the Bulletin No. 2 of 18 July, 1988. The author has now written to us regarding an erroneous reference in respect of a date in that article.

Relevent portion of the letter from Mr. Richardson is reproduced below:

"May I make correction to my article "More Early Inscriptions from Tibet" in the Bulletin for 1988 No. 2? On p. 6 in the first para. 1 wrote that the monkey year in which the inscription was made "can only be 804 A.D." I had assumed that Khri Lde-srong-brtsan died in 815 — a year before the monkey year 816; that date is given also in Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa's "Tibet". But Sa-skya Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan

in his Bod-gyi rgyal-rab states that Khri Lde-srong-brtsan died in a bird year; and in the Tang Annals his death is stated to have been reported in China in 817. That was Tibetan bird year. It is most likely that the monkey year of the inscription is 816 by which time negotiations for a treaty had been going on since 810 when the Chinese Emperor sent a letter on the subject to the great monk-minister Bran-ka Dpal-gyi yon-tan (See Pelliot, Histoire Ancienne du Tibet, p 125; and Demieville, Le Concile de Lhasa p. 224)"

The Origin Of The Tibetan Kingdom

In the Tunhuang Chronicle there is a list of forty-two kings down to 'U'i-dun-brtan, Glang darma, who died C. 842 A.D. Most are little more than shadows; some are clearly mythical; others legendary; some, perhaps, real persons of whom oral tradition has preserved little but their names; only of the last eleven has history anything definite to say.

The early part of the genealogy is seen by Professor Petech as representing Bon cosmology and the first seven names seem to fall into that category. The list begins with Yab-bla bdag-drug who dwelt above high heaven and had six sons, with one more, Khri'i bdun-tshigs making seven. Although those names might appear to mean Six High Father Lords and the Line of Seven Enthroned Ones, they only account for two persons in the list, and it is a point of little consequence since they are clearly denizens of the outer world. With Nyag-khri btsan-po divinity descends briefly to earth. In the poetic language of the Chronicle "he came like a shower of rain to this sheltered place, as lord of the hidden land, to become ruler of Tibet of the six divisions; after which he went to heaven". In a ninth century inscription from Rkong-po his name appears as Nya-gri and his line is said to have dwelt for seven generations at Phying-ba Stag-rtse which is identified with the ruined castle near the ancient royal burial ground at 'Phyong-rgyas. Later tradition, without any basis inearly documents, changes the name to Gnya'-khri and elaborates a legend that he was carried on the necks (gnya') of his new subjects.

According to the Chronicle Nyag-khri was succeeded by five Kings with the syllable *Khri* in their names, of whom it is said that when the son was old enough to ride a horse the father withdrew to heaven, suggesting a ritual - and violent - termination of these early reigns. Later tradition recounts how the kings returned to heaven on a magic rope. Although that myth is not found in surviving early *mss*, that does not necessarily imply that it was not current in the early centuries.

After the seven Khri kings, who had special links with heaven, comes a line headed by Dri-gum btsan-po who, although a son of the last heavenly Khri, was involved in earthly conflict and death. In an obscure story he challenged one Lo-ngam rta-rdzi who succeeded in neutralizing the magic powers with which Drigum was protected and so was able to kill him. the encounter took place at Lo-ngam's capital Myang-ro sham-po. Although there is mention of Dri-gum's protecting deity Lde-bla gung-rgyal-The mountain god 'O-lde gung-rgyal? - being driven in defeat to the snows of Gang Ti-tse it is unlikely that it was so far in the west. Later tradition sees the site as being in the valley of the Nyang - chu near Gyantse; while the pandit Nain Singh of the Indian Survey found a similar story current near the Dangra Yum-mtsho, a lake sacred to the Bon-po; but many indications point to the valley of the Rkong-po Nyang-chu. The two sons of Dri-gum who had been taken into banishment in Rkong-po eventually avenged their father by killing Lo-ngam in his palace of Myang-ro sham-po. According to the Chronicle, the younger Nyakhyi became ruler of Rkong-po while the elder Sha-khyi betook himself to Phying-ba — that is the capital of the Tibetan Kings. The story is adumbrated in a ninth century inscription from Rkongpo with the difference that Nya-khyi is described as the elder and Sha-khyi, who became Lha-btsan-po, ruler of Tibet, as the younger. That may reflect an earlier tradition about their common ancestry which the Tibetans sought to reverse in order to claim seniority after they had reduced the rulers of Rkong-po to the position of rgyal phran - feudatory Princes. A hint of an earlier tradition may also be seen in the Btsun-mo bka'-thang where the mountain on which the legendary founder of the Tibetan royal line descended — usually held to be in Yar-lung is described as Rkong-po Lha-ri rgyang-do. That might be identified with the sacred Lha-ri east of the Artsa lake and pass seen by the Abbés Huc and Gabet and by Pandit Nain Singh. The story may be an amalgam of hazy memories from different groups or tribes of people of Tibetan stock from the east coming into conflict with other such immigrants already settled in the country.

In the Chronicle Sha-khyi, Spu-Ide gung-rgyal, is succeeded by seven kings with the syllable *leg* or *legs* in their name, followed after one generation by a line of kings whose names mostly included the syllable *Ide* — regarded later as the royal patronymic — and also *brtsan* which was part of the names of almost all the kings down to U'i-dum-brtan.

Into this seemingly coherent genealogical tree must somehow be fitted a name of prime importance which is not included there. In the inscription on the pillar at the tomb of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan and in that on the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar at the Lhasa Jo-Khang it is 'O-Ide spu-rgyal who appears as the founding ancestor who came from being a god to rule over men. He is similarly described in a document from Tunhuang recording a prayer at the foundation of a temple on the frontier in celebration of the establishment of peace. The Lhasa inscription also quotes a sort of poem, using words like those in the Chronicle about Nyag-khri, describing Tibet as the centre of high mountains, the source of great rivers, a high country, a pure land. From that it might appear that the two were one and the same, and in the Fifteenth century they were so identified by 'Gos Lo-tsa'ba in his Deb Sngon where he quotes the Lhasa treaty inscription as saying that the kings held sway since the divine 'Od-Ide spu-rgyal (sic) founded the kingdom; and he goes on to comment that since Gnya-khri btsan-po 'Od-Ide (sic) there were forty-two kings.

The use of similar language about different personages — especially divine beings — does not necessarily mean that they were identical. Both Gnya-khri btsan-po and Spu-Ide gung-rgyal are described as coming like rain upon the earth; and Spu-Ide gung-rgyal — who was also Sha-khyi and Grang-mo gnam gser brtsig — was eighth in descent from Nya-khyi and clearly not the same person. His divine powers seem, moreover, to have been compromised when his father who had the power to return bodily to heaven, was defeated and killed and his body thrown into the river, while his sons were bound and exiled. But one should not look too critically into the language and doings of mystical divinity; and the Tibetan kings down to Dbu'i - dun-brtan were always referred to as sons of god.

