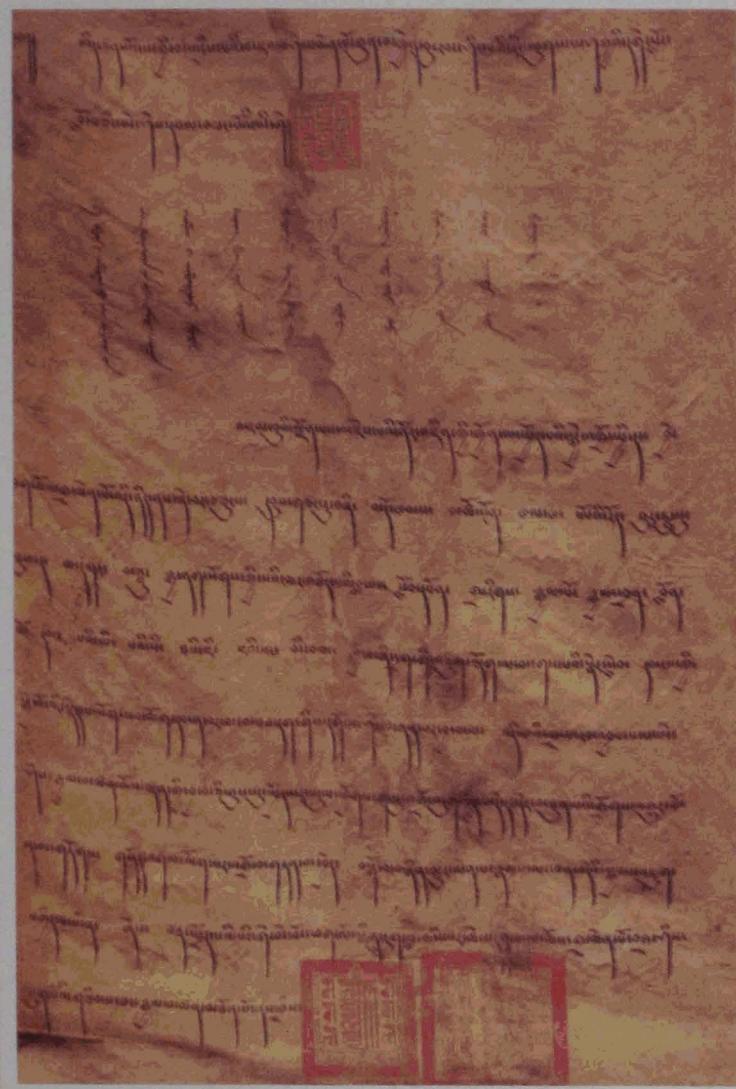


CONTRIBUTIONS ON TIBETAN LANGUAGE, HISTORY AND CULTURE



Edited by
ERNST STEINKELLNER AND
HELMUT TAUSCHER

**Proceedings of the Csoma De Körös Symposium
Held at Velm-Vienna, Austria, 13-19 September 1981**

VOL-I



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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE CSOMA DE KŐRÖS SYMPOSIUM
HELD AT VELM-VIENNA, AUSTRIA, 13-19 SEPTEMBER 1981
VOL. 1**

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ACCOUNT
OF THE
CSOMA DE KÖRÖS SYMPOSIUM
VELM - VIENNA

The Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies of the University of Vienna organized an international conference of Tibetan, Central Asian and Buddhist Studies as "Csoma de Körös Symposium" in Velm, near Vienna, between September 13 and 19, 1981. The patronage was taken by the Austrian Minister of Science and Research, Dr. Hertha Firnberg.

58 scholars from Canada, PR of China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, France, GFR, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, USA and Austria participated in the meeting as full members.

The Symposium received messages of support from L.Ligeti (Budapest), R.A.Stein (Paris), W.Heissig (Bonn), T.V.Wylie (Seattle, C.Vogel (Bonn), M.Aris (Oxford), M.Hahn (Bonn), K.Sagaster (Bonn), J.Imaeda (Thimphu), R.A.Thurman (Amherst).

The Organizing Committee consisted of: E.Steinkellner, H.Tauscher, T.Much.

Program

13 September, Sunday

Addresses of Welcome

14 September, Monday

Morning session. Chair: P.Kværne

R.A.Miller (Seattle): The dating and authorship of the first two grammatical treatises reconsidered

R.H.Polmeijer (Amsterdam): Syllabism in Early Tibetan

R.E.Emmerick (Hamburg): Some lexical items from the *Siddhasāra*

A.Róna-Tas (Szeged): Studies in spoken Tibetan I. Comments on an Amdowa-text

B.Sheets Chang - Kun Chang (Berkeley): Tense and aspect in spoken Tibetan

G.Kara (Budapest): Grum-Gržimajlo's sBra nag glossary

Afternoon session. Chair: G.Uray

Ngawangthondup Narkyid (Cleveland): The origin and development of the present Tibetan writing system

A.Pinsker SJ (Vienna): Mitteilungen des P. Johann Grueber über Tibet

J.Kolmaš (Prague): Ferdinand Stoliczka (1838-1874). The life and work of the Czech explorer in India and High Asia

C.J.Beachwith (Bloomington): The revolt of 755 in Tibet

Fang-Kuei Li (Honolulu): Notes on sTag sgra Klu khong

Evening

Reception given by the Presidency of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Participants received by Prof. Dr.Manfred Mayrhofer, Secretary of the phil.-hist. Klasse

15 September, Tuesday

Morning session. Chair: L.Petech

Wang Yao (Peking): Lha btsun Chos kyi rin chen, ex-emperor of the Southern Sung dynasty, as a monk in Sa skyā

J.Szerb (Budapest): Glosses on the œuvre of bla ma 'Phags pa

E.Sperling (Bloomington): Did the early Ming emperors attempt to implement a "divide and rule" policy in Tibet?

F.Bischoff (Bloomington): Die Wu-T'ai-shan Darstellung von 1846

D.Schuh (Bonn): Über die Entstehung von Urkunden in der tibetischen Herrscherkanzlei

H.Uebach (München): Reisebegleitschreiben der Panchen Lamas für Geistliche aus Ladakh

Afternoon session. Chair: R.A.Miller

Vijay Kranti (Delhi): Tibetan refugee community in India

P.Kværne (Oslo): Preliminary report on the study of some Bon po thankas

G.Uray (Budapest): Zu den Spuren des Manichäismus und des Nestorianismus im alten Tibet, 8.-10.Jahrhundert (Vorläufige Bemerkungen)

S.G.Karmay (Paris): Bon mentioned as a belief in an unnoticed Tun-huang manuscript

E.De Rossi-Filibeck (Rome): The transmission lineage of the *gCod* teaching according to dGe 'dun rgya mts'o, the 2nd Dalai Lama

L.S.Kawamura (Calgary): Mi pham's *mKhas 'jug* and the Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra

Evening

H.Harrer (Kitzbühel): Latest films

16 September, Wednesday

Morning session. Chair: L.Schmithausen

Ch.Lindtner (Copenhagen): Nāgārjuna's *Vyavahārasiddhi*

O.H.Pind (Århus): Emptiness - towards a semiological determination of emptiness in Mādhyamika discourse

N.Katz (Williamstown): Tibetan hermeneutics and the *yāna* controversy

D.Seyfort Ruegg (London): Does the Mādhyamika maintain a thesis? - A Tibetan discussion of a controversial point

T.Tillemans (Lausanne): The "neither one nor many" argument for śūnyatā and its Tibetan interpretation

M.Kalff (Zollikon): Some thoughts on rGyal tshab rje's interpretation of Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka philosophy in his commentary to the *Ratnāvalī*

Free Afternoon

17 September, Thursday

Morning session. Chair: D.Seyfort Ruegg

K.Mimaki (Kyoto): The *Blo gsal grub mtha'* and the Mādhyamika classification in the *grub mtha'* literature

B.Banerjee (Santiniketan): The concept of *bodhicitta*

L.Schmithausen (Hamburg): On the *darśanamārga* of the *Abhidharma-samuccaya* in the interpretation of Tibetan commentators

M.Sato (Morioka): Die Madhyamaka-Philosophie in der Sa skya pa-Schule

Afternoon session. Chair: J.Takasaki

P.W.Williams (Bristol): On *rañ rig*

R.Kaschewsky (Bonn): Gibt es eine lamaistische "scholastische Methode"?

E.Steinkellner (Vienna): *tshad ma'i skyes bu*

M.M.Broido (Oxford): *bśad thabs*: Some Tibetan theories of tantric exegesis

Achok Rimpoche (Vienna): The importance of love and compassion in Buddhism

Evening. Chair: H.Eimer

Vijai Kranti (Delhi): Tibetans in India (slide-show)

C.Clarke (Oxford): Slides illustrating his paper

Chair: D.S.Ruegg

Madhyamaka - discussions and information

18 September, Friday

Morning session. Chair: G.Kara

S.Dietz: (Goettingen): The author of the *Suhṛllekha* (*bŚes pa'i phrin yig*)

H.Tauscher (Vienna): Some problems of textual history in connection with the Tibetan translations of the *Madhyamakāvatāraḥ* and its commentary

G.Bethlenfalvy (Budapest): Notes on the Kanjur

J.Takasaki (Tokyo): On the *Myāñ 'das*

Eimer (Bonn): Die Auffindung des *bKa' chems ka khol ma*.
Quellenkritische Überlegungen

P.Klafkowski (Posnania): Studies in the Tibetan and Himalayan Bible translations

Afternoon session. Chair: D.Schuh

J.L.Panglung (München): Die Überreste des Kloster Nar ma in Ladakh

M.Helffer (Paris): Remarques sur les instruments de musique liés à la pratique du Véhicule des Tantra, d'après un texte bon po de 'Ja mtshon sñin po

G.Clarke (Oxford): The Great and Little Tradition in Yolmo, Nepal

Plenary session

Evening: Short communications. Chair: M.Helffer

P.Klafkowski (Posnania): Once again about the Tashe Thing Tale

B.C.Olschak (Zürich): Early Himalayan immigration

H.Stang (Oslo): The naming of Činggis Khān - A new-old view (presented by P.Kværne)

D.Schuh (Bonn): Possibilities of tibetological research in China

H.Eimer (Bonn): Some results of recent Kanjur-research

19 September, Saturday

Morning session. Chair: R.E.Emmerick

G.Somlai (Budapest): A medical chart

K.Uray-Köhalmi und G.Uray (Budapest): Bemerkungen zu den Ge-sar-Illuminationen der Sammlung Armin Schwaninger

J.Karsten (Bonn): The ya sor officials and the secular festi-vals following the sMon lam chen mo

Closing session

Plenary Session

1) G.Kara, Head of the Oriental Department of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, presented the following invitation:

On behalf of the Csoma de Körös Society and of the Chair of Inner Asian Studies of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, I have the honour to invite the Csoma de Körös Symposium to be held next in Budapest in September of 1984, the year of the bicentennial anniversary of Alexander Csoma de Körös's birth. I hope this invitation will be accepted by the members of the 3rd Csoma de Körös Symposium, and the noble tradition of our learned and learning meetings of Tibetan and Central Asian Studies will successfully be continued.

2) Proposals of the Committee on Resolutions

The participants of the Symposium formed a Committee on Resolutions, consisting of R.A.Miller, D.Schuh and K.Uray-Köhalmi. The following resolutions were presented and explained by R.A.Miller:

1. *The Symposium took notice of the information given by its Hungarian members, that in 1984 the Hungarian Academy of Sciences plans to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the birth of Csoma de Körös. The members of the Symposium express their conviction that this act of homage will contribute a major impact to the development of the studies begun by Csoma de Körös and will serve as a welcome means for international cooperation in these studies.*

2. *For endorsing the anniversary commemorations, the Symposium recommends to the Hungarian Csoma de Körös Bicentennial Committee the following:*

a. *Appropriate measures should be taken, so that commemorations, lectures and other solemn occasions shall be organized in those countries and places which were connected with the life and activity of Csoma de Körös.*

b. The Symposium endorses that a proposal should be made to the UNESCO to include the bicentenary of Csoma de Körös in its program in 1984.

c. The members of the Symposium offer their possible personal contribution to the international commemoration and authorize the Permanent International Committee of this Symposium to act as a coordinating body for the members.

3. The Symposium acknowledges the information, that in accordance with item 4 of the resolution passed at the Mátrafüred session, 1976, appropriate measures have been taken to publish the reprinting of the collected works of Csoma de Körös. In view of the 200th anniversary and the international importance of this publication the Symposium recommends to the UNESCO to support this publication.

4. The Symposium acknowledges with satisfaction that in accordance with item 5 of the resolution passed in Mátrafüred a Bulletin has been published. It recommends to the competent authorities to continue the publication of this Bulletin, which it considers a useful tool in disseminating information within its scholarly field.

5. The members of the Symposium gratefully accept the proposal of Professor Steinkellner to publish the papers read at this session under the title "Proceedings of the 3rd Csoma de Körös Symposium" as a special volume of the "Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde". The protocols of the Symposium shall be published, as usual, in the Bulletin.

6. The members of the Symposium accept the invitation of the Csoma de Körös Society and the chair of Inner Asian Studies of the University of Budapest forwarded by Professor György Kara that the next Symposium shall be held in 1984 in Budapest.

7. The Committee on Resolutions proposes to the members here present the election to the Permanent International Committee of the Csoma de Körös Symposium the following slate of members.

S. Bira (Mongolia)	E. Steinkellner (Austria)
W. Heissig (GFR)	J. Takasaki (Japan)
G. Kara (Hungary)	M. Taube (GDR)
E. I. Kychanov (USSR)	G. Uray (Hungary)
L. Petech (Italy)	T. V. Wylie (USA)
A. Róna-Tas (Hungary) [President]	

3) Resolutions of the Plenary Session of the Symposium

The plenary session passed the proposals of the Committee on Resolutions unanimously, without amendment, and requested the organizers to forward the resolution of the Symposium to the Csoma de Körös Society, the Chair of Inner Asian Studies of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

4) Election of the Permanent International Committee

The scholars proposed as members of the Permanent International Committee in item 7 of the proposal of the Committee on Resolutions were elected by the Symposium.

5) J.Takasaki, as Secretary-General of the Organizing Committee, presented the 1st circular of the XXXI. International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa (CISHAAN), 31 August - 7 September 1983, Tokyo and Kyoto.

6) C.I.Beachwith announced the formation of a "T'ang Studies Society" and communicated information on a new journal, "The Journal of the Tibet Society".

7) The plenary session ended with a stimulating discussion on the future format of the Symposium, e.g. the introduction of special panels and other related matters.

Closing Session

1) Csoma de Körös Medal, 1981

On behalf of the Csoma de Körös Society A.Róna-Tas presented the Csoma de Körös Medal to Professor Ernst Steinkellner for his scholarly achievements in Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, and for his contributions to international cooperation in these fields.

2) Expression of thanks of the participants of the Symposium

E.Sperling and G.Bethlenfalvy expressed the thanks of the participants:

We, the participants in the Third Csoma de Körös Symposium held in Velm, Austria, from the 13th to the 19th of September 1981, wish to ex-

press our sincere gratitude to all who have made it possible for us to meet each other at this amicable and stimulating conference. We feel that it is fitting for us to acknowledge the efforts of those whose work and concern allowed us to devote ourselves to various aspects of Tibetology without thoughts of anything but our scholarly passion. In particular we wish to acknowledge our debts of gratitude to several individuals and institutions.

We acknowledge with gratitude the patronage of Frau Dr. Hertha Firnberg, the Austrian Minister for Science and Research, and thank her for endeavouring to hold in Vienna a tibetological conference that was both scientific and international in nature.

We would like to thank Academian Prof. Dr. Manfred Mayrhofer and the Austrian Academy of Sciences for their support and encouragement for our meeting and for warmly welcoming us, as fellow scholars, to Vienna.

We recognize also the contribution of the Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies of the University of Vienna both to Tibetology and to the creation of a warm and hospitable climate in Vienna for the convening of a symposium devoted to Tibetan Studies.

We wish to express our deep appreciation to the president of our symposium, Prof. Dr. Ernst Steinkellner, for putting so much of his time and energy into the running of our conference. His efforts on our behalf were such that all of us were able to carry on our activities and gatherings blissfully unaware of the day to day details necessary to the functioning of the symposium.

We wish to also thank the members of the Organizing Committee for the Third Csoma de Körös Symposium, Prof. Dr. Ernst Steinkellner, Dr. Helmut Tauscher and Mr. Torsten Much, for a meeting that was so well-planned and smoothly run as we could wish for.

Finally, we gratefully acknowledge the hospitality and the concern for our comfort shown by the management and staff of the Educational Center of the Union of Privately Employed Workers, Velm, who made our stay there a pleasant and relaxed one.

To all concerned we express our sincere gratitude for an enjoyable and scholastically satisfying conference.

N. Narkyid expressed special thanks on behalf of the Tibetan participants.

3) Concluding address by E. Steinkellner

E. Steinkellner, president of the Symposium, emphasized his conviction that the tradition of the Csoma de Körös Symposia should be continued. The effort of the Hungarian colleagues should be internationally endorsed, and future Symposia should eventually be organized outside of Hungary again.

P R E F A C E

The Csoma de Körös-Symposium held at Velm-Vienna in 1981 gives further proof of the worldwide expanding development of a more and more differentiated Tibetology. Alongside of the traditionally established divisions of tibetological research it is the new presence of the study of the theoretical efforts and traditions within Tibetan religions and philosophy which we are tempted to note as a distinguishing feature of the Symposium at Velm-Vienna.

This hitherto sometimes problematic division of tibetological research is finally emerging as a valid means of approaching the specific meaning and import of Tibetan culture. The new general accessibility of most of the important literary documents, a noticeable effort to overcome the useless partiality for either an interpretation orientated towards the Indian heritage only, or relying on Tibetan indigenous sources only, and the increasing application of a critical historical methodology combined with the progress of sound philological conceptions in editorial work, signify a new period of research in these studies.

That the originality of the Tibetan masters goes well beyond their fascinating achievements in Buddhist exegesis only, has clearly been recognized. But the contents, variety, details, and general import of their theoretical thought are yet to be defined and explained on the basis of a philological preparation and interpretation of the sources for most of the available masters and traditions.

To render the Proceedings more easily accessible to a larger public we decided to publish them, systematically divided, in two volumes, and we gratefully acknowledge the expert advice of D.Seyfort Ruegg in this matter.

Of the papers delivered at the Symposium, Kolmaš' paper was published separately as No.9 of our series (Ferdinand Stoliczka (1838-1874): The Life and Work of the Czech Explorer in India and High Asia, Wien 1982). The papers of Csetri, Finckh, and the second paper of Wang could

not be presented at the Symposium for various reasons. While some of the references in the texts of the papers are related to the time of the conference, the footnotes often include references of a later date, too.

Out of respect for the traditional individuality of scholars in Tibetan studies we decided not to force the system of transliteration used by us upon our colleagues. Thus, the system in use at the University of Vienna, and recommended, as well, by the "Verein Deutscher Bibliothekare" and the "American Library Association" has been accepted, irrespective of their own working habits, by most of the contributors in order to facilitate the editorial work, but not by all. It will not irritate the specialist, but we apologize to the general reader, and ask for his toleration of this superficial idiosyncrasy in tibetological circles. The system used in most of the articles transliterates the crucial items in the following way:

ཇ' na	ཇ' ca	ཇ' cha	ཇ' ja
ཇ' ŋa	ཇ' tsa	ཇ' tsha	ཇ' dza
ཇ' va	ཇ' ŋa	ཇ' 'a	ཇ' ŋa
ཇ' y - g.ya			

We would, finally, like to thank Prof. Wang Yao for writing the Chinese characters, Ms. Monika Pemwieser for the care and attentive interest with which she typed and corrected these Proceedings, Mr. Michael Egger for his share in correcting and providing the graphs, Dr. Torsten Much, Dr. János Szerb and Mr. Helmut Krasser for their share in proofreading, and Mr. Ernst Becvar, our printer, for his good advice and pecuniary patience.

THE REVOLT OF 755 IN TIBET

by
C.I.BECKWITH (Bloomington)

In the year 755 the Tibetan emperor Khri lde gtsug brtsan, better known as Mes Ag tshoms, died.¹ According to the Stag sgra Klu khon inscription at Žol in Lhasa,

"During the reign of Emperor Khri lde gtsug rtsan, Nan lam Klu khon was a loyal *rjeblas*. While 'Bal ldon tsab and Lan myes zigs were Great Ministers they became disloyal, and as they injured the person of the emperor the father, Khri lde gtsug rtsan, he went to heaven. They were near to injuring the person of the emperor the son, Khri sron lde brtsan. As they were making the realm of the black-headed Tibetans disorderly, Klu khon disclosed to the emperor the son, Khri sron lde brtsan, evidence of the disloyalty of 'Bal and Lan. Then 'Bal and Lan truly became disloyal, they were disgraced, and Klu Khoṇ was in favour."²

The preceding account is partially confirmed by two notices in the old Tibetan Annals. In the year 755,

"the soldiers overthrew the father's courtiers ...
The servants of Lan [and] 'Bal were banished; they were expelled to Mton-sod."³

¹ THTC 217: 6950; CTS 196a: 5236; HTS 216a: 6087. For the romanization used in this paper, please see my article in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 99:2, 1979 (297-313), n.2.

² H.E.Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa*, London 1952, the South Inscription, text given on pp.16 to 19. The translation is my own. On the term *rjeblas*, see below, n.6.

³ OTA, Sheep year 755/756; DTT 56. The sentence omitted (indicated by ellipses) may be related. It is translatable as "Myriarchs for the three myriarchies of Stoñ-sar were appointed".

In the following year, "the remainder of the wealth of Lañ [and] 'Bal was counted,"⁴ and Khri sroñ lde brtsan was enthroned as emperor.⁵

In other words, the sequence of events is as follows. In 755, Mes Ag tshoms was killed by two ministers named Lañ and 'Bal. Stag sgra Klu khon, a high official in charge of payments, perhaps to the army,⁶ then presented evidence to Prince Sroñ lde brtsan that they were disloyal, were causing dissension in the country, and were about to injure him also. This sequence indicates that the alleged disloyalty of the two was not at all obvious. Subsequently, Lañ and 'Bal really did revolt, they were killed by the army, their property was confiscated, and Klu khon was, one assumes, richly rewarded. In 756, Prince Sroñ lde brtsan was named Emperor Khri sroñ lde brtsan, and took the reigns of the government into his hands. There was therefore a hiatus of one year without a formally installed emperor.

Now since there is no record, in Tibetan or Chinese sources, of a succession struggle at the death of Mes Ag tshoms, one is entitled to wonder why Khri sroñ lde brtsan had so much trouble. The matter is doubly problematic in that Khri sroñ lde brtsan was thirteen years of age when his father died: his father was certainly killed so that he could take the throne. The boy should therefore have been the uncontested crown prince: Lañ and 'Bal were probably just fulfilling their duty of ensuring the succession; and the inscription's story about their revolting could be questioned. No reasons are given in the Old Tibetan inscription for the actions of Lañ, 'Bal, and their supporters. If it were our only source for these events, we would have to assume that the two ministers were simply too powerful for their own good, and were removed in the same way that the Mgar clan ministers had been eliminated in the previous century. However, the traditional accounts, which are primarily concerned with the rise of Buddhism in Tibet, and which do preserve certain ancient sources, must be taken into consideration. According to

⁴ OTA, Ape year 756-757; DTT 56.

⁵ The Chinese sources (see n.1) do not indicate the lapse of one year.

⁶ The word *rjeblas* is unknown outside of Old Tibetan literature. Richardson translated it (1952,20) as "confidential royal work", although he acknowledges that it is a title in his discussion, pp.11-12. Since *rje* can also be a verb meaning "to exchange, barter or trade", and *blas* is another spelling for *glas* (Choskyi gragspa, Brdadag miñ-tshig gsalba, Peking 1957; repr. Tokyo 1972, 583) which means "wage, fee" (for "hireling", *glapa* or *glati*) one may suppose that the officer known as *rjeblas* was in charge perhaps of paying the army (today *glas-dmag* means "mercenaries"), much like the functions of his famous contemporary Khālid b. Barmak, in the mid-eighth century Arab empire. (See Dominique Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'Abbāside*, 2 Vols. Damascus 1959-1960, I, 76-78, 127-133.)

them, there was an anti-Buddhist revolt in Tibet just at this time, beginning either upon the death of Mes Ag tshoms or even earlier, upon the death of Princess Chin-ch'eng in 739, although according to other traditional accounts (as well as current scholarly opinion) there was then little or no Buddhism in Tibet.⁷ (What is difficult to understand is that in this latter tradition Lañ and 'Bal are made out to be pro-Buddhist ministers, while Stag sgra Klu khon is one of the anti-Buddhists. It is apparently impossible, therefore, to reconcile this tradition with that of the Old Tibetan accounts.⁸) One could argue that Stag sgra Klu khon and Khri sron lde brtsan together agreed to eliminate Mes Ag tshom's powerful ministers, so that the ruler would have both more personal power and a strong minister, whose personal loyalty to him was guaranteed by the feudal grants listed in his inscription. Certainly Klu khon's deeds

⁷ See P.Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa*, Paris 1952, 189 (et seq.) n.1. For the anti-Buddhist reaction at the time of Princess Chin-ch'eng, see the Old Tibetan and Tanjur accounts mentioned in n.18.

It is most probable that the current opinion, which is not all that critical since it is still largely based on traditional Tibetan accounts, will have to be revised somewhat. See H.E.Richardson, *The First Tibetan Chos-Byung*, *The Tibet Journal* 5:3, 1980, 62-73.

It is interesting to note that the Skar-chuñ inscription erected by Khri lde sron brtsan (early ninth century; see H.E.Richardson, *The Skar-cung Inscription*, *JRAS* 1973, 12-20) clearly specifies Sron brtsan sgam po as the founder of Buddhism in Tibet with the building of *gtsug-lag-khan* (*vihāra*) at Rasa "and so forth", apparently between 641 and 649/650. Furthermore, it mentions the continuation of pro-Buddhist policies under Khri 'dus sron, who is credited with building *gtsug-lag-khan* (apparently between 701 and 703) at Khri rtse in gliñ "and so forth", and Khri lde gtsug brtsan, who built the *gtsug-lag-khan* of Kwa-cu (presumably after the Tibetan sack of Kua-chou^{III} in 727) and Mchiñ-phu at Brag-mar. Without any pause, or the slightest hint of any trouble, the list continues with the description of Khri sron lde brtsan's activities, wherein it is mentioned only that the ruler built "vihāras at the center and the borders, Bsam-yas at Brag-mar, and so on". With the exception of the specific building projects, the language used for the description of each ruler is practically identical, and no distinction is made between the vihāras of Samye and Lhasa, etc. In fact, the "first edict of Khri sron lde brtsan" preserved in the *Mkhaspa'i dgāston* specifically mentions the *dge'dun* - the community of monks - of both these vihāras. (See G.Tucci, *Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Rome 1950, 46, 97 lines 4-5.)

What is somewhat curious is the fact that the Skar-chuñ inscription (just as all other published Old Tibetan inscriptions) omits mention of any dissention or suppression of Buddhism at the time of Mes Ag tshoms or his son, while this information is found in passages of one of the imperial edicts of Khri sron lde brtsan and one of the edicts of his son Khri lde sron brtsan dealing with precisely the same subject - the history and establishment of Buddhism in Tibet. Perhaps the affair was thought too unseemly or unsettling for a public inscription. For the texts and translations of these edicts, see Tucci, *op.cit.*, 98-104, 47-50, 51-55.

⁸ Sba 8, 11; *MD Ja* 75r^O (p.38a) ff. Can it be that Lañ and 'Bal were indeed pro-Buddhist ministers, but that - as the traditional accounts would have it - were slandered by the anti-Buddhist Klu-khon, and then revolted? There is actually nothing in the old Tibetan sources to exclude the possibility that the later sources are correct here.

are praised so highly because Emperor Khri sron lde brtsan himself owed his throne to him. All of this would not, however, explain why the young emperor supported the overthrow of the very ministers who apparently ensured his succession, why he continued to face strong opposition after the victory, or finally, and in particular, why he went to such great lengths to establish a national Buddhist cult, full of legitimizing rulership symbolism, as the state religion. To attempt to answer these questions, it is necessary to reexamine a series of historiographical problems in the preceding emperor's reign. Some of these have hitherto been touched upon briefly by L.Petech in several penetrating notes.⁹

⁹ L.Petech, *Glosse agli Annali di Tun Huang*, *Rivista degli studi orientali* 42: 1967, 241-279. Petech summarizes the events and provides some useful insights on pp.255-258. According to him, the name of the *btsanpo* *gcen* is to be read Lha Balpho, an interpretation supported (apparently unknown to him) by the *T'ung tien*; see below. (It ought to be pointed out, however, that Balpho or Balpo was the name of one of the main imperial palaces at the time, and the passage of the *Annals* in question here could also be interpreted to mean that his name was Lha only, and that he was deposed from the Balpho capital [*rgyal-sa*]. Furthermore, Petech's identification [p.251] of Poñ lag ran as a place on the Tibetan border, northeast of 'Jan, is puzzling. The name is otherwise unknown, but Petech has equated the Poñ with the Poñ in another name, Poñ khri mu stens, mentioned in the *Annals* under the Tiger year 702-3.) Petech concludes that the Princess of Chin-ch'eng was indeed betrothed to the Lha (Balpho) who was dethroned in 705, and that the Lhas-bon who died in 739 was a different person, confused in the later Tibetan sources with Lha Balpho. He could be right. The *T'ung tien*, which is more than a little confused here, states:

"Ch'i-li-pa-puⁿ died in the early Shen-lung^o period [705-706]. His son was enthroned. Ch'i-li-nu-hsi-lung^P was then aged seven *sui*^a [i.e., eight years old]. (His) grandmother Lu-mo shih^q was made regent. So it was until the fourth month of the third year of the Shen-lung period of Chung-tsung^d [May-June, 707], (when the T'ang) took a (member of the imperial clan) raised (in the palace), the daughter of Shou-li^r, hereditary Prince of Yung^s, and enfeoffed her as Princess of Chin-ch'eng. She was [to be] sent out to submit (to [?]) the Tibetan *btsanpo*. In the first month of the third year of the Ching-lung^t period [February-March, 710], (His Highness) went to Shih-p'ing^c hsien^u to send off the Princess of Chin-ch'eng. ... In the fourteenth year of the T'ien-pao^v period [755] he died. His son was enthroned. He was named (hao)^w Ch'i-li-hsi-lung-na-tsang^x. (TT 190:1024.)

In other words, according to this version, a *Khri balpo died in 705, and was succeeded by his son Khri 'du(s) sron, who was then eight years old. The prince's grandmother Lu-mo (no doubt for *Mo-lu^y, probably Khri ma lod) was enthroned as regent. In fact, of course, Khri 'dus sron died in 704, and was succeeded by Khri balpo, who was dethroned in 705; Prince Gtsug-ru, the successor-to-be, was then only one year old, and his grandmother Khri ma lod ruled Tibet until 712, when he was eight years old and was enthroned as emperor. On the other hand, this text may simply have inverted the order of rulers: Khri 'dus sron's death was reported in China in 705; his successor was *Khri balpo, and the regent was Khri ma lod. Unfortunately, the confusion in the present version(s) of the *T'ung Tien* may be original to the work, and not much reliance can be placed on its evidence.

Firstly, in 704 the emperor Khri 'dus sron died¹⁰ on a campaign against 'Jan, on the southeastern borders of Tibet. Upon his death a new btsanpo was enthroned. This ruler, known only as btsanpo gcen lha (or btsanpo gcen lha balpho), that is "Lha (Balpho) the emperor, the older brother", in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, was forcibly dethroned in 705,¹¹ no doubt by the powerful Khri ma lod. Although she probably did this in favour of her infant grandson, Rgyal gtsug ru, no btsanpo is mentioned as being installed in his place. According to the Chinese sources, when Khri 'dus sron died,

"his sons struggled over the succession; after quite a while, the people of the country enthroned Khri 'dus sron's son Khri lde gtsug brtsan as btsanpo. He was seven sui^a [eight years old] at the time."¹²

Since the *Annals* agree with this - he was given his imperial reign title in 712 at the age of eight¹³ - the question remains: who was ruling in 710 when Princess Chin-ch'eng^b arrived? For whom were all the marriage negotiations held,¹⁴ long before the birth of the mysteriously-named Rgyal gtsug ru?

¹⁰ OTA, Hare year 703/704, Dragon year 704/705; DTT 19. In the latter year he was actually campaigning against the Mywa. DTT wrongly transliterates this name "myava", and compounds the error in the translation on page 40, where it is given as the "royaume La Myava." The name is no doubt a transcription of the name of the Yunnanese people known in Chinese transcription as the Miao^z. In the OTC, VII (DTT 112) it is related that "he campaigned against 'Jan, and taxed the White Mywa. He subjugated the Black Mywa, ..."

¹¹ Ibid. See also n.9 on Balpho.

¹² CTS 196a:5226. Cf. HTS 216a:6081; TCTC 207:6569. These versions differ somewhat. The TCTC states that he was seven nien^{aa}, "years" of age, the others state that he was seven sui^a, i.e., eight "years old" Chinese style. The TCTC also places these events in 703, which is certainly mistaken. The embassy announcing the death of Khri 'dus sron arrived in China in 705, according to the CTS, which is probably correct here. For the TT version, see n.9.

¹³ OTA, Rat year 712; DTT 20-21.

¹⁴ See Demiéville, *op.cit.*, 2-3 on the negotiations. Petech (pp.257-258) has concluded that the negotiations were held on behalf of "Lha-bal-pCo". The HTS names one "grandmother" who sent an envoy requesting a marriage, supposedly in 709. The name, K'o-tun^{bb}, is a correct transcription of her title, Gatun, which is in turn a correct Old Tibetan transcription of the Old Turkic title qatun, "queen", or "royal consort". The burial of the btsanmo Gatun^c of the *Annals* is recorded in dpyid, "spring", of (708)/709. Whether or not this is a scribal error for *pyi btsanmo gatun, "the grandmother, the princess Gatun", there is in any case no problem with the date. Since there are several "grandmothers" mentioned in the OTA at this time, one cannot say whether or not several of them may have sent envoys to China requesting a princess for their own princely candidate for the throne. (See also n.25 below.) Finally, the

Secondly, Princess Chin-ch'eng - who was sent off to Tibet from Shih-p'ing^c on March 5, 710,¹⁵ and arrived in Rasa later in the year¹⁶ - was, according to traditional Tibetan sources, betrothed to a prince named 'Jañ tsha Lha dbon. The same sources claim that this prince died before she reached Tibet, and so instead she had to marry his father, an old

idea that this Turkic consort in Tibet was a daughter of the Eastern Türk qaghan Qutlug Iltāris (G.Uray, *The Annals of the 'Aža Principality*, in L.Ligeti, ed., *Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium*, Budapest 1978 [541-578], 522 and note) is due to Pelliot's mistranslation of a passage in the *Hsin T'ang shu* (see *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, Paris 1961, 98-99). He translates *chiu yü t'ung p'ing*, *chi jih chiu cheng ju ch'u, pu yü chiao i*^{cc} (HTS 216 a:6082-6083) as "nous avons voilà longtemps conclu une union matrimoniale avec lui; mais du jour où nous serons avec vous oncle, neveu comme précédemment, nous n'aurons plus de relations avec lui." However, the word *p'ing*^{dd}, as he himself notes in a footnote, has other meanings, and "On peut comprendre ensuite: 'nous avons échangé des visites' (通聘)". In fact, *p'ing* does not mean 'to marry' at all, but (in addition to the primary meanings 'to inquire, to summon, to seek', etc.) 'to betroth with a dowry, to give a dowry, to engage'. (See T.Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*, 13 Vols., Tokyo 1955-1968, no.29079, where however the Japanese definitions and explanations of the Chinese are incorrect under this meaning.) Finally, the context hardly allows such an interpretation. The passage should be translated as "we have long ago exchanged visits with him, but on the very day we are uncle and nephew as we were, we will not have any relations with him." The Tibetan *gatun* was without any doubt a Western Turkic princess. On Tibetan relations with the Western Turks (and the lack of them with the Eastern Turks) see G.Uray, *The Old Tibetan Sources of the History of Central Asia up to 751 A.D.: A Survey*, in J.Harmatta, ed., *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Budapest 1979 (275-304), 281; and C.I.BECKWITH, *The Tibetan Empire in the West*, in Michael Aris, et.al., ed., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster 1980, 30-38.

¹⁵ The summary in G.Uray, *The Annals of the 'Aža Principality*, 568-569, states that "on the kuei-wei day (March 6) he returned to the capital, and supposedly it was this or the following day that the princess set off as well". This follows the interpretation also of Demiéville in *Le concile de Lhasa*, 1 n.2. However, this chronology may be given more precisely. On March 2, according to all sources (CTS 7:149; HTS 4:112; TFYK 979:3v^o) the imperial party "went to Shih-p'ing^c hsien^u to send off the princess". (TCTC 209:6639 says under this date that "His Highness personally escorted the princess to (chih^{ee}) Shih-p'ing", but it is not clear here, as elsewhere, if the party actually arrived there the same day.) On March 4, "a tent-hall was erected", for the reception of the Tibetan envoys, the feast, the melodramatic leave-taking speeches, poetry recitals, etc., for the princess (TFYK 979:3v^o). On March 5, the emperor decreed an amnesty for the counties of Hsien-yang ff and Shih-p'ing, and changed the latter county's name to Chin-ch'eng^b. "He then proceeded to a villa north of Ma-wei^{gg} belonging to Wang Kuang-fu^{hh}, the magistrate (*ling ii*) of Ch'ang-an" (CTS 7:149). On March 6, he arrived back in Ch'ang-an. (CTS 7:149; HTS 4:112; TCTC 209:6639). In short, it is clear the ceremonies began on March 4, and on March 5, after hearing the proclamations in her honour, the princess left for Tibet and the Chinese ruler left to go elsewhere.

¹⁶ She arrived in late summer or early fall, 710 (OTA, Dog year 710/711).

man - namely, Mes Ag tshoms.¹⁷ Now since the latter was in fact only five or six years old at that time, this story also is somehow an error. We next hear of the princess in the third decade of the century. In 723, she sent a secret message to Candrāpīda, king of Kashmir, asking if he could give her asylum.¹⁸ Her reasons are unknown; perhaps - as the Tibetan historians assert - she was unhappy with her "aged" spouse. Certainly she must have had little influence on Sino-Tibetan relations, which were fairly hostile during her lifetime. A few years later, she spoke to the btsanpo on behalf of the Khotanese refugee monks who had come to the borders at Tshal-byi, asking for asylum. The monks were admitted, and under the princess' patronage seven vihāras (*gtsug-lag khān*) were built for them. The princess also invited or patronized monks and scholars from other Tarim Basin countries, from Gilgit, from China, and from areas further west suffering from Islamic persecution, including Tukhāristān. Unfortunately, a few years after this promising beginning for Buddhism in Tibet, a plague struck. The foreign monks were blamed - no doubt justly - for having brought the plague with them, and were expelled shortly after the death of both the princess¹⁹ and the btsanpo sras Lhas bon²⁰ or "Lhas bon the emperor, the son". (With regard to the foreign monks, one could argue that the real reason they caused such an

¹⁷ MD Ja 71v° (36b), Sba 2 (spelled Ljañ tsha Lha dbon). His mother is said in both texts to be named Khri btsun, who was buried in the winter of the Bird year 745/746. Another possibility thus presents itself: when Lha died before Chin-ch'eng kung-chujj arrived, she was married eventually to a son of Mes Ag tshoms, named 'Jañ tsha Lha dbon. The chronology however makes this extremely unlikely. Petech (op.cit.258) has stated that the Chinese princess was born "a quanto pare nel 689", and was fifteen years older than the young Mes Ag tshoms. His source for this surprising statement is H.Satō, *Kodai Chibetto shi kenkyū*, 2 Vols., Kyōto 1958-1959, I:392-417. A search of these pages did not yield this information, but on pages 478-479 Satō does indeed claim, on the basis of the *Blue Annals*, that the princess was 51 sui^a (i.e. 52 years old) when she died. There is in fact no reliable source which gives the age of the princess at her death - the *Blue Annals* is hardly reliable with respect to imperial Tibetan history, and the Chinese records are silent on the subject. Since the princess' father Shou-li^s died in 741, and was then 70 years old, she could have been born that early, but I think it somewhat doubtful. Shou-li is supposed to have been a gay blade who fathered over sixty children. His son Ch'eng-hung^{kk} was enthroned as emperor in Ch'ang-an by the Tibetans in 763. (See CTS 86:2833-2834; HTS 81:3591-3592.)

¹⁸ See E.Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St.Petersbourg 1903, repr. Taipei 1969, 205-206.

¹⁹ This episode is known from the ex eventu prophecies in Tibetan and Chinese found in Tun-huang but also preserved in the Tanjur. (For a bibliography on these, see Uray, *Old Tibetan Sources*, 288-289.) See Peking Tanjur, Gtam-yig, Ne 439v°, 433r° - 446v° (repr. Vol.129, 298a, 299e-300e). Cf. n.28.

²⁰ OTA, Hare year 739 (sras Lhas bon); Snake year 741 (btsanpo sras Lhas bon and btsanmo Khōn-co [Kung-chujj] buried together). Unlike Rgyal gtsug ru, Lhas bon's birth date is not mentioned in the Old Tibetan Annals.

uproar in Tibet may have been their political support for Mes Ag tshoms, the ruler who supported them. After all, in China and Central Asia at least, this had been standard practice for centuries. Certainly the Japanese emperors, who adopted Buddhism at about the same time as the Tibetans - and in much the same way - were not slow to see the usefulness of having a hierarchical state religion on their side.²¹ Typologically, one is immediately reminded also of their European contemporaries, the Carolingian Franks, and their very similar policies.)

Thirdly, the Tibetan histories go to great lengths to prove that Khri sron lde brtsan was indeed the legitimate successor to the throne. According to the *Sba bžed*, he was born in a Hare year and Chin-ch'eng died in a Hare year according to the *Old Tibetan Annals*, thus supposedly making it possible that he was indeed the son of the Chinese princess.²² According to the *Mkhaspa'i dgāston* and other traditional histories, when he was yet an infant he was stolen from his true mother, Princess Chin-ch'eng, by Princess Snanam, who claimed he was her own son. This caused the Chinese princess much grief until finally, at the feast celebrating the child's beginning to walk, the young prince denounced Princess Snanam and ran to his rightful mother, Princess Chin-ch'eng.²³ It is known now that this account is defective because, according to the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the Chinese princess had died in 739/740, three years before Khri sron lde brtsan was born, and furthermore the princess accused in the story actually was his mother, although in fact she died in childbirth or immediately afterwards in 742/743.²⁴ However, the question raised by the traditional sources is clearly one of his legitimacy. Was Khri sron lde brtsan really suspected of being illegitimate?

Since it is apparent that all of the above accounts are inextricably bound up with the problem of legitimacy, a hypothesis - I repeat, a hypothesis, one of several possible hypotheses - may therefore be proposed. The *btsanpo* Lha succeeded Khri 'dus sron, and reigned for one year before being deposed. If the so-called "older brother" was -

²¹ See the masterful study of M.W.de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sutras and Ceremonies in Use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D. and Their History in Later Times*, 2 Vols., Leiden 1935, and see further below.

²² He was born in 742/743, according to the OTA, Horse year 742/743; DTT 26.

²³ MD, Ja 7v^o (36b), 8v^o (36d). *Sba* 3-4. The dates are ignored; see MD, Ja 8r^o-5v^o (36c-d).

²⁴ Her name was Snanam zà mahmorje bži steñ (DTT, 82); her death is recorded in the sentence following that on the birth of "btsanpo Sron lde brtsan", in the OTA, Horse year 742/743.

as seems irrefutable - the legitimate, expected successor of Khri 'dus sroh, then Rgyal gtsug ru was not equally as legitimate, and that is why the name recorded for him at his birth, and until 712, was not at all like the imperial reign name he then received. This same Lha must have been the same as Lha dbon, the crown prince promised to Chin-ch'eng before she came to Tibet.²⁵ One may suppose that he was thirteen years of age in 704,²⁶ but in any event he was at least older than Rgyal gtsug ru. And as Chin-ch'eng died and was buried together with the btsanpo sras Lhas bon, one is forced to ask if she had ever been married to Mes Ag tshoms at all. Assuming that she was in fact married to Lhas bon, alias Lha dbon or Lha (Bal pho), instead of, or in addition to,²⁷ Mes Ag tshoms, then the whole puzzling story might make sense.

To begin with, it is difficult to imagine that Lha or Lha Bal pho, Lha dbon, and Lhas bon were different personages, especially since they were all crown princes, and all are known primarily in connection with the Chinese princess. They were undoubtedly one and the same man.²⁸ Why then had he not been assassinated when he was dethroned in 705? All other known Tibetan coups were accompanied by the death of the deposed ruler. Why was his successor, who did not bear a typical crown prince's name, not renamed in the sources as an emperor to be? The logical answer is that Lha was in fact the legitimate ruler and was deposed by a woman, Khri ma lod, who then ruled the country herself. Rgyal gtsug ru, alias Khri lde gtsug rtsan, alias Mes Ag tshoms, was therefore a child usurper whose supporters did not yet dare to liquidate the legitimate emperor, Lha. In 705 Lha was dethroned, but not killed; he went into forced retirement, exactly like his Chinese contemporaries, Chung tsung^d and Jui tsung.^e (These two were deposed in turn when Empress Wu Tse-t'ien^f was taking power; they were kept around for the sake of legitimacy, even when she changed the dynastic name, ascended the throne, and ruled China in her own name.) Until Khri ma lod died, then, a new emperor was not placed on the Tibetan throne.²⁹ In 719 the only btsanpo in Tibet was the btsanpo

²⁵ The forms of the names Lha dbon and Lhas bon deserve comment. Considering the relationship of grandmother to grandson which seems to have figured so prominently in court politics at this time, and included both Mes Ag tshoms and the btsanpo gcen Lha (Balpho), it would appear to be most probable that the original of the two names was *Lha sbon, i.e. "Lha the grandson".

²⁶ See the discussion in R.A.Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, Stanford 1972, 99-100.

²⁷ There is little or no Old Tibetan evidence for the existence of polyandry in Tibet, but see Stein, *op.cit.*, 96-102.

²⁸ According to Petech (and the T'ung tien may support him; see n.7) they were different persons, and have been confused in the Tibetan sources. (See Petech, *op.cit.*, 258.)

²⁹ Although Rgyal gtsug ru is sometimes called btsanpo in the Annals, this is of course an anachronism introduced by the later redactors of the work. He is often referred to together with Khri ma lod as simply phyi sbon, "the grandmother and the grandson". From 700 until 712, the year of her death, Khri ma lod is actually given the same attention normally given to a ruling emperor, her residence being carefully recorded every year, usually twice a year. Cf. n.9 on her regency according to the T'ung tien.

gcen Lha and it was to him that the Chinese princess was married. In 712, the faction supporting Rgyal gtsug ru enthroned him early, at the age of eight, and Khri ma lod died - probably not accidentally. The new ruler may perhaps have shared the princess with Lha dbon but this is unlikely. When she and Lhas bon died in 739, she may very well have left a son behind. Obviously, if Lha dbon were the most legitimate successor of Khri 'dus sroñ, then his son by the Buddhist princess Chin-ch'eng would have been in turn the most legitimate successor to the throne. This may have caused the traditional Buddhist historians to strengthen the legitimacy of Khri sroñ lde brtsan, the great champion of their religion, by claiming that he was not the son of Princess Snam, but of the Chinese princess. Actually, he was not completely legitimate no matter how one looks at it. If he were really the son of Lhas bon and Chin-ch'eng, he would not have been the son of the current long-time ruler of Tibet, Mes Ag tshoms, and he would also have been half Chinese.³⁰ If on the other hand he were the son of Mes Ag tshoms, then he would have been the son of an arguably illegitimate ruler. But he was nevertheless apparently installed as crown prince, and there the matter rested until 755.

In that year, there was a revolt against the ruling family, directed seemingly against Khri sroñ lde brtsan's succession to the throne. Now, the old ministers Lañ myes zigs and 'Bal ldon tsab³¹ were certainly loyal to someone - was it perhaps to the scion of a legitimist dynastic line? We do not know, and may never know, since right here there is a long

³⁰ There is no doubt of the actual fact of Rgyal gtsug ru's royal blood (and little doubt over Khri sroñ lde brtsan's, since the discovery of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, much re-written official version though it may be). However, the *Annals* (Dragon year 704/705) records his birth in Khobran tsal, whereas *MD*, Ja 70v^o (35d) says he was born in Ldan-dkar. It is possible, if an Old Tibetan genealogical list is correct, that the emperor Khri mañ slon mañ rtsan was the son of the Chinese princess Wen-ch'eng¹¹ (see DTT 82). If so, the enigmatic passage in the beginning of the *Annals*, which says she consorted with Khri sroñ brtsan for three years before he died, is correct, since it is accepted that Gun sroñ gun brtsan ruled only five years, dying at eighteen. In fact, he was probably the ruler in name only, but it is in any case clear that the princess was obtained from China for the son of Sroñ brtsan sgam po, not for the great ruler himself, who only took her to wife, according to the well-known Tibetan custom, after the death of his son. Thus it is possible that being the son of a foreign consort was not at all a barrier to the succession, as has generally been thought. Thus 'Jañ tsha lha bon, supposedly the son of Mes Ag tshoms' Nan-chao consort (although this is improbable, as seen above) and the btsanpo Lha (Balpho) - perhaps the son of the Turkic consort, the qatun - would apparently not have been considered illegitimate crown princes because of (possible) foreign blood.

³¹ Bal skyes bzah ldon tsab is known already from the *OTA*, Snake year 729/730, and Lañ myes zigs from the *OTA* [version] II, the Dog year 746/747. It is extremely curious that in the case of the second personage the former version should lack this information. *OTA*: "Two [officials], the great minister ['Bro] Cuñ bzah and the minister ['Bal] skyes bzah ldon tsab, convoked the winter assembly at Byar-liñs tsal [in] Skyi, and made a levy of the 'brog-sog of the Four Horns." In the following year, it states only: "... 'brog-sog gcodpa'i riñ-lugs sosor bkye." *OTA* II: Three [officials],

break in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, our primary source for verification of early Tibetan history. Moreover, it is clear that the conflict between the often fragmentary information in the Old Tibetan sources and the often internally contradictory information in the Classical Tibetan histories is probably due at some point to the deliberate rewriting of history. The above hypothesis must therefore remain a hypothesis for the present.

The preceding discussion omits, for lack of space, the exceedingly important and acutely relevant data available from comparative study of the Tibetan empire's contemporary neighbours, which I have touched on elsewhere. But it is necessary to stress here that legitimacy was an overriding concern among all of Tibet's neighbouring empires in the middle-to-late eighth century, notably the Arabs, the Uighur Turks, and the Chinese, among others. Furthermore, the early medieval use of a hierarchical religious apparatus in the support of legitimacy claims is well known -

the great minister(s ?) Cuñ bzan, 'Bal ldon tsab, and Lañ myes zigs, convoked the assembly at Bya-rlin tsal [in] Skyi, and made a levy of the Four Horns 'brog-sog." In the following year, " ... the [great] minister[s] [Cuñ] bzan and 'Bal ldon tsab, the minister Manporje, and the Ŋañ 'Brin rtsan, and others, convoked the winter assembly at Rtsegro in Dra, and concluded the 'brog-sog rtsis ("calculation" of the 'brog-sog; a census ?)." The meaning of 'brog-sog is, for an Old Tibetan problem, rather hotly debated. Here it is desired first to point out one fact: the word must refer to human beings, since a *mhos* is made of them; and since it would be very odd for the great ministers of a great empire to be performing - as one of their most important tasks, evidently - menial labor, these accounts certainly refer to administrative measures concerning the 'brog-sog. It may also be pointed out that *gcodpa'i riñ-lugs*, according to a very unreliable source, Das's dictionary (s.v. *gcod lugs*), means "Tantric or mystical school of Buddhism". If 'brog-sog meant "wandering-Sog[dians]" then these notices would be referring to the wandering Inner Asian Buddhist monks - of whom many were no doubt Tantric Buddhists - who were expelled (*sosor bkye*: "sent away singly/separately/individually" ?) at some unknown date after the death of Princess Chin-ch'eng and Btsanpo sras Lhas bon. (On *riñ-lugs bkye* cf. Petech, 276.) To return to Lañ and 'Bal, it is remarkable that the notices concerning the 'brog-sog in which the ministers involved are named all include 'Bal ldon tsab, and the one pre-755 notice preserved which mentions Lañ myes zigs is also concerned with the 'brog-sog. One then calls to mind the later seditious activities of the expelled monks in Gandhāra, according to the story (see n.18). One may recall also the famous rebellion that began in 755 in T'ang China, led by An Lu-shan^{mm}, son of a Sogdian and a Turkess; the 'Abbāsid revolt of 747, which began in the Arab Central Asian provincial capital of Marw (Merv), the western terminus and great entrepôt of the Sogdian trade routes with the east; the 742 rebellion of the Uighurs, Qarluqs, and Basmil which overthrew the "Second" Türk empire and established the Uighur Turk empire in Mongolia, where the Sogdians played a crucial cultural and economic, if not also political, role; and even the 751 coup d'état in the Frankish realm (where the Jews wielded the respective internationalistic cultural and economic influence); among others. This is a very striking convergence of historical development, the forces behind which have not yet been investigated. (See however my early article on this subject in CAJ 21, 1977, 89-104.) Was there perhaps more to the "revolt of 755" in Tibet than appears from the scanty sources?

as a historical construct - in the case of the early Carolingians Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious. (It is clear also that religious identity was at least equally important in the same states, for reasons not yet known.) In that light, therefore, whether or not the above hypothesis is correct, there can be little doubt about Khri sron lde brtsan's need for legitimizing forces, and one can then easily see why it was of paramount importance to the beleaguered young ruler that state Buddhism, with all of its strong rulership symbolism, be promptly and firmly established.³² Moreover, the Tibetan ruler had a proven model already at hand, one that he simply had to copy in order to see excellent results. That model came from China, the country which supplied him with his Buddhist teachers and materials. In the central T'ang period Amoghavajra, a famous Central Asian monk of the Tantric school of Buddhism, was the *kuo shih*^g, or "National Preceptor", the archchaplain of China.³³ Under his direction a wonderful temple, the *Pao-mo hu-kuo chin-ko-ssū*,^h or "the Temple of the Golden Pavilion which protects against Māra and defends the nation", was built on Wu-t'ai Shanⁱ in 766.³⁴ Amoghavajra also

³² The practical usefulness of the monks themselves - who still had to perform military service - becomes clearer when one considers their personal loyalty to the emperor himself. See G.Uray, Notes on a Tibetan Military Document from Tun-huang. AOH 12 (1961) 223-230. It is obvious from this document that the monks must have performed military service precisely in order to support the personal power of the ruler. Here the religious activities - in precisely parallel manner - of the rulers of the states discussed in the preceding note, should also be pointed out. The 'Abbāsids under al-Mansūr, who had such a flimsy claim to legitimacy, went to great lengths to demonstrate their legitimacy, including supporting the Mu'tazilites and founding, in 762, a magnificent capital city, the City of Peace (at Baghdad), which had obvious kosmokrator symbolism. (See "The Plan of the City of Peace", to appear in *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hungaricae* 1983.) The Uighurs, the upstart non-royal line of Turkic rulers in Mongolia, were "converted" to Manicheism in 762 by the Sogdians, and subsequently built a great capital city, Ordubaliq, which had probable cosmological significance. (See *ibid.*, n.80.) Finally, the role of the Christian Church in the Carolingian world is well enough known. (See for example W.Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*, London 1969, and H.Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, Oxford 1957, 12 ff.) In addition to these, one must take note of the famous and striking example of the Khazars, who adopted Judaism as their state religion in the mid-eighth century. See D.M.Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, and Peter B.Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 2 Vols., Budapest 1980.

³³ His biography in the Chinese Tripitaka has been translated and annotated by Chou Yi-liang, in: *Tantrism in China*, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8, 1944-1945 (241-332), 284-307.

³⁴ E.O.Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, New York 1955, 252. Reischauer notes that the character *mo*ⁿⁿ is perhaps a mistake (no edition of Ennin's work is available to me at the time of writing) and ought to be something else, so that the whole phrase would be "protect the nation and defend the land" or the like. As it stands, however, the character is a standard transcription of Sanskrit Māra, and the name appears to make good sense without any change.

³⁵ Nien Ch'ang, *Fo-tsü li-tai t'ung-tsai* (Taishō 2036: 477-735) 600b.

made a new translation of the *Jen-wang hu-kuo ching*³⁶, the *sūtra of the Bodhisattva King who Defends the Nation*, by order of the Emperor Tai-tsung³⁷, who personally composed a preface to the new translation.³⁸ This *sūtra* was used in a public cult specifically intended to bring the magical powers of the supernatural to help defend the empire.³⁹ Among other marvels, the ceremony is credited with bringing about the death of the rebel P'u-ku Huai-en¹ and the dispersal of the allied Tibetan and Uighur armies threatening the Chinese capital.³⁸

Now, Wu-t'ai Shan was known to the Tibetans, and according to traditional accounts Sba San ſi, a Buddhist adherent of Khri sroṇ lde brtsan, went to China late in the reign of Mes Ag tshoms and visited the mountains, sacred to Mañjuśrī, before returning to Tibet.⁴⁰ There were certainly many other Tibetan visitors, probably including San ſi, who himself went to China again⁴¹ in the reign of Khri sroṇ lde brtsan. It is no accident, then, that one of the immediate predecessors of Samye, the Nañ Lhakhañ built at Brag-dmar by Sba San ſi, was modeled upon "Wu-t'ai Shan"⁴² - perhaps meaning the famous Temple of the Golden Pavilion there. When Samye was built, it was modeled on the plan of the *vihāra* of Odan-tapuri,⁴³ just as the Golden Pavilion was apparently modeled on the plan of the temple of Nālandā.⁴⁴ Samye, with its strong kosmokrator symbolism, was a most sophisticated tool for affirming the emperor's legitimacy. The main temple in the centre was a symbolic world mountain, flanked by the temples of the sun and moon, and all was surrounded by the famous circular wall representing the Iron Mountains bounding the universe.⁴⁴

³⁶ Visser, op.cit., Vol.1, 121-122.

³⁷ Ibid. 122 ff.

³⁸ TCTC 224:7196. However, the story may be invented along the lines of a traditional Buddhist tale, perhaps connected with the *Jen-wang ching*.⁴⁰ See Chou, op.cit. 305-306. There is a Tibetan version, too, see MD, Ja 70r^o (35c).

³⁹ Sba 7.

⁴⁰ San ſi went to China at least once more, in the reign of Khri sroṇ lde btsan, before the construction of the Nañ Lhakhañ. (See ibid. 19-20.) He may actually have been a Buddhist monk. See Demiéville 10, note. A Tibetan embassy to China in 824 requested a map of Wu-t'ai Shan¹ (Demiéville 188, n.1).

⁴¹ Ibid. 22; MD Ja 85v^o.

⁴² Ibid. 33 ff. Stein (op.cit. 66) notes that it might have been modeled on Nālandā.

⁴³ Reischauer, op.cit. 253.

⁴⁴ Sba 34 ff.; G.Tucci, The Symbolism [sic] of the temples of bSam-yas, East & West 6, 1956, 279-381.

In conclusion, it would appear that the establishment of Buddhism as the official religion, the building of Samye, and other actions of the son of Mes Ag tshoms, were motivated at least in part by the necessity of proving that he, Khri sroñ lde brtsan, was indeed the legitimate emperor of Tibet. The revolt of 755 was but the first stage on the new ruler's path to consolidation of power.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ One further conclusion that might be drawn relates to the exact form or forms of Chinese Buddhism actually prevalent in Tibet before the controversies of the late eighth century. Since there is little concrete evidence for the spread of Ch'an-type teachings prior to Ho-shang Mahāyāna (see Demiéville 13, n.1 ff.) one is forced to reconsider the current assumption that the Chinese Buddhism then prevailing in Tibet was Ch'an Buddhism, and that the Rdzogs-chen, or "Great Perfection" school of Tibetan Buddhism, owes its special features to Ch'an. Note that in 781, "Tibet sent an envoy to beg the [T'ang] court to bestow a śramana who could excellently expound Buddhist principles (fo-li PF.). The emperor ordered Liang-hsiu ^{qq} (and) Wen-su ^{rr} to go to preach the dharma and influence by teaching. (They) alternated, one per year." See Chih-p'an, Fo-tsu t'ung-chi (Taishō 2035: 129-475) 379a. See Demiéville 184 n.2 for further references.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CDT</i>	Ariane Spanien & Yoshiro Imaeda, <i>Choix de documents tibétains</i> , Vol.2, Paris 1979
<i>CTS</i>	Liu Hsün, et al., <i>Chiu T'ang shu</i> , 16 Vols., Peking 1975.
<i>DTT</i>	J.Bacot, F.W.Thomas, C.Toussaint, <i>Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet</i> , Paris 1940
<i>HTS</i>	Sung Ch'i, Ou-yang Hsiu, et al., <i>Hsin T'ang shu</i> , 20 Vols., Peking 1975
<i>MD</i>	Dpābo Gtsug-lag 'phreñba, <i>Mkhaspa'i dgāston</i> , 17 Vols., Lhobrag, n.d. (repr. in 4 vols., New Delhi 1959-1962)
<i>OTA</i>	<i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> , reproduced in <i>CDT</i>
<i>OTC</i>	<i>Old Tibetan Chronicle</i> , reproduced in <i>CDT</i>
<i>Sba</i>	<i>Sba Gsal-snañ</i> , attrib.; R.A.Stein, ed., <i>Sba bžed (=Une chronique ancienne ...)</i> , Paris 1961
<i>Taishō</i>	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> , 85 Vols., Tokyo 1924-1932 (repr. 1960-1978)
<i>TCTC</i>	Ssu-ma Kuang, <i>Tzu-chih t'ung-chien</i> , 10 Vols., Peking 1956
<i>TFYK</i>	Wang Ch'in-jo, et al., <i>Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei</i> , 20 Vols., Taipei 1972
<i>TT</i>	Tu Yu, <i>T'ung tien</i> , Shanghai 1935

CHINESE CHARACTERS

a 歲	w 號
b 金城	x 乞梨悉籠納贊
c 始平	y 没祿
d 中宗	z 苗
e 薦宗	aa 年
f 武則天	bb 可敦
g 國師	cc 舊與通聘，即日置錫如初，不與交失。
h 保磨護國金闕寺	dd 眇
i 五臺山	ee 至
j 仁王護國經	ff 咸陽
k 代宗	gg 馬嵬
l 僕固懷恩	hh 王光輔
m 瓜州	ii 令
n 乞梨拔布	jj 公主
o 神龍	kk 承宏
p 乞梨嚩悉籠	ll 文成
q 祐沒氏	mm 安祿山
r 雍王	nn 磨
s 守禮	oo 仁王經
t 景龍	pp 佛理
u 繢	qq 良秀
v 天寶	rr 文素

DIE WU T'AI SHAN DARSTELLUNG VON 1846

von
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Das Ding, auf das ich heute Ihr Augenmerk lenken möchte, ist eine panoramische Karte, oder eigentlich eine devotionale Darstellung des berühmten Klosterbezirkes Wu T'ai Shan (五台山), also des "Berges der fünf Türme", der auch Ch'ing Liang Shan genannt wurde, "Reiner und kühler Berg".* Letzterer Name wurde von Tibetern und Mongolen bevorzugt: Ri bo dvañs bsil, Serigün tungyalay ayula. Dieses Mañjuśrī-Heiligtum war im nördlichen Teil der Provinz Shanshi gelegen, etwa auf halbem Weg zwischen Peking und Urga, und erfreute sich in gleichem Maße der Verehrung der Mongolen, Tibeter und Chinesen. Der Wu T'ai Shan straft also die Ansicht derer Lügen, die da meinten, der chinesische Buddhismus setze sich streng vom Lamaismus ab. Dieses mag in Südchina zutreffen, aber nicht in Nordchina; und schon gar nicht zur Zeit der Mandschu Dynastie, welche bekanntlich dem Mañjuśrī einen aufwendigen Staatskult weihte.

Ich erstand diese Karte im Herbst 1957, im Konfuciustempel von Ochanomizu in Tokio, zusammen mit einem Satz mongolischer Manuskripte aus dem 17. Jh., die inzwischen von Prof. Heissig bearbeitet worden sind. Das Bildwerk ist ein handcolorierter Blockdruck von unerhörter Größe, nämlich 165 x 118 cm., gedruckt auf eine Leinwand, die ihrerseits auf starkes Papier montiert wurde. Der obere Rand hat vier mit Metall verstärkte Löcher, woran die Karte an eine Wand gehängt werden kann.

Das Bild ist datiert: vom glückvollen 5. Tag des 4. Mondes des 26. Jahres Tao Kuang, also vom 30. April 1846. Aus dem Kolophon entnehmen wir, daß der Blockdruck in der "Insel der Liebe und des Glücks" (Byams dge gliñ, 慈福寺) hergestellt wurde, einem tibetischen Kloster gleich hinter dem Hauptkloster, dem Ta Yüan Ssu. Und als Künstler zeichnet Sengge (der zweite Teil des Namens ist unlesbar), welcher den Staub der Füße des Jebcundamba sich auf den Scheitel gestreut hatte ... Somit ist

* s. Plates I-III

offenbar der Hierophant, der, im Mittelteil des Bildes, unter Musikbegleitung spazierengetragen wird, der Jebcundamba hoch selb, und zwar der siebente seines Zeichens, der Vorgänger des großen letzten.

Die Wandkarte ist insofern interessant, als sie eine beträchtliche Anzahl der wichtigsten Klöster abbildet, samt den in ihnen verehrten Gottheiten. Tibetische und Chinesische Namen sind in der Regel beigefügt. Die dargestellten Heiligtümer sind allerdings nur ein geringer Bruchteil des damaligen Bestandes: angeblich waren zur Kaiserzeit 330 Klöster bewohnt.¹ Auch werden Orte gezeigt und genannt, an denen ein Wunder geschah (sehr in der Art unserer heimischen "Marterln"): da sieht man, zum Beispiel, wie ein Pilger beim Stuhlgang hinter einem Busch von einem Tiger aufgeschreckt wird. "Om mani padme hūm" ruft er aus, und schon kommt rettend die Gottheit aus dem naheliegenden Kapellchen auf Wolken einhergeschwebt und hilft dem Pilger aus der schiefen Situation. Derlei Wunder scheinen nicht selten gewesen zu sein. Als überraschend empfinde ich es jedoch, daß offenbar kein Wert auf eine naturgetreue Ähnlichkeit der Topographie und der Bauwerke gelegt wurde. Ich will hier nur dem großen Tschorten Erwähnung tun, dessen sehr charakteristischen Wuchtigkeit die Abbildung keineswegs Rechnung trägt.²

Doch zurück zum Kolophon. Er ist dreisprachig gehalten: Tibetisch in der Mitte, Chinesisch zur rechten Hand des Beschauers, Mongolisch zur linken. In meinem Exemplar ist die chinesische Version verhältnismäßig gut lesbar, die tibetische ist arg beschädigt, und die mongolische bis auf wenige Worte unlesbar. Soviel läßt sich jedoch entnehmen, daß die beiden auf den Wu T'ai Shan bezogenen Prophezeiungen zitiert werden, nämlich die des Avatamsakasūtra (*Hōbōgirin*, No.279) und die der Mañjuśrīratnagarbhadhāraṇī (*ibid.* No.1185a). Der Kolophon fährt fort, indem er in der üblichen Weise alles Glück aufzählt, das über den Pilger, ja über den Beschauer des Wandbildes, kommen wird; und er endet, eben, mit dem leider unvollständigen Namen des Künstlers.

Alle Hoffnung auf eine vollständige Entzifferung des Kolophons ist jedoch mitnichten verloren: ein zweites Exemplar des Wandbildes befindet

¹ Siehe Rewi Alley und R.Lapwood, The sacred mountains of China: a trip to Wu T'ai Shan. *The China journal* 22, 1935, 118-119.

Zur Zeit des Berichtes sollen noch an die hundert Klöster bewohnt gewesen sein, davon dreißig Lamasereien. Es ist unklar, ob heute noch irgendwelche Reste der vergangenen Pracht existieren.

² Siehe die Photographie von E.Boerschmann in der Forke Festschrift, *Sinica Sonderausgabe*, 1937, p.36; ebenfalls bei Potanin, *opus cit. infra*, p.28.

sich in Helsinki. Es wurde 1909 von Ramstedt in Urga erstanden. Ich erhielt diese Angaben von Herrn Harry Halén, der auch in liebenswürdiger Weise eine Abschrift des dreisprachigen Kolophons seinem Brief beilegte. Herrn Haléns Abschrift enthält zwar auch etliche Lücken, doch ist offenbar das Helsinki-Exemplar weit weniger verschmiert als meines, besonders im mongolischen Teil.

Meine Damen und Herren, die Wu T'ai Shan Karte von 1846 ist sicher ein Kuriosum, aber keineswegs ein Unikum. Potanin schreibt ausdrücklich, daß Visten heiliger Stätten beliebte Devotionalien waren.³ Ich möchte ferner darauf hinweisen, daß sich das eingehende Studium dieser Karten lohnen würde, da sie auf eine alte Tradition zurückblicken. Die erste bekannte Darstellung des Wu T'ai Shan ist ein großes Fresko in Tun-huang.⁴

³ G.N.Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaia okraina Kitaia i Tsentral'naia Mongolia*. Moskau 1950, 35-36.

⁴ Siehe den ausgezeichneten Artikel von Ernesta Marchand, *The panorama of Wu T'ai Shan as an example of tenth century cartography. Oriental art, n.s.22, 1976, 158-173.*

THE GREAT AND LITTLE TRADITIONS IN THE STUDY OF YOLMO, NEPAL

by

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Yolmo is a culturally Tibetan area of the High Himalaya located some three or four days walk north from the Kathmandu Valley. In Nepal the area is known as Helambu, but it is best known to Tibetan studies as *Yol mo gang ri*. This can be glossed as the "place screened by mountain glaciers", and it is the region where Mila Repa carried out a retreat (*Evans Wentz/Dawa Samdup* 1974, 235; *Schmid* 1955, 199; *MacDonald* 1975, 148). At the present day these names are used to refer to the relatively small area located around this southern spur of the main east-west Himalayan chain. In terms relative to us the region is remote. However, it has traditional connections with three more widely known centres: these are the Kathmandu Valley to its south in Nepal, and Kyirong and Nyenam (*sKyid rong; gNya' nang*) to its north in Tibet (see map). In this paper I wish to discuss the relation between the above isolation and connections. Its substance concerns changes in the forms of lineage succession to religious office in Yolmo.

However, it will be as well to introduce certain theoretical notions before this main body of information. These ideas derive both from Durkheimian sociology, and from the work of anthropologists on peoples linked to literate civilisations. I will begin here by discussing the relation between traditional towns, such as Kathmandu, and the more parochial areas, such as Yolmo.

On the one hand there are traditional towns. By this term "traditional" I mean a literate but non-industrial civilisation. In Durkheimian terms this typically would be one in which sacred and secular authority are closely linked, and in which the social order that they promulgate, rather than an economic ideology *per se*, is dominant (*Dumont* 1977, Chap. 1). The above three regions, if not centres of civilisation themselves, then at least are part of a network of trade, administration, and cultural exchange which communicates that civilisation.

On the other hand there are the more parochial hinterlands which, though by being labelled parochial are defined almost in relation to these centres, also have another form of social coherence: this is one that anthropologists, perhaps somewhat unfortunately, have labelled "primitive" or "tribal". By these two terms I refer to linked theoretical notions: one pertains to the moral or ideological sphere, and the other to social organisation. In a "primitive classification" there is no ideological differentiation between what to us are separate spheres of life. The same set of ideas governs the social, the religious, the political and the economic domains, and here it is the social order, usually in the idiom of kinship, which is dominant not just in the sense that it is the prototype for these other domains, but that it is, as an undifferentiated whole, these areas (*Durkheim & Mauss 1963*). In terms of historical development, the separate categories of the religious, the political, and the economic are seen as progressively developing out of this social domain. (*Dumont, loc.cit.*)

In the ideal tribal model, each group, defined in the first place by kinship, is the equivalent of the next. In Durkheim's sense of the term these interchangeable social elements are linked together by a "mechanical solidarity"; this contrasts with the "organic solidarity" that characterises the links between the differently specialized groups that constitute the community of the traditional town.

As will become clear later, Yolmo has a social coherence at both these levels. It is both "tribal" and "civilised". It is the civilisation itself which I referred to as the "Great Tradition". This is communicated to hinterlands such as Yolmo by the travels of itinerant holy men, by festivals, trade, intermarriage, and the administration of the state. However, in being taken up locally it may be reinterpreted, and assimilated within the local moral order. It is the Great Tradition in this accommodated form, as it has been adopted to this more "primitive" order, that is referred to as the "Little Tradition".