In addition to his appearance in the two royal inscriptions and the prayer, 'O-lde spu-rgyal is mentioned in the Chronicle at the end of a passage enumerating the rival principalities by which Tibet was surrounded. Apart from other lists of principalities, some clearly mythical relating to Kingdoms of gods and demons and princesses skilled in poisons and cures, those in the Chronicle and in Pelliot Tibétain 1290 deal with real places which came to form part of the Tibetan kingdom and whose rulers have an appearance of verisimilitude. Of them it is said that by internal feuding they destroyed one another and in the end were not a match for 'O-lde spu-rgyal. This would seem to bring 'O-lde down virtually to historical times for some of the places named - e.g., Ngas-po, Klum-ro and Skyi-ro were conquered by Gnam-ri slon btsan. While Dags-po, Nyang-po and Rkong-po were finally subjugated in the time of his son Srong-brtsan sgam-po; and Zhangzhung not until much later. Perhaps by the ninth century a haze of legend had come to attribute the conquest of the neighbouring principalities to 'O-lde spu-rgyal as a symbol or personification of Spu-rgyal Tibet, much as John Bull stands for Britain and Uncle Sam for the U.S.A., without any exact idea of chronology.

In this context there is a lively contribution from Chinese historians who are known for their habitual and rational recording of events and for their interest in the doings of peoples beyond the frontier who might disturb their peace. In the earlier of two versions of the Tang Annals it is related that the origin of the Tibetans is uncertain but some say they are descended from T'ou fa Li-lou-kou of the Southern Liang. He had a son, Fanni, who was quite young when his father died in 414 A.D. and, after various misfortunes, fled westward across the Huang-ho and founded an extensive state among the Ch'iang who followed him enthusiastically. He changed his name to Sou-pou-ye and called his dynasty T'o-pa which became corrupted into T'ou-fan. The later version starts with an ancestor among the Ch'iang who was called Hou-ti pou-sou-ye. It goes on to repeat the alternative story about Fanni; and then records the names of seven successors of the first prince (Hou-ti pou-sou-ye) as follows: Kia-si-tong-mo; T'o-t'ou-tou; Kie-li-che-jo; P'ou-lomg-jo; kiu-so-jo; Louen-tsansou; K'i-tsong-long-tsan also called K'i-sou-nong whose clan was Fou-ye. Among these names 'O-lde spu-rgyal, Tho-do snya-brtsan; Slon-btsan and Srong-brtsan can be recognized; they and the others, must have been provided by a Tibetan informant about the middle of the tenth century; while the Fanni story seems to have come from Chinese sources.

There is nothing improbable in a Ch'iang tribe accepting the leadership of a dynamic prince from some other people. In the kaleidescopic pattern of dynasties of short or long duration and of greater or less territorial extent created by the medley of peoples in north China and neighbouring central Asia during the fourth and fifth centuries there was, as Professor W. Eberhard has pointed out, no real national unity and tribes or groups of one people might readily join or be absorbed by another. The Southern Liang, whose territory was in eastern Kansu, were Hsien-pi, a basically Mongol people containing Han and Turkic elements. Before the Southern Liang there had been a powerful kingdom, described by Eberhard as Tibetan, spreading from Tunhuang to Chengtu where they were neighbours and rivals of the Hsien-pi; and it is just when the Tibetan kingdom broke up that Fanni is supposed to have created his kingdom among them. It is noticeable that the names of 'O-lde spu-rgyal's successors in the Tang Annals number only six before Srong-brtsan sgam-po who was born C. 610 A.D. That would go back to Khri-thog-brtsan in the Tibetan Chronicle's list and to a possible date around 410-420, the supposed time of Fanni. If it is intended that Houti pou-sou-ye, Fanni, immediately preceded Kia-si-tong-mo that would make him the seventh predecessor of Srong-brtsan sgam-po and contemporary or identical with Khri-sgra sbung-brtsan of the Chronicle.

It is noticeable also that Khri-sgra sbung-brtsan is the first king to whom is attributed a queen from a historically recorded clan; and that practice is followed regularly after him. From his time the genealogical tree may have some more substance — though tenuous — than what has gone before. Five generations or so is no great stretch of time for oral tradition in a society without written records to preserve a reasonably consistent family memory.

Khri-thog-brtsan's successor Lha-tho-do snya-brtsan has a special place in later literature perhaps because of the syllable "Lha" in his name. It is said that the first trace of Buddhism reached Tibet in his reign when volumes of scripture fell on the roof of his palace but no one was able to read them. He is said also to have lived to the age of one hundred. Recent calculations of his date, shown on the Tibetan coinage, put his birth at the year 173 according to W. D. Shakabpa and at 254 according to Zurkhang Shappe. That is to stretch the longevity of Srong-brtsan's predecessors beyond the bounds of credulity and a more reasonable estimate would be C. 460 A.D.

Nothing in these diverse traditions clarifies the relationship between Nyag-khri btsan-po and 'O-lde spu-rgyal. It emerges only that for the Buddhist Chos-rgyal the divine first ancestor was 'O-lde spu-rgyal while Nyagri btsan-po holds that place for the rulers of Rkong-po-of whose religious persuasion there is no certainty. A prince of Rkong-po-witnessed the edict of Khri Ldesrong-brtsan to maintain the Buddhist faith but that might have been a political as much as a religious act; and in later days Rkong-po together with Dvags-po and Nyang-po had a bad reputation as "poisonous countries" which might imply some religious shortcomings. At last, with the reign of Stag-bu snya-gzigs, Lhatho-do's great-grand-son and Srong-brtsan sgam-po's grandfather, wilder speculations can be left behind and it is possible to trace some history in the legend; and the story as told in the Chronicle is so lively that it is surprising it has made virtually no impact on later histories.

The king, Stag-bu snya-gzigs, third in succession from Lhatho-do snya-brtsan, had his capital at phying-ba stag-rtse. His neighbour at Nyen-kar rnying-pa was Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo, prince of Ngas-po in the Skyi Chu and 'Phan-po valleys, who was an arrogant and tyrannical ruler. When one of his ministers—leaders of great clans or families—Mnyan 'Dzi-sung Nag-po warned him of the disastrous consequences of such behaviour, he deposed him and ignored his advice. 'Dzi-zung in disgust took refuge with another prince, Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum of 'O-yul whose capital was at Yu-sna of Sngur-ba. With his support 'Dzi-