These notions of the "Great Tradition" and "Little Tradition" come from work of the American cultural anthropologist Robert Redfield. They have been applied by his associates, notably Milton Singer, McKim Marriot, and Srinivas, in the study of South Asia. In part they arose from a dissatisfaction with the assumptions of isolation, homogeneity and illiteracy, as typically used by anthropologists in the study of small-scale societies, for the study of such peoples who were linked to a larger, traditional, culture. In other words, it is a recognition that a civilisation is more than a collection of villages. Of course, this is a tru-

ism to a cultural historian of Asia: but anthropologists, in quite validly extending the area of application of their "tribal models", quite often ignored the wider form of cultural unity that arched over this local social diversity. Redfield's effect was to direct the attention of anthropologists away, as it were, from points on the ground to the pillars of this structure, that is to the relations of these small-scale societies to state and civilisation (Redfield 1953, 1955).

Now Redfield also put forward other ideas, the best known of which is an outline of cultural evolution from the primitive world to the state. Here he has been criticised as, whatever his insights into the substantive developments in any one area, the notions of Great and Little Tradition (among others, such as half-society and half-culture) are not very clear at a formal or comparative level.

The looseness can be illustrated by trying to apply them rigorously to Tibetan civilisation. Should we use the term Great Tradition for Tibetan civilisation as a whole, or reserve it solely for those aspects which derive from doctrinal Buddhism? If the former, then is there not a sense in which any widespread institution in Tibet, even if derivative and hence at one level representative of the Little Tradition, would also be a part of Tibetan civilisation as a whole? And if the latter, then would we not be in the ludicrous position of denying the self-evident coherence of Tibetan civilisation as a holistic Great Tradition? Certainly there are major problems for anyone who would wish to generate a fixed and absolute typology. On examination, any category such as Tibetan civilisation or doctrinal Buddhism splits up into various influences, ideas, periods and persons. Their importance is not as an absolute framework, but in terms of method, as a contrast to other such categories. In this paper I use these terms Great and Little Tradition, and other such seemingly imprecise contrasts, as analytical notions of use in the account of the cultural and historical particulars of Yolmo.

My aim here, then, is to give an account of the social relation of the wider civilisation of the history of Yolmo. In particular, I will concentrate on one social feature that appears at both levels, namely the form of succession of a lineage of lamas (*bla ma'i rgyud*). The account continues with a brief description of the society and history of the present communities of people of Tibetan culture in Yolmo that concentrates on the above features. I then contrast the ethnographic present of Yolmo to the general features of spiritual succession that we know of from Tibet. The differences that exist are explained, in the first instance, by reference to the biography of an eighteenth century head lama of a temple

in the region. These historical facts are then considered in the more general theoretical context, as sketched out above, which allows us to outline how the circumstances of local economic and social history have refracted the Great into the Little Tradition.

As I have discussed in more detail elsewhere, at various periods onwards from the 10th century Yolmo was an area of retreat and pilgrimage for religious masters of Buddhist and Tibetan culture (Clarke 1980b). From the little that we know of this period they had little effect on the local community. In the late seventeenth century there was an important change, in that these religious masters received land-grants from the state. The grants were originally from Newar Kings of Kathmandu, and subsequently from Gurkha Kings of the Shah Lineage. These masters were then no longer just temporary pilgrims, or the occupants of isolated hermitages, but the landlords of cultivators down the hillside in the valley bottom. Their *dgon pa* (literally "solitary place", also retreat/monastery/religious centre) up the hillside became *lha khang* (temples). Subsequently, these became the focus of village settlements as their descendants intermarried with local elites. Their religious links with Tibet became more tenuous, and the community developed, in its relative isolation, its own coherent primitive transformation of Tibetan Buddhism. At the present day this development has given rise to an ethnic group of some seven to ten thousand people, distributed over approximately fifty villages. In Nepal they are known either as Helambu Sherpa, or simply as the Lama People (Clarke 1980a, 1980c).

These religious masters who settled were largely from the Kyirong and Dingri areas adjacent in Tibet. As one might expect from the fact that they intermarried with the local population, their affiliation was to Tibetan religious orders which were not exclusively monastic. They were Nyingma (including *byang gter*) and Kagyü/Karmapa. This is true of many economically marginal regions of the Himalaya, where the topography makes communication with the outside world difficult. Monasteries are not a prominent feature of the culture of Yolmo. Instead the Lama People are their own priesthood. They are a married community who perform ritual for all religious ceremonies within the village itself, and as a religious corporation support their own village temples. In doctrinal terms they are a lay-community. These are perhaps commoner than is generally recognised in traditional Tibet, and are often known as *ser khyim* (Jäschke 1881, 389; Tucci 1956, 61, 106; Aziz 1978).

Yolmo has always been an economically marginal area, in the sense that it does not on its own produce an agricultural surplus sufficient

to support the marked differentiation of labour that characterises the traditional town, such as would have monasteries. It has never been the centre of a petty Himalayan kingdom with dominions elsewhere, and such wealth as its inhabitants have been able to acquire at various periods of their history, by trade and landlordism, has been under the political overlordship of the Nepalese state and the religious authority of institutions of Tibetan Buddhism. Whatever else they have also been, most of the people of Yolmo have always been cultivators, tied by economic necessity to the soil.

Yet those individuals who have been something else besides farmers have had a significance to the cultural development of the region out of all proportion to their numbers. As landlords and "feudal" intermediaries, they have been agents for the extension of the authority of the state; as representatives of Tibetan religion they have linked local concepts of morality to those of the wider civilisation. In particular, those who have combined secular authority from the south and sacred authority from the north were the seed for the development of the present-day temple villages of Yolmo. The inalienability of their land-grants, which were tied in perpetuity to their temples and descendants, guaranteed their permanent presence in the region. Their power and overlordship made them a model to be emulated by any individual or community in the area who wished to increase their rank. This was done in the following manner: these local elites made offerings at their temples, used their religious services as priests, sent their sons to study with them, intermarried with them, and eventually moved up the hill to form the communities of the temple villages. In this way they acquired the outer form if not the inner content of their Tibetan religious culture. Local village-elites exchanged such wealth and power as they had for prestige in a Tibetan cultural idiom. The temples were no longer just the sites of annual religious pilgrimages and offerings, but had become the foci of villages of priests of Tibetan religious culture, who were also absentee landlords with fields and tenants in the valley below, and representatives of the Nepalese state. To the Nepalese of the region, all these features go together and characterise the group they know simply as "Lama People", or simply "Lama".

This is a rather "left-handed" or civilised form of tribalism, in which the specializations of a civilisation have been condensed into one locally recognised category, that of the identity of a Lama. I will return to this presently. For the moment, I wish to concentrate on its more anthropologically conventional or "tribal" feature: its reliance, ultimately, on kinship. In this community a person's status is largely ascribed by kinship (filiation - in this case who one's father is; and

affinity - in this case who one's wife's father is). To a large degree, wealth and religious status follow on from kinship; even where they do not do so immediately (as must be the case given the historical exchange of wealth for status), ultimately they tend to be validated in the idiom of kinship: the newly-risen marry "old" religious lineages and hand on their status to their offspring. It is the old religious lineages who have the highest rank and who are the proprietors of the temples. And for them, all male descendants are lamas. They form a patrilineage of priests, locally known as quite literally as lineage lamas (*nep.thar; bla ma*).

How does this compare with Tibet itself? Certainly, in the esoteric Vajrayāna tradition, the spiritual continuity of a religious lineage is also expressed by the figure of the lama (Snellgrove 1957, 175). Here the idea of a continuity or connection from generation to generation is conveyed by the term *rgyud*, as in *bla ma'i rgyud pa*, which also has the specific sense of lineage and tantra. At one extreme of the Great Tradition, this continuity is expressed in the continued presence of the head of a spiritual lineage by reincarnation (*sprul sku*). This contrasts quite strongly with the descent groups of lamas that one finds in the Little Tradition of Yolmo.

It is true that the Great Tradition stresses the continuity of teaching rather than the form of succession itself. This is effected from master to disciple *slob dpon* to *slob 'bangs* or *slob ma*). While there is a formal ritual of initiation (*dbang*) into a specific tantric cycle, together with a transfer of authority (*lung*), there is also teaching and oral explication (*khrid*) (Stein 1972a, 179).

Yet at the same time, whatever its ultimate irrelevance to Tibetan Buddhism, that is to the religious knowledge itself, kinship did play an important part in succession within Tibetan religious institutions. While he was not necessarily the most adept master of an esoteric religion, the representative of a religious lineage, as head of a *dgon pa*, was both an administrative head and representative of a theocratic state, and a religious authority. Furthermore, kinship, in the form of indirect descent and affinal links, was the means by which wealthy corporate families (*shag tshang*) maintained their control over monasteries (Goldstein, 1973, 453).

In Tibet, a major form of indirect descent was to the fraternal nephew (*dbon po rgyud*). The successor was sometimes termed "blood nephew", "spiritual son" (*rigs kyi dbon, chos kyi sras*; Stein 1972b, 16). A few examples will illustrate the manner of operation and the significance of this institution. It was the form of inheritance at Mindroling (*sMin*

grol gling), perhaps the major Nyingma Monastic Centre of central Tibet, and operated in the following manner. Ideally in each generation there would be two brothers of the controlling family (the Tertalingpa). One would become a celibate monk who administered the monastery, the other would become a married householder who looked after the family estates and ensured that there would be two sons to succeed to these positions in the next generation. If there was no issue from the marriage, then the monk was obliged to renounce his vows and marry so as to provide the successors for the next generation (Das 1902a, 990).

Another example comes from the Sakya Order, where inheritance is by indirect descent but also involves an affinal rather than solely a fraternal link. In ideal terms the two lines of descent of the controlling family had affinal links by (cross-cousin?) marriage in each generation. The lines alternated in providing the celibate of the Order in each generation (Das 1902b, 289).

Yet another example which comes from the form of succession prescribed for Chamtin (*Byams sprin*) - *dgon pa* in the seventeenth century by the 5th Dalai Lama. This was specifically to the descendants of the incumbent).

This is of particular relevance here, as not only is Chamtin in the Kyirong area, but the lineage or family referred to is Tenyelingpa (*bsTan gnyis gling pa*) (D.Schuh, personal communication). This is the main lineage of the Lamas of Tarkhyeghyang village in Yolmo, to which the 18th century head lama whose biography we shall turn to presently belongs. This village may be a parochial village in the Himalaya, and in this regard may contrast to traditional centres of civilisation, yet the underlying institutions appear not only to be in some ways similar, but to be directly related to this wider tradition.

In Yolmo at the present day the preferred form of succession is from father to eldest son - that is by what anthropologists terms patrifiliation in the senior line of descent. However, as I pointed out before, it is not just that filiation is used to find a successor to office, but that all such filiated males automatically have a local status as *bla ma* by virtue of their birth alone. There is an entire patrilineage of *bla ma*.

One can also ask to what degree, at the present day, is the idea of a "master to disciple" link represented in Yolmo. Unlike Tibet, in Yolmo succession from father to son, preferably in the eldest patriline, is the only respectable claim to succession. The fact that someone may be a disciple rather than a descendant is something to be hidden in pub-

lic; it is a matter only for private comment. For example, occasionally in Yolmo there are cases where the local lineage of lamas has died out without their being a recognised collateral line to supply a new incumbent for the office of head lama. Sometimes the provost or some other assistant takes over the running of the temple. In at least one case this has resulted in the continuation of the lineage, again - after the break - by patrilineal descent in the name of the original lineage. The point here is that the break is denied: the spiritual lineage is represented as if it were a genealogy: the "master to disciple relationship" is assimilated within the sphere of kinship.

Apart from the Sermo Lamas (*sras mo?* - daughter) being in some formal sense disciples of the Karma/Kagyü lineages, there is only one example today of which I am aware in which a "master to disciple" connection is admitted, and even this is in a rather left-handed manner. This is the case of Kesari, where the priests acknowledge that they are disciples of the Sermo Lama Lineage of Lhakang. But here the status of disciple is inherited by patrifiliation: the village consists of an entire patrilineage (*Dungba*) of such "disciples", and there is no sense in which they are students of the Head Lama of Lhakang. (The only remnant of the relationship is that all the residents of Ghyangkokharka, the village of residence of the head lama, have the right to a crescent shaped bread on the festival of Nara (*na rag*), if they happen to be at Kesari.) Hence being a disciple is again incorporated as a property of a patrilineage.

If we now turn to the untitled biography of Tille Dunjom Tenyeling-pa (*bstan gnyis gling pa 'phrin las bdud 'joms*, also known as *Karma bdud 'joms*) (see Selected Extracts, at the end of the paper) of Tarkhyeghyang we see a difference to the modern custom. We also see an account of the manner in which the religious forms of the Great Tradition were transformed and condensed into the Little Tradition of Yolmo. In this work, rather than subsume the "master of disciple" relation in terms of direct filiation, he does what is nearly tantamount to the reverse. He refers to his father, out of politeness as "fraternal uncle" (*a khu*) (fol.21). According to my (non-local) informants this is done to avoid the sense of genitor, which implies a biological link rather than the higher spiritual line implicit in a *bla rgyud*. (It is also clear from this that uncritical reading could generate quite spurious *dbon pa rgyud*).

The temple at Tarkhyeghyang was founded ca. 1723 by the father of Tille Dunjom, Nyima Senge, who was from the Kyirong area. Tille Dunjom was born in Yolmo in 1725, became the head lama on his fathers' death in 1739, and died ca.1789. The biography was in part composed from his

dictation and in part from that of a son who later went to the *dgon pa* of Takar Taso, (*Brag dkar rta so*) in southern Tibet. Tille Dunjom, like his father, travelled extensively between Yolmo, southern Tibet and Nepal. He was also the Head Lama of Nye Shar Leogen (*gNas shar le'u dgon*), and of Zongkar (*Dzong dkar*) near Kyirong, where he was when the Nepalese invaded the region in 1788. Tarkhyeghyang was quite clearly the poorest of the three *dgon pa* (fol.213). He was married to the daughter of the Head Lama of Takar Taso, from where his mother came, and later in his life also became the head lama of that *dgon pa*. On his deathbed he sent his sons by that wife back to that *dgon pa*, including the one who later finished the biography.

His main teacher was Padma Dorje (*rDo dmar pa Padma rdo rje*, I believe Domarpa to be a *dgon pa* in the Kyirong region, fol.225). When a child Tille Dunjom took *dge bsnyen* (lay or junior novitiate) vows from this lama at Chamtin, north west of Kyirong, and received the name of Rigzin Tille Dunjom.

Some of the main information on the spiritual lineage of his principal teacher comes from folios 23 and 24 (Selected Extracts 1). Here his master, Padma Dorje, is described as a lineal descendant (*gdung las*) of *gTsang pa rgya ras* (1161-1211), the founder of the 'brug *pa* order. He is also seen as the reincarnation (*sprul sku*) of *Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje* (1128-1188, the master of *gTsang pa rgya ras* in the main Kagyü order), who was seen as the king or lord (*rje*), in the religious sense, of his father. Padma Dorje's father, *Mi 'gyur rdo rje*, is also referred to as a predicted emanation of Padmasambhava, and he was the senior of five "sons/disciples" and one "daughter" (*lcam mo*, normally "wife", but here the emphasis is on a [metaphorical?] descent). It was not only Padma Dorje, but four lamas of the *rdo dmar pa* spiritual lineage who acted as Tille Dunjom's teachers. They are referred to as "spiritual brothers" (*sku mchad*, fol.235) as well as "sons" (*sras*). Their names are given below (Selected Extracts 2). One of Tille Dunjom's sons was regarded locally as the reincarnation of one of the younger *rdor ma pa* "brothers", *Tshe dbang nor bu*, (fol.106, 203, 213, 215). Tille Dunjom was at first taught to read by his mother, at the age of eight, she being of a "tantric" lineage (*sngags rigs*). He was also instructed by his father, *sNgags 'chang Nyi ma seng ge*.

But here, after the death of his father in 1739, there appears a cleavage between Tille Dunjom's immediate family and teachers, and the other people who lived at the *dgon pa* (here religious centre rather than monastery) of Yolmo Gang (Tarkhyeghyang). He refers to the *dgon pa* as an "empty shell" (*dgon gog*, fol.27). He states that the religious obliga-

tions and code of the temple are not being carried out, that the "senior religious notables" (*grva btsun 'go mtho ba*) were taking wives and the like. He does not know how to set matters aright, because the life has neither the form of that of laymen nor that of religious men (*skya min btsun min*) (Selected Extracts 3). For the rest of his life his time is devided between Yolmo, southern Tibet and the Kathmandu valley. In 1788 he comments that the *dgon pa* of Tarkhyeghyang has become the street for all beings, and on his deathbed, while he instructs his sons not to let Yolmo Gang become a ruin, it is clear that he expects two of them to go to Takar Taso (where their mother came from) and Nye shar Leogen, in Tibet, rather than to stay on Yolmo.

Spiritual succession at Yolmo was continued via the son(s) of a second wife of Tille Dunjom, who was of Padma Dorje *rDor ma pa*'s lineage, who he had married at Chamtin. (Tille Dunjom was partly responsible for rebuilding this famous *dgon pa* of the Tenyelingpa lineage ca.1770, fol. 128.) Tille Dunjom regarded himself as Tibetan, and refers to the Nepalese as Monpa. He was used to conducting relations with the Tibetan, the Newar and then the Gurkha Kingdoms. His is the only biography that I have found of a lama born in Yolmo. There is no local written continuation of the spiritual lineage after his son.

Possibly for Tille Dunjom, his family and teachers, the recognition of a son as a reincarnation from one's master's spiritual lineage had little more significance than the western custom of naming a son after the father's god father. There is little evidence that any such incorporation within the lineage is exclusive to the patrilineage, or even that it represents the main continuation of the spiritual lineage of the teacher. Filiation, affinity, the master to disciple relationship and reincarnation are all potential justifications for succession. And insofar as all are possible, it is evident that circumstance and political interest can all come into play in choosing the incumbent.

The terms used for relationship in the text as a whole are - to me - slightly confusing as, besides kin-links themselves, kinship honorifics are used for describing religious relationship. One might say that the family was a metaphor for spiritual connections. Here we do not see any simple filiation as the mode of continuation of a spiritual lineage; nor, for the matter, do we see the notion of a "master to disciple" continuity as paramount. Instead there is a complex and manifold situation in which filiation, affinity, reincarnation and the master to disciple relationship all can be used as justifications for spiritual succession. Furthermore, these are not independent, but both in image and fact can

overlay each other. One is not just a teacher and disciple, but also a son, an affine, or a reincarnation as well. There are repeated patterns. Sons, for example, appear to be recognised as a reincarnation of a teacher, or a lama descendant to the teacher in the latter's spiritual lineage. This is interesting, as there appears to be a tendency for the domains of spiritual succession and kinship to be made homologous. Rather than the Durkheimian elaboration and differentiation of the religious from the social, we appear to have here, if not an outright move in the other direction, than at least an ambiguous "halfway house".

Whether this overlay is a general feature of spiritual succession in the Great Tradition, or a particular development in one area that would contrast strongly with the better-known central areas of Tibet, is an open question. And it must be admitted that it is precisely here, with this kind of general comparative question, that the Great Tradition/Little Tradition contrast becomes unclear. However, with respect to Yolmo this overlay of two domains is highly significant. It can be regarded as the social "seed" of a condensation in which the notion of spiritual succession was subsumed within the patrilineage.

Though this may have been the link by which the idea of spiritual succession became connected to the patrilineage, for Tille Dunjom's generation matters are more complex. As the existence of a written biography in itself indicates, he is a figure in the Great Tradition. Yet at the same time the biography hints at possible lines of movement back to a society based on kinship - witness him repairing the stupa at Bodnath, together with "servant-relatives" (*dbon kyo*, fol.48), and the continual use of kin metaphors elsewhere to describe religious relationship.

Three years after the death of Tille Dunjom, in 1792, the Chinese invaded Nepal from Kyirong and imposed the terms of a peace. From then up until the successful reinvasion of the Kyirong and Nyenam areas by the Gurkhas under the Ranas in 1855, the area from ... "the snowy range of mountains which are immediately to the north of the Valley of Nipal" ..., which are south of the passes into present day Tibet, was regarded as, if not an area of Tibetan influence, then outside the immediate control of the Nepalese state (Oldfield 1880, vol.1, 414). At the same time, however, there were a number of land-grants to people from Yolmo from the Nepalese state under the administration of Bhimsen Thapa (Clarke 1980c). It is also at this period that the notion of the modern state as a geographical entity, with well-defined borders, started to replace the idea of the traditional state with shifting lines of influence

(Stiller 1976).

It is reasonable to suppose that the village of Tarkhyeghyang, in the second half of the nineteenth century, then lost connections with Tibetan religious institutions. The next record of the Tenyelingpa Lineage of Tarkhyeghyang is in the twentieth century, and then it is a patrilineage like the other lama lineages of Yolmo.

At the present day, the religious community of Yolmo has its own Little Tradition. One can look at a number of aspects to this transformation of Tibetan culture. There are their social concerns with prestige, and a value system - quite opposed to the ethic of renunciation - in which wealth and social status are linked together. Along with this goes a relatively straightforward layered cosmology of "up" and "down", of "heavens, earth and hell". There is also a transformation of the doctrinal statuses of the different levels of vows or ordinations (*sdoms pa*) of the moral code ('*dul ba*), that is the *dge snyen*, *dge tshul*, and *dge slong*, to a progression more in line with their values and practises. They take the higher Vajrayāna vows of the "esoteric vehicle" (*rdo rje theg pa*) after having only the lowest level of *dge snyen* vow, that is the vows of the householder (literally known as *khyim pa sdoms pa*), at which point they may have little or no knowledge of written Tibetan. For the majority of the Lama People, the links to the Great Tradition are by the names of the religious practices, that is by nomenclature, rather than by their substance.

The local priesthood is only semi-literate. The few Tibetan monks who have settled as refugees in the area since 1958, and who are economically dependent on these communities, regard these priests along with the others in the community as '*jig rten pa*' - wordly based people with material concerns. Many can read Tibetan, few can write it, and very few have any understanding of the tantric texts which they often have learnt by heart. Those that do have any understanding have trained away from the community and have later returned; the majority who have wished to continue with this training, and who have become monks (*dge slong*), have been lost to the community. This illustrates the other side to the point that I made at the beginning. There is a reliance on the outside civilisation for the maintenance of skills necessary for the community, and a topographically imposed separation from this outside world that has allowed the religious practices that utilise these skills to be transformed into something novel, which is not representative of the Great Tradition which has supplied them.

At the present day in Yolmo the people are "jack of all trades". In some respects they are also "masters of none"; in others their society is highly coherent, sophisticated and multiplex. It is not that cultural forms of the "Great Tradition" have been transplanted and imposed on social life in Yolmo. On the contrary, those aspects of the wider civilisations that have had lasting social effects are those that, more or less, could be assimilated to what I have referred to as the "tribal" aspects of life in Yolmo. The forms of political and religious overlordship that have remained are those that could be played out in the idiom of kinship.

To the social anthropologist used to "primitive" societies they form something of an oddity. This is because, given the "total" nature of exchanges, which are simultaneously social, religious, economic and political, they represent, in somewhat unfortunate Durkheimian terminology, a "primitive classification". To an anthropologist this historical development may at first sight appear curious. Instead of there being the categories of the religious, the political, and the economic, progressively differentiating out of a social domain usually equated with kinship, we have the reverse. As well as being a priesthood, they are at the same time household heads, landlords, farmers, traders, local-state representatives, and kinsmen. In contrast to a town, where the specialities of a civilisation distributed among different groups, here the specialities of the civilisation are condensed into a single position, occupied by all male villagers.

To the cultural historian of Tibetan civilisation they perhaps represent a curious cultural degeneration away in the hinterland of the Himalaya, whose main importance lies in the few individuals who have been part of the Great Tradition.

In this historical account I have largely left to one side how local factors, and the influence of the state of Nepal, helped lead to the pre-eminence of the patrilineage as a means of religious succession. The reasons for this were in part the "tribal" nature of the local communities with whom the Tibetan religious lineages were integrated by marriage, in part demographic, and in part related to land-tenure, economic circumstances, and Hindu culture contact. (On the Tibetan side, though there is no well-attested record of lineage organisation among sedentary peoples in southern Tibet, there is a sense in which the patrilineage is latent within the household unit [Clarke 1980c, Chap.3])

Here I have mainly discussed the transformation and cultural history of one institution, the spiritual lineage, in the social context of Yolmo as it has derived from the Great Tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. In so doing I have described a change, both at an institutional and ideological level, from indirect to direct descent.

Selected Extracts from the Biography of
bstan gnyis gling pa 'phrin las bdud 'joms

I would like to acknowledge the help of Namgyal Gonpo Ronge in the initial translation of this text.

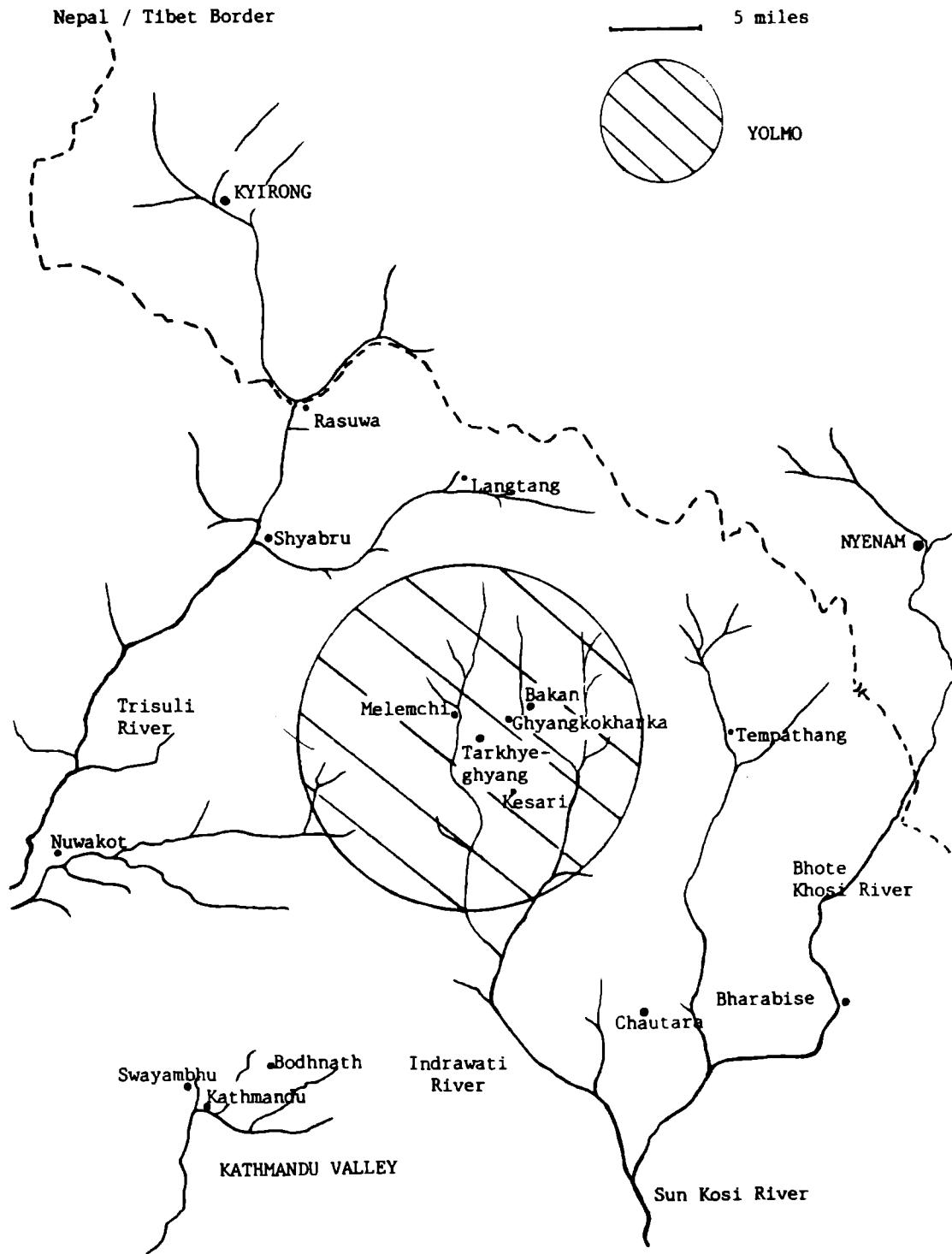
1. *bdag gi rtsa ba'i bla ma 'di nyid ni rnam grol gtsang gi gdung las mkhas shing grub ba brnyes pa'i rnam 'dren bstan pa gsal byed zam ma chad par byon pa'i | yab rig 'dzin chen po mi 'gyur rdo rje slob dpon padma sprul pa lung gis grub cing | ngo mtshar grub pa'i rnam thar bsam gyis mi khyab pa de nyid la sras lnga lcam mo gcig ste drug yod pa'i | thu bo ste yab rje nyid kyi rigs bdag rje dbang gi rgyal po'i . sprul sku 'khrul med du gyur bas sku'i rnam 'gyur dang thugs dam rtogs pa'i yon tan gang la brtags kyang gling ras padma rdo rjes dang dbyed chos rdul tsam med* (fols.23, 24).
2. *sku tshe 'dir yang ba'i bshes gnyen mkhas btsun bzang po'i mtshan nyid can du ma shig dang rtsol med du mjal bar snang te | de yang thag ma'i rigs bdag tshe rabs kyi 'dren pa bskyed byed yab kyi bsgo skal du thob pa yab rbe grub pa'i dpa' bo sngags 'chang nyi ma seng ge | rdo dmar rig 'dzin chen po padma rdo rje | rje khams lung pa chen po padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin chu bzang sprul pa'i sku | mdo chen pa 'gyur med 'o rgyan gsang sngags bstan 'dzin | rdo rje sems dpa' mi'i rdzu 'phrul chang pa rig 'dzin grub pa'i khyu mchog tshe dbang nor bu sogs sku mchad bzhi | kam gyi bla chen kun bzang 'phrin las | lcags zam sprul pa'i sku | mkhas grub chen po gnyags dbon Ratnabhadra | rje 'brug pa thams cad mkyen pa rgyal dbang bka' rgyud 'phrin las shing rta | dpa' bo gtshug lag dga' ba | mkhas grub chen po Lorampa srid zhi yongs grol | bse bkra bzang ye shes yab sras gsum | brag dkar rdo rje 'dzin pa chen po ye shes chos grags | dpal rig 'dzin rje'i mchod dpon chen mo sdoms brtson bstan 'dzin rdo rje | mdo chen sngags 'chang 'gyur med rnam rgyal la sogs pa ... (fols. 235, 236)*
3. *grva btsun 'go mtho ba rnams kyi dgon pa'i 'tsho 'dzin mi byed pa'i khar chung ma len pa sogs chos khriims rnams bshig gra ba zin 'dug dgon pa'i chos khriims tshul gnas byed dgos pa'i gnas tshul phebs kyang chu nyan lam du zhugs pa ldog mi thub pa ltar sky a min btsun min gyi gling 'di lta bu'i tshul kho nar gnas bar gyur* (fols.29, 30).

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Sketch map of area around Yolmo



KÖRÖSI CSOMA SÁNDOR'S TRAINING FOR ORIENTAL STUDIES IN TRANSYLVANIA

by
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Körösi Csoma Sándor (Alexander Csoma de Körös) set off to discover "the ancient home" of the Hungarian people in Central Asia, but in the end he became famous as the founder of Tibetology. He acquired his knowledge in orientalistics at the University of Göttingen. His knowledge concerning Tibetology was acquired right in Tibet, in the monasteries of lamas. In spite of these well-known facts, we may state that the elementary notions concerning orientalistics he got in his homeland, in Transylvania. He was a scholarship-student of the Bethlen College from Aiud (Nagyenyed) for fifteen years (1799-1814), then the senior of the same institute for one more year. In the following passages we shall try to find out what he was able to learn from Orientalistics and other sciences, necessary for his journey, during these years.

In the different forms of the elementary and secondary level, besides general knowledge, Körösi was able to acquire a deep knowledge in Latin grammar and literature - due to the fact that the teaching-language was Latin at that time. No doubt, this conscientious, diligent student with a special gift for languages had also learnt a lot of philosophy, geography and history (which were his favourite subjects), at the same time he could read as much as he wanted. All these disciplines were of a great help on his journey in Central Asia to which he made up his mind at that time.

A deeper specialization in these disciplines was possible only at the higher level of the college. At this level the teaching process was determined by two acts approved in 1769 by the Transylvanian Calvinist Church-Council: *Methodus docendi*, *Methodus studiorum*. At the higher level at the college there were two sections. During the three years of the first section he could study first of all universal history, Greek and Latin literature and antiquities, then Hebrew language, while during the four years of the second section the theological disciplines were stressed,

though even at this stage they learned "philological disciplines" like Hebrew antiquities and Old Testament, "historia patriae" as well as "philosophical disciplines" like geography.

Before making an inquiry to the role of these disciplines in the training of Körösi, we must show that all the teachers, professors at the college, were scholars trained or specialized in western universities, who were still linked to the scientific centres of Germany, Switzerland, England, and the books got from these centres helped them a great deal in their scientific activities. Of the great scholars of Göttingen particularly the many-sided A.L.Schlözer and the orientalist J.G. Eichhorn had great influence upon the scientific life in Transylvania.

Körösi became famous in orientalistics first of all as a philologist. Therefore, we must first analyse his philological training in Transylvania. As a basic statement we accept the opinion of Németh Gyula, according to which Körösi's studies in Latin from Aiud had a great influence upon the development of his scientific thinking, and these made him able to find out the grammatical structure of an unknown language (that from Tibet), to gather its vocabulary as well as all the available information about its literature.

With regard to the study of Greek and Hebrew at the college (these languages have a major importance in orientalistics), we must stress that they had an important role in the teaching process at higher level. Körösi was taught in these disciplines by his old professor, Nemegyei János, but it is quite sure that his knowledge was also deepened by self-training. A copy of Nemegyei's course of Greek language is to be found in the library of the college, it shows what a thorough master its author was.

In the Transylvanian protestant colleges there was a traditional interest in orientalistics, which probably also influenced the young Körösi. For instance Apáczai Csere János and his contemporaries had already stressed the importance of Arabic language and literature besides Hebrew in the 17th century. Apáczai had tried to find out the secrets of the Chaldean, Syriac, Rabbinical, Talmudical and Arabic languages, and, what's more, he made a proposal for setting up an academy, and here he wanted to have separate professors for Hebrew and Arabic. Between the best known professors of the college studying and teaching Hebrew and other cognate languages, we must mention the name of Pápai Páriz Ferenc and Bod Péter. Catalogues and lists of books from 17th-18th century Transylvanian libraries show that even later on, a lot of Transylvanian students and scholars studied Hebrew, Arabic and Turkish. For example in the library of Mihail Halici there was a whole collection of books referring

to Hebrew and Turkish. In the period when Körösi was studying at Aiud, he had the opportunity to read books concerning orientalistics, as the 18th century catalogue of the Bethlen college enumerates a great number of Hebrew, Arabic and Turkish dictionaries and grammars. We may find the Arabic and Hebrew grammar of Erpenius and Leusden on this list, as well as a lot of important dictionaries (Calepinus, Gürtler, etc.). Even the certificate about the "rigurosum" exam of Körösi which gave him the right to continue his studies in foreign countries, mentions his knowledge of these disciplines.

In the course of Körösi's training in oriental studies, the study of history was also important. Universal history and "historia patriae" were taught by Professor Herepeii Ádám, the teacher of history and rhetorics. He was not only a progressive mind, an exquisite orator and educator but also an excellent specialist in history. The lecture notes on one of Herepeii's students taken on his course of world history give us an idea about his conceptions and methods used in teaching and studying history. His course dealt with the events beginning with the fall of the Western Roman Empire up to the French Revolution. In its introductory chapters we find a long bibliography. It is very rich especially in works referring to the Hungarian history, then in works by Greek, Roman and Byzantine historians. He also refers to treatises by western historians written in German and French, like for instance the German version of Edward Gibbon's classical masterpiece (*Geschichte der Abnahme und des Verfalls des Römischen Reichs*. Wien 1790-1792.) or J.G.Eichhorn's work (*Allgemeine Geschichte der Cultur und Litteratur*. I.Theil, Göttingen 1796.) as well as more books by A.L.Schlözer.

The lectures on the ancient history of Huns, Avars and Hungarians gave a good opportunity to Professor Herepeii to present the situation of Central Asia - this place of major importance to orientalistics. Herepeii held in high esteem, and used as a main source, two works of Georgius Pray (*Annales veteres Hunnorum*, *Avarum et Hungarorum*. Vindobonae 1761, and *Dissertationes historico-criticae in annales veteres Hunnorum*, *Avarum et Hungarorum*. Vindobonae 1775). It is important that Pray was familiar with the works of such orientalists like Deguignes and J.E.Fischer. It is well known that Deguignes's work (*Histoire des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols et des autres Tartares occidentaux*. Paris 1756) using Chinese sources, too, had a basic importance in orientalistics. J.E.Fischer's study (*De origine Ungarorum*) published in 1770 by A.L.Schlözer must also be mentioned. Fischer's results were included in the second work of Pray, that of 1775. From the above mentioned orientalistics in his *Worldhistory* Herepeii mentions the name of Deguignes, the results of

J.E.Fischer were probably taken over by Pray's work.