zung killed Stag-skya-bo whose territory of Klum and Yel fell to Khri-pangs-sum. As his reward 'Dzi-zung received the castle of Sngur-ba and lands in the lower part of Klum. Among the subordinate landholders or bondsmen (bran) in those estates who became his subjects were two leading members of the Myang clan. Nam-to-re khru-gu and his son Smon-to-re Tseng-sku, who also had formerly been ministers of the defeated Zing-po-rie of Ngas-po. Mnyan 'Dzi-zung's wife, the lady of Pa-tsab, so grievously insulted and humiliated her new subjects that they complained to Khri-pangs-sum, the overlord of Mnyan 'Dzi-zung's wife, the lady of pa-tsab, so grievously insulted and humiliated her new subjects that they complained to Khri-pangs-sum, the overlord of Mnyan 'Dzi-zung, but he ignored their complaint. Not long after, one of Khri-pangs-sum's own ministers, Dba's Bshos-to-re Khu-gu was killed in a duel with the prince's Bon-po priest, Gshen Khribzher 'dron-kong. Bsho-to-re's elder brother Phangs-to-re Dbvitshab, appealed to the prince for blood-money but was rudely rebuffed. He got in touch with Myang Tseng-sku who was equally resentful of the ill treatment he had suffered. The two of them, with Tseng-sku taking the lead, decided to offer their allegiance to Btsan-po spu-rgyal, that is to say Stag-bu snya-gzigs, whom they described in a short allusive song as a son of man who is indeed a son of god, a true lord whom it would be good to serve. They swore an oath of enmity to Zing-po-rje and loyalty to Spurgyal-btsan-po. Dba's Dbyi-tshab then recruited into the conspiracy his uncle Bzang-to-re of Mnon and when the uncle died his son took his place. Myang Tseng-sku similarly took into his confidence Nag-seng of Tshes-pong, a follower of Stag-bu snya-gzigs, who became the go-between through whom Myang and Dba's Communicated their purpose to the king. Stag-bu snya-gzigs was at first hesitant to take part in the feud because his sister was married to Zing-po-rje; also his wife appears to have been a kinswomen of Zing-po-rje for her name was Stong-cung 'bro-ga of 'Ol-god ('0l = 'O-yul?), but he agreed to go along with them.

The conspirators made their way secretly to Phying-ba to take an oath of loyalty to Stag-bu snya-gzigs in person. Their movements aroused suspicion among the men of Yar who attempted

to seize them; and before action could be taken against Zing-po-rje, Stag-bu snya-gzigs was dead. The brief mention in the Chronicle discloses none of the circumstances but Professor Geza Uray in an important article in Acta Hungarica 1972 cites Pelliot Tibétain 1144, an unpublished fragment, in which a few scattered words tell that the King Stag-bu was captured by 'Ol-god, Lord of Yar-brog and was handed over to Klu-dur, king of Lho-brag, who imprisoned him. There is also a fragmentary mention of his wife.

A more detailed account of the fate of Stag-bu snya-gzigs is found in the Rgyal-rabs Bon-gyi byung gnas, showing that Bon histories often have some special acquaintance with early traditions. It is related how Stag-gu gnyan-gzig (sic) subdued the twelve reval phran-feudatory principalities, and then made war on Phan-ra-rje, king of Lho-brag but was defeated and imprisoned. Stag-gu gnyan gzig's Bon-po priest, the Sku-gshen Khri-ne-khod rescued him by his magical powers. In gratitude the King made over the kingdom to him. This is a rather different version from that of the Chronicle. It implies that Stag-bu gnyan-gzigs was the aggressor whereas the Chronicle says he died before action could be taken against Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum — Phan-ra-rje in the Bon story is clearly a variant of that name. The implication of '01-god of Yar-'brog suggests that the conspiracy which the men of Yar appear to nave detected gave an excuse for their ruler 'Ol-god, who was a vassal of Khri-pangs-sum, to take action against Stag-bu snya-gzig on behalf of his lord. Yar and Yar-'brog do not necessarily imply the country round the Yar-'brog Mtsho but may just as well be the upland grazing lands near the Gri-gu mtsho at the head of the Yar-lung valley. There is no mention in the Chronicle of Lho-brag or Klu-dur but it appears from its brief comment that Stag-bu snya-gzigs did not survive whatever incident may have occurred.

An obscure tail-piece in the Chronicle story after referring to the death of Stag-bu-snya-gzigs seems to suggest that the conspiracy was somehow disclosed by one Spug Gyim-tang rmang-bu, a follower of Tshes-pong Nag-seng the man who acted as go-between to the king. Spug Gyim-tang at first would not share his bed with his wife for fear of betraying the plot in his sleep; but after wandering nightly in the hills he eventually returned to sleep with her. For some reason they quarrelled and he bit out her tongue so that she died. He also died without issue before an attack was made on Zing-po-rje. Other members of the clan, however, continued to be active in Tibetan affairs and one Spug Gyimrtsang rma-chung was sent in 653 to govern Zhang Zhung.

The conspirators evidently came out of the affair unscathed. They added three more to their number, and undeterred by the death of Stag-bu snya-gzigs, took an oath of allegiance to his two sons, Slon-mtshan and Slon-kol. This seems to have been done at the request of the princes, who had the duty of avenging their father. The words of the oath are recorded at some length in archaic language passed down, perhaps, in the family tradition of the noble ministers who swore it. A number of other members of the Myang, Tshes-pong and Dba's clans also joined in the oath.

Why, it may be asked, were they so ready to give their loyalty to Stag-bu snya-gzigs and later to his two young sons. Their domain seems to have been quite small and was threatened on the north by more powerful rulers in Ngaspo and 'O-yul and on the south from Yar-'brog. The answer must lie in the name Spu-rgyal which has an aura of special sacral and mystic qualities. It was to btsan-po Spu-rgyal that loyalty was pledged, not to any king or prince by name. For Myang and Dba's, Btsan-po Spu-rgyal though a man was also a son of god. One of his ancestors Tho-do snya-brtsan had the name "Lha". The Rkong-po inscription relates how one of Dri-gum btsan-po's two sons became Lha Btsan-po, the divine btsan-po, and went to rule at Phying-ba stag-rtse; and even when the influence of Buddhism was well established, the kings, with the title of Lha sras or Lha btsan-po, harked back in their inscriptions to their descent from 'O-lde spu-rgyal. The essence of that sacral quality is nowhere spelled out; but, if spu-rgyal means "hairy king" it might point to the monkey ancestor revered in the primitive beliefs of the Ch'iang people in their ancestral home on the northwest borders of China, a myth later to be adopted rather laboriously into the hagiology of Tibetan Buddhism. But whatever its source, it was that sanctity that held together in fealty a kingdom depending

greatly on ministers from different parts of the kingdom, often rivals of one another and sometimes more powerful than the btsan-po himself.

After the oath-taking a plan of campaign was made and Slonmtshan set out at the head of an army of ten thousand men while his younger brother stayed with the queen-mother. The princes were quite young and the phrase zhabs kyis gtsuas describing the start of Slon-mtshan's expedition may imply that this was the first venture of his majority. Similar expressions used of a child's first steps and a young man setting up an independent household for the first time; and it is applied also later to Srong-brtsan sgampo's first military expedition.

The campaign against Zing-po-rje, here described as Dgu-gri a title probably annexed from Dgu-gri Zing-po-rie of Ngas-po whom he had conquered, is recorded very briefly. Its climax was the capture of the castle of Yu-sna by damming a river in Klum so that the defence works were flooded. Zing-po-rje was in this way destroyed. His territory as far as Bre-sna in Rkong-po (West of the Nyang-chu) was annexed by the btsan-po who proclaimed that the country of Ngas-po should be known as 'Phan-yul. His ministers and subjects greeted him by the title of Btsan-po; he took the name Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan and he rewarded suitably all those ministers who had delivered Zing-po-rje's domains into his hands. Myang Tseng-sku received the castle of Sngur-ba which had belonged to 'Dzi-zung who had insulted him; Dba's Dbyi-tshab got those of the Gshen who had killed his brother; all received numbers of bondsmen (bran). Myang, Dba's, Mnon, and Tshespong became Councillors of the king.

The authority of the *btsan-po* and his ministers at this time was established in a comparatively small stretch of country in the valleys of the Skyi-chu and the Gtsang-po from Yar-lung and 'on to the borders of Rkong-po. But the rising star of Btsan-po Spu-rgyal soon attracted adherents from further afield.

Outstanding among these was Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse, a vigorous, ambitious, arrogant and unscrupulous figure who was

active in Tibetan affairs for many years. He comes on the scene in the reign of Slon-mtshan, claiming to have shown his allegiance by decapitating Mar-mun, ruler of Rtsang-bod and giving twenty thousand households to the *btsan-po* who forthwith returned them to him as a reward. The location of Rtsang-bod is debatable but it might be north of the Gtsang-po around and north-west of Shangs and Shigatse. The prompt return of the subjects suggests that it was not seen at that time as suitable for direct rule.

The next show of loyalty by Zu-tse was in denouncing the minister Mong Sngon-po as guilty of treachery and encompassing his death. Mong is shown in a list of ministers in an earlier section of the Chronicle as having had some connection with the fall of Mar-mun; but he does not appear to have taken any part in the confederacy to support Stag-bu snya-gzigs or Slon-Mtshan. Its, however, claimed for Zu-tse, as another proof of loyalty, that he somehow supported the campaign against Zing-po-rje. This seems out of chronological order for the campaign took place before the supremacy of Slon-mtshan as established while, in the Mar-mun incident he is described as *btsan-po*. If there is anything in the claim it may mean only that Zu-tse approved of what had been done.

He next appears in the record when a campaign was being planned against Dags-po which is described as having rebelled - perhaps it was part of Zing-po-rje's territory which had been taken over by Slon-mtshan. When one Seng-go myi-chen volunteered to undertake the task Zu-tse insulted and humiliated him. Seng-go was, nonetheless, successful. Then Myang Zhang-snang the son of Myang Tseng-sku was appointed to-the royal service and a banquet was held at which Spung-sad Zu-tse vaunted his own achievements. He dwells on his conquest of Rtsang-bod and his suppression of Mong Sngon-po. He does not mention Zingpo-rje; but Myang Zhang-snang, having been urged to reply, praised the great deeds of his father and Dba's Phangs-to-re in the defeat of Zing-po-rje. That throws doubt on the claim that Zu-tse was involved in that affair; and the proud reply by Zhang-snang and his promotion to high office seems to have aroused enmity and envy on the part of Zu-tse.

In the list of ministers one Mgar Khri-sgra 'dzi-rmun is shown as succeeding Mong Sngon - po before Myang Zhang-snang was appointed Chief Minister with the title Mang-po-rje. Myang became an all-powerful figure after the death of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan, while Srong-brtsan was too young to take effective action, and suppressed a wide-spread rebellion that followed Gnam-ri's death. Some time after that Spung-sad Zu-tse falsely accused him of disloyalty and brought about his dismissal and execution.

Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang is said to have been succeeded by another minister of the Mgar caln who also fell under an accusation and committed suicide. Spung-sad Zu-tse then became Chief Minister, a post he had probably coveted for some time. In it he won a great reputation for wisdom and boldness; and he conquered all the northern Zgang-shung for the btsan-po. He was succeeded by Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung. There is no information about when or why this took place; but in the end Zu-tse fell victim to the same accusations and suffered the same fate which, in that world of intrigue and rivalry, he had brought on others. In his retirement in old age he is said to have invited Khri Srong-brtsan to his palace with treacherous intent and that this was detected by Mgar Yul-zung whereupon Zu-tse committed suicide. But much was to happen before that.

According to a damaged passage at the beginning of the Anals, some time after the fall of Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang the btsan-po set out on expedition against the 'A-zha (Tu-yu-hun) and China. The Chronicle puts that event before the fall of Myang but it might be expected that the evidence of the Annals is the more acceptable.

Although the haphazard arrangement of the Chronicle, as we have it, leaves much to be conjectured, an incident recorded there may well be placed soon after the fall of Myang. In his old age Dba's Phangs-to-re Dbyi-tshab, who had been a partner of Myang Mang-po-rje's father in allegiance to Stag-bu snya-gzigs and in establishing Khri Slon-mtshan as btsan-po besought and was granted a visit at his own house from Khri Srong-brtsan in order that he and his family could take an oath of loyalty to the

btsan-po in person. Perhaps the Dba's had been suspected of sympathising with their former colleagues the Myang, and Phangs-to-re was eager to dispel that idea by openly condemning the disloyalty of Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang. The btsan-po himself first took an oath, praising the loyalty of the Dba's and vowing to protect them and their estates so long as they remained in fealty. He promised also to build a tomb for the Dbyi-tshab and to sacrifice a hundred horses there; and he sang one of those allusive songs which enrich and enliven the Chronicle. Dba's Dbyi-tshab replied in kind. Then he and his six sons took the oath of loyalty on a white stone which the btsan-po afterwards set up as the foundation of the tomb to be built for the Dbyi-tshab. The impressive words of the King's vow and that of the Dba's are recorded at length in archaic language which must have been transmitted in the Dba's family from generation to generation together with the insignia of the golden letter bestowed upon them.

Although in neither the Chronicle nor the Annals is there a clear sequence of chronology for these events, a fixed point is provided by the invaluable Chinese historians. Already in the period 581-600 of the Sui dynasty there was some knowledge of a Tibetan ruler Luntsan Solungtsan, who must have been Gnam-ri Slonmtshan, with an army of 100,000 men and a kingdom extending to the borders of India but it is the Tang Annals in which the first firm date is found when they record the arrival in 634 of the first mission from Tibet. The Chinese responded with a return mission in the wake of which the Tibetans sent another. They had heard that the Turks and the Tu-yu-hun had been given princesses in marriage to their rulers and they requested one for their btsan-po. When this was refused the btsan-po set out on a punitive expedition against the Tu-yu-hun ('A-zha), as recorded in the Tibetan Chronicle, whom they held responsible for the refusal. Having defeated and scattered them he besieged the Chinese border town Sung chou and renewed the demand for a princess in threatening terms. He defeated one Chinese force sent against him but when a larger army arrived he withdrew with some losses. The Chinese, nevertheless, realizing that they had underrated the Tibetans and had a new power to face, granted a princess. In 641

Mgar Stong-rtsan was sent with lavish presents to receive her and escort her to Tibet. That momentous event is recorded also in the Tibetan Annals and forms virtually the starting point for a continuous Tibetan history.

Before that another remarkable but otherwise unknown incident is related in a damaged passage in the Annals. There was enmity between the *btsan-po*, the elder brother Srong-rtsan and the younger brother Btsan-srong. As the result of treachery by a servant Btsan-srong died by burning.