Although Professor Hegedüs Sámuel, the successor of Herepei was not the teacher of Körösi, his course about the ancient history of the Hungarians which deals with the history of the peoples from Central Asia, too, could have been a source of information for Körösi. Otherwise Hegedüs used mostly the same literature as Herepei. There are quotations from Pray and Deguignes, and he also mentions the works of A.L.Schlözer, the famous scholar from Göttingen and J.H.Klaproth, one of the fathers of orientalistics.

Körösi also had the possibility at the college to study his third favourite subject, geography. A knowledge of world-geography and especially the geography of Central Asia, Tibet and India was essential and of great help for him. The seven volumes of the well-known geographer and writer Benkő Ferenc's work *Parnassusi időtöltés* ("Passing the Time on the Parnassus") were published exactly at the time when Körösi was his student at the college. Two of these volumes, *A geográfiára való rövid bevezetés* ("An Introduction into Geography") and *Napkeleti utazók* ("Travellers from the East", Kolozsvár 1794) are of major importance. In this second volume Benkő included travel-accounts by travellers in Africa and Asia entitled like *Nibur arábiai utazása* ("Nibur's journey in Arabia"), *Tavernier utazása* ("Tavernier's journey") and *Olasz utazók* ("Italian Travellers") - in Hungarian translation, sometimes in shortened form. From these accounts the description of Nibur's journey in North Africa and Asia beginning with 1761 could be of a special interest. Nibur - who was serving the Danes - travelled with his four companions through Constantinople to the Arabian countries (Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, the Arabian Peninsula), to Persia and the towns of India. The territories described by Nibur are partly identical with that route on which Körösi travelled at the beginning of his journey.

When speaking about Körösi's geographical training, we have to deal with Benkő's other work, the *Magyar geográfia* ("Geography in Hungarian", Kolozsvár 1801-1802) in four volumes. The second volume of this work presents Asia, the third one Africa. For the presentation of Asia, which was so important for Körösi, 250 pages were affected. The climate, the physical, economical and political geography, the ethnical origin, the occupations, the languages, the ethnography, the culture and the religion of the population from the Near East, Persia, the territory of Caucasus and the different parts of the "Great Land of Tartars" (which included the area from the Caspian Sea up to Mongolia) as well as from the provinces of Siberia, China and India, are presented. Throughout

this work we also find references to the history of the countries and population. At the end of each chapter we may find a list of the most important travel-accounts referring to that territory. In such a way the works of Gmelin, Pallas, Tallander, Lerek, Gärners, Stäklin and Steller could have provided Körösi, who was preparing for a journey into these countries, with further informations. Otherwise in the great library of the college he was able to find quite a lot of useful geographical works which could have aroused his interest.

Körösi, who was preparing himself for a scientific career and a long journey in Asia, was aware of the importance of learning languages. When he returned from Göttingen, he already knew thirteen dead and modern languages. Besides the above mentioned Latin, Greek and Hebrew, the modern languages were also of major importance for scientific reasons as well as for getting in touch with foreign authorities.

Besides his mother tongue, Hungarian, he knew Romanian. From the widely spoken languages he had to learn first of all German as he continued his studies in Germany, then he had begun to learn some French in Transylvania. In Göttingen he brought to perfection his knowledge of French, then he learnt there English, Arabic and Turkish.

His beloved teacher, Herepej Ádám was able to call his attention upon the importance of Slavonic languages in European culture. He studied Slavistics at Timișoara (Temesvár), Karlovici and Zagreb, not only to satisfy his philological interests, but also because of that version of his plan to start through the southern part of Russia towards Central Asia. Körösi, who could easily learn languages, had learnt the Cyrillic letters, the grammar and the vocabulary of Old Slavonic language (in 8 - 9 months). What's more, he also learnt the Serbo-Croatian language.

Summing up our results, we may state that Körösi acquired his knowledge of orientalistics first of all in Göttingen, but he also got a certain basic training in these disciplines at his college in Transylvania, too. In 1819 he was able to start on his eastern journey after a thorough grounding in orientalistics.

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DIE AUFFINDUNG DES BKA' CHEMS KA KHOL MA.

Quellenkritische Oberlegungen

von

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Unter die *gter ston*, also jene buddhistischen Lehrer, die einen verborgenen literarischen Schatz auffinden und ihn an eingeweihte Schüler weitergeben, wird von der tibetischen Tradition auch der indische Mönch Dīpamkaraśrījñāna, alias Atiśa, gerechnet.

Dies ersieht man z.B. daraus, daß Kon sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899) in seiner Sammlung der Biographien der *gter ston*, dem *Zab mo'i gter dañ gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus bkod pa rin chen bai dū rya'i phren ba*,¹ Atiśa einen Abschnitt widmet. Während Kon sprul bei den meisten anderen *gter ston* eine vollständige Lebensbeschreibung gibt, begnügt er sich bei Dīpamkaraśrījñāna mit dem Verweis auf ein *rnam thar grags*, d.h. eine "bekannte Biographie" - hiermit ist höchstwahrscheinlich die umfangreiche Atiśa-Vita im *bKa' gdams glegs bam* mit dem Titel *Jo bo rin po che rje dpal idan a ti śa'i rnam thar rgyas pa yonis grags*² gemeint - und schildert dann nur noch die eigentliche Auffindung des *bKa' chems ka khol ma*.³ Damit macht er uns mit der folgend skizzierten Begebenheit vertraut:

Dem Hinweis einer Yogini folgend findet Atiśa bei einer bestimmten Säule drei Schriftrollen; deren Titel und Ver-

¹ Zu den bibliographischen Daten und Stellenangaben s. H.Eimer, *Berichte über das Leben des Atiśa (Dīpamkaraśrījñāna). Eine Untersuchung der Quellen*. Wiesbaden 1977, 66-67 (Quellen A 17).

² Zu diesem Werk s. op.cit., 105-106 (Quellen B3) und 158-176.

³ "Der [bei der] Säule verborgene Text, das Testament [des Königs]", dies ist der Kurztitel des Werkes, das Kon sprul Blo gros mtha' yas *Chos rgyal sron btsan sgam po'i bKa' chems yi ge chen po* "die große Niederschrift des Testamente des Dharmarāja Sron btsan sgam po" nennt.

fasser werden genannt. Der diese Handschriften behütende Dämon gibt sie nur für einen Tag heraus, am Abend müssen sie wieder zurückgelegt werden. So können rNal 'byor pa und seine drei Begleiter den Text nicht vollständig abschreiben. Atiśa übergibt die Abschrift dem rNal 'byor pa chen po,⁴ dieser dem Bya yul pa⁵ und dieser wiederum dem Tempelbetreuer von Lhasa. Die Abschrift und die Vorlage werden als Reliquien verwahrt.

Vom gleichen Geschehen spricht auch die biographische Tradition über Atiśa; das *Jo bo rje dpal ldan mar me mdzad ye śes kyi rnam thar rgyas pa* (kurz: *rNam thar rgyas pa*),⁶ das hier - als die archaischste Form der Biographien⁷ - herangezogen wird, enthält einen nur in Einzelheiten abweichenden Bericht, so nennt es z.B. nur eine Handschrift und führt keine Titel an.

Vor nunmehr acht Jahren wurde im Nachdruck einer Sammelhandschrift aus Ladakh eine Fassung des *bKa' chems ka khol ma* veröffentlicht.⁸ Wie bereits A.I.Vostrikov aus der Leningrader Handschrift dieses Textes mitgeteilt hat,⁹ ist in der Einleitung ein ausführlicher Bericht über die Auffindung enthalten; dieser nennt die in den Atiśa-Biographien fehlenden Titel der aufgefundenen Schriften.

Die Aufgabe des folgenden Beitrages ist es, diese beiden Schilderungen von der Auffindung des *bKa' chems ka khol ma* - in diesem Text selbst und in der ältesten verfügbaren ausführlichen Biographie des Atiśa - zu vergleichen, und zwar mit dem Ziel, herauszufinden, ob diese beiden Berichte miteinander verwandt sind und, wenn dies der Fall sein sollte, wie dieses Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zu beschreiben ist. Aus diesen Be-

⁴ Direkter Schüler des Atiśa, auch unter dem Namen A mes Byan chub 'byun gnas bekannt, 1015-1078, s. G.N.Roerich, *The Blue Annals*. Calcutta 1949-1953, I, 262 und 265.

⁵ Lehrer der *bKa' gdams*-Schule, 1075-1138, s. T.V.Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet, According to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad'*. Roma 1962, 174, Anm.554. Aus Bya [yull] stammte auch Bya 'dul ba 'dzin pa Zul phu pa chen po, 1100-1174 oder 1091-1166, der für die erste Aufzeichnung der Atiśa-Biographien sorgte, s. z.B. Eimer, op.cit., 291.

⁶ Zu dieser Biographie s. Eimer, op.cit., 110-111 (Quellen B6) und 177-191.

⁷ S. Eimer, op.cit., 293-299.

⁸ *Ma 'onis lus bstan ysal ba'i sgron me*. Reproductions of two manuscripts containing a collection of the prophecies of Guru Padmasambhava (being chapters 89-108 of the 'Rnam thar chen mo mthöñ ba don ldan'), related accounts of the various sbas-yul from the rediscoveries of Rig-'dzin Rgod-kyi-ldem-'phru-can and others, and the 'Bka' chems Bka' khol ma' of Sron-bstan-sgam-po in thirteen chapters. Volume I. The Stog Manuscript. Leh 1973.

⁹ A.I.Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*. Translated from the Russian by Harish Chandra Gupta, Calcutta 1970, 28-32.

obachtungen kann vielleicht abgeleitet werden, ob neben dem Bericht in den Atiśa-Biographien eine eigene Überlieferung, also eine "Nebenüberlieferung" bestanden hat. Ausgeschlossen bleiben hier Überlegungen darüber, inwieweit die berichteten Geschehnisse auf historischen Tatsachen beruhen.

Bei diesen Untersuchungen muß berücksichtigt werden, daß die einzige derzeit verfügbare Fassung des *bKa' chems ka khol ma* anscheinend recht erheblich unter der Überlieferung gelitten hat: Nur mit Hilfe der mannigfachen Emendationen, für die ich Herrn Geshey Pema Tsering vielmals danke, wurde mir der Wortlaut verständlich.¹⁰ So kann denn auch weder eine Übersetzung noch eine Edition des Berichtes nach dem *bKa' chems ka khol ma* gegeben werden; dies wäre wohl erst dann möglich, wenn die entsprechende Passage aus der vermutlich besseren Leningrader Handschrift zugänglich würde¹¹ - dies ist zugleich eine Voraussetzung für eine Analyse des Textes selbst.

Der erste Schritt der folgenden Untersuchungen wendet sich der Frage zu, ob in den beiden Berichten über die Auffindung Übereinstimmungen anzutreffen sind, aus denen eine Verwandtschaft abzuleiten ist. Die oben nach der Darstellung des Kön sprul Blo gros mtha' yas kurz skizzierte Begebenheit bildet in der biographischen Überlieferung eine eigene Episode;¹² in der Einleitung zum *bKa' chems ka khol ma* hingegen ist sie nur ein Teil,¹³ aber das Kernstück der Schilderung über die Auffindung, ihm geht noch ein Stück Text voran, das von der Reise des Atiśa nach Lhasa spricht und von einem Besuch in einem Tempel dort,¹⁴ das also zum Bericht über das eigentliche Geschehen der Auffindung hinleitet.

Die beiden Schilderungen der eigentlichen Auffindung des *bKa' chems ka khol ma* enthalten die folgenden Handlungsschritte:

Atiśa wünscht etwas über die Erbauung des Tempels zu erfahren.

Er trifft eine Bettlerin oder alte Frau, die vom Weben lebt und als die "Besessene" bezeichnet wird.

¹⁰ Herr Prof.Dr. Michael Hahn half mir beim Überarbeiten der Übersetzungen.

¹¹ In seinem vom 4.Februar 1981 datierten Brief teilte mir Herr Dr. E.I.Kyčanov mit, daß die Handschrift nur den Mitgliedern des Institutes dort zur Verfügung gestellt werden könne.

¹² *rNam thar rgyas pa*, 82a6-b6, veröffentlicht und paraphrasiert in H.Eimer, *Rnam thar rgyas pa. Materialien zu einer Biographie des Atiśa (Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna)*. Wiesbaden 1979, Textziffer 337.

¹³ *Ma 'onś lun bstan ...*, Texttafel 617-618.

¹⁴ Op.cit., Texttafel 615-617.

Sie fragt, ob Atiśa etwas über die Erbauung des Tempels wissen wolle.

Dann sagt sie ihm, an welcher Stelle ein Text darüber verborgen ist.

Atiśa findet den Text bzw. die drei Schriftrollen.

rNal 'byor pa bzw. rNal 'byor pa und drei weitere Schüler des Atiśa schreiben den Text ab.

In der Reihenfolge der Besitzer der Kopie des Textes erscheinen nacheinander rNal 'byor pa, sPyan sña pa und Bya yul pa.

Dazu kommt noch eine weitere inhaltlich gleiche Aussage, und zwar an unterschiedlichen Stellen des Handlungsablaufes: Atiśa erkennt nach dem rNam thar rgyas pa die Bettlerin als Yogini, bevor diese auf den verborgenen Text hinweist, im bKa' chems ka khol ma wird die alte Frau erst danach als Jñāna-Đākinī bezeichnet.

In beiden Schilderungen erscheint zudem die kurze identische Wortfolge *ka ba bum pa can nas* 'dom phyed dañ gsum "zweieinhalf Klafter von der Säule mit dem Krug [als Kapitell?]" . Da weitere wörtliche Entsprechungen fehlen, könnte man versuchen, die beiden Berichte als Schilderungen eines Geschehens durch zwei Augenzeugen auszuweisen und so die Unterschiede auf zwei Gewährsleute zurückzuführen. Dies verbietet sich indes, weil die Übereinstimmung der den beiden Texten gemeinsamen Handlungsschritte so weit geht, daß sie nur aus der nahen Verwandtschaft der beiden Quellen zu erklären ist.

Wendet man sich nun jenem Stück Text in der Einleitung zum bKa' chems ka khol ma zu, das zur eigentlichen Schilderung der Auffindung hinführt,¹⁴ liest man kurz etwa Folgendes:

Atiśa predigt nahe Sñe than gleichzeitig den Menschen und den Asuras.

Dabei sieht er, wie die Ebene um Lhasa durch Blumen farbig erscheint.

Auf die Frage nach diesen Blumen sagt man ihm, daß sie für den nahen Tempel verwendet würden.

Atiśa reitet nach Lhasa, um den Tempel zu betrachten.

Zwischen den Bergen dMar po ri und lCags dkar ri steigt er ab und schreitet betend daher.

Atiśa wohnt nahe beim 'Phrul snañ-Tempel und will die Statue des Śākyamuni im Ra mo che-Tempel sehen.

Der Besitzer des Ra mo che läßt ihn nicht ein.

Avalokiteśvara in Gestalt einer Statue fragt Atiśa, ob

er ihn vor kurzer Zeit gesehen habe.

Atiśa antwortet, er sei zwischen den beiden Bergen von ihm in der Gestalt einer Tonfigur willkommen geheißen worden, habe ihm aber nicht folgen können.

Eine Episode mit einem solchen Handlungsablauf ist im *rNam thar rgyas pa* nicht enthalten. Dort findet sich aber eine Szene, in der Avalokiteśvara am Eingang des Tempels 'Phrul snañ in der Gestalt eines alten Mannes den Gast Atiśa begrüßt; dieser steigt sofort vom Pferd, kann aber dem Bodhisattva nicht folgen.¹⁵ Diese Schilderung enthält deutlich Parallelen zu der Darstellung im *bKa' chems ka khol ma*, sogar eine wörtliche Entsprechung: Der Willkommensgruß beginnt in beiden Texten mit den Silben *ma* ཡ མ *pa* ཡ ད ཕ *ta byon pa* ...¹⁶

Ein anderer Berührungspunkt der beiden Quellen ist die Nennung von Blumen. Im *rNam thar rgyas pa* ist an drei Stellen von ihnen die Rede, zwei davon sagen deutlich, daß Dipamkaraśrijñāna bei Kulthandlungen Blumen für unabdinglich hielt,¹⁷ die dritte spricht von der Häufigkeit von Blumen in der Gegend von sÑe thañ.¹⁸ Daß übermenschliche Wesen sich dem Atiśa in der Gestalt von Tonfiguren offenbarten, wird von den Biographien ebenfalls berichtet: Sie sollen ihm Belehrungen über das *bodhicitta* erteilt haben.¹⁹

Diese Übereinstimmungen zwischen der Hinführung zum Bericht der Auffindung im *bKa' chems ka khol ma* und den entsprechenden Aussagen im *rNam thar rgyas pa* bestätigen, daß auch für diese Textstücke eine Verwandtschaft festzustellen ist. Sie zeigen außerdem deutlich, daß die Atiśa-Vita nicht von der im *bKa' chems ka khol ma* gegebenen Schilderung abhängig sein kann, da sie die entsprechende Szene und die übereinstimmenden Motive in anderem Zusammenhang enthält. In der gleichen Weise ist auszu-

¹⁵ *rNam thar rgyas pa*, 80a6-b2, veröffentlicht und paraphrasiert in Eimer, *Rnam thar rgyas pa*, Textziffer 328.

¹⁶ Hierauf folgt im *bKa' chems ka khol ma* die Silbe *lags* "ist", in *rNam thar rgyas pa* die Silbe *legs* "ist gut", die Lesarten sind also nur durch ein 'greñ bu unterschieden.

¹⁷ *rNam thar rgyas pa*, 71a3-4 und 83b6-84a2, veröffentlicht und paraphrasiert in Eimer, *Rnam thar rgyas pa*, Textziffer 292 und 342.

¹⁸ *rNam thar rgyas pa*, 88b6-89a4, veröffentlicht und paraphrasiert in Eimer, *Rnam thar rgyas pa*, Textziffer 363.

¹⁹ *rNam thar rgyas pa*, 31a5-b4, veröffentlicht und paraphrasiert in Eimer, *Rnam thar rgyas pa*, Textziffer 139.

schließen, daß die Einleitung zum *bKa' chems ka khol ma* direkt auf das *rNam thar rgyas pa* zurückgeht; so fehlt in ihr der Hinweis auf den den Schatz hütenden Dämon, der die Handschrift nur einen Tag zum Abschreiben freigibt, so daß der Text nicht ganz kopiert werden kann. Das *bKa chems ka khol ma* führt an der entsprechenden Stelle die Titel der drei Schriftrollen an, und zwar als letzten den "[bei der] Säule verborgenen Text, das Testament [des Königs]".²⁰ Daß die Aussage im *rNam thar rgyas pa*, die Abschrift des aufgefundenen Textes habe nicht vollendet werden können, wohl ursprünglich ist, wird dadurch bestätigt, daß in den beiden bekannten Handschriften des *bKa' chems ka khol ma* der Wortlaut gegen Ende abbricht.²¹

Mit der letzten Feststellung wird bereits aufgezeigt, daß die in den Atiśa-Biographien erhaltene Fassung des Berichtes von der Auffindung des *bKa' chems ka khol ma* wohl der gemeinsamen Urfassung nähersteht. Eine genauere Bestimmung des Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses der beiden Schilderungen kann nur aufgrund eines sorgfältigen Vergleiches erreicht werden; dies ist aber wegen der Kürze des Berichtes der eigentlichen Auffindung wohl nur mittels einer eingehenden Analyse der Art und Weise der Schilderung möglich. Darauf soll hier verzichtet werden, zumal auch bei einem solchen Vorgehen zu leicht subjektive Kriterien einbezogen werden. Aus der Hinführung zum Bericht in der Einleitung des *bKa' chems ka khol ma* ergeben sich noch weitere Anhaltspunkte. Die ursprüngliche Fassung der Szene, wie Atiśa vom Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara begrüßt wird, dürfte wohl nur geschildert haben, daß Dipamkaraśrijñāna am Tempeleingang vom Pferde absteigt und einige schnelle Schritte tut, dies dürfte als der Versuch, dem Bodhisattva zu folgen, verstanden worden sein. Im *rNam thar rgyas pa* ist die Begrüßung in einer Episode geschildert;²² in der Einleitung zum *bKa' chems ka khol ma* hingegen wird der Vorgang aufgeteilt: Das Absteigen geschieht zwischen den Bergen am Zugang zur Stadt Lhasa; die Bedeutung dieses Tuns wird dem Leser aber erst später mitgeteilt – und zwar in einem Gespräch zwischen Atiśa und einer Statue –, daß nämlich die Begrüßung durch den Bodhisattva in Gestalt einer sprechenden Tonfigur der Grund war, vom Pferde zu steigen.²³ Durch diese Aufteilung

²⁰ S. oben Anm.3.

²¹ S.Vostrikov, *op.cit.*, 29; im *Ma 'onis luñ bstan ...* bricht der Text auf der zweiten Zeile von Texttafel 795 ab und beginnt erst wieder auf Texttafel 798.

²² S. oben Anm.14.

²³ Im *Ma 'onis luñ bstan ...* stehen die beiden Stücke auf Texttafel 616,1-3 und 616,5-617,1.

der Begrüßung in zwei Szenen wird eine Spannung im Ablauf der Handlung erreicht und zugleich das Wundersame des Geschehens herausgestellt. Damit ist eine der Tendenzen der Einleitung zum *bKa' chems ka khol ma* genannt, das in seinem Bericht von der Auffindung von der ursprünglichen Tradition weiter entfernt sein dürfte als das *rNam thar rgyas pa*. Andererseits könnte das *bKa' chems ka khol ma* durchaus altes Traditionsgut enthalten, das im *rNam thar rgyas pa* verlorengegangen ist. Die Angabe z.B., daß Atiśa die alte Frau, die Dākiṇī, an einer bestimmten Stelle trifft, und zwar an der "buntbemalten Tür zum Durchgang" im Tempel, kann aus der ursprünglichen Fassung des Berichtes kommen - sie könnte aber auch erst im Verlauf der Tradition aufgenommen worden sein. In ähnlicher Weise ist nur schwer zu entscheiden, ob die Anzahl der aufgefundenen Texte nachträglich von eins auf drei erhöht wurde: Der "von den Königinnen zusammengestellte Bericht [namens] glänzende weiße Seide" und der "von den Ministern verfaßte Bericht [namens] wunscherfüllender Mond" könnten spätere Schriften sein, die neben das "[bei der] Säule verborgene Testament [des Königs]" traten, vielleicht sogar in Analogie zu der Sammlung *bKa' than sde lha*, die ja ein Werk des Königs, der Königin, der Minister, göttlicher Wesen und gelehrter Menschen vereinigt. Da derzeit nur das *bKa' chems ka khol ma* aus Handschriften bekannt ist, nicht hingegen die beiden nach dem Bericht aufgefundenen Texte, wird man mit einer Ergänzung rechnen müssen.

Summarizing, we may say that the two accounts of the discovery of the *bKa' chems ka khol ma* - that in the text itself, and that in the *Rnam thar rgyas pa* - do, in the end, go back to a common tradition. Whether the remarks contained only in the introduction of the *bKa' chems ka khol ma* are to be derived from an independent earlier tradition other than that which leads to the biographies of Atiśa, or whether they were taken into the account later cannot be definitely decided, even though the latter seems the more likely. The common tradition which stands behind the two versions of the account of the discovery of the *bKa' chems ka khol ma* probably did not divide into two until the 12th century, because in both sources Bya yul pa is named as an owner of the early manuscript copy. All these considerations will have to be reviewed once more when the doubtless better manuscript in Leningrad becomes available.

EINIGE ERGEBNISSE DER KANJURFORSCHUNG IM OBERBLICK *

von
H.EIMER (Bonn)

1. Bei seiner Arbeit am tibetischen *Pravrajyāvastu*, dem *Rab tu 'byuñ ba'i gži*, benutzte Frank-Richard Hamm (1920-1973) zwei Handschriften und fünf Blockdruckausgaben des Kanjur. Die Aufzeichnungen wurden nach seinem Tode zur weiteren Bearbeitung dem Sonderforschungsbereich 12 "Zentralasien" der Universität Bonn übergeben.

1.1. Für die Ausgabe des tibetischen *Pravrajyāvastu* können jetzt vier Handschriften und sieben Blockdrucke herangezogen werden:

B	Handschrift in Berlin	1680
C	Blockdruck aus Cone	1721-1731
D	Blockdruck aus Derge	1733
H	Blockdruck aus Lhasa	1934
K	Blockdruck aus Peking	1684/92 (Kangxi)
L	Handschrift in London	nach 1472
N	Blockdruck aus Narthang	1730-1732
Q	Blockdruck aus Peking	1737 (Qianlong)
R	Nachdruck der Handschrift im Palast von Tog/Ladakh	undatiert
T	Handschrift in Tokyo	1858-1878
U	Blockdruck aus Urga	1908-1910

1.2. Daneben gibt es noch weitere Blockdruckausgaben, die aber derzeit nicht zugänglich sind, z.B. die aus Lithang oder aus Wara. Von den sieben Auflagen des tibetischen Kanjur aus Peking sind nur drei (aus den Jahren 1684/92, 1717/20 und 1737) vollständig verfügbar und daneben meh-

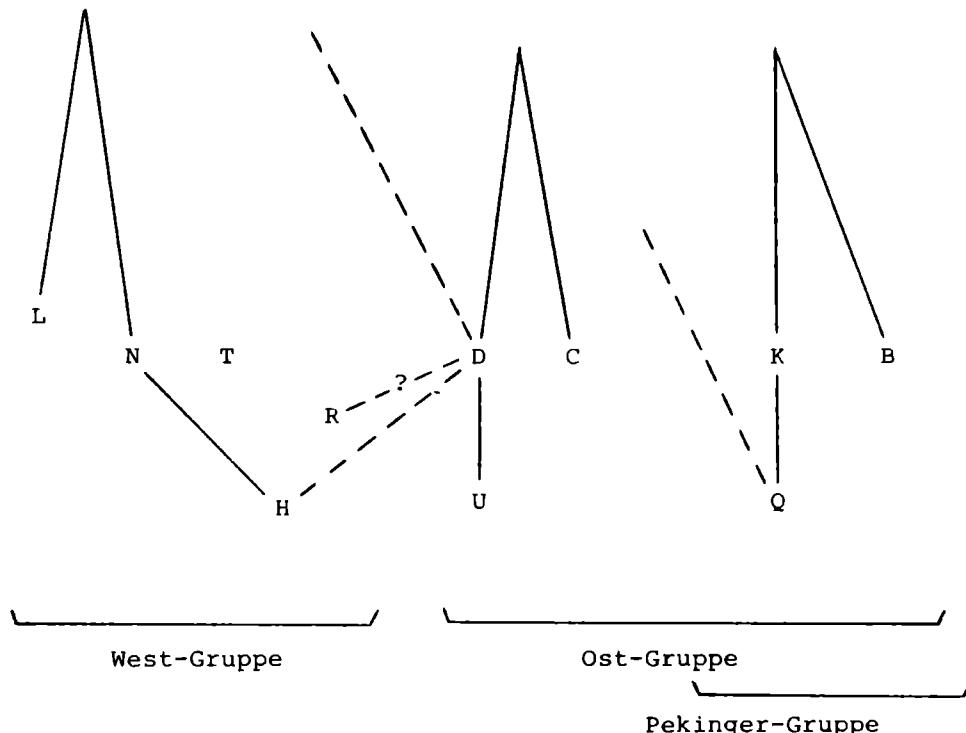
* Vorliegender Beitrag wurde im Rahmen der "short communications" präsentiert.

An English version of the present communication with copious notes and bibliographical references entitled "Some Results of Recent Kanjur Research" is to be published in Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung, Heft 1.

rere Bände des Druckes, der nach 1765 entstanden ist; von den Abzügen des ersten Satzes Kanjur-Druckplatten in Peking (1410 und 1606) ist keiner zugänglich. Aus tibetischen Quellen und aus modernen Reiseberichten ist zu ersehen, daß es eine große Anzahl von Kanjur-Handschriften gegeben hat; vom Schicksal der meisten ist nichts bekannt.

2. Dieser kurze Beitrag soll aufzeigen, wie die Überlieferung des Kanjur - aufgrund neuerer Untersuchungen am tibetischen *Pravrajyāvastu* - gesehen werden kann. Die Feststellungen gelten streng genommen also nur für den genannten Text. Neben den zugänglichen Handschriften und Blockdrucken des Kanjur werden alle anderen verfügbaren Informationsquellen einbezogen, vor allem tibetische Kataloge zum Kanjur. In diesem Zusammenhang ist zu betonen, daß hier nur vom Kanjur die Rede ist, nicht aber vom Tanjur, dessen Überlieferung Claus Vogel in seinem Buch *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamphitā* beispielhaft dargestellt hat.

3. Der Versuch, aus der Untersuchung der Lesarten ein Stemma für die Textüberlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur zu gewinnen, führt zu folgendem Ergebnis:



(Linien = direkte Verbindungen, Strich-Linien = Kontaminationen)

3.1. Die beiden Hauptzweige der Tradition werden – nach den Herkunfts-orten der entsprechenden Textzeugen – als "West-Gruppe" (HLNRT) und als "Ost-Gruppe" (BCDKQU) bezeichnet. Innerhalb der West-Gruppe sind die Londoner Handschrift (L) und der Narthang-Druck (N) nahe miteinander verwandt: Sie müssen als Abkömmlinge einer gemeinsamen Quelle gelten. Die Ost-Gruppe ist in zwei Untergruppen zu gliedern: 1. die der Drucke aus Cone (C) und Derge (D) und 2. die der Berliner Handschrift (B) und der Blockdrucke aus Peking (KQ). Die Stellung der Handschrift in Tokyo (T) und der im Palast von Tog/Ladakh (R) innerhalb der West-Gruppe kann nicht aufgrund der Bewertung von Lesarten bestimmt werden.

3.2. Der Lhasa-Druck (H) geht vornehmlich auf den von Narthang (N) zurück, folgt aber in einigen Lesungen dem von Derge (D). Der Urga-Druck (U) scheint in so gut wie allen Varianten die Ausgabe von Derge (D) wiederzugeben. Bei der Herstellung des Derge-Druckes (D) wurden offensichtlich einige Lesarten aus der West-Gruppe in den Text aufgenommen. Die Textunterschiede zwischen den Pekinger Druckausgaben von 1684/92 (K) und 1737 (Q) sind sehr wahrscheinlich aus einer sorgfältigen Überarbeitung anlässlich der Drucklegung des mongolischen Kanjur gegen 1717/20 zu erklären. Aufgrund von Lesarten und Korrekturen in Handschriften und Blockdrucken des tibetischen *Pravrajyāvastu* dürfen wir annehmen, daß ein gewisses Maß von Kontamination auch bei anderen derzeit bekannten Textzeugen anzutreffen ist.

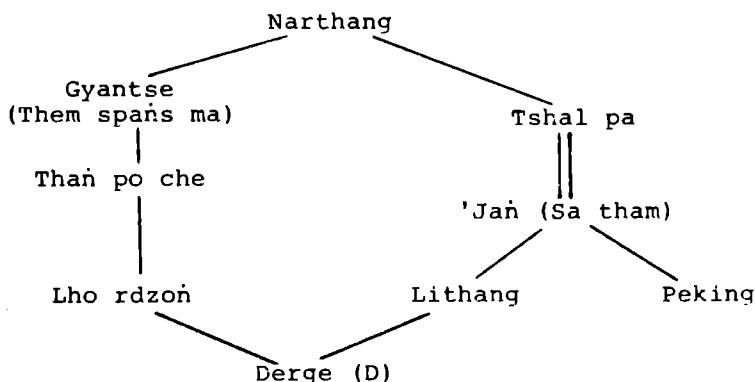
4. Einige tibetische Berichte sprechen über die Entstehung des ersten Kanjur und seine Überlieferung; sie ermöglichen es uns, einen weiteren Teil des Stemmas der Überlieferung zu erstellen. Die bei weitem ausführlichste Quelle dieser Art dürfte der *dkar chag* zum Derge-Kanjur, das *bDe bar gṣegs pa'i bka' gaṇs can gyi brdas drāṇi pa'i phyi mo'i tshogs ji sñed pa par du bsgrubs pa'i tshul las ñe bar brtsams pa'i qtam bzan po blo ldan mos pa'i kunda yoñs su kha bye ba'i zla 'od gzon nu'i khri śin*, sein. Dieses Werk des Si tu gTsug lag Chos kyi snañ ba (1700-1774) nennt die Quellen für das erste Kanjur-Manuskript in Narthang und zeigt die Überlieferungslinien, die zu der Druckausgabe von Derge (D) führten; damit wird zugleich erklärt, wie sich die Ost-Gruppe der Tradition entwickelte.

4.1. Aus dem *dkar chag* zum Derge-Kanjur ist zu erfahren, daß der erste handschriftliche Kanjur von Narthang die Grundlage zu dem Manuskript war, das Tshal pa Si tu dGe ba'i blo gros herstellen ließ. Dieser Tshal

pa-Kanjur wurde von mehreren tibetischen Gelehrten redigiert und galt als maßgebliche Vorlage für spätere Handschriften. Der König von 'Jañ, Karma Mi pham bSod nams rab brtan, ließ eine Abschrift anfertigen, und diese wurde nach einigen Korrekturen zur Grundlage des Textes der Blockdruckausgabe, deren Druckstücke später im Li thañ Byams chen rnam par rgyal ba'i chos sde gelagert wurden. Diese Druckausgabe nun diente als Grundlage bei der Redaktion des Derge-Kanjur (D); daneben wurden noch andere Handschriften von hohem Ansehen beigezogen. Eine davon ist auf die Them spañs ma zurückzuführen, die ebenfalls eine Abschrift der ersten Handschrift von Narthang ist und von einem Herrscher von Gyantse (rGyal rtse) in Auftrag gegeben worden war. Die Them spañs ma wurde – so berichtet jedenfalls Si tu Pañ chen – von Bu ston Rin po che durchgesehen, eine Kopie davon wurde später von Sa'i tshans pa bSod nams rab brtan in Thañ po che'i gtsug lag khañ abgeschrieben. Diese Handschrift wiederum – oder eine Kopie davon – wurde in Lho rdzon gi pho brañ aufbewahrt und gelangte dann nach Derge.

4.2. Die zweite Teilgruppe in der Ost-Gruppe der Überlieferung, nämlich der Pekinger Zweig, geht nach Si tu Pañ chen zurück auf eine Handschrift, die vom König von Sa tham – d.h. von 'Jañ Sa tham – angefertigt worden war. Hieraus kann man ableiten, daß der erste Blockdruck eines tibetischen Kanjur in Peking, unter dem Kaiser Yongle, auf die Handschrift zurückgeht, die von einem frühen osttibetischen König in Auftrag gegeben worden war.

4.3. Diese Mitteilungen des Si tu gTsug lag chos kyi snañ ba – so weit man sie zur Zeit verstehen kann – lassen sich in dem folgenden Diagramm zusammenfassen:



4.4. Für die West-Gruppe der Überlieferung ist ein Bericht wie der eben skizzierte derzeit nicht bekannt; man muß deshalb von den wenigen Angaben, die sich in verschiedenen tibetischen Quellen finden, und von den Beobachtungen anhand der verfügbaren Manuskripte und Blockdrucke ausgehen.

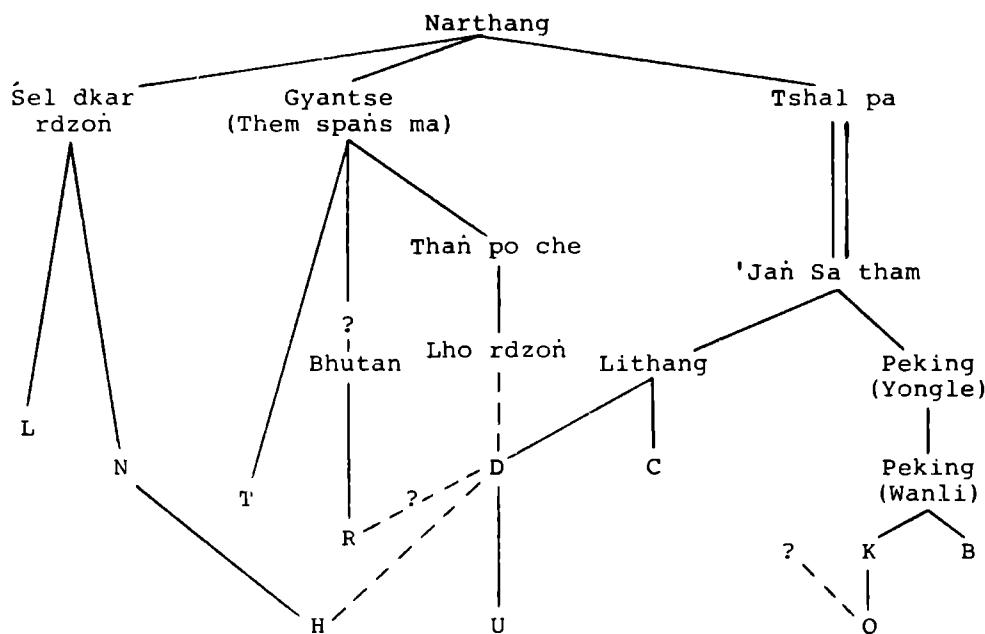
4.5. Die Handschrift in London (L) ist eine Kopie einer Vorlage aus Šel dkar rdzon, hierauf weisen kurze Eintragungen am Ende einiger Bände hin. Daß auch der Narthang-Blockdruck (N) des Kanjur in Šel dkar rdzon hergestellt wurde, hat L.Petech anhand des *dkar chag* dieser Ausgabe gezeigt. Deshalb müssen wir annehmen, daß es in Šel dkar rdzon eine alte Handschrift gab, die als Grundlage sowohl für das Londoner Manuskript (L) als auch für den Narthang-Druck (N) diente. Aus den Lesarten dieser beiden Textzeugen ist abzuleiten, daß sie nicht direkt mit den anderen zugänglichen Handschriften der West-Gruppe (RT) verwandt sein können.