Although no precise dates are given in the Annals after the arrival of the Chinese princes until the dog year, 650 A.D. from when events are recorded annually, it is said that after three years Lig Snya-shur was destroyed and all the Zhang-zhung were brought under subjection. There may be some question whether this event C. 644 relates to Spung-sad Zu-tse's claim to have conquered all the northern Zhang-zhung. The name of the Zhang-zhung ruler said to have been conquered by Zu-tse, according to a divination document from Tunhuang-Pelliot Tibétain 1047 - is Lig Myi-rhya. And it is victory over Lig Myi-rhya that is celebrated in the Chronicle as the achievement of Khri Srong-brtsan and his minister Stong-rtsan in another of those splendid exchanges of song. The relation between Lig Myi-rhya and Lig Snya-shur is not clear. The latter appears in several of the lists of principalities and according to F.W. Thomas it figures also in Bon writing. If the conquest of Zhang-zhung in 644 was effected by Spung-sad Zu-tse it would mean that his career in Tibetan affairs extended for almost half a century.

Sadly there is nothing in the Annals about the achievements of the last six years of Srong-brtsan's life; it is said only that he lived with the Chinese princess for three years. She survived Srong-brtsan by twenty-two years. That suggests that she was very young when she came to Tibet and dispels the aura attached to her name as the founder of the Jo-khang. A little more can be gleaned from the eulogy in the Chronicle which relates in general terms that he was responsible for organising the internal administration of the state, agricultural systems, the laws, etc., and for introducing

texts of the religious law. Inscriptions of his successors also attribute to him the foundation of the Jo-khang. But it is to the Tang Annals that one must turn for factual information. There it is recorded that in 646 Srong-brtsan sent Mgar Stong-brtsan (Lutungtsan) to congratulate the Emperor on his victory over Korea with a flowery message and the present of a jar, in the shape of a goose, made of solid gold, seven feet high. In 648 when a Chinese envoy was plundered in India Srong-brtsan sent an army to chastise the offending Indian leader; and the evidence that the two Chinese emperors with whom he was contemporary — Tai Tsung and Kao - tsung - treated him with admiration and respect as a powerful and independent ruler and ally enhances the unquestioned greatness of Srong-brtsan Sgam-po as the real founder of a great Tibetan Kingdom.

Early Tibetan Law Concerning Dog-Bite

The Tibetan Chronicle from Tunhuang shows that by the eighth or ninth century Srong-brtsan sgam-po was regarded as having established "a great code of supreme law" — gtsug-lag bka'-grims ched-po (p. 118); and the Annals record that six years after Srong-brtsan's death the Chief Minister Mgar Stong-btsan Yul-zung wrote the text of the laws-bka'-grims-gyi yi-ge bris [p 13 (6)]. There is no contemporary evidence about their content but in later tradition the sixteen laws attributed to Srong-brtsan sgam-po are no more than a series of moral precepts. However, documents from Tunhuang reveal the existence of several specific legal codes and regulations. One long document in the India office Archive collection of the "Stein mss (10 no. 740) gives details of the proper decision, according to a new set of regulations, in cases concerning such matters as loans, taxation, marital disputes and so on. Many other Tunhuang documents refer to the law regarding contracts, sales, taxes, land-holding, etc. and often mention the judge, zhal ce-pa who decides the cases. Another document in the Stein collection (10 no. 753) deals with the law of theft, and Pelliot Tibétain (Pell T.) 1075 is a fragmentary copy of part of a similar mss. Other matters regarded as criminal, are the subject of pell T. 1071 which records at length the penalties, graded according to the status of the victim and the offender, for causing death or injury in the hunting field by an arrow aimed at a wild animal and also in cases where someone fails to rescue another who has fallen under a yak or 'bri. Although in such accidents there is no suggestion of the deliberate causing of death, they are dealt with under the law of homicide and in several cases the death penalty is imposed. It may even be inflicted on the highest ranking ministers if they falsely deny responsibility for an accident or fail to pay blood money imposed on them. Death is the penalty also in some instances of failure to rescue the victim of a yak, and a further — and peculiarly Tibetan — punishment may be imposed by hanging a fox's tail, signifying cowardice, on to the

offender. This is described in the Tang Annals where it is said that it was deemed so shameful that death was held to be preferable and that bystanders would kill the wretched coward. I have prepared an edition of that document as a contribution to a memorial volume for the late Tsipon Shakabpa but it is unlikely to be published for some time. Meanwhile, I have studied another document (Pell T. 1073) setting out the law where someone sets a dog on to another and death or injury results from the attack. Here too the death penalty may be imposed, which is not surprising any more than it is for major thefts — it continued for even quite small thefts in Great Britain into the 19th century; but for those offences in the hunting field it illustrates the very stern demands of honour and discipline in a rugged, warlike society.

Pelliot tibétain 1073 is a fragment of 28 lines in rather crude calligraphy; the punctuation is occasionally by double tshegs instead of the usual single; there are a few instances of the **da-drag**. These are possibly but not necessarily signs of a comparatively early date. As in Pell. T. 1071 there are many obscure words and phrases and it is probable that some readings are suspect. Below, I have attempted a translation and notes, the number and length of the latter indicate how many difficulties I have been unable to solve; and it is hoped that others may provide more satisfactory answers.

Pelliot Tibétain 1073

..... if the g-yar, or whatever, he is riding shies and he is thrown whether he is killed or not, on account of the wounds, if there is someone who set on the dog he will be punished by banishment for a term (ring res gcig) and as penalty a good 'og-rta' and dressings for the wounds according to their number shall be imposed. If the offender is a woman, the fine is a quantity of good foodstuffs and dressings in proportion, to be given to the complainant. If a rngul-gyi yi-ge-pa (holder of a silver letter) down to a zangs-gyi-yi-ge-pa (holder of a copper letter) himself or his equal for the purpose of compensation sets a dog on to a zhang-long phra-men gyi yi-ge-pa (a minister who holds a silver-gilt letter) or his equal and he is bitten and dies; or if by setting on a dog, the g-yar he is riding shies and he is thrown

and dies whatever excuse the man who set on the dog may give, if the victim is killed and if someone set on the dog he himself shall suffer the 'bra shig death penalty, his family shall be banished and whatever treasure and cattle they have shall be given as compensation for the killing; as for the landed property (khol-yul), if there is a son living in a separate family it shall be given to him; if there is no such son it shall be given to the father; if there is no father, even if there is a close clan relation (phu nu bo drung) it shall not be given to him but shall be shared among those who are the subjects and bondsmen ('bangs and bran) of the person executed. If there is no separate household and the one who set on the dog has been executed, whatever treasure and cattle the father and sons (spad spun) possess that has not been divided up, shall be divided and the whole share of the treasure and cattle that would have gone to the one who has been executed shall be given as compensation for the killing. If a married woman sets on a dog and causes death, whatever was given as dowry 20 by the original paternal family of that woman shall be given as compensation for the killing. If an unmarried sister sets on a dog and causes death her bondsmen and cattle and spun yarn (kud for skud?) shall be given as compensation for the killing. If by setting on a dog the g-yar he is riding shies and he is thrown, whether he is killed or not the one who set on the dog shall be banished and a quarter of his treasure and cattle shall be given as penalty for the wounded. If it is a woman, in addition to banishment for her, half of the treasure and cattle whatever she has shall be given as penalty for the wounded. If someone from gtsang-chen to dmangs mtha-ma sets a dog on to a zhang-lon phra myin gyi yi-ge-pa upwards, himself or an equal, and if by setting on the dog the person is bitten and dies, or if the g-yar he is riding shies and he is thrown and killed, whatever excuse the one who set on the dog may make, if the person is killed, for the offence of setting a dog on to a zhang-lon or dge-ba the offender and the sons who live with him downwards, shall be put to death; if there are no sons living with him his womenfolk (smad) shall be banished and his treasure and cattle shall all be given as compensation for the dead zhang-lon. If someone in an undivided household has been executed for setting

on a dog all the treasure and cattle that has not been divided between father and sons shall be divided.....

NOTES

- 1-3. g-yar: also in Pell T. 1071 11. 322, 400, 401. Dictionaries give no specific help towards its meaning. Yar-ma in Das and Dagyab, referring to some sort of cow is inapposite. Gyar-ba, "Borrow, hire" also seems inappropriate because persons concerned in 11.7.17 and 24 are high-ranking ministers who would be presumed to own their riding animals. Thomas TLTD. IIp 273, an incomplete passage reading tshal ba'i g-yar'og rta ma byor na may introduce the idea of a comparison between g-yar and 'og the better quality and the less good quality horse: 'og rta appears frequently in pell T. 1071 as well as in 1.2. here. In view of the uncertainty I leave both words untranslated.
- 4. **dkod.** For **god**, "punishment"?
- 5. 'og-rta, see note 1. See Pell T. where it appears in several contexts.
- 6. ya-btags. something attached on top; bandage?
- 7. gi or go za ma the reading is not clear? "useful?"
- 8. Official ranks were distinguished by insignia of different precious substances turquoise gold, **phra-men** (Silver-gilt), silver, copper and brass. The Chinese Tang Annals describe them as strings of beads hanging from the shoulder. Perhaps the letter, **yi-ge**, was a diploma on a metal plate entitling the holder to wear the appropriate decoration.
- 9. **zhang-lon.** The general body of ministers; to be distinguished from **zhang-blon**, **blon-zhang**; see "Names and Titles in Early Tibetan History" H.E. Rechardson. Namgyal Institute to Tibetology Bulletin No. IV 1967.
- 10. **stong mnyam-pa** of equal status in matters of compensation, penalties and so on. I have abbreviated it to "equal"
- 11. lan 'don gyis cis. lan-ldon. I take this "to give a reply" rather than to making retribution.
- 12. 'bra shig bkum, of which the etymology is uncertain, is seen from Pell T. 1071 to be a death penalty in which unlike the harsher sgor rabs gcad the offender's sons did not also suffer execution.

- 13. **bu smad.** In its appearance in Pell T. 1071 this seems to mean "family", "children" (Jaeschke, and Das) rather than "mother and daughter" (Dagyab, and Goldstein)
- 14. bang za dang nor phyugs. "treasure store and cattle wealth" are the personal property of the offender and his family.
- 15. **khol-yul.** Land with its complement of bondsmen and subjects (**bran** and **'bangs** granted by the **btsan-po** to a family. It was heritable but could be resumed for disloyalty or misdemeanour.
- 16. sdum-pa bub-pa of khyim-phub of a son who has set up a separate household.
- 17. In this document and in 1071 stsaid is not preceded by a particle such as la or tu.
- 18. **phu nu bo drung.** A. Róna Tas in "Social Terms.....in the Tunhaung Chronicle", Acta Orientalia Hungarica, 1955, concludes that this term covers a clan, specifically the progenies of the malee line. The meaning of **drung** here is uncertain. In Pell T. 1071 it is contrasted with **gang 'dur-pa (bdur-pa mdur-ba)** which applies to persons who may receive the property in default of closer relatives of the deceased.
- 19. I have hesitated for a long time before accepting that this passage means that the bondsmen and subjects may share the **khol-yul**. If my interpretation is correct here and in Pell T. 1071 it represents a surprising departure from what appears to be the principle that **khol yul** to which the bondsmen and subjects are attached is held by persons of rank; but I can see no easy interpretation to indicate that the khol yul and **bran** and 'bangs in this case should be assigned to anyone else. It may be noted that in the early days of the kingdom persons of high rank who had been conquered by some rival could become **bran** (Tibetan Chronicle p. 103. 1 20-24) but that would not appear to apply to later centuries.
- 20. brtsangs. for brdzangs.
- 21. The text is probably corrupt and bran should be bang za as in other cases; it may also be that mention of banishment, as in 1. 21. has been omitted.
- 22. I am doubtful about the reading **kud-pa**, **gud-pa** "what she has privately" might be an alternative.
- 23. **gtsang-chen,** an official of lower rank than those who held letters of various degree.

- dmangs mtha-ma. "the lower commoners". It is not clear who might be covered by this description. From Pell T. 1071 it is seen that the dmangs, who ranked below the gtsang-chen and above the soldiery (rgod), could hold khol-yul and so had a recognized place in the social hierarchy, perhaps as minor officials attending on those of higher rank.
- dge-ba appears to have no religious connotation. It is contrasted in Pell T. 1071 1 260 with ngan-pa- "the good and the bad". In a Tunhuang mss, I.O. no. 506 quoted by R.A. Stein in Tibetica Antique II p. 268 ngan-pa is equated with rkun-ma, "thief". From its occurrence several times in Pell T. 1071 dge-ba seems to be an honorific epithet of very high-ranking officials, perhaps similar to ya-rabs.
- 26. **bu-smongs**: an obscure word perhaps for **mong** as in **thun mong** "together, jointly".
- 27. In the reading dgum/mo/smongs/ma/byung na I take the construction as dgum mo/smongs rather than dgum/mo smongs, etc.
- 28. **smad** here seems to mean "wife, womenfolk" as the sons have been accounted for in the previous sentence.

ABBREVIATIONS

Dagyab. L.S. Dagyab, Tibetan Dictionary, 1966

Das. Sarat Chandra Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, 1902

Goldstein. M.C. Goldstein, Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan, 1975 Jaeschke. H.A. Jaeschke, A Tibetan-English Dictionary, 1881/1934.

Pelliot Tibétain (Pell. T.) Inventaire des manuscrits Tibétains de Touenhouang conserves a la Bibliotheque Nationale (Fonds Pelliot Tibétain) Paris 1939-1961.

Thomas TLTD. F. W. Thomas, Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan, London 1935-1963.

Tibetan Annals, Tibetan Chronicle. J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch Toussaint. Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet, Paris, 1940. Tibetica Antique. R. A. Stein, Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient Paris 1983, 1984.

Tunhuang I.0 mss. La Vallée Poussin, Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library, Oxford 1962.

Mention Of Tibetan Kings In Some Documents From Tunhuang

Compared with the fundamental contribution to the early history of Tibet in the Annals and Chronicles from Tunhuang the other *mss* of which a large number are included in the invaluable Choix de Documents Tibétains edited by Madame A. Spanien and M. Y. Imaeda although having much of social and administrative important disclose little about the doings of the *btsan-po* except in a formal religious context.