4.6. Der handschriftliche Kanjur aus dem dPal 'khor chos sde in Gantse, jetzt in der Toyo Bunko, Tokyo (T), ist in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts entstanden, wie Kōjun Daitō in seiner Beschreibung mitteilt. Die Tibeter, die dieses Manuskript Ekai Kawaguchi schenkten, bewerteten es als eine alte Handschrift. Diese Aussage meint aber eine "Abschrift von einer alten Handschrift", und diese alte Handschrift war höchstwahrscheinlich die Them spañs ma oder eine Kopie davon. Die "Them spañs ma"-Handschrift, die sich jetzt in Ulan-Bator befindet, wird zwar als Original angesehen, ist aber wahrscheinlich nur eine ältere Abschrift; sie kam als Geschenk kurz nach 1770 oder - wenn man einer anderen Überlieferung Glauben schenkt - während der Lebenszeit des V.Dalai Lama in die Mongolei. Nur eine sorgfältige Kollation eines repräsentativen Textes, z.B. des Rab tu 'byun ba'i gži, nach den Handschriften in Ulan-Bator und in Tokyo könnte die Frage lösen, ob die erstgenannte Handschrift als das Original angesehen werden kann. Da nun die "Them spañs ma" in Ulan-Bator den Forschern aus westlichen Ländern nicht zugänglich ist, bleibt als einziger Beleg für den rGyal rtse Them spañs ma - Zweig der Überlieferung die Kanjur-Handschrift in der Toyo Bunko, Tokyo (T).

4.7. Das Kanjur-Manuskript im Palast von Tog/Ladakh (R) ist nach seinen Lesarten der West-Gruppe der Überlieferung zuzurechnen. Es hat den Anschein, als ob es an manchen Stellen kontaminiert ist, und zwar könnte die Quelle für diese Kontamination die Derge-Ausgabe (D) sein. Aus dem *bKa' 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag yid kyi 'dod 'jo*, einem *dkar chag*, der

angeblich die Tog-Handschrift beschreibt, ersieht man, daß während des Lebens von König Ni ma rnam rgyal (gestorben 1738) ein Exemplar des Kanjur aus Bhutan besorgt wurde. Aufgrund dieser Angabe, die sich auf ein verwandtes Manuskript beziehen dürte, ist zu vermuten, daß dieser Zweig der Kanjurüberlieferung aus Bhutan stammt und somit letztlich auf die Tradition von Gyantse zurückgeführt werden könnte.

4.8. An diesem Punkt unserer Überlegungen kann versucht werden, ein Diagramm der Textüberlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur zu erstellen. Dabei muß man sich bewußt sein, daß dies ein erster Versuch ist und daß Fehler - besonders in den Bereichen, die auf die Ausdeutung von tibetischen Berichten zurückgehen - nicht auszuschließen sind.



(Linien = direkte Verbindungen, Strich-Linien = Kontaminationen, Sigla = zugängliche Textzeugen, Namen = unzugängliche Textzeugen)

5. Andere Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des Kanjur gehen von der Betrachtung der unterschiedlichen Anordnung der Abteilungen und der einzelnen Texte aus. In dieser kurzen Übersicht kann eine sorgfältige Analyse dieser Unterschiede nicht gegeben werden, die Überlegungen greifen daher zwei Punkte auf: die Stellung des *Pravrajyāvastu* innerhalb der Abteilung 'dul ba (Vinaya) und die Anzahl der Bände, die zu der Abteilung

mdo (Sūtra) gerechnet werden.

5.1. In allen Druckausgaben erscheint das *Rab tu 'byun ba'i gzi* im ersten Band der Abteilung Vinaya, es ist das erste der 17 *gzi* (*vastu*), die das '*Dul ba gzi*, das *Vinayavastu*, bilden. Der *dkar chag* zur Derge- und ebenso der zur Urga-Ausgabe des Kanjur sprechen von drei unterschiedlichen Anordnungen der Einzeltexte in der Abteilung '*dul ba*. Zwei Kanjur-Handschriften, nämlich die in London (L) und die in Tokyo (T), enthalten die Texte dieser Abteilung in einer anderen Reihenfolge: das *Pravrajyāvastu* beginnt erst im Band 6 zwischen Blatt 90 und 100. Und dies ist nach einer freundlichen Mitteilung von Herrn Dr. Géza Bethlenfalvy auch der Fall in der "Them spāns ma" - Handschrift in Ulan-Bator. Aufgrund dieser Feststellung sind die drei genannten Handschriften als Gruppe in der Tradition anzusehen. Der Narthang-Kanjur würde demzufolge zu einem anderen Zweig der Überlieferung gehören, da er das *Rab tu 'byun ba'i gzi* im ersten Vinaya-Band erhält.

5.2. Die Abteilung Sūtra umfaßt in den bekannten Blockdrucken des tibetischen Kanjur 30 oder 32 Bände; doch die Kanjur-Handschriften in London (L), im Palast von Tog/Ladakh (R) und in Tokyo (T) haben 37 Bände in dieser Abteilung. Nun erfahren wir aus G.Bethlenfalvys Beitrag zum tibetischen Kanjur, daß auch die "Them spāns ma" in Ulan Bator 37 Bände *mdo* zählt und daß die Anordnung der einzelnen Texte innerhalb der Abteilung Sūtra in den Handschriften in Tokyo (T) und Ulan-Bator weitgehend übereinstimmt. Da die Reihenfolge der Texte dieser Abteilung in den Handschriften in London (L), in Tokyo (T) und im Palast von Tog/Ladakh (R) weitgehend gleich ist, ergibt sich, daß diese vier Handschriften nahe verwandt sind. Der Narthang-Kanjur (N) müßte nach der Anordnung der Texte in der Abteilung *mdo* zu einer anderen Überlieferungsgruppe als die genannten Manuskripte gehören.

5.3. Si tu Pañ chen sagt in seinem *dkar chag*, daß die Anordnung der Texte innerhalb der Abteilung '*dul ba* im Derge-Kanjur der des Tshal pa-Kanjur entspricht. Daher kann man ableiten, daß die Abteilung Vinaya in den bekannten Blockdrucken des Kanjur die Anordnung derjenigen Handschrift bewahrt hat, die Tshal pa Si tu dGe ba'i blo gros hatte anfertigen lassen. Sehr wahrscheinlich haben die eben genannten drei Manuskripte mit ihrer besonderen Reihenfolge der Texte in der Abteilung '*dul ba* die Anordnung der Texte beibehalten, wie sie sich in' der ersten Kanjur-Handschrift von Narthang fand. So dürfen wir denn wohl auch die Abfolge der Einzeltexte in der Abteilung *mdo* in den vier genannten Hand-

schriften als die ursprüngliche betrachten, also als die der alten Narthang-Handschrift, zumal Si tu gTsug lag Chos kyi snañ ba in seinem *dkar chag* zum Derge-Kanjur die Mitteilung weitergibt, daß der Fürst von Gantse seinen Kanjur, d.h. die Them spañs ma, von dem alten Narthang-Manuskript hat abschreiben lassen. Darum sind die Handschrift in London (L) und die beiden Abschriften der Them spañs ma (in Tokyo [T] und in Ulan Bator) als Vertreter der "alten Narthang-Überlieferung" anzusehen.

5.4. Die Anordnung der Texte in den Abteilungen *mdo* und *'dul ba* weist in allen Druckausgaben des Kanjur Übereinstimmungen auf. Da textkritische Untersuchungen bewiesen haben, daß die Ausgaben von Cone (C), Derge (D) und Peking (KQ) verwandt sind, dürfen wir ableiten, daß diese Ähnlichkeiten in der Abfolge der Texte auf den gemeinsamen Vorfahren, den Tshal pa-Kanjur, zurückgehen. Der Narthang-Druck des Kanjur gehört, nach seinen Lesarten zu urteilen, in die West-Gruppe der Tradition, die ja die "alte Narthang-Überlieferung" ist, doch in der Anordnung der Texte weist er Ähnlichkeiten mit der anderen Hauptgruppe der Überlieferung auf, die auf den Tshal pa-Kanjur zurückzuführen ist. Dieser Sachverhalt nun kann recht einfach erklärt werden: Bei der Herstellung der Narthang-Ausgabe wurden die Texte so, wie sie in der Šel *dkar rdzon*-Handschrift erhalten waren - die ja auch als Mitglied der "alten Narthang-Überlieferung" eingeordnet werden muß -, abgeschrieben, doch die Anordnung der Texte wurde aus einem *dkar chag* übernommen, der aus der Tradition des Tshal pa-Kanjur stammte. Wenn man die Stellung eines Textzeugen innerhalb der Überlieferung des Kanjur feststellen will, ist es erforderlich, zwei Bereiche zu betrachten: einmal die Anordnung der Einzeltexte oder Abteilungen und zum anderen den Wortlaut unter dem Gesichtspunkt textkritischer Beobachtungen.

6. Bei der Bearbeitung des tibetischen *Pravrajyāvastu*, des *Rab tu 'byun ba'i gži*, wurde mir von vielen Bibliotheken, Museen und Persönlichkeiten Unterstützung zuteil. Herr Professor Dr. Ernst Steinkellner ermöglichte es, diese Mitteilung dem dritten Csoma de Körös Symposium Velm/Wien vorzutragen. Für all diese Hilfe danke ich vielmals.

SOME LEXICAL ITEMS FROM THE SIDDHASĀRA

by

R.E.EMMERICK (Hamburg)

Ravigupta's Sanskrit medical text known as the *Siddhasāra* was translated into Tibetan in the first quarter of the ninth century. The translation was incorporated into the Tibetan Tanjur and is available in three blockprints, those known as Derge, Narthang, and Peking. My edition of the Tibetan text with facing English translation appeared as Supplementband 23,2 in the *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1982. My edition of the Sanskrit text appeared as Supplementband 23,1 in 1980. References to the *Siddhasāra* in the following text are to the above volumes.

1. khar go sol

This word has not been found in Tibetan dictionaries and only one occurrence of it is known to me. It occurs without variant in Si 3.20.6. There the Sanskrit text has *tri-doṣa-śamanāś caiṇā* "and the black bucks (*enā*) pacify the three humours". For that the Khotanese version (17r1 in *Khotanese texts I*, ed. H.W.Bailey, Cambridge 1945, 2nd ed. 1969, repr. 1980, p.26) has *cu āskā hīya gūṣta . śi' ... drrayāñ dūṣā niṣe'māka* "As for the flesh of the deer (**mṛga*), it ... (is) a pacifier of the three humours". The corresponding Tibetan has: *khar go sol gyi śa ni ... nad gži gsum sel* "As for the flesh of the *khar go sol*, it removes the three humours".

Since the starting-point is Sanskrit *enā* we must begin by asking exactly what animal is meant by *enā*.¹ The Petersburg dictionary provides

¹ A useful summary of the evidence from Indian sources is provided by G.J.Meulenbeld, *The Mādhavanidāna and its chief commentary Chapters 1-10*, Leiden 1974, 450.

the information "eine Antilopenart (schwarz und mit kurzen Beinen)". *eṇa* occurs in lists of *mṛga* in lexica and in medical texts. In the list found in *Suśruta*, Sū. 46.54 *eṇa* is the first item and is followed by *hariṇa*. The commentator Ḏalhaṇa distinguishes them as follows: *eṇaḥ kṛṣṇa-hariṇaḥ*, *hariṇo gaura-hariṇaḥ* "*eṇa* is a black *hariṇa*, *hariṇa* is a light-coloured *hariṇa*". Commenting on *Caraka*, Sū. 27.46 *hariṇaiṇau Cakrapāṇidatta* has *hariṇaḥ tāmra-varṇaḥ*, *eṇaḥ kṛṣṇa-sāraḥ*, which is slightly different with regard to *hariṇa* but emphasises the blackness of *eṇa*.

In P.Ray and H.N.Gupta, *Caraka Saṃhitā (A scientific synopsis)*, New Delhi 1965, 33 *eṇa* was explained as "fawn deer (*Cervus rusa*)" and distinguished from *hariṇa* "black buck (*Antilope cervicapra*)". This is clearly at variance with Ḏalhaṇa and Cakrapāṇidatta, and it is no doubt for that reason that in P.Ray, H.N.Gupta, and M.Roy, *Suśruta Saṃhitā (A scientific synopsis)*, New Delhi 1980, 110 it is *eṇa* that is explained as "black deer" (*Antilope cervicapra*) while *hariṇa* is said to be simply the "white deer" without scientific designation. The Shree Gulabkunverba Ayurvedic Society edition of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, Jamnagar 1949, vol.6, p.64 no.52 illustrates *eṇa* with the caption "The black buck (Indian antelope)" and on p.79 no 112 *hariṇa* with the caption "The red deer". These renderings were adopted in the recent translation of the *Caraka Saṃhitā* by Ram Karan Sharma and Vaidya Bhagwan Dash, Varanasi 1976, vol.1, p.502. P.V.Sharma leaves both terms untranslated in his translation of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, Varanasi/Delhi 1981, 197.

"The black buck (*Antilope cervicapra*), confined to India, is recognized by the long, spirally twisted horns of the males, whose bodies are blackish with white markings." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1968 ed. s.v. antelope).

Twelve kinds of *mṛga* (Tibetan *ri dags*) are listed by Amara, *Amarakośa* 2.5.10. The Tibetan version glosses *eṇa* as follows:² *i ḥaḥ 'gro byed de | ri dags chuṇ nū mig mdzes śin byin pa thuṇ nū can žig go || miṇ gžan | tsā ru lo tsa naḥ mig mdzes žes kyaṇ zer ro ||*. The description as a *ri dags* that is small, with beautiful eyes and short calves, agrees well with the black buck. It is interesting to note that the translator has added as an alternative name Sanskrit *cāru-locana* from Puruṣottamadeva's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* 2.5.6 (ed. H.T.Colebrooke, Calcutta 1807/1808, p.21).

The Khotanese translation by āśkā is not precise. In his *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge 1979, H.W.Bailey lists āśkā as "deer" but under this heading translates *Si* 3.20.6. as "flesh of antelope". Bailey

² *The Amarakośa in Tibet*. Ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1965, 63a3.

also uses the rendering "antelopes" where Khotanese āśka corresponds to Sanskrit mṛga. However, most of the mṛga are deer, not antelopes. The ancients did not distinguish as does modern zoology between the Bovidae, which includes the antelopes and the Cervidae or deer family. In Sanskrit mṛga includes animals from both families, and this usage is reflected by Khotanese āśka and Tibetan *ri dags*.

No doubt the Khotanese translators asked: "What is an *eṇa* or *khar go sol*?" and receiving the answer "*mṛga-viśeṣa* (a kind of *mṛga*)", they decided to leave it at that and used their general word for *mṛga*, which was āśka.

The Tibetans on the other hand rendered *mṛga* by *ri dags*, so that *khar go sol* is evidently an attempt to be more precise.

Sanskrit *eṇa* is elsewhere translated by Tibetan *dgo ba* e.g. Si 5.138³; Vāgbhaṭa, Ah., Sū. 6.43. Tibetan *dgo ba* is according to Jäschke "a species of antelope living on high mountains, *Procapra picticaudata*, Hodgson, v. Hook, II.157 and 139". However, 'Jam dpal rdo rje, *An illustrated Tibeto-Mongolian materia medica of Ayurveda*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1971, 233 has the following description: *dgo ba ni | byin pa legs zer | sog thani gi ra'i rigs śin tu myogs śin byin pa phra | kha dog ser skya rva gñis mtho ganī lhag tsam ril mo dbyibs gtsod rva lta bu | mo la rva mi skyes pa'o ||* "As for the *dgo ba*, it is said to have fine calves. It is a kind of goat on the Mongolian plains, very swift, with delicate calves. It is of pale yellow colour and has two horns like the horns of the Tibetan antelope *gtsod* but higher and of round shape. The female has no horns." The illustration is captioned by Chinese 黄羊 *huang yang* (Mathews 2297 + 7249).

It is thus apparent that *eṇa* and *dgo ba* have little in common. The *eṇa* is confined to India, the *dgo ba* belongs to the Mongolian plains. The *eṇa* is black, the *dgo ba* is pale yellow.

The question that arises is whether *khar go sol* belongs to the *eṇa* category or to the *dgo ba* category. The -go- of *khar go sol* is likely to represent the *dgo* of *dgo ba* and thus we might expect *khar go sol* to belong to the *dgo ba* category. That this is so is confirmed by the fact that *sol* is glossed by Chinese 黄羊 *huang yang* in the Sino-Tibetan glossary P 2762 (no.41 in P. Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, Paris 1961, 143; referred to by H.W.Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 510 s.v. āśka-). Pelliot comments: "sol est nouveau ... Le nom usuel est good", but as we have seen, 'Jam dpal rdo rje distinguishes between *dgo ba* and *gtsod* and gives each its own illustration and description.

According to Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 510, s.v. āśka-, the

khar of khar go sol is of Iranian origin. He writes: "This is the Khotan Saka *khara-* in the adjectives *khariñā* and *khyera*. Tibetan *khar go* could replace an Iranian **xaragau-*."

Bailey's theory is that Khotanese had an unusual word *khara* meaning "deer" homonymous with the usual word *khara-* meaning "ass". His theory depends on his interpretation of *Si* 26.51, where the Khotanese has *khariñā āste*, which Bailey renders "bone of deer". In the Tibetan version we find *gla ba*, which is said to be the "musk deer". However, the Sanskrit has *plava* "nut grass", and the Tibetan is here merely a transcription, found elsewhere, for Sanskrit *plava*. If we wish to find here a word for "musk deer", it is necessary to assume that the Khotanese misinterpreted the Tibetan. This they sometimes did in fact, but nevertheless it seems more likely that the Khotanese version is based on a text that contained the reading *kharoṣṭra-* "ass, camel" instead of *plavoṣṭra-*. Certainly a medicament of the same name, *danta-varti*, used in treating eye diseases, contains *khara-* "ass" in the formulation occurring in *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Ah.*, *Utt.* 11.33-34. In other contexts too the collocation *kharoṣṭra-* is found. The likelihood is great therefore that *khara-* in Khotanese as the description of an animal always means "ass" as in other Iranian languages and not occasionally "deer" instead.

The question that remains to be answered is what *khar* is in *khar go sol*. Bearing in mind Jäschke's comment that the *dgo ba* lives on high mountains one is tempted to speculate that *khar go* stands for *kha dgo* "snow deer". Note another kind of "snow deer" called *kha śa*, which belongs to the category of large *ri dags* according to the *rGyud bzi* 2.16⁴⁷, where *kha śa* has been substituted for the transcribed *ru ru* of the Tibetan translation (Peking 29b5) of *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Ah.*, *Sū.* 6.50 (Sanskrit *ruru*). Some support for this explanation may be provided by the evidence for a dialect form *urgo* "*džeran* (*Gazella subgutturosa*)" for *dgo ba*, to which attention was drawn at the conference by G.Kara (Budapest).

Another possibility is suggested by 'Jam dpal rdo rje's reference to the occurrence of *dgo ba* on the Mongolian plains. The Mongolian gloss on *dgo ba* provided by *Sumatiratna VI.379*, is as follows³: *jegere. inu aradu-ača yekeken. öngge čayabturgan qonin-u öbermiče* "Jegere: eine Art von Schaf, etwas größer als aradu, von weisslicher Farbe". On *jegere*, modern *dseren*, see B.Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, Chicago 1919, 575 (no.18) and G.Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neopersischen*, vol.1, Wiesba-

³ Reading and interpretation kindly supplied by K.Sagaster (Bonn).

den 1963, 301f. K.Sagaster draws my attention to J.Schubert, *Paralipomena Mongolica*, Berlin 1971, 71, where the *dseren* is said to be *Gazella gutturosa* Pall. and reference is given to the Chinese gloss *huang yang*. Moreover, *dseren* is equated with the Mongol designation *xar süült* "mit schwarzen Schwanz", which suggests that the *khar* of Tibetan *khar go sol* may be nothing more than Mongolian *xar* "black".

2. *rñad*

rñad has not been recognised in the *Si* as it has been misread at each occurrence.

Si 3.21: *da ni ldum dan rñad kyi bye brag bśad de* "Now the varieties of vegetables (*śāka) and herbs (*haritaka) are expounded." Here Derge has *rñad* but Narthang and Peking have *sñad*. H.W.Bailey read *sñion* with *on* marked as uncertain in *Khotanese texts I*, 29 (146r1) in ed.1, but *sñod* in ed.2 (and reprint) and in his *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, s.v. *hvāṣṣa-*. In the Dictionary s.v. *puhara-* Bailey reads *sñod* but adds "Pek. ed. *sñad*".

The Khotanese version of *Si* 3.21 has: *viñā ttā hvāṣāp puharāp hiya piṣkeca hvīde* "Now the analysis of vegetables (*śāka) (and) herbs (*haritaka) will be stated." Note that *piṣkeca* means "analysis", not "chapter" as Dictionary s.v. *hvāṣṣa-*.

Si 1.56 (13) has *ldum dan rñad dan* "vegetables and herbs", where the Sanskrit has only *śāka* "vegetable". In *Khotanese texts I*, 15 (141v3) H. W.Bailey read *rdan* in ed.1, but *rdad* in ed.2 (and reprint) and in *Dictionary* s.vv. *hvāṣṣa-* and *māsta hvāṣe*.

In *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Ah.*, *Sū.* 7.32 we read: *bhakṣayitvā haritakāp mūlakādi payas tyajet* "After eating greens such as radish one should avoid milk." The Tibetan version renders:

*la phug la sogs rño rñad ni
zos nas 'o ma spañ bar bya* (Peking 36a5).

Thus, Sanskrit *haritakāp* "greens" is rendered by Tibetan *rño rñad* (Derge 62b6 *sñō rñad*). This *sñō rñad* is probably the same as Jäschke's *sñō nad* "aromatic vegetables, such as onions *Med.*" (Jäschke s.v. *nad*). Jäschke found it in *rGyud bži* 2.16¹²⁵: *sñō nad sgog btson la sogs tshva ba dan* "(Among) aromatic vegetables, garlic, onion, etc. are pungent."

sñō in *sñō rñad* is evidently "green". Another word for "vegetable" is *tshod ma* "boiled greens". *tshod ma* renders Sanskrit *śāka* in *Si* 11.18 and 12.41, but in *Si* 3.30.4 we find *sñō tshod* for Sanskrit *śāka*.

rñad may belong rather with *brñad pa* "to pull out" than with *nad* "air; scent, fragrance" as Jäschke suggests.

3. ci skrigs

This word is not found in Tibetan dictionaries I have consulted. It occurs in the Tibetan version of *Si* 12.11 in the name of a ghee. The ghee is called *mahā-tiktaka* in a different formulation of the same ghee in Caraka, Ci. 7.150. The translation of *Si* 12.11 found in the Khotanese *Jīvaka-pustaka* has *mahā-ttihtti rūp* "mahā-tiktaka ghee". In each case the Sanskrit formulation has *mahā-tikta* "the great bitter (ghee)", which in the Tibetan version of Vāgbhaṭa's formulation in Ah., Ci. 19.8-11 is rendered by *tig ta chen po* (Peking 198a2-3). The ghee is clearly named after its chief ingredient, *Swertia chirata* Buch.-Ham., which is designated by *bhūnimba* in Ravigupta, *kirāta-tikta* in Caraka and *kirāta-tiktaka* in Vāgbhaṭa. The Tibetan translations of Ravigupta and Vāgbhaṭa agree in rendering this plant as *rtsa mkhris*.

The Tibetan version of *Si* 12.11 names the ghee as follows: *kha ba chen po ci skrigs žes bya ba'i mar* "the ghee called great bitter *ci skrigs*". *ci skrigs* is an alternative Tibetan designation of *Swertia chirata* Buch.-Ham. It is used to translate Sanskrit *bhūnimba* in Vāgbhaṭa, Ah., Sū. 10.28 (Derge 69a2 *ci skrigs*; Peking 43a2 *ci sgregs*) and Sū.15. 17 (Derge 78a7 *ci skrigs*; Peking 52a8 *ci sgrigs*). Sanskrit *bhūnimba* is everywhere else in the *Si* translated by *rtsa mkhris* (*Si* 2.6.; 5.37,42, 48,58,70; 6.28,55; 11.17; 12.11; 13.30; 14.8,9), as it is in the list of ingredients of this very ghee.

4. me mar mur

In his *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, s.v. *phaja*, H.W.Bailey begins by quoting *Si* 26.66 *phaja veštāñā* "it must be placed in *phaja*", which corresponds to Tibetan *me mar mur gyi nañ du bcug la* "having placed it in glowing coals". Hence it is clear that Khotanese *phaja*, whatever its origin may be, must mean "glowing coals", not "oven".

Tibetan *me mar mur* is not found in Jäschke's dictionary, but he has *me ma mur* with a queried suggestion that it is the same as *me mur*, which he says is the same as *me mdag*, and *me mdag* means "coals glowing underneath the ashes". This meaning of *me ma mur* is confirmed by Chos kyi

grags pa's dictionary, which explains *me ma mur* as *me mdag thal ba dmar po* "red coal ash". *Sumatiratna* II.455 has two Mongolian glosses on *me ma mur*, which were kindly read and interpreted for me by K.Sagaster: *yal-un nurm-a* "glühende Feuerasche" and *čoysimal yal* "Feuer, das keine Flammen mehr hat und von dem kein Rauch mehr aufsteigt". *Sumatiratna* II. 451 also glosses *me mdag* by *yal-un nurm-a*.

The expression *me mar mur gyi nañ du bcug la* occurs also in *Si* 6.48 (not extant in Khotanese). There it corresponds to Sanskrit *kukūla*. This correspondence provides the final proof that *me mar mur* is the same as *me ma mur* since *kukūla* is rendered by *me ma mur* in *Mahāyutpatti* 4937 (quoted as *me mar mur* in Lokesh Chandra's dictionary).

It is not easy to determine the exact meaning of Sanskrit *kukūla*. *Amara*, *Amarakośa*, 3.3.203, gives the meanings *śankubhiḥ kīrṇe śvabhre* "a hole covered with sticks" and *tusānale* "chaff fire". The Tibetan rendering of the *Amarakośa* has the latter as *phub ma'i me* "chaff fire",⁴ but it apparently disregards the former meaning.

Sanskrit *kukūla* is represented in Pali by *kukkuṭa* "hot ashes", and it is evident that the Tibetan interpretation of *kukūla* is in accord with the Pali meaning. That this interpretation is not confined to the Tibetan translation of the *Si* is shown by the fact that *kukūla-vipācita* "cooked in *kukūla*" in *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Ah.*, *Su.* 6.42 is rendered *mdag btsos* "cooked in glowing coals" (Derge 56b2 = Peking 29b1).

To the Sanskrit text:

kukūla-karpaṇa-bhrāṣṭra-kandv-aṅgāra-vipācitān

eka-yonīḍī laghūn vidyād apūpān uttarottaram

corresponds the Tibetan translation:

khur ba mdag btsos dog le dañ

sa slāñ⁵ da nur rgya sol bsregs

khur ba 'di rnams rigs gcig kyan

phyi ma phyi ma yañ ba yin

"Cakes (*khur ba* = *apūpān*) cooked (*btsos* = *vipācitān*) in glowing coals (*mdag* = *kukūla*-), baked in iron pans (*dog le*⁶ = *karpara*-), in earthen pans (*sa slāñ*⁷ = *bhrāṣṭra*), in *da nur* (*da nur*⁸ = *kandu*-), (and in) old

⁴ op.cit. (n.2) 182b4.

⁵ Peking *sa blāñ*.

⁶ *dog le* "an iron pan with a handle" (Jäschke).

⁷ *sa slāñ*, not found in dictionaries, is evidently the same as *rdza slāñ* (for which see *Das s.v. sla na*).

⁸ *da nur* has not been traced. Note *Sumatiratna*'s *da bur* explained as *bsreg pahi gnas* "place of burning". Hardly from Persian *tanūr* "oven". *kandu* is said to have been a vessel with many holes through which the flames could enter.

coals (*rgya sol*⁹ = *aṅgāra-*) - these cakes (*khur ba* = *apūpān*), although of one kind (*rigs gcig* = *eka-yonīḍl*), are successively (*phyi ma phyi ma = uttarottaram*) lighter (*laghūn*). "

5. *srubs*

Only Jäschke has the meaning "seam" for *srubs* and even there it is queried. Once again the excellence of Jäschke's dictionary can be confirmed. *srubs* corresponds to Sanskrit *sivani* in *Si* 18.55. The same correspondence is attested in the Tibetan version of Vāgbhaṭa's *Ah.* *srubs* renders Sanskrit *sevani* (= *sivani*) in Śā. 3.14 (Peking 88a6) and in the passage of *Ah.* that is parallel to *Si* 18.55, namely Ci.13.39 (Peking 181a6). *sivani* is an anatomical technical term, English "raphe" which is defined as "the seamlike union of the two lateral halves of a part or organ, as of the tongue, perineum, etc., having externally a ridge or furrow, and internally usually a fibrous connective tissue septum" (Webster).

Sanskrit *sivani* is a derivative of *sīvyati* "sews". It is likely that its Khotanese counterpart *pu'mā* derives similarly from **pati-śū-* "to sew together". Tibetan *srubs* in this meaning may belong to (')*drub-pa* "to sew". For the alternation between *sr* and *dr* in Tibetan note *sron ba* (perfect *bsrains*) "to make straight" beside *drañ po* "straight".

⁹ *rgya sol* has not been found, but *sol* "coal" is well known. I take *rgya* to have the same significance as in *rgya phrum* "late beestings", on which see C.Vogel, *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā*, the first five chapters of its Tibetan version. Wiesbaden 1965, 231. *aṅgāra* is said to be without flame (*ajvālo*) and without smoke (*vidhūmo*). This agrees with *śāntāṅgāra* "subsided coals" in *Si* 23.7, which is rendered *me mdag* in Tibetan and by *ttaudā skarā* "hot coals" in Khotanese.

TIBETISCHE HEILKUNDE. IM WESTEN ANWENDBAR?

von

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1. Einleitung

In unserer Zeit besteht die Gefahr, allzu bereitwillig fernöstliche Praktiken und "Wunderdrogen" aufzugreifen. So ist auch im Westen das Interesse für die tibetische Heilkunde erheblich gewachsen. Die Verlockung ist groß, vorschnell Fragen nach der Anwendbarkeit zu stellen. Als Fachärztin für Innere Medizin (ausgebildet auch in Neurologie, Psychiatrie und Tropenmedizin) in eigener Praxis niedergelassen, bin ich seit 30 Jahren theoretisch und praktisch mit asiatischen Heilweisen vertraut. Nach langen Vorarbeiten konnte ich 1962 und 1967 mehrere Monate in den Himalayas bei den tibetischen Ärzten deren Heilkunde studieren. So weiß ich aus Erfahrung, weshalb die Anwendung tibetischer Heilmethoden im Westen so schwierig sein wird.

Das Prinzip der tibetischen Heilkunde ist die Dreiteilung. In dem tibetischen Medizin-System¹ sind diagnostische und therapeutische Me-

¹ Das System der tibetischen Heilkunde

(aus E.Finckh, *Grundlagen Tibeterischer Heilkunde*. Bd.1, Uelzen 1975, 56)

3 Wurzeln	9 Stämme	47 Zweige	224 Blätter
	9 Abschnitte der ärztlichen Wissenschaft	47 allgemeine Angaben	224 spezielle Angaben
Wurzel A Anordnung	I Gesunder Organismus II Kranker Organismus	3 } 12 9 }	25 } 88 63 }
	Beschrieben in dem Buche rGyud bZi, Teil 1, Kapitel 3		
Wurzel B Diagnose	III Beschauen IV Fühlen V Fragen	2 } 8 3 } 3 3 }	6 } 38 3 } 29
	Beschrieben in dem Buche rGyud bZi, Teil 1, Kapitel 4		
Wurzel C Therapie	VI Ernährung VII Lebensweise VIII Arzneimittel IX Heilmethoden (äußere)	6 } 27 3 } 50 15 } 7	35 } 6 } 98
	Beschrieben in dem Buche rGyud bZi, Teil 1, Kapitel 5		

thoden den drei Humores Wind, Galle und Schleim derart zugeordnet, daß man von Konstitutionstypen sprechen kann. Allerdings sind auch die Lehren vieler anderer Heilkunden Konstitutionslehren, aber das tibetische System zeigt doch einen ganz besonders engen Zusammenhang auf zwischen den drei Humores und den Behandlungsmethoden. Die Therapie richtet sich nicht nach einem Krankheitssymptom, sondern ist erst möglich nach Erfassung des vorliegenden Konstitutionstyps. Deshalb werden zunächst einige Charakteristika der drei Humores beschrieben und im zweiten Teil die ihnen zugeordneten Behandlungsmethoden. Es sei noch erwähnt, daß die drei Typen in ihrer reinen Form selten vorkommen. Wie in der westlichen Medizin haben wir es oft mit den sogenannten Mischtypen zu tun.

2. Die drei Humores

Aus den Texten des Standardwerkes der tibetischen Heilkunde, *Vier Traktate*,² geht hervor, daß die tibetischen Ärzte ein sehr eigenartiges und selbständiges System entwickelt haben, das am Gleichnis eines Baumes dargestellt wird, der 3 Wurzeln, 9 Stämme, 47 Zweige und 224 Blätter hat. Die Charakteristika der drei Humores werden, dem System folgend, beschrieben: (A)=Wurzel A=Anordnung der Körperteile, (B)=Wurzel B=Diagnose, (C)=Wurzel C=Therapie. (Die tibetischen Termini³ mit ihren Übersetzungen, dem Buche *Vier Traktate* entnommen, sind in den Anmerkungen wiedergegeben).

² *Vier Traktate* = *rGyud bži* ist der Kurztitel. Der Titel lautet: *bDud rči sñin po yan lag bryad pa gsan ba man nág gi rgyud*. Übersetzung des Titels: "Geheim-Unterweisungs-Traktat über die achtgliedrige Unsterblichkeits-Essenz".

³ Die Übersetzung einiger Termini stieß auf Schwierigkeiten. Unklarheiten gab es z.B. bei der Zuordnung der Sinnesorgane zu "Wind".
Die Arbeit von R.E.Emmerick, A Chapter from the Rgyud-bži. Asia Major 19:2, 141-162, hat hier Klarheit geschaffen. Manchmal ließ es sich nicht umgehen, die Termini - dem laufenden Text isoliert entnommen - in einer grammatisch abgewandelten Form wiederzugeben. Die uns hier interessierenden, auf die Behandlungsmethoden bezogenen Termini finden sich im 1.Teil des Buches *rGyud bži* (Kapitel 5). Es sind die 4 Stämme der Wurzel C = Therapie:

- [1] Ernährung
- [2] Lebensweise
- [3] Arzneimittel
- [4] Heilmethoden (äußere), die hier systematisch, dem Text folgend, aufgezählt werden.

Wind = *rlun*

[1] Speisen = *zas*, (10 Arten): Pferde(-fleisch) = *rta*, Esel(-fleisch) = *boñ*, Murmeltier(-fleisch) = *hphyi ba*, ein Jahr altes Fleisch = *lo ša*, "Großes Fleisch" = *ša chen* (dies ist die wörtliche Übersetzung. Die tibetischen Ärzte in Dharamsala erklärten, es sei das Fleisch von Helden, die in der Schlacht gestorben sind. Es

wird auch gesagt, daß es Fleisch sei, das gewöhnlich nicht gegessen wird, z.B. Hundefleisch. Nach R.E.Emmerick (mündliche Mitteilung) ist es Menschenfleisch.) Sesamöl = hbru mar, ein Jahr altes Öl = lo mar, Rohrzucker = bu ram, Knoblauch = sgog skya, Zwiebeln = bcoñ, Getränke = skom (4 Arten): (warme) Milch = ho ma, Karotten-Zwiebelsuppe = lca ba ra mñe zan chan, chan aus Rohrzucker = bur chan, Knochensuppe = rus chan.