There is, however, a strange little fragment Pelliot Tibétain (Pell T) 1144 relating to the ill-fated Stag-bu snya-gzigs the grandfather of Srong-brtsan sgam-po. And in F.W. Thomas Literary Texts and Documents (TLTD) II p. 53 the story of the rise and fall of the dynamic arriviste and intriguer Khyung-po Zu-tse who was accused of plotting against Srong-brtsen. Srong-brtsan is also named in a religious context together with his descendent Khri Srong-lde-brtsan in No. 370 of the collection of Tibetan Documents in the India Office Library as having brought the Buddhist doctrine to Tibet.

Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan is mentioned by implication in TLTD II p.9, a damaged and incomplete account of events in the vassal 'A-zha state where a Tibetan princess had married the ruler in 689 as the ruler who married a Chinese princess in 710. He is also referred to though not by name in the Li Yul Chos-Kyi Lo Rgyus as the religiously minded Tibetan ruler who married a Chinese princess and gave shelter in Tibet to monks from Khotan.

Khri Srong-lde-brtsan is named, as mentioned above, in the India Office Library document No. 370, "A volume of the dharma that came down from Heaven". He is presumably also the ruler in Pell T. 1091 a fragmentary text which I understand to concern the rising against the Tibetans at Sha-cu in about 797.

Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (Ralpacan) is the btsan-po most fre-

quently named in Tunhuang documents. Pell T. 100, although not all legible, appears to be the dedication to him of some religious works by a monk of a temple at Sha-cu, in which he is eulogized in the mystic language of kingship invoking the ancestral Spu-rgyal. In Pell T. 130 he is the beneficiary of a prayer which mentions his religious acts such as making images and founding temples. One of the dangers from which it is prayed he may be delivered — gze' — may mean epilepsy as I suggested in a note in BSOAS 1961. It is known from Chinese sources that he suffered continually from illness.

Pell T. 132 is a long prayer in which his name appears, almost casually, near the end.

In TLTD II. pp. 93, 96, 98 he is associated with the building of a temple in the border region by his generals to celebrate the establishment of peace there.

Pell T. 735 and 1088 which are not in Choix de Documents, name him, in the first, as having religious texts copied for his benefit, and in second which is a small fragment, in association with one of his ministers, Brgya byin.

Pell T. 1123 is another long prayer for his benefit. Pell 1290 is a rather confused document which has been examined by Madame Spanien in Études Tibétains, p.317. It seems to me to be an exercise, copying passages from a number of different documents. In it there is a song by the great monk minister Yon Tan (bran-ka Dpal-gyi Yon-tan) on the occasion when the king's name was changed from Mu-tsu to Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan. A dragon year of the *skyid rtag* era which Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan took for his reign following a Chinese model, is mentioned. That should be 826 as 812 would be too early according to the view that he succeeded to the throne in 816. The problem cannot be discussed here.

No. 637 in the India Office Library collection mentioning a dpal lha btsan-po probably refers to him. He is seen as ordering the translation of religious texts by the pandits Jnanagarbha and Cog-ro Klu'i rgyal-mtshan. The latter is assigned by later histories to the reign of Ralpacan. Finally Pell T. 999 names him together with 'Od-srung as receiving the dedication of copies of religious

texts from religious leaders of Sha-cu who also gave a banquet in his honour.

Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan's successor and reputedly assassin, Khri 'U'i dun-brtan is the beneficiary of a long prayer in Pell T. 134 and I take it that he is also the 'U-rum doal In Pell T. 83 in Mile Lalou's Inventaire de Manuscrits Tibétains de Touen houang, it is not reproduced in Choix de Documents so I have not been able to check whether 'U-rum is perhaps 'U-dum. The btsan-po's name in the Tunhuang Chronicle is given as 'U' i dum-brtan. These prayers may seem surprising in view of the later reputation of Glang Darma ('U'i dum brtan) as the ruthless persecutor of Buddhism and having connived at the assassination of Ralpacan. Although the tradition is often confused, there is general agreement that for part of the reign — six months according to most, but two years in the history of Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag — Darma ruled righteously, after which wicked ministers brought about the suppression of the faith. In only one of the documents from Tunhuang — No. 752 in the India Office collection — is there a possible reference to that; a fragment praying that disturbances may cease ends with the hope that the enemy (or enemies) of the rdo-rje theg-pa, the Vajrayana, may be frustrated.

On the other hand Pell T. 840 which is edited by Mr. Samten Karmay in a contribution to Tantric Studies in honour of R. A. Stein. Louvain 1981, states that the holy religion (dam chos) flourished in the time of the lha-sras Dar-ma and his nephew (dbon sres) 'Od-srung. Perhaps in Central Tibet there was hostility to the practitioners of a particular form of doctrine and it is probable that an end was put to the extensive privileges and donations granted to monasteries by Ralpacan and to the political activities of monks including elevation to the highest offices of state, which had offended the conservative nobility.

But whatever may have happened there, it is evident that Buddhism not only survived in the north-eastern provinces of the Tibetan Kingdom but also had the protection of the administration regardless of its persecution in neighbouring China between 842 and 848.

All this time the country was wracked by violent fighting between rival ministers. Shangkungje of Dba's was out for himself, while Shangpipi of 'Bro whose family had long connections with the Tibetan royal house and whose origin was in the neighbourhood of Sha-cu, can be seen as supporting 'Darma's successor 'Od-srung for whom and for his mother the lady 'Phan prayers continued to be offered.

In Pell T. 999 as mentioned above, 'Od srungs' name is linked with that of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan. The religious dignitary principally responsible for the offering was the abbot Hong Ben (Hong pien) who later led the return of the Chinese of Sha cu to allegiance to the Chinese Emperor on the collapse of the Tibetan authority in 850.

Pell T. 131 is a long, florid, prayer for 'Od-srung and his mother. As it is complete I have translated it below to show the way such things were written. There is also what may be an interesting point near the end in the mention of a brother.

Pell T. 230 is fragmentary prayer also for them. Enough survives to identify it as alluding to the troubles of the time and it seems worth while to attempt a translation as I have done below.