[2] Lebensweise = spyod: Angenehme Gesellschaft haben = yid hon grogs bsten, eine warme Gegend = dro sa.

[3] Arzneimittel = sman,

Geschmack = ro: süß = mñar ba, sauer = skyur ba, salzig = lan chva ba; Wirkung = nus pa: fettig = snun pa, schwer = lci ba, milde = hjam pa;

Beruhigende Arzneimittel:

Suppen = khu ba (3 Arten): Knochensuppe = rus khu, Die vier Säfte = bcud bži, "mgo khrol" = Suppe, die aus einem alten Schaf-Kopf gekocht wird (Angaben der tibetischen Ärzte);

Medizinische Öle = sman mar (5 Arten): Muskatnuss = já ti, Knoblauch = sgog skya, die drei Früchte = hbras bu gsum (Dies sind die drei Myrobalanen: Terminalia Chebula = a ru ra, Terminalia Bellerica = ba ru ra, Phyllanthus Emblica = skyu ru ra), die fünf Wurzeln = rca ba lha, die Eisenhüte = sman chen; Reinigende Arzneimittel: Ölklistiere = hjam réi.

[4] Heilmethoden (äußere) = dpyad: Einreibung mit Massage = bsku mñe, Mongolische Brenn(-Methode) = hor gyi me bčah.

Galle = mkhris pa

[1] Speisen = zas (9 Arten): Quark von Kuh und Ziege = ba rahi žo, Buttermilch = dar ba, frische Butter = mar gsar, Wildfleisch = ri dvags ša, Ziegenfleisch = ra ša, frisches Fleisch von Tieren gemischter Zucht = skom ša gsar pa, frisch geschrotete Gerste = chag čhe, "skyabs" = eine Art Löwenzahn (Angabe der tibetischen Ärzte), Löwenzahn = khur čhod; Getränke = skom (3 Arten): heißes Wasser = chab čha, kühles Wasser = chu bsil, gekochtes und gekühltes Wasser = chu bskol grans.

[2] Lebensweise = spyod: still sitzen = dal bar bsdad, in einer kühlen Gegend = bsil sa.

[3] Arzneimittel = sman:

Geschmack = ro: süß = mñar ba, bitter = kha ba, zusammenziehend = bska ba; Wirkung = nus pa: kühl = bsil ba, dünn = sla ba; derb = rtul ba;

Beruhigende Arzneimittel:

Sirup = thai (4 Arten): Veilchenwurzel = ma nu, Guduch = sle tres, Chirata = tig ta, die drei Myrobalanen;

Pulver = cur ni (4 Arten): Kampfer = ga bur, Sandelholz = čan dan, Safran = gur gum, Bambussaft = cu gan; Reinigende Arzneimittel: Abführmittel = bśal sman.

[4] Heilmethoden (äußere) = dpyad: Erzeugung von Schweiß = rnul dbyun, Blutentlassen = gtar ga, das "magische Wasserrad" = chu yi hphrul hkor.

Schleim = bad kan

[1] Speisen = zas (6 Arten): Schaf(-fleisch) = lug, (Fleisch vom) wilden Yak = g-yag rgod, Raubtier(-fleisch) = gcan gzan, Fisch-Fleisch = na yi ša, Honig = sbran rči, warmer Brei von altem Getreide von trockenem Land = skam sahi hbru rñin zan dron;

Getränke = skom (3 Arten): Quark und Buttermilch vom weiblichen Yak = hbri yi žo dar ba, kräftiges chan = gar chan, gekochtes Wasser = chu skol.

[2] Lebensweise = spyod: Einen kräftigen Spaziergang machen (Anstrengungen auf sich nehmen) = rčol bcag, eine warme Gegend = dro sa.

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- [3] Arzneimittel = *sman*;
 Geschmack = *ro*: scharf = *čha ba*, sauer = *skyur ba*, zusammenziehend = *bska ba*;
 Wirkung = *nus pa*: streng = *rno ba*, rauh = *rčub pa*, leicht = *yai ba*;
 Beruhigende Arzneimittel:
 Pillen = *ril bu* (2 Arten): Eisenhut = *bčan dug*, verschiedene Salzarten = *čhva sna rnams*;
 Pasten = *tres sam* (5 Arten): Granatapfel = *se hbru*, Rhododendron = *da li*, "Stutenmaul" = *rgod ma kha* (eine Mischung aus sehr starken Substanzen. Mündliche Mitteilung von R.E.Emmerick), alkalische Medikamente aus gebranntem Salz = *čhva bsregs pahi thal sman*. (Nach Angaben der tibetischen Ärzte: Asche aus Salz und Quarz). "Weisser Stein" = *con ži* (Eine weiße, kristallinische Kalkart, wahrscheinlich CaCO_3 ?);
 Reinigende Arzneimittel: Brechmittel = *skyugs sman*.
- [4] Heilmethoden (äußere) = *dpyad*: heiße (Anwendungen) = *dugs*, Brennen (Moxibustion) = *me bčah*.

I. WIND

Allgemeine Eigenschaften: zierlich und klein; dunkle Hautfarbe; gegen Kälte empfindlich; nervös und geschwätzig; singt und lacht gern; schlechter Schläfer; die Lebensspanne ist kurz.

(A): Durch Begierde als erzeugende Ursache entstehen 42 Krankheiten. Der Sitz der Krankheiten ist im Anfangsstadium im unteren Teil des Körpers. Grundstoff des Körpers: Knochen; Unreinheit:[kleine Haare]; Sinnesorgan: Ohr, [Tastsinn]; Vollorgane: Herz, Lebensgefäß; Hohlorgan: Dickdarm. Alter, Ort und Zeit: Alte Menschen in aromatisch-windigen und kalten Gegenden werden in der Regenzeit (im Sommer), am frühen Abend (nachmittags) und bei Morgengrauen von Wind-Krankheiten befallen.

(B): Die Zunge ist rot, trocken und rauh. Der Urin ist wie Wasser und schäumt stark (hat große Blasen). Der Puls ist schwimmend, leer und kommt gelegentlich zum Stillstand. Fragen nach: 2 auslösenden Ursachen, 9 Krankheitszeichen und 1 (Gewohnheit bei der) Nahrung.

(C): Nahrung: 10 Arten von Speisen und 4 Arten von Getränken. Lebensweise: angenehme Gesellschaft haben, in einer warmen Gegend leben. Geschmack der Arzneimittel: süß, sauer und salzig. Wirkung der Arzneimittel: fettig, schwer und milde. Beruhigende Arzneimittel: 3 Arten von Suppen, 5 Arten von medizinischen Ölen. Reinigende Arzneimittel: Ölklistiere.

Heilmethoden (äußere): Einreibung mit Massage und Mongolische Brenn (-Methode).

II. GALLE

Allgemeine Eigenschaften: mittelgroß, gelbliche Hautfarbe; liebt die Kühle; kann weder Hunger noch Durst vertragen; schwitzt stark und hat starke Ausdünstungen; begabt und stolz; keine Schwierigkeiten mit dem Schlaf; mittlere Lebensspanne.

(A): Durch Hass als erzeugende Ursache entstehen 26 Krankheiten. Der Sitz der Krankheiten ist im Anfangsstadium im mittleren Teil des Körpers. Grundstoff des Körpers: Blut; Unreinheit: Schweiß; Sinnesorgan: Auge; Vollorgan: Leber; Hohlorgane: Gallenblase und Dünndarm. Alter, Ort und Zeit: Jugendliche in trockenen und heißen Gegenden werden im Herbst, am Mittag und um Mitternacht von Galle-Krankheiten befallen.

(B): Die Zunge ist mit dickem, gelbbraunem Schleim bedeckt. Der Urin ist rötlich-gelb, stark dampfend und stark riechend. Der Puls ist schnell, stark und fein schlagend. Fragen nach: 2 auslösenden Ursachen, 5 Krank-

heitszeichen und 1 (Gewohnheit bei der) Nahrung.

(C): Nahrung: 9 Arten von Speisen und 3 Arten von Getränken. Lebensweise: ruhig sitzen, in einer kühlen Gegend leben. Geschmack der Arzneimittel: süß, bitter und zusammenziehend. Wirkung der Arzneimittel: kühl, dünn und derb. Beruhigende Arzneimittel: 4 Arten von Sirup, 4 Arten von Pulver. Reinigende Arzneimittel: Abführmittel.

Heilmethoden (äußere): Erzeugung von Schweiß, Blutenlassen und das "Magische Wasserrad".

III. SCHLEIM

Allgemeine Eigenschaften: groß und füllig; die Haut ist blaß, der Körper kühlt; Hunger und Durst werden gut vertragen; freundliches und angenehmes Wesen; Tiefschläfer; die Lebensspanne ist lang.

(A): Durch Verblendung als erzeugende Ursache erntstehen 33 Krankheiten. Der Sitz der Krankheiten ist im Anfangsstadium im oberen Teil des Körpers. Grundstoffe des Körpers: Chylus, Fleisch, Fett, Mark und Samen; Unreinheiten: Kot und Urin; Sinnesorgane: Nase und Zunge; Vollorgane: Milz, Nieren und Lungen; Hohlorgane: Magen und Harnblase. Alter, Ort und Zeit: Kinder in feuchten und fetten Gegenden werden im Frühling, in der Dämmerung und am Morgen von Schleim-Krankheiten befallen.

(B): Die Zunge ist grau, dick, glanzlos, glatt und feucht. Der Urin ist weiß, wenig riechend und wenig dampfend. Der Puls ist absinkend, schwach und langsam. Fragen nach: 2 auslösenden Ursachen, 9 Krankheitszeichen und 1 (Gewohnheit bei der) Nahrung.

(C): Nahrung: 6 Arten von Speisen und 3 Arten von Getränken. Lebensweise: einen kräftigen Spaziergang machen, in einer warmen Gegend leben. Geschmack der Arzneimittel: scharf, sauer und zusammenziehend. Wirkung der Arzneimittel: streng, rauh und leicht. Beruhigende Arzneimittel: 2 Arten von Pillen, 5 Arten von Pasten. Reinigende Arzneimittel: Brechmittel.

Heilmethoden (äußere): Heiße Anwendungen und Brennen (Moxibustion).

Sicherlich ist deutlich geworden: das Erkennen dieser Typen wird erst mit viel Erfahrung möglich sein.

3. Die (äußereren) Heilmethoden (*dpyad*)

Das System der tibetischen Heilkunde lehrt uns, daß 7 (äußere) Heilmethoden zu unterscheiden sind. Aus dem Text des Buches *Vier Traktate* geht hervor, daß diese Heilmethoden den soeben beschriebenen Typen Wind, Galle und Schleim auf folgende Weise zugeordnet sind.

Wind:

Einreibung mit Massage .	<i>bsku mñe</i>
Mongolische Brenn(-Methode)	<i>hor gyi me bcah</i>

Galle:

Erzeugung von Schweiß	<i>rñul dbyun</i>
Bluten-lassen	<i>gtar ga</i>
Das "magische Wasserrad"	<i>chu yi hphrul khkor</i>

Schleim:

Heiße (Anwendungen)	<i>dugs</i>
Brennen (Moxibustion)	<i>me bcah</i>

Zwei dieser Heilmethoden, nämlich Bluten-lassen - angezeigt bei dem Galle-Typ - und Brennen (Moxibustion) - angezeigt bei dem Schleim-Typ --, sollen jetzt in Kürze beschrieben werden.

3a. Bluten-lassen (*gtar ga*)

Diese Methode wird in dem Buche *Vier Traktate* (*rGyud bži*) im 20. Kapitel des 4. Teiles dargestellt und etwa in folgender Weise beschrieben:

1. Instrumente

Die aus sehr hartem Eisen gefertigten Instrumente - es gibt 5 verschiedene Arten - müssen so scharf und flexibel sein, daß ein in der Luft hängendes Haar mühelos durchschnitten werden kann. Die Länge der Instrumente sollte stets 6 Fingerbreiten betragen.

2. Indikationen

Bluten-lassen ist die klassische Methode für Erkrankungen des Galle-Typs, insbesondere bei Blut- und Fieberkrankheiten. Spezielle Indikationen sind u.a.: Gicht, Schwellungen, Wunden, Lymphkrankheiten, Lepra.

3. Kontra-Indikationen

Kinder unter 16 Jahren und Patienten, die älter als 70 Jahre sind; schwache Patienten; während der Schwangerschaft; kurz nach der Geburt; Anfälligkeit für Geisteskrankheiten; sehr straff gefüllte Venen, verkno-

tete Venen und Venen in Drüsengeweben. Im Prinzip: Wind-Krankheiten und bestimmte Schleim-Krankheiten.

4. Zeitpunkt der Blutentnahme

Großer Wert wird auf die Beachtung des richtigen Zeitpunktes gelegt. Bei zu frühzeitig vorgenommener Blutentnahme nimmt Wind zu und Fieber breitet sich aus. Zu späte Blutentnahme bewirkt, daß unreines Blut in die Kanäle tritt und so schwere Störungen hervorgerufen werden.

5. Ausführung

Vor dem eigentlichen Eingriff müssen bestimmte Vorbereitungen getroffen werden, z.B. werden 3-5 Tage vorher Dekokte verabreicht wie der Saft der 3 Myrobalanen. Dadurch soll das reine von dem unreinen Blut getrennt werden. Der Patient muß starker Wärme ausgesetzt werden. Dann erst kann abgebunden, d.h. gestaut werden. Die Stauung wird mit einer kleinen Kordel an den entsprechenden Körperteilen vorgenommen. Die Anweisungen für die verschiedenen Körperstellen sind sehr genau. Am Kopf wird z.B. die Kordel um den Hinterkopf gebunden, mit Hilfe eines kleinen Stabes werden die beiden Enden der Kordel vorsichtig und vor allem gleichmäßig angezogen, so daß die Venen deutlich hervortreten. Dabei darf die Haut nicht gezerrt werden. Nach dem Abbinden werden die Venen massiert und leicht geklopft. Danach soll man etwas abwarten. Nun wird die Vene mit dem linken Daumen auf die Seite gepresst und das Blut 3 Fingerbreiten unterhalb der abgebundenen Vene extrahiert. Man unterscheidet 5 Arten des Einschnittes: z.B. seitlicher Schnitt bei kleinen Venen oder direkter Schnitt bei großen Venen. Das Wichtigste ist, daß der Schitt in die Vene genau so lang sein muß wie der Schnitt in die Haut. Bei schmerzhaften Stellen muß die am nächsten gelegene Vene benutzt werden, bei hohem Fieber zuerst die große und dann erst die kleine Vene. Bei weniger Fieber ist es umgekehrt. Bei sehr schweren Störungen sollte zuerst von einer Hauptvene aus behandelt werden. Für jeden Schnitt muß ein ganz bestimmtes Instrument ausgewählt werden.

6. Allgemeine und spezifische Punkte

Den größten Teil der theoretischen und praktischen Belehrungen nehmen die Beschreibungen der Venen-Verläufe und die präzise Bestimmung der anatomischen Positionen der einzelnen Punkte ein, die für die speziellen Krankheitsbilder oder Symptome benutzt werden. Im Ganzen unterscheidet man 77 Venen für das Bluten lassen.

7. Nach der Blutentnahme

wird die Bindung gelöst, die Stelle massiert und eine Bandage angelegt. Der Patient soll sich vollkommen ruhig verhalten. Der Arzt muß nun das

entnommene Blut sorgfältig untersuchen: auf Dickflüssigkeit, Dünngflüssigkeit etc. Die Menge des entnommenen Blutes muß genau beobachtet werden. Wenn z.B. normales, helles Blut fließt, darf nicht ein einziger Tropfen mehr entnommen werden.

8. Schäden und Gefahren

Weil auch der allerkleinste Fehler schlimme Folgen haben kann, ist diesem Thema ein großer Raum gewidmet. Schwere Schäden und Störungen entstehen durch folgende Fehler: der Patient wurde vor der Blutabnahme nicht ausreichend erwärmt, das Instrument wurde falsch gewählt, das Instrument war zu stumpf, der Einschnitt war zu groß oder zu klein, die Haut wurde gezerrt, es wurde zu wenig Blut entnommen (weil der Körper zu kalt war), unreines Blut wurde nicht ausreichend entfernt, eine Schwellung entstand um den Einschnitt, die Stauung wurde zu schnell gelöst, der Blutverlust war zu groß.

Auf diese und andere Fehler werden die tibetischen Ärzte eindrücklich hingewiesen, gleichzeitig werden Belehrungen erteilt zur Behebung der gemachten Fehler. Bei der Entstehung einer Schwellung um den Einschnitt soll z.B. eine Massage vorgenommen werden mit einer Mixtur aus Salz, Butter und der Asche von Hundehaaren. Bei einer zu starken Blutung soll der Patient in nasse Tücher gewickelt und um die Inzision sollen Umschläge mit kaltem Wasser gemacht werden.

9. Vorteile des Bluten-lassens

Die Gefäße werden gereinigt, das unsaubere Blut entfernt, lokale Schmerzen verschwinden, Wunden heilen ab, Schwellungen gehen zurück. Dünne Menschen nehmen an Gewicht zu und dicke ab - wenn die Methode richtig angewendet wurde.

Die Methode des Bluten-lassens - von den tibetischen Ärzten zu grosser Perfektion entwickelt - nimmt innerhalb des Spektrums der Heilweisen einen großen Raum ein. Dies geht auch aus der besonders exakten Angabe der anatomischen Lage der Punkte und deren Indikationen hervor. Gleichzeitig wird eindrücklich auf Fehler und Schäden hingewiesen. Das Bluten-lassen muß auch aus folgendem Grunde mit großer Vorsicht benutzt werden: die tibetische Heilkunde kennt nämlich 302 sogenannte "kritische Punkte" (Vitalitätsstellen), von denen 190 auf die Gefäße entfallen. Die Benutzung dieser Punkte kann sehr gefährlich sein.

Das Bluten-lassen lässt sich mit einem Aderlaß nicht vergleichen, bei dem gewöhnlich eine gröbere Blutmengen entnommen wird. Den tibetischen Ärzten gelingt es, mit wenigen Tropfen entnommenen Blutes sehr starke Störungen zu beseitigen.

3b. Brennen (me bcah), Moxibustion

Das 21. Kapitel des 4. Teiles des Buches *Vier Traktate* (*rGyud bzi*) behandelt in den folgenden 7 Abteilungen diese Behandlungsmethode.

1. Die Substanz

Aus einer Artemisia-Art (Beifuß) wird die Substanz (*spra ba*), der "Zunder" für die Moxibustion hergestellt. Diese Pflanze muß zu einer bestimmten Zeit, nämlich am 8. Tag der 7., 8. und 9. tibetischen Monate gesammelt werden. Nach dem Zerstampfen wird die Substanz zu kleinen, kegelförmigen Stückchen gerollt. Die Größe richtet sich nach der Art der Krankheit und der Lokalisation. Z.B. so groß wie die Spitze des kleinen Fingers: für Punkte am Kopf, an den Gliedmaßen und an der Vorderseite des Körpers; so groß wie die Spitze des Zeigefingers: für Punkte an der Wirbelsäule; so groß wie eine gekochte Erdnuss: für Punkte am Sternum von Kindern.

2. Indikationen

Im Prinzip bei Krankheiten des Schleim-Typs, aber auch bei gewissen Wind-Krankheiten. Insbesondere: Krankheiten der "Kanäle", Lymphstörungen, Abszesse, Verdauungskrankheiten, Tumoren, Oedeme (1. Stadium), bestimmte Fieberarten, etc.

3. Kontra-Indikationen

Blut-Krankheiten, Galle-Fieber, etc.

4. Punkte**a) Schmerz-Punkte**

Dies sind schmerzhafte, lokale Stellen, die durch Druck weniger schmerhaft werden,

b) Spezifische Punkte

Die längsten Passagen sind in der Theorie (Text des Buches *Vier Traktate*) und in der Praxis diesen spezifischen Punkten gewidmet. Es sind anatomisch präzise lokalisierte Punkte mit einer spezifischen Indikation. Vor allem handelt es sich um Punkte der Vollorgane (*don*) und der Hohlorgane (*snod*) sowie um Punkte der Wirbelsäule.

5. Ausführung**a) "Kochen"**

Indikationen: Tumoren und Abszesse. Auf einen einzelnen Punkt werden mehr als 20 Moxen gesetzt. Diese Behandlung dauert oft 30 Monate.

b) "Brennen"

Indikationen: Schleim-Krankheiten, Lymph- und Herz-Krankheiten. Auf einen Punkt werden 15 Moxen gesetzt.

c) "Erhitzen"

Indikationen: Verstopfung, Urinverhaltung, Würmer, bestimmte Wind-Krankheiten. Die Punkte werden durch 5-7 Moxen schwach erhitzt.

d) "Bedrohen"

Indikationen: ängstliche Menschen, vor allem Kleinkinder. Die Moxe wird nach einmaligem Setzen entfernt, und zwar sofort.

Der abgebrannte Moxa-Kegel darf nicht mit der Hand berührt werden, man spuckt auf die Asche und entfernt sie mit einer Nadel. Muß die Moxibustion auf demselben Punkt wiederholt werden, so wird die volle Menge der nächsten Moxe gesetzt, nachdem 2/3 des ersten Moxa-Kegels verbrannt ist. Diese zweite Moxe brennt schneller ab und die Hitze-Einwirkung dauert länger an. Ein Zeichen für eine wirkungsvolle Behandlung ist es, wenn nach dem Abbrennen der Moxe eine kleine, runde Stelle mit nicht schmerzhaften Bläschen erkennbar ist. Wenn die letzte Spitze des Moxa-Kegels nach außen explodiert, so ist dies ein Zeichen dafür, daß die Moxibustion besonders gut durchgeführt wurde.

6. Abschluß der Behandlung

Nach Entfernen der Moxa-Asche muß die behandelte Stelle sofort kräftig massiert werden, und zwar mit dem Daumen. Nach der Behandlung darf der Patient auf keinen Fall kaltes Wasser trinken, denn dadurch würde die Hitze-Wirkung erheblich abgeschwächt werden. Der Patient soll sich nach der Behandlung kräftig bewegen, damit die Blutzirkulation angeregt wird.

7. Vorteile der Moxibustion

Anregung der Verdauung, Abheilung von Abszessen und chronischen Wunden, Rückgang von Schwellungen, Besserung des Gedächtnisses. Bestimmte Teile der "Kanäle" werden blockiert, so daß Krankheiten sich nicht ausbreiten, Wind-Krankheiten und schwere Schmerzen unterdrückt werden können. Die Öffnungen der Vollorgane (*don*) und Hohlorgane (*snod*) werden geschützt. Allerdings sollte man die Punkte der Hohlorgane nicht mit Moxen behandeln, wenn der Patient gerade gegessen hat. Alle Krankheiten des Schleim-Typs können gut behandelt werden.

Die tibetischen Ärzte sind der Meinung, daß die Moxibustion alle Krankheiten beseitigen kann, die durch andere Behandlungsarten nicht beeinflußt werden konnten.

Die kurze Darstellung dieser beiden Methoden sollte deutlich machen, wie kompliziert deren Anwendung ist.

4. Schlußwort

Diese beiden Behandlungsmethoden wurden deshalb beschrieben, weil sie im Westen am ehesten anwendbar sein könnten, denn sie sind den mit chinesischen Heilweisen vertrauten Ärzten gut bekannt. So habe ich z.B. bei meinen Patienten, ohne daß diese es wußten, bei der Moxibustion und dem Bluten-lassen tibetische Punkte benutzt. Nach 20 Jahren läßt sich aussagen, daß in der Tat diese beiden Methoden bei bestimmten Krankheiten manchen westlichen Heilweisen überlegen sind. Die Voraussetzung für eine erfolgreiche Behandlung ist aber eben die exakte Erkennung des Konstitutionstyps; das allerdings ist sehr schwierig.

Diese kurzen Ausführungen sollten folgendes deutlich machen: für die Anwendung tibetischer Heilmethoden sind nicht nur gründliche theoretische Studien und praktische Anweisungen durch tibetische Ärzte nötig, sondern das Erkennen des Zusammenhangs zwischen den drei Humores und den ihnen zugeordneten Behandlungsmethoden. Tibetische Heilkunde ist nicht irgendeine Technik, die in Schnellkursen erlernt werden kann! So bleibt die Warnung bestehen vor einer kritiklosen Übernahme losgelöster Teile des in sich sinnvollen tibetischen Medizinsystems, denn eine vorzeitige Übernahme bestimmter Behandlungsarten - vor allem der äußerst problematischen Pflanzentherapie - würde die tibetische Heilkunde bald in Mißkredit bringen.

Eine andere asiatische Heilkunde, nämlich die Akupunktur, wurde schließlich von den Universitäten beachtet, studiert und benutzt. Es wäre wünschenswert, wenn auch die wertvolle tibetische Heilkunde in ähnlicher Weise sorgfältig geprüft würde, denn, trotz aller Vorbehalte: auch die tibetische Heilkunde könnte mit großem Nutzen für unsere Patienten im Westen anwendbar sein.

Bibliographie

Einigermaßen umfangreiche Bibliographien über das Thema "Tibetische Heilkunde" finden sich in folgenden Büchern:

Rechung Rinpoche, *Tibetan Medicine*. London 1973

E.Finckh, *Grundlagen Tibetischer Heilkunde*. Bd.1, Uelzen 1975 = *Foundations of Tibetan Medicine*. Vol.1, Dulverton and London 1978
(Vol.2, Dulverton and London 1983)

Das "Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine" bereitet eine komplette Bibliographie vor (Marianne Winder).

LES INSTRUMENTS DE MUSIQUE LIÉS À LA PRATIQUE DES
TANTRA, D'APRÈS UN TEXTE DE KUN GROL GRAGS PA,
'JA' MTSHON SÑIN PO

par

M. HELFFER (Paris)

Les instruments utilisés dans les rituels du bouddhisme tibétain sont aujourd'hui connus d'un vaste public: les grands musées orientalistes ou ethnographiques en abritent des collections plus ou moins complètes et la multiplication des disques permet désormais d'apprécier les ressources musicales de chacun d'entre eux; en outre le développement des voyages vers le Népal, le Ladakh, le Sikkim ou le Bhutan a permis à de nombreux voyageurs de voir ou d'entendre ces instruments dans le cadre monastique qui est le leur.

Malheureusement les données relatives à l'origine de ces instruments, à la terminologie tibétaine les concernant, à leur usage traditionnel sont demeurées jusqu'ici réduites.¹ Je suis donc particulièrement reconnaissante à l'abbé Sañs rgyas bstan 'dzin ljon ldon, 33ème abbé du monastère Bon po de sMan ri, qui, au cours d'une visite que je lui ai rendue au centre Bon po de Dolanji en Inde,² a bien voulu me communiquer un manuscrit qui abordait la question des instruments de musique.

Ce texte écrit en *dbu med* comporte 41 fol.: son titre est:

gSañ sñags thiñ pa (sic) *chen po'i bstan par*
bya ba'i dam rdzas mchog ji ltar chañ ba'i rnambs bśad
rNal 'byor rol pa'i dga' ston ||

¹ L'ouvrage le plus riche d'informations dans ce domaine demeure: L.Vandor, *Bouddhisme Tibétain*.

² Cette recherche a été possible dans le cadre d'une mission accordée par l'E.R. 165 du C.N.R.S.

c'est à dire "Explications relatives à la façon de tenir les très excellents accessoires qui servent à la pratique religieuse du grand Véhicule des Tantra: Fête qui réjouit les yogins".³ Selon le colophon, l'ouvrage est dû à un maître de la tradition du "Nouveau Bon", Kun grol grags pa 'Ja' mtshon sñin po qui, d'après le *bstan rtsis* de ñi ma bstan 'dzin, serait né en 1700,⁴ il a été composé dans l'ermitage de bKra ñis smin grol en l'an *gnam lo dbyar gyi rha chen* et comporte quatorze sections de longueur inégale qui traitent des sujets suivants:

1. Le grand tambour sur cadre *rha*
2. La clochette *gśāñ*
3. les cymbales *sbug chol*
4. La paire constituée par le *rdo rje* et la clochette *dril bu*
5. Le petit tambour en forme de sablier *damaru*
6. Les rosaires (*bgrañ phren*)
7. Les ornements (*lus rgyan*)
8. Le trident (*khatañga*)
9. La dague rituelle (*phur pa*)
10. La coupe en crâne (*thod žal*)
11. La trompe en os (*rkañ gliñ*)
12. La louche rituelle (*dgoñ blug*)
13. Le vase (*bum pa*)
14. Les vêtements (*gos ltan*)

Seules seront prises ici en considération les six sections concernant les instruments de musique. Elles seront abordées dans l'ordre et selon le plan adopté par l'auteur qui traite successivement (1) le matériau utilisé pour fabriquer l'instrument, (2) les caractéristiques de l'instrument, (3) la façon d'en jouer.⁵ L'exposé du contenu de chaque section sera précédé d'une brève description organologique de l'instrument mis en cause.

³ Le colophon du manuscrit donne un titre légèrement différent: *gSañ shags thig pa chen po'i dam tshig rdzas su med du mi ruñ ba dag gi mtshan ñid | ji ltar bcañ ba'i tshul gyi rnam par bśad pa rNal 'byor rol pa'i dga' ston ||*

⁴ cf. Kvaerne 1971, N°166. D'après Karmay 1975, 189, le même savant a également réalisé un inventaire du canon Bon po.

⁵ La lecture et la compréhension de ces textes techniques se sont heurtées à de nombreuses difficultés dues à la spécificité des sujets abordés et à l'abondance des abréviations utilisées; elles n'ont été possibles que grâce à l'aide de S. Karmay que je tiens à remercier tout spécialement. J'ai également bénéficié des conseils de R. Canzio qui, en raison de nombreux séjours qu'il a faits à Dolanji et de ses compétences touchant à la musique tibétaine, m'a aidée à élucider plusieurs points.

1. Le tambour *r̄na* (v. Plate IV A)

Du point de vue organologique, le tambour *r̄na* est un membranophone qui appartient à la catégorie des tambours sur cadre; la caisse circulaire en bois est montée de deux peaux collées ou clouées, elle peut être accrochée dans un support en bois ou pourvue d'un manche en bois sculpté. L'instrument est frappé soit avec une baguette en forme de crosse, soit avec une paire de baguettes rectilignes.⁶

1.1. Le matériau (*rgyu*)

Selon les instructions (*lun*) reçues par l'auteur, la caisse de l'instrument provient de l'*akaru* (=aloès), roi des plantes médicinales, qui serait poussé au milieu de l'océan blanc de conque, au pied d'une montagne blanche située à l'est du mont Kailas.

1.2. Les caractéristiques

L'instrument doit être différent selon la catégorie d'action rituelle à laquelle il est associé:

"Le tambour pour l'action paisible (*ži*) est blanc et rond;
le tambour pour l'action de prospérité (*rgyas*) est jaune et carré;
le tambour pour l'action de domination (*dbāñ*) est rouge et en croissant de lune;
le tambour pour l'action terrible (*drag*) est bleu-foncé et triangulaire;
le tambour pour les rites *rgyun* est octogonal."⁷

L'auteur avoue sa perplexité devant la diversité des formes du *r̄na*⁸ et

⁶ cf. M. Helffer, Observations concernant le tambour *r̄nga* et son usage. Sous presse.

⁷ Aux quatre catégories d'actions rituelles (*las bži*) communes à tous les ordres du bouddhisme tibétain, à savoir *ži ba'i las*, *rgyas pa'i las*, *dbāñ gi las*, *drag po'i las*, les Bon po ajoutent les *rgyun*. cf. Snellgrove 1967, 242, vers 35: *ži rgyas dbāñ drag las bži rgyun* traduit par "the four actions of pacifying, prospering, empowerment, destroying and the "flow" as fifth". D'après Karmay, "the flow" s'apparente aux rites d'oblation dans le feu (*sbbyn sreg*).

⁸ Il importe de signaler que les quatre premières formes sont évoquées pour les aires de danse correspondant à diverses étapes du rite de *gcod*, tel qu'il est décrit dans le *gCod yul mkha' 'gro gad rgyañs*, extrait du *Kloñ chen sñiñ thig* et traduit par Evans-Wentz 1978, 303-305. Selon un texte de Dvags po rin po che, rédigé pour le catalogue de l'exposition *Dieux et Démons de l'Himalaya*, Paris 1977, 31-33, les mêmes formes sont adoptées pour les gâteaux sacrificiels (*gtor ma*) destinés aux différents types d'actions rituelles.

La forme octogonale qui peut paraître à première vue surprenante est attestée pour des tambours sur cadre liés aux cérémonies de l'*Ashūrah taziyeh* en Irak et pour certains tambours du nord de l'Inde.

tient à préciser que, de son temps, les *r̄na* sont ronds. Il cite également un tantra de Yama selon lequel la hauteur de la caisse devrait être égale à la moitié du diamètre mais cette affirmation ne le convainct pas.

Ces cinq formes de caisse doivent être recouvertes de cinq catégories de peaux de cinq couleurs différentes:

"Pour le tambour des actions paisibles: peau de boeuf blanc;
 pour le tambour des actions de prospérité: peau d'un cheval
 (*gyi lin*) jaune;
 pour les actions de domination: peau de dragon rouge;⁹
 pour le tambour des actions terribles: peau de buffle bleu;
 pour le tambour des rites *rgyun*: peau de chèvre brune."

1.3. La manière de jouer (*brduñ tshuñ*).

Après une courte citation d'un texte sur "l'origine du tambour" (*r̄na rabs*)¹⁰ non identifié, l'auteur expose à quelle tradition il se rattache, en partant des "anciens" (*gter r̄niñ*) tels que ḡsen (chen klu dga'), g.Yer (mi ñi 'od), Ma (ston srid dzin), dByil (ston khyañ rgod stsal) et en passant par les "nouveaux" (*gter gsar*) issus de l'école de Sañs rgyas glin pa dont il se réclame.

Il cite ensuite un texte intitulé *Señ ge sgra dbyañs* selon lequel la manière de frapper diffère selon les rituels:

"En ce qui concerne le tambour accroché,
 pour les rituels de protection et de propitiation (*bsruñ bskañ*)
 on frappe vers l'intérieur;
 pour les rituels d'expulsion (*bzlog*) et d'élimination (*bsad*), on
 frappe vers l'extérieur.
 pour les rituels d'offrande (*mchod*), on utilise deux baguettes
 en alternance."

Le sens profond, c'est d'offrir le son à l'océan des Buddhas de l'univers.

Pour le rite d'application (*las sbyor*),¹¹ on doit tenir le tambour

⁹ Bien que le texte donne ici la couleur bleue, je pense qu'il s'agit d'une erreur du copiste et je rétablis "rouge" qui est conforme à la symbolique des actions rituelles de type *dbañ*.

¹⁰ Dans le *Phyi nañ gsañ skad kyi bye brag rin chen mdzes pa'i chun po*, il est fait allusion à plusieurs *rabs* concernant les instruments de musique: *r̄na rabs*, *gsañ rabs*, *sbub rabs*, *rkañ rabs*. A ma connaissance, aucun de ces textes n'a encore fait l'objet d'études qui nous éclaireraient sur leur contenu et leur usage.

¹¹ Snellgrove 1967, 100, vers 5, mentionne à côté des ritues de "vénérations" (*bsñen*) et de "conjuration" (*bsgrub*), ce qu'il appelle "les ritues d'application" (*las sbyor*), ritues que interviennent dans la troisième division du Véhicule du Shen d'illusion (104, vers 27 à 110, vers 26).

à manche (*lag r̥ha*) parallèlement au côté de la tête. On le frappe ensuite de la même façon que la tambour fixé dans un support.

2. Le *gśāñ* (v. Plate IV B)

L'observation directe des objets ou de la pratique instrumentale dans les monastères bon po¹² montre que les instruments désignés par le terme *gśāñ* appartiennent à la catégorie organologique des cloches à battant interne, bien que la "jupe" de l'instrument, largement évasée, fasse plutôt penser à une petite cymbale épaisse, de type "crotale". Les *gśāñ* sont utilisés par les bon po et par quelques spécialistes religieux du monde himalayen, souvent appelés *dpa' bo*.

2.1. Le matériau

D'après un texte relatant l'origine de la cloche *gśāñ* (*gśāñ rabs*), si l'on mélange au bronze (*li*) de l'or, on obtient un son "rond" (*sbom po*) qui correspond à "la voix masculine" (*pho skad*); le nom de la cloche est alors *gśāñ d'or* (*gsér gśāñ*); si l'on mélange au bronze de l'argent, on obtient un son "frêle" (*phra ba*) qui correspond à "la voix féminine" (*mo skad*),¹³ le nom est alors "petit *gśāñ* d'argent blanc".