Pelliot Tibétain No. 131:

Offered as a prayer. To the Tathagatas dwelling in the three ages, and all the Buddhas who have subdued their enemies and are fully perfected in the boundless regions of the world of ten directions, reverence. To those purified by the essence of the doctrine, who are separated from all action, to those excellent beings who possess the good fortune of natural knowledge and have turned to the way of the highest knowledge, reverence. To the saintly clergy of unchanging nature, the field of merit of all gods and men, to all those spiritual sons who represent the lineage of the Tathagata wherever they may be to them also reverence. To Tshangs-pa the lord of all who endure suffering, and to Brgya-byin powerful among the gods who protect the faith of the three ages and maintain the abode of the departed Buddhas wherever they may be, and to those who act as chief of the kings of the gods,

reverence. To the four great kings etcetera, the ten protectors of the world who guard the four continents in trust and have promised by their might and magic power over the gods and nagas, the demons and spirits who act to disturb the world, to prevent them from causing confusion and, in order to keep them under control, to maintain and protect the kingdom by their powers, to those generals of the gods, chiefs of the world, to them also reverence. With concentration in our minds presenting to those holy ones offerings, garlands of pure flowers, cymbals, scented incense powder, butter lamps, gifts, dainties, grain riches, horses etcetera, the wealth of gods and men, with whatever errors there may be proceeding from our body, speech or mind being purified by the saints, with honour and respect and further with increasing agreement with the religious edicts in the time of the ancestors of the lha sras which dispel hostility towards the Three Jewels, we all high and low with humble submission saddened by our desires, further confused by the shame of our thoughts, repenting with all our heart and making confession with all the saints as witnesses and praying that we may not act so in future, we have made this vow. We rejoice in all that tends to increase the two-fold accumulation of virtue and pray that all the saints who have achieved deliverance from action by their good deeds may by the power of their compassion not abandon the world and realising in their mind the infinity of the universe, will remain for the sake of sentient beings. And we beg that all those saints who dwell in their appointed abodes will swiftly turn the wheel of the Dharma and guarding all Tibet will give orders for its protection. May 'Phags pa Rnam—thos-sras, the Lord of the Lcang-lo palace, revealing the manner of his dwelling in the centre of Ri-rab, also come to the world outside and by his power perform the task of destroying by his frown the Gnod-sbyin hordes and may be take a vow to protect and guard the doctrine of the Buddhas of the three ages wherever it may be found. And may Arya'Jam-ba-la, being our support, promise to bestow wealth in the highest perfection on those who seek enjoyment in the world according to their wishes, and from time to time may appear and establish virtue in the world, and according to his promise may perform good deeds in addition to those listed. And for the great king of

all Tibet who dwells at Lha-dum-bal, 'Od-srung of the house of the lady queen 'Phan, together with his subjects and court we uttering his name and further supporting him by offering our bodies and lives, making this prayer that he may be endowed with all good, pray especially for his protection. If it does not turn out well according to our hopes dedicating it to the brother as we have promised, and giving into your hands the life and dominion of the btsan-po lha-sras, the mother and son, their subjects and our life and existence also, we pray that by your power you will promise to uphold and maintain them and just as we pray, will bestow on them the gift of the wish-fulfilling tree.

NOTES

- 1. dkar-cag is unusual in this context; it is seen elsewhere 1 early documents as meaning a list of crop payments.
- 2. This strange statement, if I understand it rightly, seems to imply that some danger threatened 'Od-srung and shows also that he had a brother. It is possible that a brother is implied in Pell T. 1132 yum sras mched 'phrul gyi snga nas, and yum sras mched dgung dang 'dra ba'i zha snga nas. This might underly the later tradition of rivalry by two claimants by different mothers 'Od-rung and Yum-brtan. I have questioned the existence of the latter in my article 'Who was Yum-brtan' in Etudes Tibétaines, 1971.

Pelliot Tibétain No. 230 measuring 14 cm. by 22 cm. is the left part of a manuscript which, judging by examples of complete documents, may have been twice as wide. I have translated what is possible of the surviving half-lines. Where there are isolated words, unintelligible out of context, I have usually transcribed the Tibetan. The lines, apart from the first, are of virtually equal length.

In spite of the fragmentary nature of the document there is enough to allow some not unreasonable speculation about the contents of the whole. The first six lines are a general prayer. In line seven 'Od-srungs and his mother, for whose benefit the document is presumably dedicated, are named. The following eleven lines record the religious deeds done by or on behalf of the ruler. The nineteenth line onwards contain several references to disloyal subjects; and the document concludes with prayers for loyalty among subjects and peace and prosperity for the ruler and all Tibet.

This can be seen as referring to the disorder which followed the murder of Glang darma and the troubled accession of 'Od-srung leading, as recorded in the New Tang Annals, to fierce fighting in the border regions between Shangk' ungje of Mo (Dha's?) and Shangpipi of Mulu or Mo lo (Bro?) respectively opponent and supporter of the new regime. That continued until 849 when Shangpipi, whose resources were exhausted, retired to the west of the Kan chou prefecture.

Translation

| 1. | oenig hurnien | nom an | |
|----|---------------|--------|--|
| | | | |

being surified from all

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- 2. and/the merit of all the virtuous deeds of various men.....
- 3. chad la/exhortation to turn the wheel of the dharma to the highest degree
- 4. to those who desire/for the benefit of many beings/in the world yu
- 5. by the firm power from those who protect the doctrine of the holy one guarding (?).......
- 6. by all/abiding in the excellent way/of many being
- 7. will be made firm/in this way the *lha sras* Khri 'Od-srungs, the ruler and his mother (brtsan yum for btsan yum ?)......
- 8. rejoicing as the result of confessing sins/giving encouragement prayer.....
- 9. many mandalas from the centre and outer regions according to the mantra.....
- 10. merit and/guiding many men to deliverance and/of the saints.....
- 11. the merit of setting up images and opening their eyes, and

- 12. offering a banquet/the merit of offering many religious donations.....
- 13. also/the great minister who raises up the dominion of the ruler and people of Tibet (rjes 'bangs for rje 'bangs ?)
- 14. escorted by many clergy/by the single minded thought of many.....
- 15. the 'Bum etc./and many sutras and mantras kl (klog?)
- 16. and/and acting according to the *Hom* mantra of the fierce deities/the dkyil 'khor (?) of the planets......
- 17. and/the chief of those who have passed form the world/power and vows......
- 18. the merit of etc./others also/subjects......
- 19. zhing/actions contrary to orders and the law/great punishment.....
- 20. giving an edict by the power of the compassion of the lady mother.....
- 21. po by those who know the means/stern repression.....
- 22. uniting the internal administration/disloyal subjects punishment and (byor?).....
- 23. from above/causing the subjects to be reconciled/establishing happiness in traquillity.....
- 24. in the presence of the mighty (brtsan for btsan?) mother and son/enjoying long life (maintaining?) the kingdom
- 25. rule over the subjects with increasing glory for ever/'bangs(?)
- 26. harmful spells of etcetera/demons that attack the body/evil omens la stsogs-pa?.....
- 27. \underline{n} i / increasing its firmness for ever/petition for spreading it by good.....
- 28. In the manner of a (chos skyong) ba'i religion protecting king/religion to all the world.....
- 29. by changing their minds/those who turn to the disloyal path.....

- 30. giving up uncertainty? (g-yo bor nas)/in future according to the, manner of subjects (rjes'bangs, perhaps for rje 'bangs, ruler and subjects).....
- 31. praying for continual blessings (mtud for btud) / the Lha sras and his ancestors.....
- 32. by seeking the loyalty of the subjects/watching over the person and dominion of the ruler.....
- 33. sgro nas ? sgo nas having discussed, or by the door/receiving happiness in their minds/agreeing with one thought.....
- 34. not harming by evil spells etc. and/method.....
- 35. accomplishing/the while land of Tibet peace and/(freedom from) illness.....

The above are the only references to the Tibetan kings I have been able to find.