2.2. Les caractéristiques

D'après les instructions:

"Celui dont le son mélodieux est supérieur, on l'appelle *pho lañ*. Il est rond comme la nature propre de la vacuité."

¹² Je signalerai en particulier les pièces conservées à Paris: Musée de l'Homme (Mission Corneille Jest) 67-116-27 et Musée Guimet Gu 21960 qui peuvent être comparées avec Snellgrove 1967, pl.XII/c et d, pl.XIII/1, pl.XIV/h. Pour des observations relatives à l'utilisation du *gśāñ*, on se reportera à Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, 400 ainsi qu'à P.Arne-Berglie, 1976; dans un article récent, *Note à propos d'une clochette gshang* (Tibet et régions culture tibétaine), je tente de faire le point sur la question controversée du *gśāñ*.

¹³ Dans le *Rol mo'i bstan bcos* de Sa skya Pandita, on trouve les mêmes références à un "son masculin" et un "son féminin" en ces termes:

*de la pho sgra brjid pa ste
mo yi sgra la sñan pa 'byuñ
ma niñ sgra la btsun pa yin
de bžin pho sgra gsal la ñar
mo yi sgra ni phra žiñ 'dar
ma niñ 'gyur žiñ mñen pa dgos.*

Quelle qu'en soit la taille, le "palais"¹⁴ occupe la moitié (du diamètre).

Qu'on l'augmente de part et d'autre du quart, c'est le signe du bien des êtres des 3 corps".

Parmi tous ces instruments mélodieux, les *gśāñ* supérieurs, ce sont les *sil sñan*, les *khri lo*, les *pho lañ*.

Suit une description assez alambiquée de la décoration interne du *gśāñ*, compliquée par les références symboliques attachées à la plupart des termes énoncés:

"Depuis le bord extérieur du "palais", il y a trois zones concentriques (extérieure, intérieure et médiane) qui représentent l'accroissement du bien des êtres des trois corps."¹⁵

A l'intérieur, "le palais" est orné d'une roue entre les rayons de laquelle sont inscrites les cinq syllabes-germes (*sa bon*) AH, OM, HUM, RAM, DZA.¹⁶

Dans la zone médiane du "palais" ont été gravés dans les huit pétales d'un lotus les "huit signes auspiciels" (*bkra śis rtags brygad*).¹⁷

Au centre du "palais" pend le battant du *gśāñ* (*gśāñ lce*) ciselé en forme de lotus; il montre la "porte du Bon"¹⁸ et se trouve relié par un lien (*ñag thag*) dit "de grande compassion" à l'anneau (*a luñ*), attaché lui-même à la "tige de lotus" (*pad sdoñ*) qui signifie qu'on est exempt des fautes du *samsāra*.

L'instrument est de plus orné des "pendants de soie" ('*phan dar*, dits aussi *dar spyañs*) qui représentent le Bon sans déclin au travers des trois temps (présent, passé et avenir).

¹⁴ *pho brañ*, littéralement "palais", est ici un terme technique désignant le sommet bombé du *gśāñ*; le même terme sera employé pour décrire la bosse centrale des cymbales.

¹⁵ Les "trois corps" du Bon (*bon sku*, *loñs sku*, *sprul sku*) correspondent aux *dharma-kāya*, *sambhogakāya* et *nirmanakāya* de la tradition bouddhiste.

¹⁶ D'après Snellgrove 1967, 206, il s'agit des "cinq syllabes héroïques" (*dpa' bo 'bru lha*) dont on constate effectivement la présence sur le *gśāñ* conservé au Musée de l'Homme.

¹⁷ Ces huit signes qui figurent également à l'intérieur du *gśāñ* du Musée de l'Homme à la place indiquée sont: la roue de la loi ('*khor lo*), la bannière (*rgyal mtshan*), le vase (*bum pa*), la conque (*duñ dkar*), le parasol (*gdugs*), l'entrelac (*dpal be'u*), les deux poissons (*ña*), le lotus (*padma*).

¹⁸ Snellgrove 1967, 16 explique comment la somme des doctrines du Bon est désignée alternativement par les expressions *theq pa rim dgu* et *bon sgo bži* ou "les quatres portes du Bon"; c'est sans doute à cette dernière expression que renvoie l'explication symbolique du battant du *gśāñ*.

2.3. La manière de jouer (*dkrol tshul*)

Deux autorités sont citées à l'appui des dires de l'auteur: tout d'abord le *gśāñ rabs* déjà cité, puis les instructions reçues. Le *gśāñ rabs* évoque en termes poétiques le maniement du *gśāñ*:

"Quand on le lève vers le haut,
c'est comme l'épanouissement de la fleur du lotus;
quand il est tenu dans la main du méditant,
c'est comme la montée du soleil ou de la lune dans le ciel."

L'auteur précise que lorsqu'on utilise le *khri lo* (une des formes de *gśāñ*) seul, il est tenu dans la main droite (ce qui est conforme aux observations que j'ai pu faire); lorsque le même instrument est utilisé en même temps que le tambour *rħa*,¹⁹ il est tenu dans la main gauche.

Les instructions indiquent les différents mouvements imprimés aux *gśāñ* et les qualités différentes de son obtenues selon l'alliage qui a servi à fabriquer le *gśāñ*:

"Le *sil sñan*, c'est un *khri lo* dont la renommée atteint le ciel;
quand on le déplace vers l'extérieur (*phar dkrol*), il repousse
les fautes et les obstacles;
quand on le déplace vers l'intérieur (*tshur dkrol*), il protège
soi-même, son entourage, ses bienfaiteurs.²⁰
Le *gśāñ* d'or (retentit au son de) *śa la la*;
le *gśāñ* d'argent (tinte au son de) *si li li*;
le *gśāñ* de bronze (sonne) harmonieusement *khro lo lo*."

Le passage se termine par des remarques générales relatives aux controverses entre bouddhistes qui prétendent que le *gśāñ* est un instrument typiquement bon po et bon po qui citent un tantra de Mañjuśri et de Samvara pour défendre le point de vue selon lequel une forme de *gśāñ* et/ou de *sil sñan* serait déjà présente dans des textes bouddhistes.

¹⁹ Ceci suppose que le *rħa* est accroché dans un support car on ne voit pas comment l'utilisateur pourrait simultanément tenir le manche du *rħa* et la baguette qui sert à le frapper. En fait, c'est plus souvent le *damaru* qui est utilisé en même temps que le *gśāñ*.

²⁰ L'opposition *phar dkrol* + *tshur dkrol*, correspond à l'opposition *tshur brduñ* + *phar brduñ* constatée pour le jeu du tambour *rħa*.

3. Les cymbales *sbug chol*

Le terme *sbug chol/sbug chol* se rapporte en tibétain à une catégorie particulière de cymbales de bronze à volumineuse "bosse" centrale: les mêmes cymbales peuvent être désignées par le terme *rol mo* et, chez les Bon po, par le terme *cag pa* qui ne figure pas dans les dictionnaires.²¹

3.1. Le matériau

Une brève citation du *rGyud rin chen phreñ ba* constate que "les plus merveilleux *cag pa* sont en cuivre, argent, or". Comme dans le cas du *gśāñ*, le timbre est modifié par l'adjonction d'or ou d'argent.

Si l'on mélange l'or et le cuivre, on obtient la "voix masculine" qualifiée de *cañ po* (?); si l'on mélange l'argent et le cuivre, on obtient la "voix féminine" qualifiée de *siñ har* ou *sil har*.²²

3.2. Les caractéristiques des *sbug chol*

L'auteur distingue trois catégories de *sbug chol*: 1) les *sbug chol* proprement dites (v. Plate V A), 2) les *Hor sbug*, 3) les *sen chol* (v. Plate V B).

1) Quelle que soit la taille des *sbug chol*, les proportions à observer sont les suivantes: la moitié du "palais" (*pho brañ*), c'est à dire de la bosse centrale, doit être reportée de chacun des côtés, depuis la base, pour former les "ailes" ('*dab ma*), c'est à dire les bords de la cymbale. Autrement dit, le bord de la cymbale représente le quart du diamètre total.²³ On remarquera qu'aucune indication n'est donnée concernant le volume de la bosse centrale.

2) Lorsque la largeur de "l'aile" correspond au tiers du diamètre de

²¹ L'etymologie renvoie aux termes *sbugs/sbug* = cavité et *chal* = ventre; Dans Snellgrove 1967, pl.XII, le lettré-dessinateur *slob dpon* Tenzing Namdag distingue les *sbug chol* = cymbales à grosses bosses des *sil chog* = cymbales à petites bosses centrales.

²² Les deux termes font penser aux onomatopées *siñ siñ* et *sil sil*, toutes deux associées au tintement du métal, comme d'ailleurs *si li li* qui caractérisait le son du *gśāñ* d'argent.

²³ Vandor, op.cit., 75 définit ainsi les cymbales *rol mo*: "le rölmö est une paire de cymbales à lanières, relativement épaisses, aux bords légèrement relevés et avec une bosse centrale qui correspond à peu près à la moitié du diamètre total".

la bosse centrale, il s'agit des *Hor sbub*.²⁴

3) Pour les *sen chol*, quelle que soit leur taille, le diamètre de la bosse centrale représente la moitié d'une "aile", ce qui semble correspondre aux proportions observables pour les cymbales à petit mamelon central en forme de pommeau, habituellement appelées *sil sñan*.



sbub chol: bosse = 1/2 du Diamètre total



hor sbub: bosse = 3/5 du Diamètre total



sen chol: bosse = 1/5 du Diamètre total

Coupe transversale mettant en évidence les proportions respectives de la bosse (*pho brañ*) et des bords ('*dab ma*) dans les différents types de cymbales.

3.3. La manière d'actionner les cymbales (*brgyag pa'i tshul*)

Cette partie fait l'objet d'un long développement qui aborde aussi bien les gestes symboliques (*phyag rgya*, skt. *mudrā*) effectués en manipulant les cymbales que les rituels ou parties de rituels auxquels ces gestes sont associés.

L'auteur, s'appuyant sur un texte plus ancien, explique que la cymbale dite extérieure, c'est "la mère", tandis que la cymbale dite inté-

²⁴ D'après la dictionnaire de Das, 937a "there are three kinds of *sbug chal* in use in Tibet. (1) *hor sbug* imported from Mongolia; (2) *rgya sbug* Chinese cymbals; (3) *bal sbug* cymbals manufactured in Nepal". Pour Mr. Yontan Gyatso, originaire de l'Amdo, les *hor sbub* représentaient la catégorie la plus appréciée de cymbales. La classification donnée dans *Rin po che bzo yi las kyi bsgrub pa'i rgyud dañ ja dañ dar gos chen dañ rta rgyud tshugs bzañ han gyi rtag pa bžugs so*, British Museum Or.11374, 24-27, est beaucoup plus détaillée.

rieure, c'est "le fils".²⁵

A la cymbale-mère, tenue dans la main gauche, correspond la *mudrā* de l'aigle; à la cymbale-fils, tenue dans la main droite, correspond la *mudrā* du serpent.

1) Selon les *gter ston* les plus anciens, les différents gestes symbolique sont désignés par des formules descriptives telles que "marche du soleil" (*ñi ma la bskor*), "course de l'éléphant" (*glañ chen mchoñ stabs*), "circumambulation de la montagne" (?) (*ri bo bañ skor*); les manifestations rituelles auxquels ils sont respectivement associés sont les suivantes:²⁶

Pour les *phyi mtshams*, "invitations" (*spyan 'dren*), *ži ba'i skud do*, le début des offrandes de *bsañ*: le geste symbolique dit *ñi ma la bskor*.²⁷

Pour les *nañ mtshams*, *gsañ mtshams*, *drag po'i skud do*, *bzlog bsad*, *bskul pa*, *dmar lam*, *mtha'i gtor 'bul*: le geste symbolique dit *glañ chen mchoñ stabs*.

Pour les *byin 'beb*, *bskañ ba*, *mchod 'bul*, offrandes de *gtor ma* accompagnant les rituels de *bsañ* et de *tshogs*, rituels en l'honneur des *bka' skyoñ*:²⁸ le geste symbolique dit *ri bo bañ skor*.

Dans les trois cas, on lève les cymbales de bas en haut, pas plus haut que les sourcils, pas plus bas que le nombril; le coude de la main gauche, on l'appuie sur la hanche et la main droite presse le sein. Quant à l'espace qui doit séparer les deux "bouches" (*kha*) - c'est à dire les faces internes des cymbales - , les grands *s bub chol* doivent être ouverts comme la lune du quatrième jour, les petits *s bub chol*, on les ouvre comme pour laisser passer un grain d'orge.²⁹

²⁵ Peut-être faut-il comprendre que la cymbale-mère est placée à l'extérieur du corps et que, pour faire résonner les cymbales, il faut rapprocher la cymbale-fils vers l'intérieur.

²⁶ La traduction et la définition de tous les termes techniques relatifs aux rituels entraînerait à des développements hors de proportion pour un article qui se limite aux instruments du musicien. Certains d'entre eux sont bien connus du bouddhisme tibétain, d'autres font manifestement référence à la pratique du *gcod*.

²⁷ Cette technique fait l'objet d'une description détaillée que je renonce à traduire faute d'avoir pu en observer la réalisation.

²⁸ Les *bka' skyoñ* ou "Protecteurs de la parole" constituent dans le panthéon Bon po une catégorie de divinités gardiennes; les plus importantes d'entre elles sont connues comme la trilogie Ma - *bDud* - *bTsan*. Cf. Karmay 1975, 200 et 1977, 120-134.

²⁹ Dans le commentaire au *Rol mo'i bstan bcos* écrit par Ñag dbañ Kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mtshan, 86-89, un long passage est consacré à la technique de jeu des cymbales; l'auteur cite son maître en ces termes:

Enfin lorsqu'il s'agit de poser les cymbales, on pose d'abord la cymbale-fils avec la *mudra* du serpent, puis la cymbale-mère avec la *mudra* de l'aigle Garuda, de la même façon que l'aigle Garuda a vaincu le serpent.

2) Selon les gter ston nouveaux, il existe une autre répartition des trois techniques de jeu déjà mentionnées:

Pour le rituel *Kun bzañ rab 'byams kyi ñes tshig*: la technique *ñi ma la bskor*, doucement.

Pour le rituel *Ma mo dam can gyi ñes tshig*: la technique *ri bo bañ skor*, à vitesse moyenne (ni vite ni lent).

Pour le rituel *Rab 'byams dbañ drag gi ñes tshig*: la technique *glañ chen mchoñ stabs*, de façon un peu rapide et irrégulièrre.

Quant aux façons d'utiliser les cymbales à petites bosses - les *siñ chol* de l'auteur -, il y en a beaucoup, mais, aujourd'hui au Pays des neiges, qu'il s'agisse des Bon po ou des autres, on fait plutôt "le battement des ailes du vautour" (*bya rgod gśog sprug*).

4. Le sceptre *rdo rje* et la clochette *dril bu*

Les deux objets décrits dans cette section, à savoir la paire formée par le sceptre-rituel *rdo rje* (skt. *vajra*) et la clochette à main *dril bu* (skt. *ghāṇṭā*) n'appartiennent pas au matériel rituel utilisé par les Bon po; leur mention dans cet ouvrage s'explique par le fait que l'auteur se réclame de la tendance éclectique du Nouveau Bon dont les affinités avec l'ordre bouddhique des *rñiñ ma pa* sont connues. Bien que *rdo rje* et *dril bu* soient traités séparément et que je me sois limitée ici aux objets à fonction musicale, il sera néanmoins fait appel à quelques données concernant le *rdo rje* puisque, comme on le verra, le manche de la cloche est en forme de demi *rdo rje*.

*sil sñan 'khrol ba lta bu žig
 yin na sil sñan che chuñ la
 ltos pa'i dkrol lugs 'byuñ 'gyur te
 che la mtho dañ chuñ la dma'
 yañ(s) dag kyañ ni go rims bžin
 des ma che chuñ gañ yin kyañ
 sil sñan yin na thad kar dkrol
 sbug chal yin na sten 'og bya.*

Pour plus de détails cf. Canzio.

4.1. Le matériau

Les cloches dril bu sont faites en or, en argent, en bronze li ou khro.³⁰

4.2.1. Les caractéristiques de la cloche

Quelle que soit la taille de la cloche, il doit y avoir égalité entre la hauteur de ce que les spécialistes en organologie appellent la "jupe" ou la "robe" de la cloche (*khog pa*) et le diamètre de l'ouverture située à la base, appelée en tibétain "la bouche" (*kha*).³¹

La description fournie part du sommet de la cloche, "le cerveau" de la terminologie occidentale et se poursuit par la "robe"; on passe ensuite au manche de la cloche en partant cette fois de la base pour remonter vers le sommet.³²

1) Le "cerveau":

Sur le dessus et à l'extérieur de la cloche proprement dite, on trouve gravée une fleur de lotus à huit pétales dans lesquelles sont inscrites les syllabes-germes (*sa bon*) de huit divinités féminines, soit, en partant du sud pour aller vers l'ouest:

au sud:	TAM
à l'ouest:	PAM
au nord:	MAM
à l'est:	LAM
au sud-ouest:	BAM
au nord-ouest:	TSUM
au nord-est:	BHRIM
au sud-est:	MAM ³³

³⁰ Différentes qualités de bronze sont utilisées au Tibet pour la fabrication des cloches:

Le li qui peut être blanc, rouge, jaune ou pourpre; le li khra qui résulte d'un mélange d'or, d'argent, de zinc et de fer est la qualité la plus appréciée.

Le 'khar ba comporte du cuivre.

La qualité du khro est analogue à celle du 'khar ba, mais inférieure au li: quand le fer prédomine dans l'alliage on parle de "khro noir"; quand c'est le zinc qui prédomine, on parle de "khro blanc"; quand c'est le cuivre (*zañs*) qui prédomine, on parle de *zañs khro*.

³¹ On a vu que le même terme "bouche" est employé pour désigner la face interne des cymbales.

³² Pour la fabrication des différentes parties de la cloche, on consultera le très utile article de V. et N.G.Ronge, Casting Tibetan bells.

³³ Ces huit syllabes correspondent au début du nom sanskrit de Tārā, Pāñdaravāsinī, Māmakī, Vajradhātvīśvarī, Cundā, Bhṛukūṭī, Mārīcī: les quatre premières divinités étant, comme on sait, "les quatre grandes sagesse", les parèdres des Jina Amoghasiddhi, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, Akṣobhya. Pour une discussion de l'orientation adoptée par le rédacteur cf. M.Helffer, Du texte à la muséographie: données concernant la clochette tibétaine dril-bu.

2) La "jupe":

En dessous, sur les flancs de la cloche et de haut en bas, on distingue trois régistres:

Entre deux ceintures qui forment un "rosaire de perles": un rosaire de *rdo rje* (disposés horizontalement).

A l'intérieur de guirlandes (*dra ba dra phyed*) de perles issues de la bouche de huit monstres (*rtsi par*)³⁴ gravés à intervalles réguliers sur le pourtour de la cloche: huit symboles (*mtshan ma*), décrits de façon incomplète en partant cette fois de l'est:

à l'est:	la roue de la loi (' <i>khor lo</i>)
au sud:	le joyau (<i>rin chen</i>)
à l'ouest:	? (le terme a été omis dans le texte)
au nord:	l'épée (<i>ral gri</i>)
au sud-est:	? (abréviation non-déchiffrée)
au sud-ouest:	le sceptre (<i>rdo rje</i>)
au nord-ouest:	le lotus (<i>padma</i>)
au nord-est:	le lotus en pinceau (<i>utpalā</i>) ³⁵

A la base, entre deux ceintures: une barrière de *rdo rje* (dressés verticalement).³⁶

3) Le manche:

Le manche se divise en deux parties égales:

à la base ('*og ma*) un vase (*bum pa*) formant piedestal pour le "visage de la sagesse" (*śes rab kyi žal*)³⁷

au dessus un lotus surmonté d'un demi *rdo rje*. La description fournie correspond exactement à la citation qui est faite du *rdo rje gsañ mjod*:

dril bu de yin nañ gi mkha' (sic)
zin du chu ru mñams pa yin
cha gcig śes rab žal bum pa
cha gcig padma rdo rje phyed

³⁴ Les termes *dra ba dra phyed* et *rtsi par* renvoient à des termes techniques bien connus de l'iconographie indienne, à savoir *hāra* = collier et *ardha hāra* = demi-collier pour les deux premiers et *kirtimukha* = visage de gloire pour le troisième (cf. Olson, catalogue, vol.1, 42-43). Le terme *rtsi par* ne figure pas dans les dictionnaires tibétains, il semble résulter de la contraction d'un terme rendu ailleurs par *dsig mgo pa tra* (Tucci 1966) ou *rdzi mgo pa thra* (Ronge, op.cit.).

³⁵ On remarquera que, parmi les six symboles identifiés, cinq sont habituellement associés aux cinq familles des Jina: le '*khor lo* à Vairocana, le *rdo rje* à Akṣobhya, le joyau à Ratnasambhava, le lotus à Amitābha, l'épée à Amoghasiddhi.

³⁶ Le même terme technique est utilisé pour désigner l'enceinte extérieure d'un *mandala*.

³⁷ Les informations orales que j'ai pu recueillir ne parlent jamais de "visage de la sagesse", mais considèrent qu'il s'agit du visage de l'un ou l'autre des Jina.

Pour le demi *rdo rje* qui couronne le sommet du manche, l'auteur renvoie à la description du *rdo rje* proprement dit où il est précisé que le *rdo rje* doit être à cinq pointes (*rtse lha pa*) pour les actions rituelles d'apaisement ou d'accroissement (*ži rgyas*) et à neuf pointes (*rtse dgu pa*) pour les actions rituelles de domination ou d'élimination (*dbah drag*).

4.2.2. Les différents types de cloches (v. Plate VI)

L'auteur procède ensuite à l'énumération de six types de cloches caractérisées par l'ornementation (ou la non-ornementation) de la robe de la cloche:

- 1) Une cloche lisse et dépourvue d'ornements tels que "rosaires de perles", "têtes de monstres", lotus, guirlandes, c'est la "cloche des héros" (*dpa'o dril bu*).³⁸
 - 2) La "cloche des Tathāgata" (*de bzin gšegs pa'i dril bu*) comporte le visage de Vairocana (*rNam snañ*) et un bandeau de "roues de la loi" ('*khor lo*).³⁹
 - 3) Les cloches qui, entre les ceintures, sont ornées par des *rdo rje*, ce sont les cloches de la famille du diamant (*rdo rje rigs kyi dril bu*).
 - 4) Les cloches qui sont entourées de joyaux (*rin chen*), ce sont les cloches de la famille du joyau (*rin chen rigs kyi dril bu*).
 - 5) Les cloches qui sont entourées de lotus (*padma*), ce sont les cloches de la famille du lotus (*padma rigs kyi dril bu*).
 - 6) Les cloches qui sont entourées d'épées (*ral gri*), ce sont les cloches de la famille des "actions agissantes" (*las kyi rigs kyi dril bu*).
- N.B. Les cloches 2), 3), 4), 5), 6) correspondent de toute évidence aux cinq familles des Tathāgata déjà mentionnées à propos des huit symboles qui figuraient sur les flancs de la cloche-type.

4.2.3. La valeur symbolique des différentes parties de la cloche

L'auteur s'appuie ici sur le texte intitulé *Gu ru thugs kyi rtsa rgyud*:

³⁸ Plusieurs informateurs considèrent que les cloches lisses sont appelées *myañ 'das dril bu*, c'est à dire "cloches du parinirvana du Buddha" et ajoutent que ce type de cloche a été utilisé pour accompagner les lamentations qui suivirent la mort du Buddha.

³⁹ Les cloches Musée Guimet, coll.M.Th.de Mallmann, Gu 24473 et Musée de l'Homme, coll.A.David-Neel 70-51-20 illustrent ce type.

"La cloche elle-même, c'est l'essence de la Sagesse-mère.
 Les cinq pointes, c'est le "corps le la loi" (*chos sku*)
 dans son état de complète inaktivité";
 Le "visage de la sagesse", c'est le "corps de jouissance"
 (*loñs spyod sku*);
 Le "vase de nectar", c'est le "corps de transformation"
 (*sprul pa'i sku*);
 Les huit pétales de lotus, ce sont les huit déesses;
 Les six séparations⁴⁰ de l'ensemble, ce sont les six
 catégories de Buddha;
 Les guirlandes (*zar tshags*)⁴¹ et les barrières de *rdo rje*,
 ce sont les palais des dieux".

4.3. La manière de tenir le *rdo rje* et la cloche.

Du fait que le *rdo rje* représente les "moyens" (*thabs*) et la cloche la "sagesse" (*ses*), le sens profond de la conjonction des deux, c'est la nature propre de l'illumination (*byañ chub*).⁴²

Le *rdo rje* doit être tenu près du cœur, entre le pouce, le majeur et l'annulaire de la main droite.

La cloche doit être tenue entre le pouce, le majeur et l'annulaire de la main gauche, l'ouverture tournée vers l'intérieur - c'est à dire vers l'officiant - , en s'appuyant sur le côté gauche.

rDo rje et cloche ne doivent pas être utilisés en les tenant tous les deux dans une seule main et on ne doit pas les poser par terre ce qui équivaudrait à un manque de respect pour le corps-la parole-l'esprit du Buddha; enfin on ne doit pas tenir la cloche avec les deux mains, ni utiliser le *rdo rje* tout seul.

⁴⁰ Je comprends que l'auteur voit la cloche divisée en six parties qui pourraient être: (1) le demi *rdo rje* qui forme le sommet du manche, (2) le "visage de la sagesse" reposant sur le "vase", (3) le cerveau avec les huit syllabes-germes figurant les huit déesses, (4) la ceinture constituée par un rosaire de *rdo rje*, (5) les huit symboles encadrés par des guirlandes de perles que crachent huit têtes de monstres, (6) la barrière de *rdo rje* qui encercle la base de la cloche.

⁴¹ *zar tshags* doit être rapproché de *za ra tshags* = "entrecroisements ornementaux" tels qu'ils sont décrits et représentés dans Snellgrove 1967, 132 et 204 + fig.X g.

⁴² cf. notamment Olson, Catalogue, vol.2, 34-37.

5. Le *damaru*

Le terme *damaru* que les Tibétains remplacent parfois par *cañ te'u*, désigne dans la tradition indienne un petit tambour-sablier à boules fouettantes, c'est notamment l'attribut du dieu *Siva*, seigneur de la danse.⁴³

5.1. Le matériau

Selon le *rGyud zu 'phrul dra ba*:

"Telles sont les caractéristiques du *damaru* (qu'on appelle aussi) *cañ te:*
*santal blanc ou rouge, acacia catechu,*⁴⁴
crâne d'homme, voilà ce qui convient."

Mais l'auteur ajoute que, faute de ces matériaux, on peut prendre le bois qu'on veut.

5.2. Les caractéristiques du *damaru*

1) Le *damaru* en bois

Le même texte précise que:

"Pour le *damaru* qui est fait en bois
la grande taille a douze doigts de diamètre,
la taille moyenne neuf doigts, la petite taille cinq doigts;
il faut tendre à l'égalité des circonférences."

Mais, quelle que soit la taille, depuis le grand modèle dont la taille est de douze doigts,⁴⁵ jusqu'au plus petit dont la taille est de cinq doigts, en passant par ceux dont le diamètre est de onze, dix, neuf, huit, sept, six doigts, si la hauteur de la caisse correspond aux 2/3 du diamètre de l'ouverture, c'est bien.

2) Le *damaru* en crâne humain (*thod rña*) (v. Plate VII A)

On l'appelle *cañ te'u* petit tambour secret.

D'après le *sNags kyi rgyud sde*, il doit être fait à partir des crânes d'un garçon de seize ans et d'une fille de douze ans. La calotte crâni-

⁴³ cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975, 399 et Helffer 1974.

⁴⁴ Le texte donne *siñ rtin* que je prends comme une variante de *señ ldañ* = acacia catechu.

⁴⁵ Ce grand modèle semble correspondre au *gcod dar* ou *damaru* utilisé pour les rites de *gcod*; cf. à ce sujet l'article de Rinjing Dorje et T. Ellingson, Explanation of the secret *gcod da-ma-ru*.

enne (*spyi bo*) doit être découpée depuis la partie située entre les sourcils jusqu'à la nuque.

Il doit s'agir d'individus qui ont tout juste atteint la maturité sexuelle; si c'est avant ou après cette date, cela ne convient pas.⁴⁶

3) le rgyun man

Il s'agit d'un tambour non identifié dont je laisse la description de côté puisqu'aucun de mes informateurs n'en connaissait l'existence.

Le paragraphe se termine par des considérations générales portant sur la possibilité que les ouvertures du tambour soient recouvertes de peau de singe et sur le fait que la peau tendue du côté masculin doit être enduite de sperme (*byaṅ sems dkar po*), tandis que la peau tendue du côté féminin doit être enduite de sang menstruel (*byaṅ sems dmar po*). A ceci s'ajoutent des explications concernant la préparation des boules qui doivent venir percuter chaque face du tambour.

5.3. La façon de faire résonner les *damaru* (*dkrol tshul*)

D'après le *rGyud ñi zla kha sbyor*:

"la forme des "moyens" (*thabs*), c'est la nature propre du *cañ te'u*;

la "sagesse" (*śes rab*), c'est le son produit par le *damaru*."
Si l'on se reporte aux *gter ma* dits anciens, au lieu de "frapper deux", on dit *ma dañ mkha' 'gro brgya dañ rtsa brgyad*, au lieu de "frapper trois", on dit *ma dañ mkha' 'gro brgya dañ rtsa brgyad stoñ dañ rtsa gñis*.

D'après les nouveaux *gter ma*, selon notamment le *mKha' 'gro 'bum bžed*, au lieu de "frapper deux", on dit *byaṅ chub rdo rje mkhyen cig dgoñs śig*, au lieu de "frapper trois", on dit *byaṅ chub rdo rje mkhyen cig dgoñs gñis bskor byed pa*.⁴⁷ Au moment où on récite les prières, le *damaru* doit être agité vers l'intérieur (*tshur dkrol*), la cloche *sil sñan* vers l'extérieur (*phar dkrol*); s'il y a simultanément le *damaru* et la cloche *dril bu*, ils doivent être agités vers l'extérieur (*phyi dkrol*).⁴⁸

⁴⁶ L'auteur conteste les affirmations selon lesquelles l'ouverture correspondant au crâne de la fille devrait être recouverte avec la peau de la vulve et frappée avec le *rdo rje* qui représente le penis du garçon.

⁴⁷ Il semble que "frapper deux" corresponde à l'énoncé de deux groupes de 4 syllabes, tandis que "frapper trois" corresponde à l'énoncé de trois groupes de 4 syllabes.

⁴⁸ L'auteur souligne la différence d'utilisation chez les Bon po et chez les bouddhistes.

Le sens profond de chacun des instruments est le suivant:

"Le *damaru*, c'est *Kun tu bzañ po*;
la cloche *dril bu*, c'est *Dam tshig sgrol ma*."⁴⁹

Enfin, au moment de poser le *damaru*, le crâne masculin, on le met sur le côté droit, le crâne féminin, on le met sur le côté gauche; c'est la façon de représenter la divinité en *yab yum*; il ne convient pas de le mettre le haut en bas.

6. La trompe *rkañ gliñ* (v. Plate VII B)

L'instrument que les Tibétains appellent *rkañ gliñ*, c'est à dire "flûte-jambe", appartient à la catégorie organologique des trompes, pour lesquelles la formation du son résulte de la vibration des lèvres de l'exécutant. Il est normalement fait en os de fémur, d'où son nom; mais l'os peut être enrobé dans de la peau ou du métal, en encore être orné de diverses façons, il peut même avoir disparu et être remplacé par une trompe courte en métal. Il apparaît comme attribut de certaines divinités et tient un rôle particulièrement important dans les rites de *gcod*.⁵⁰

6.1. Le matériau

D'après le *mKha' 'gro rtsa rgyud*:

"La trompe⁵¹ qui sert à appeler les *dākinī*, c'est une flûte en jambe d'homme."

L'auteur précise que, pour appeler les *dākinī*, il faut un instrument fait du fémur d'un homme mort de mort violente; pour appeler les *dpa' bo*, l'instrument doit provenir du fémur d'une jeune femme morte de mort violente.⁵²

6.2. La fabrication du *rkañ gliñ*

1) Choix de l'os

Qu'il s'agisse d'un garçon ou d'une fille, quand on a trouvé le ca-

⁴⁹ *Kun tu bzañ po*, autrement dit Samantabhadra, le Buddha suprême "Bonté universelle" est supposé avoir pour parèdre une forme de Tārā, cf. Snellgrove 1957, 232-233.

⁵⁰ cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, op.cit., 398 et Vandor, op.cit., 70-71.

⁵¹ Le terme employé ici est celui de *duñ chen*, littéralement "grande conque", qui sert habituellement à désigner les longues trompes métalliques.

⁵² Pour les conditions de prélèvement des fémurs, cf. Macdonald 1962, 132,38.

davre, il faut examiner les signes favorables ou non (*rten 'brei*).

D'après le *Ro sñom gsal ba'i me loñ*:

"Si le cadavre est orienté à l'est, c'est signe de longévité (*tshe riñ*);

s'il est orienté au nord, c'est signe de force magique (*mthu rtsal*);

s'il est orienté au sud, c'est signe d'accomplissement (*phun tshogs*);

s'il est orienté à l'ouest, c'est signe de mort."

Celui que est orienté à l'ouest, on le rejette; ceux qui sont orientés à l'est, au nord et au sud, les trois conviennent.

2) Attitude mentale de celui qui prélève l'os

A la base (*gži*), il doit y avoir un sentiment de compassion; le chemin (*lam*) à suivre, c'est d'effectuer mentalement les rites de "transfert" (*'pho ba*) et d'offrande du corps (*lus sbyin*); le résultat ('*bras*), c'est l'état de Buddha marqué du sceau de la vacuité.

Ces trois étapes correspondent aux préceptes énoncés dans "La voie du son pur" (Snellgrove 1967, 186-188) qui définit les dix-huit branches de la pratique: six branches de base (*gži*), six branches du chemin (*lam*), six branches de résultat ('*bras*).

3) La préparation et l'aménagement de l'os

Après avoir procédé au dépeçage depuis le haut des cuisses, il faut prendre des os complets et sans défauts. Ceux dont la forme est triangulaire ou plate, ou qui comportent des irrégularités en haut ou en bas, ou sur les côtés, on les rejette.

Pour la partie circulaire de l'os (la diaphyse?), si le canal médullaire est tel qu'on peut voir le ciel en regardant au travers, c'est bon.⁵³

Cet os, après l'avoir laissé un mois environ dans le sable, on en extrait la moëlle, ensuite on le fait bouillir et on le gratte soigneusement avec un couteau acéré.

La partie supérieure de l'os (*yar sñe* = la tête du fémur) qui dépasse, on la coupe. Puis deux ceintures sont placées en bas et en haut.⁵⁴

⁵³ Ceci suppose un os tout à fait rectiligne.

⁵⁴ Le texte de ce passage n'est pas clair.

Quant à la partie inférieure (*mar sne* = la région des condyles), d'après le *mKha' 'gro gsañ gcod*,⁵⁵ elle serait différente selon la fonction que l'instrument est appelé à remplir:

"le *lha ba*, c'est pour rassembler les *dākini*;

le *zañs kha*, c'est pour rassembler les "liés par serment" (*dam can*);

le *r(v)a kha*, c'est pour rassembler les *gandharva* ('*dri za*)."⁵⁶

Pour les *lha ba* - qui semblent correspondre à la trompe en os simple -, on doit percer "deux yeux" à la base des condyles en laissant entre les trous un espace de la largeur d'un demi-doigt; la partie qui sépare les deux condyles doit être recouverte d'un lien métallique et ornée de rouge. D'autres ornements et des ligatures de tendon doivent être placés le long du tuyau, mais leur emplacement n'est pas clairement défini.

Pour les *zañs kha* (peut-être faut-il comprendre les trompes à "pavillon de cuivre"), le pavillon doit être façonné en forme de makara (*chu srin*).⁵⁷

Pour les *r(v)a kha* (peut-être faut-il comprendre "à pavillon en corne"), les explications données d'après le *rNal 'byor bya cha sna bdun* sont particulièrement obscures. Il semble en ressortir que le fémur utilisé doit être ligaturé avec des tendons d'oiseau, entouré de peau de yack, et façonné en forme de dragon ('*brug*) ou de makara (*chu srin*)... on peut se demander si un tel instrument existe réellement.

6.3. La façon de souffler dans les *rkañ gliñ* (*rkañ gliñ ci ltar 'bud pa*)

Le *mKha' 'gro gsañ gcod*, déjà cité, mentionne quatre formules qu'on exécute avec le *rkañ gliñ*; elles sont désignées, dans chaque cas, par les premiers mots d'un texte:⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Selon Karmay 1977, N°48, pp.89-91, ce cycle appartient à la troisième des quatre catégories de *gcod* reconnues par les Bon po; cf. également Kvaerne 1974, 136 (T.218 à 221).

⁵⁶ Aucun de trois termes *lha ba*, *zañs kha*, *r(v)a kha* n'est connu de mes informateurs tibétains.

⁵⁷ C'est le cas de la plupart des trompes courtes en métal qui sont conservées dans les musées ou utilisées dans les rituels; pour le symbolisme du *chu srin* (skt. *makara*), on peut lire Stein 1977 et Viennot 1954.

⁵⁸ Les quatre mêmes formules sont indiquées dans le manuel des pratiques rituelles (*zin ris*) du monastère Bon po de sMan ri gÑen bstan bkra śis sMan ri'i zin ris rnams kyis rgyab skyor gser gyi me loñ, publié dans le *rNam 'dren rgyal ba'i dbañ po mÑam med chen po sogs bla ma sgrub pa'i las tshog kyi gsun pod*. Ed. Ngawang Sonam, New Thobgyal 1973, 126; elles sont notées au moyen de combinaisons de la lettre HA dont le son est supposé évoquer celui de la trompe.

- (1) "Pluie de bénédictions" (*byin rlabs char 'bebs*)
- (2) "Fermeté de l'arc et de la flèche" (*gtad pa mda' gžu*)
- (3) "Bénédiction venue du ciel" (*byin chen dbyiñs 'bebs*)
- (4) "Joyau qui exauce les désirs" (*yid bžin nor bu*).

La suite du texte, comme c'était le cas pour le jeu des cymbales, précise à quelles parties du rituel sont associées les différentes formules jouée avec les trompes courtes.

Pour les *phyi mtshams*, *spyan 'dren*, *lus sbyin gsol 'debs*, *ži ba'i skud do*, le début des offrandes de *bsañ*, le début du culte rendu aux *bka' skyoñ*, on joue *byin rlabs char 'bebs* (1) et *gtad pa mda' gžu* (2) en disant mentalement *glag lta'i ñams pod dbañ du bsdus*.

Pour les *nañ mtshams*, *gsañ mtshams*, *gcod kyi dbañ bsdud zil gnon drag po'i skud do*, *bzlog pa*, *bskul pa*, offrandes de *gtor ma* à la fin du culte rendu aux *bKa' skyoñ*, on joue *byin chen dbyiñs 'beb* (3) en disant mentalement *bdag lus dmigs med sbyin pa bkye*.

Pour les *bskañ ba*, *mchod 'bul rig lus sbyin*, pour les offrandes de *gtor ma* qui accompagnent les *bsañs* ou les *tshogs*, pour le *bka' skyoñ skyud do*, on joue *byin chen dbyiñs 'beb* (3) ou *dgra bgegs dpuñ tshogs bcom* en disant mentalement *dgra dañ bgegs la dmod mda'bsnun*.

Pour les cérémonies de *'gugs pa*, *lha dbye*, *bsad pa*, *dmod bcol*, c'est *dgra bgegs dpuñ bcom*.

Il y a ainsi quatre formules pour souffler dans les *rkañ gliñ* puisque, aussi bien selon la tradition orale (*žal žes*) que selon les notations (*dpe ris*), *yid bžin nor bu* (4) et *dgra bgegs dpuñ bcom* constituent des variantes de nom pour une même formule.

Le texte qui a été au point de départ de cette analyse ne constitue pas un traité d'organologie au sens où on l'entendrait en Occident, il mélange en effet des considérations techniques (matériau utilisé, forme, proportions) à des données mythiques, symboliques et rituelles, mais il illustre bien, semble-t-il, l'attitude d'un lettré tibétain face à ce qu'il considère bien plus comme un objet rituel que comme un instrument de musique.

Cinq des instruments étudiés - le grand tambour *rña*, les cymbales *sbug chol*, la clochette *dril bu*, le petit tambour *damaru* et la trompe *rkañ gliñ* - sont communs à tous les ordres du bouddhisme tibétain; la clochette *gsañ* remplace pour les Bon-po la clochette *dril bu* qu'emploient les bouddhistes. Pour chacun des instruments considérés, l'auteur dégage une typologie dont il faudra désormais tenir compte et qu'il fau-

dra confronter, non seulement à d'autres sources écrites, mais aussi à la pratique instrumentale telle qu'elle s'est conservée dans les monastères encore en exercice. Nous disposons également, grâce à lui d'éléments terminologiques qui nous faisaient défaut.

Mais force nous est de constater l'absence - dans la nomenclature proposée - de deux catégories d'instruments dont le rôle a frappé tous les observateurs et qui figurent souvent dans les représentations de paradis et dans les peintures d'offrandes (*rgyan tshogs*): les longues trompes *duṅ chen* et les hautbois *rgya gliṅ*. Je suggérerais personnellement deux hypothèses pour expliquer cette omission: la première serait que ces catégories d'instruments ne sont pas indispensables à la pratique rituelle, ils interviennent plutôt dans les cérémonies qui se tiennent à l'extérieur (appel à la prière, accueil d'un religieux, processions ...); la seconde serait qu'il s'agit peut-être là d'instruments d'origine profane dont l'usage et le répertoire n'ont été adoptés que plus tardivement, pour accroître le faste des cérémonies religieuses. Ce ne sont pour l'instant que des hypothèses de travail dont l'élucidation devrait permettre dans les années qui viennent une meilleure appréciation de la place de la musique instrumentale dans les rituels de bouddhisme tibétain.

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ON GRUM-GRŽIMAJLO'S SBRA NAG GLOSSARY

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G. Grum-Gržimajlo, Russian geographer and investigator of Central Asia, visited the Amdo-Kukunor area in 1889-1890, where he recorded some 240 words as well as sentences of the Panaka or Banag, i.e. sBra nag dialect. This and other Eastern Tibetan dialects were studied by several other scholars and travellers like Rockhill, Przewalski and Széchenyi at the end of the 19th century. Results of newer research became available after World War II. Among these later sources one may consult G. Roerich's Rebkong-Amdowa, Banag and Ngolok-Serta materials, Minoru Gō's edition of Blo bzañ bstan 'dzin's Archaic Amdowa vocabulary and the Amdowa-Chinese wordbook as well as some Romanized Amdowa materials edited in the fifties in Peking.¹ Most recently Dr. Sprigg has published some Ngolok da-

¹ For a bibliography of previous works concerning Eastern Tibetan dialects, see A. Róna-Tas, *Tibeto-Mongolica* (cf. here below, n.3).

I also consulted the handwritten Amdowa-Chinese dictionary *Rgya bod skad gnis ſan-sbyar-gyi A-mdo'i kha skad-tshig-mdzod* or *Zang han Anduo kouyu cihui*, published by the Krün-dbyān mi-rigs slob grva chen po'i Skad-yig tshan-khang-khoňs Bod-kyi skad slob-dpyod or Zhongyang minzu xueyuan Yuwenxi Zangyu jiaoyanje (Tibetan Language Research Group of the Faculty of Linguistics of the Central Academy of Nationalities), Pe-čin/Beijing 1956, lithographed. In this dictionary Amdowa pronunciation is marked, partly indirectly, following the API system. Words are listed in Tibetan characters, but homophonous initials are gathered in the same entry, without respect to the written form (so we find ja "tea", kya "fur" and bca' "to prepare, to make" in the same entry under ca').

A Romanized Amdowa primer with Chinese explanation was prepared by the same institute. It is perhaps not without interest to reproduce here the system of Romanization used in this latter source. Initials: b (weak p), p (strong, ph), bb (γb), mb, w; d (weak t), t (strong, th), hd (ht), dd (γd), nd; g and gw (weak k and kw), hg (weak hk), gg (γg), ng (ŋ); ds (weak ts), hs (weak hts), ts (strong, tsh), dz (γdz), nz (ndz); j (weak tʂ), hj (hʈʂ), tr (strong, tʂb), jj (γdʐ), nj (ndʐ); c (weak c, i.e. tʂ), hc, ty (strong ch), cc (γj, i.e. γdʐ), nc (nj); m, n, ny (ñ), q (ñ); hm, hn, hq (ym, yn, yñ or ñ), ñ, ñ, ñ, semivoiced nasals), my (yñ or ñ); l, lh (yl), lh; r (z, x); y, hy (yy); s (=s), ss (=strong, s with aspiration), z; sr (ʂ), sy (ʂ), zy (ʐ), sh (ʂh, ʂk); hw (xw), h (h or x), rh (γ), rw (γw); vowels: a (with allophonous ae, i.e. ē before d and l finals), i, u, e, o; longs are marked by double vowel signs; finals: m, n, q (ñ), b (weak p and w), d (weak t alternating with l), g (weak k and x), r, l; pitches: v (low), f (high). E.g. the sentence meaning "Padma, are you today a little bit better?" is written *Waelma devraq dsugvrhaf zug u jag gu?* which correspond to Amdowa WT *Padma de rañ tsig ge zig i drag gi*, read *wälma terän tsivve-zik i-dzakki*.

ta, perhaps the first which are recorded by a genuine linguist, expert in phonetics.² The linguistic importance of these Tibetan idioms showing several archaic features (including some Old Tibetan neologisms) in the field of phonetics has been discussed by Jäschke, later by Prof. L.Ligeti's pupils, Dr. G.Uray and, in a monograph concerning Amdowa loanwords of the Monguor language, by Prof. A.Róna-Tas.³ The historical interest of archaic dialects is emphasized in Dr. Sprigg's Ngolok paper as well.

Materials available being rather scarce in this field, even glossaries or wordlists in non-linguists' records may give us some useful hints about the phonetical and lexical peculiarities of the Eastern Tibetan dialects in question.

Grum-Gržimajlo's sBra nag glossary (published in 1899 as Supplement VI to his book on his journey in Western China)⁴ bears all kinds of shortage which are common with the sort of record. It is in Russian letters which make possible e.g. recording differences of velar and palatal i-sounds, but this alphabet has no signs e.g. for rounded palatal vowels, guttural nasals, and its orthography is not accustomed to noticing consonantal aspiration. The list is not free from some evident mistakes in phonetic rendering which are not due to the Russian writing system. Like in Széchényi's record, here too, several errors may be discovered in the interpretation of Tibetan words and expressions, but again like to Széchényi's glossary, this short list, which is, however, richer than that of Rockhill, also has the merit of recording sBra nag words and sentences without the influence of Written Tibetan which is unavoidable in native written sources like the Phal skad zab chos written by the Amdowa Guṇ than 'Jam pa'i dbyañs less than a century earlier than Grum-Gržimajlo registered his sBra nag data.⁵

² R.K.Sprigg, The Golok dialect and Written Tibetan past tense verb forms. *BSOAS* 42, 1979, 53-60; Vyañjanabakti, and irregularities in the Tibetan verb. *Bulletin of Tibetology* 7:2, 1970, 5-19.

³ A.Róna-Tas, *Tibeto-Mongolica*. The Tibetan loanwords of Mongour and the development of the Archaic Tibetan dialects. Budapest 1968. Cf. also R.A.Miller's review in *Language* 44, 1968, 147-168.

⁴ G.E.Grüm-Gržimajlo, *Opisanie putešestvija v Zapadnyj Kitaj*, tom II, St.Pbg 1899, Pri-loženie VI, Spisok slov narečija tangutov panaka, 417-420. - Grum recorded his sBra nag materials with the aid of a Dungan interpreter who spent his youth among "Kukunor Tanguts". The words of his glossary are enumerated in the Russian alphabetical order according to the initials of the Russian equivalents, except of the numerals which are placed at the beginning of the list.

⁵ See Prof. E.Steinkellner's paper in the proceedings of the 2nd Csoma de Körös Symposium: A literary source for late 18th century Spoken Tibetan (Amdowa). *Acta Orient. Hung.* 36, 1980, 245-248, and the edition of this source by Prof. Jigme Norbu and A. Róna-Tas in this volume.

The following sketch shows sBra nag reflexes of the old compound initials (initial clusters) as attested in Grum-Gržimajlo's list. Without believing Classical Written Tibetan to be identical with Common Tibetan, this latter is usually represented or symbolized here by the classical written forms; when necessary, dialectical Old Written Tibetan is also quoted. Written Tibetan forms are followed by the sBra nag words restored according to Grum-Gržimajlo's record.⁶

Guttural as first element

a) In first syllable and in monosyllables, before consonants (except semiconsonant *r* and *y*) initial *g* is represented by *g*, *x* (voiceless velar spirant), *χ* (voiceless), a prothetic vowel glide or zero:

gcig / *xⁱcik* "one", cf. also *bcu gcig* / *cikcik* "eleven"

gñid / *iñid* "to sleep", but *gñan* / *ñan* "wild sheep"

gnam / *^anam* "sky", but *nammu* "god" (?)

gnañs ñin / *oⁿ[ñ]ñin* "after tomorrow"

glag / *g^alik* "eagle", but cf. second syllable in *ba glan* / *walun* "bull"

gsum / *x^usum* "three", but *gsad* / *sad* "to kill"

gser / *xⁱsir* "gold"

gso / *rxso = rso* "to heal", according to Grum "medicine"

g.yon / *°yun* "left (side)", but *g.yas* / *^ayi* "right (side)"

b) With semiconsonants (*r* and palatalizing *y*) initial *g* and *kh* form affricates (palatals with *y* and cerebrals with *r*, but perhaps partly also palatals):

⁶ Instead of repeating the Russian letters or transliterating them I give the restitution of the sBra nag pronunciation in a simplified transcription, in which the letters also used for Written Tibetan words have approximately the same value as that valid for WT. Special signs are explained where used first. The letter *í* denotes several back or central vowels of high position marked in Grum's list by Russian velar *í* sometimes by *i* (e.g. after *š* which in Russian orthography may not be followed by the velar sign, but, denoting a cerebral spirant, must be pronounced with the velar *i*). Usually I followed Grum's inconsequent rendering of the relevant Tibetan vowel. Otherwise Russian *š* may denote here three different sBra nag sounds which are phonemic in simple initials: the cerebral *š* (e.g. for WT *sr*, *hr*), the aspirated strong *šh* (or palatal *χ* which appears representing old initial *ś*), and the weak and palatal *š* (e.g. for old initial *ś*, *by-*, *gś-*, etc.). Cyrillic *č* represents in Russian a voiceless palatal affricate, the only existent in Russian, so it also stands for Tibetan strong cerebral affricates, while the voiced or weak ones, both palatal and cerebral, may be rendered by digraphs like *čž*, *dž*.

- gri / ji* (probably dz, cerebral initial) "knife", cf. also '*gro / jo, ju* "to go", but cf. *grañ / (?) k^raiñ* "cool" (with cerebral r?)
 • *khyi / chi* and *kchi* "dog"
khyod / cho, chu "you"

Dental as first element

- a) Before consonants other than *r*, initial *d* is represented by ^u*r*, *x*, a prothetic vowel, or zero.

dkyil mdzug / jimzuk "the middle finger"
dgu / ^urgu "nine", but *dgu bcu / kupci* "ninety"
dgo ba / ^urgo "gazelle" (perhaps with ö)
dñul / rnü "silver"
dpuñ / xungu "arm" (in Grum *xuigu* and *xuïgu*, handwritten Russian *n* wrongly rewritten into *i* and *ï*, respectively)
dpon po / xombu "chieftain"
dbu gur / wiker "tent"
dmar po / xmaru "red" (Grum marks initial laryngeal spfrant)
mig, OWT myig, dmyig / ^añik "eye" ⁷

- b) With semiconsonant *r* initial *d* forms a cerebral affricate (dz):

drug / ðzik (also *ðik*), cf. also *drug (b)cu / ðzikcii, ðzikpcii* "sixty" (Grum's Russian *yu* seems to render here a slightly rounded central variety of *i* different from the Russian vowel)

"*dred mo / dyedmu* (?) "bear", it seems to be wrongly recorded instead of *ðed-* or *ðzed-*, but cf. *tiemo* in Széchenyi's list (for *tremo?*)

Oral bilabial as first element

- a) Prothetic u-glide or zero, but also *p* as first element in the initial of a second syllable in compounds:

bzuñ / zun "seized"
brgya / ^uža "hundred" (read ^w*ja* or ^u*ja?*), but
brgyad / žet "eight" (read *jet?*);

⁷ Cf. Wang Yao, *A study on the ancient pronunciations of the word mig in Tibetan* in this volume.

(first element of a second syllable)

dgu bcu / kupcY "ninety"

lña bcu / napci "fifty"

b) Oral bilabials with semiconsonant *y* give *s*:

byi(s)-, byis mo / sumo "baby"

phyin-, phyin nu / sunnu "felt", cf. also *sbyin-* / *sin-* "to give"

c) Oral bilabials with semiconsonant *r*: no data, but cf. *'brug sgra / bruxsra* "thunder", *'bren pa / dzoño* "thong"

Nasal bilabial as first element

a) Before consonants other than (semiconsonant) *y* it is represented by a nasal in the initial of a second syllable in compound words, it disappeared elsewhere:

ri mgo / riñgu "mountain"

chu mgo / chungu "well"

mche so / chiso "tooth, teeth"

mthe bon / themun "thumb"

mdzug / -mzuk "finger"

mtsho / tsho "lake"

b) With semiconsonant *y* it gives a palatal nasal (*ñ*):

OWT *myi / ñi* "man, but also *mi / me* "man"

OWT *mye / ñi* "fire", but also *me / me* "fire", and

OWT *a myes / ami* "old man" (perhaps with long i)

Liquid as first element

a) Initial *r* before consonants is represented by *r* with or without a prothetic vowel glide, by *s* and by zero:

rgyu gzab che / ^urju-zap che "strong", but *rgyab / jaP* "to strike"

rgod ma / guma "mare"

rta / ^uta "horse" (Grum also gives *sa*)

rdo / ^urdu, rdo "stone"

rna / ^urna, rna "ear"

rtsva / ^utsa "grass"

rlon pa / lomba "wet"

rlun / lun "wind"

- b) Initial *l* before consonants other than *h* represented by *s*, *š*, but *lh* gives *x* or *h* in one case, while *lh* alternating with *sl* corresponds to *lx* with a prosthetic vowel glide in another:

ljags or *lce* / *š'ca* "tongue"
lcags / *ščák* "iron" (Grum gives *šik*)
lta / *š'i ta* "to look"
ldog / *sdag* "back(ward)"
lham / *xam* "boot"
lhas, slas / *^lx'a* "ribbon ornament"

Spirant as first element

- a) Initial *s* before consonants is represented by *s*, *š*, *r* or zero, with semiconsonant *r* it gives *s* or *š*:

skam- / *kam-* "dry" (in a compound, after vocalic end, Grum gives *gam-*)
sga / *rga* "saddle"
-sgye / *-rji* in *tsharji* "salt bag"
-sgra / *-sra* in *bruxsra* "thunder"
snon po / *umbu* "blue"
sdad / *dat* "to sit"
sna / *sna, šna* "nose"
sbyin, byin / *šin* "to give"
 (with semiconsonant *r*)
srab / *šap* "bridle bit"
sram / *sum* "otter"

- b) Initial *z* with *l*:

zla ba / *qawa* "moon" (Grum gives *dab'i*, genitive form?)

- c) Initial 'a *chun* (which is represented by the voiced spirant *v* or by zero in simple initials, see 'o *ma* / *yuma* "milk" and 'ob *chen* / *opcín* or *opchin* "stirrup") is represented by zero in Grum's data:

'gro / *jo* "to go"
 'khyer / *chir* "to carry"
 'khar / *khur* "copper"
 'breñ pa > 'breñ na / *qzonho* "thong"

- d) Initial *h* with semiconsonant *r* results in cerebral spirant *š*:

Amdo WT *hra-* / *ša-* "good" in Grum *mísági* "good man" (according to Grum "healthy")

Initials with va zur

Old initials with *va* *zur* have lost this semiconsonant, see *rtsva* / *éⁱtsha* "grass", *tshva* / *tsha* "salt", *žva* / *-ža* "hat", but Amdowa *va* and *vba* "fox" for WT *va*, i.e. originally '*va*', or *vba*.

These examples⁸ show a certain alternation between the "archaic" and "non-archaic" representations of the older initial clusters as well as an interchange of the possible first elements in compounds initials. Both features are attested e.g. in Roerich's record of Archaic (i.e. more conservative in this respect than the other) Eastern Tibetan dialects.⁹

Some lexical and syntactic peculiarities

Grum's list also contains some peculiar Amdowa words like *wñi* "woman, wife" (in fact, Grum registers two forms, *vni* and *ni*, read *wñi* and *ñi*; in Roerich's Rebkong-Amdowa glossary it occurs in two other forms: *wñē* and *wñēl*; according to Roerich, it is a monosyllabic representation of WT *bud med*, OWI *bud myed*, cf. also the Rebkong form *wia* for WT *'u lag* of Turco-Mongolian origin),

adzau "good" (Rebkong-Amdowa *ardza* id., Roerich; Amdowa WT *a rdza bo*, *a rdzo*; Romanized Amdowa *arvdzavzug* read *ardzazig* "very well"),
sí "a small kettle" (Grum *sij* "kotelok"; Széchényi: *szi* read *si* "bucket"; cf. also Hanniu *zú* "Topf", Rosthorn?),

gori "bread, cake" (Rebkong-Amdowa and Ngolok *kho-re*, Roerich; Széchényi: *kori*, cf. WT *khur ba* and *'khur ba*) and

tshañra "back, buttock" (Grum writes *tsanra* "spina"; Jäschke quotes Schmidt's *tshai* *ra* and *'tshai* *ra* meaning "the neck of the thigh-bone" and Central Tibetan *tshai* *ra'i tshil* "the fat attached to it", i.e. to the neck of the thigh-bone; Przewalski's *tsánra* is to be read *tshañra*; Tshe tan *žabs drun*'s *Dag-yig Thon-mi dgoñs-rgyan*, Zi-lin 1955, gives

⁸ Some of these developments (*dm-* : *xm-* or *hm-*, e.g. *dmar-* : *xmar-* "red"; *lt-* : *št-*, e.g. *lta bu* : *šta-bu* "similar, like"; *by-* : *s-*, e.g. *byin* : *śin* "to give", but *dpyid*: *xpi* "springtime") are already attested in the Ming Sino-Tibetan vocabulary *Xifanguan yiyu*, for which see Nishida Tatsuo, *Seibankan-yakugo no kenkyu. Chibetto gengogaku josetsu*. Kyoto 1970.

⁹ Cf. also in *Xifanguan yiyu*: "army" *dmag* : *xma*, but "army officer" *dmag dpon*: *ma xpon*.

tshai̯ ra explained as *lus kyi tshai̯ ra*, according to the Chinese translation, also meaning *hou-bei* "back").

The last word of the list, *gurbul'*, meaning "lizard" is of Mongolian origin, see Written Mong. *gürbel*, id. (for "lizard" we have Tib. *skyin gor*, *da byid*, Ladakhi *rgag cig*, *ma la la tsé*, Jäschke, *tsé ron* and *'gas sub*, Giraudeau).

Some of Grum's items are sentences, also representing Amdowa, here sBra nag syntax. E.g. instead of Central Tib. *da lta 'gro gi yin* "the subject is now going", the list gives *da džu ju* (re), cf. Rebkong-Amdowa *dro-jio*, *jio-jio*, or *j'o-jio* "to go", Roerich; Romanized Amdowa *ncovccef*, future, *ncovccuf*, present form;

iñid u (r̥e) "the subject is sleeping" (Grum's *inidyu-* may be also interpreted as *iñi ju-*, when his *dy* stands for the Tib. palatal affricate), cf. Rebkong-Amdowa *vñil-jio* "dormir", Roerich; Amdowa WT *gñid* "to sleep";

hosō śinda "give (it) to us!", Amdowa WT *no cho la byin da*.

I hope I have been able to show here some merits of Grum-Gržimajlo's sBra nag glossary which, despite its (and my) demerits, deserves the interest of those engaged in the history of the Tibetan dialects.¹⁰

**A NOTE ON YA SOR AND THE SECULAR FESTIVALS
FOLLOWING THE SMON LAM CHEN MO***

by

J.KARSTEN (Bonn)

I. Introduction

In order to show his appreciation of the fact that the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) gained power over the whole of Tibet thanks to the military help of the Oyirad-Mongols under their chief Gušri Qan (1582-1655),¹ the Fifth Dalai Lama established the custom of the parades of Gušri Qan's troops, who would appear before the Dalai Lama for inspection during the annual *sMon lam* festival. In time it became the duty of every high ranking government lay official (*sod drün*) to provide caval-

* We do not want to enter the subject without having expressed our sincere thanks to a few persons, without whose help it would not have been possible to compile these notes. First of all we have to mention H.E.Richardson. He kindly answered my many questions and also sent me some of his very rare photographs from Tibet which enabled me to inquire more detailed the Tibetan informants. Among the latter must be mentioned the two brothers Pha lha Thub bstan 'od ldan and Pha lha rDo rje dban 'dud, both of whom spent many hours in clearing the problems with me. At Bonn I enjoyed the help of Brag g.yab skyabs mgon Blo ldan ses rab whose knowledge was most helpful to me; he also kindly provided me with the valuable notes given to him by the late Kun bzañ rtse bSod nams dbañ 'dus (1901-1972). dGon gsar rin po che kindly introduced me to his mother Zom phud lcam (née Žag pa) Rig 'dzin chos skyid, who informed me about her late husband Zom phud Thub bstan dbañ phyug. I am also indebted to Phu khan *mKhan sprul* Byams pa bskal bzañ, Rag ra rin po che bKras mthon Thub bstan chos dar, rNar skyid Nag dbañ don grub, sPro khan dge b'ses mKhas grub, bKras mthon bsTan 'dzin rnam rgyal (his notes were kindly supplied to me by Mrs.Valrey Reynolds) and Tshe dbañ spen pa (Tsewang Pemba). Valrey Reynolds and Martin Brauen kindly put material at my disposal. Heinrich Harrer kindly allowed me to read his diaries from Tibet and also helped me with some more information. To all the above mentioned I am grateful for their help.

To Mr. Lawrence Yates I am grateful for having corrected my English.

The terms underlined are explained in the Glossary of this paper. For administration terms used throughout this paper we refer the reader for once and all to the "Glossary of Administrative Terms" in Petech 1973 235-239.

¹ On this important chapter of Tibetan history see Ahmad 188.

ry men, selected from among the servants of their estates, for the New Year's parades. Thus the house of dGa' bži / rDo riñ had to provide 25 men,² the ya sor spyi khyab (see below) and each lay bka' blon had to provide 24 men, a mda' dpon 13,³ noblemen's sons (probably sras rnam pa) 7 men,⁴ and so forth.

From among fourth-rank government lay officials (*rim bži*) who had been recently appointed, two at a time had to take over the generalship for the annual show that took place from the 22nd to the 27th day of the first Tibetan month. This office was obligatory for every *rim bži* (PL1; PL3; TT) - with a few exceptions - who, by organizing, arranging and financing most of the parades, feasts and so on, would show his capacity for government posts. According to tradition they represented the two leaders of the two wings (*g.yas ru* and *g.yon ru*, right and left wing) of the troops of Gušri Qan⁵ (PL1; TP). Being appointed general was an extremely expensive business, as each general had to rent - if his family did not itself own - very fine costumes for all his retinue, which could reach a number of 25 and sometimes even more persons.⁶ It was also quite hard work, since everything had to be done according to tradition. An official could be excused from being appointed general if he did not own an estate and thus could not afford such expenses.⁷

The two generals bore the title of *ya sor spyi khyab*⁸ and also *ya sor khri pa*,⁹ i.e. "head of the *ya sor*". As for *ya sor* it seems to be a loan-word from Mongolian. Since this office was introduced by the Oyirad (Western Mongols) the term in question has to be an Oyirad-word though it is not possible for us to find a reference. There must have been an Oyirad term *yasor, *yasour and the like, itself being derived from the

² Festivals 20; on that noble house see Petech 1973 50-64.

³ Taring 1970 136; Bell 1928 275 gives a number of eighteen men instead and states that "many send nine, which in Tibetan is a number connoting a countless host".

⁴ Taring 1970 136; Snellgrove/Richardson 122 and Macdonald 206.

⁵ Tung 164; on the Central Asian structure of troops see Doerfer IV, 82-91.

⁶ According to an estimate in Harrer 14.3.1948, the outlay was about 300 to 500 *rdo tshad* (for which see Brauen 165).

⁷ Taring 1970 136; such was the case with *dza sag Phren riñ 'Jigs med sum rtsen dban po* (Jigme Taring).

⁸ Festivals 17 passim; Gould 1940 26a = Gould 1941 23; 'Bras spnis 394 wrongly spells *ya sor spyi rgyab*.

⁹ 'Bras spnis 394; they were also called *dmag dpon chen po* "great general", cf. Schäfer 1950 183.

Classical Mongolian **jasayul**, i.e. "commander",¹⁰ from which the term **yasovor**¹¹ "one who arranges, puts in order" was derived. The change from Mongolian initial **ж**- to **յ**- and final **-и** to **-р** is well attested by Mongolian loan-words in Turkish and New Persian.¹² **ya sor** is also spelt **yar sor**¹³ and in Ladakhi sources it is spelt **ya so**.¹⁴

The former **rtsis dpon**, **žva sgab pa dBan phyug bde ldan** (W.D.Shakabpa), also explains the term **ya sor** as a word of Mongolian origin - as did all of my informants - and translates it as "leader of a wing" or "vanguard".¹⁵ It seems to be interesting to note that in the Mongolian translation of the Seventh Dalai Lama's biography there is also made mention of the term **ya sor**, given in both Mongolian and Tibetan; the former reads **yasovar** (using the Galic-characters for transcribing foreign(!) words) and the latter reads the usual **ya sor**.¹⁶ The Mongolian transcription seems to indicate that the Mongolian origin of that title was not known anymore to the translator or even to everybody. To some Western visitors the title was indicated as **ya[r]gsol** ("yasö", "yarsol" and "jasö") and explained as "highest worshippers",¹⁷ certainly a popular etymology of this foreign word. It has nothing to do with the title **sMon lam spyi khyab**, who was in charge of the **sMon lam** proper.¹⁸

¹⁰ Poppe 146, 153 and Doerfer IV, 169, 1863, giving its various forms in Mongolian and other languages. Cf. Lessing 1216a: **ja saul**: Commander of the flank.

¹¹ WTCWC 1162, where it seems to mean "one who arranges (in festivals)"; Manchu: **belhesi**, Tibetan: **bśams dar pa**, Chinese **p'u p'ai**. Cf. also Kowalewski 2268b, 2269a, 2270a and Sumatiratna II, 1107: **jasavor takilči**.

¹² Cf. Doerfer, loc.cit. and vol.I, 279, 149 and Ramstedt 216, 468.

¹³ **žva sgab pa** I, 133; II, 456.

¹⁴ Petech 1977 146; the **ya po** of the **La dvags rgyal rabs** (Francke 51) seems to be an error due to its similarity in cursive writing for **ya so** and thus we should not understand it in that case as "hangman, executioner" (Francke 134; TED 1124a); see also **žva sgab pa** II, 5, 11 where for the same event is given **ya sor**, and Gergan 569 where the Tibetan equivalent of **ya sor** is given: **bod ru'i rta dmag gi 'go pa chun nu**, i.e. "platoon commander". This was confirmed also by Mr.'Dzom lde bKra ſis phun tshogs, Leh, who understands **ya so** as "groopleader".

¹⁵ **dmag gi ru 'khrid mi'am gdon len pa** in **žva sgab pa** II, 5, n.8. Peter op.10 explains it as "field marshall" and both HH and TP explained it as "Commander-in-Chief" (**dmag spyi**, Harrer 25.3.1946); Taring 1970 136 gives "commander of the cavalry". Schäfer 1950 140f. has totally confounded the **ya sor spyi khyab** with the **žal no** who "ruled" over Lhasa during the first month of the year.

¹⁶ DL7M II, 128a (= DL7 378b).

¹⁷ Bell 1928 273; Tung 164 and Petech 1953 265, n.214; Schäfer 1950 188.

¹⁸ Cf. the sources cited in Petech 1973 27, n.3 and **žva sgab pa** II, 173.

We find this title mentioned a few times in Tibetan texts:¹⁹

Thus in about 1714 a "Moṇ gol chin̄ ya sor" took part in the Tibeto-Bhutanese war.²⁰

In 1750 two (!) ya sor and others were involved in the murder of the ambans Fucing (+ 1750) and Labdon (1703-1750) under *mgron gñer Blo bzañ bkra śis*.²¹ One of them may well have been the ta-erh-han ya-hsün/sun^a,²² of a Chinese document, who - for being involved in the above-mentioned affair - was sentenced to death by the slicing process.²³

For the year 1763 we read of one ya sor dge sloñ and one ya sor bla ma, both, it seems, high ecclesiastical officials.²⁴

In the year 1841 one ya sor, Mig dmar, murdered the general Zoravar Singh (1786-1841).²⁵

As can be inferred from the examples given above - except for the year 1763 - there was also a purely military office called ya sor - at least until the middle of the last century - that apparently had nothing in common with the ya sor spyi khyab.

There was also - until the 1950s - still an office of that name among the Mongols inhabiting the area of 'Dam ('Dam Sog),²⁶ in full styled 'Dam rgya śogs brgyad 'go pa,²⁷ 'Dam brgyad śog ya sor (PL1; PL3) or

¹⁹ It is surprising that there seems to be no reference in the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama (DL5) of which we read the first volume only, i.e. that dealing with Gušri Qan etc. As Professor L.Petech has kindly informed me there seems to be no mention made of ya sor in other texts besides those we utilized.

²⁰ MBTJ 108b; on that war see Petech 1972 29f. It seems that this soldier was a Mongol.

²¹ DL7 378b and Žva sgab pa I, 569.

²² Petech 1972 275, where it is reconstructed as *dargan yaśor*, for which I see no reason. Professor Wang Yao has kindly provided me with another Chinese transcription: *ya-chou-hsi*,ⁱ though Mathews 1378 reads *chu* instead, but unfortunately without indicating his source.

²³ Petech 1972 275.

²⁴ Situ 226b.

²⁵ Žva sgab pa II, 5, 11; Francke 51; Gergan 569 and Petech 1977 146.

²⁶ 'Dam is the area south-east to the gNam mtsho (Tengri Nor) and about 100 miles to the north of Lhasa; cf. Petech 1972 map II.

²⁷ bSam yas 251; i.e. the head/leader of 'Dam rgya śogs brgyad (PL1: 'Dam brgyad śog), which seems to be the headquarters of the Mongols inhabiting 'Dam ('Dam Sog), who are said to be the descendants of the soldiers of the troops of Gušri Qan and his successors (PL1). It is situated to the west of the source of the Phod mdo chu (also Phön mdo), itself being the source of the sKyid chu (Ferrari map A: as it seems it is the river passing by bCom mdo and Rva sgreñ), the former originating at a place called bSam gžuñ (this information is taken from a map of the lands to the east and north of Lhasa drawn by Žol khan Thub bstān ū ma [on whom see Petech 1973 143] and H.Harrer, now in the possession of the Völkerkundemuseum, Zürich); it seems to be quite an important place for there the three roads from dBus, gTsan and Amdo meet.

only 'Dam *ya sor* (HH).²⁸ There were - in the middle of the 18th century - eight chiefs of the 'Dam-Mongols, whose titles were either *Jayisang* (Tib. *ja'i sañ*) or *tayiji* (Tib. *tha'i ji*).²⁹ Though the titles differ it may well be that the 'Dam *ljoñs kyi scg[po] rigs da'i chin*, the "tai-ch'ing" of Mongol race of the area of 'Dam", mentioned for the year 1726³⁰ - and perhaps also the *gNam mtsho da'i chin dpon*, the lord [with the title of] tai-ch'ing of the Tengri-Nor" of the year 1756³¹ - are identical with the above-mentioned leaders of the 'Dam-Mongols, who - only two of them?! - claimed to be part of the uninterrupted succession of the office of Gušri Qan's two commanders-in-chief (PL1). The two 'Dam *ya sor* used to come to Lhasa every New Year to attend the secular ceremonies (PL1).³²

Each *ya sor spyi khyab* had several attendants and servants to help manage the difficult tasks. Thus there usually were under each *ya sor spyi khyab*:

- two *mgron gñer*
- four *ya g.yog*
- four *gzim dpon* (DY; PL3: *zabs phyi*)
- one *rgyan bzan ma*
- one *khrun žu ma*
- one *khrun g.yog* or *rgyan g.yog*
- two *rta 'khrid pa*
- one *chan rgyab pa* (PL3; PL1)

As said above, the *ya sor spyi khyab* had to lead an army of cavalry men (*rta dmag*) and foot-soldiers (*rkan dmag*), the latter of whom were made up of the *gzim chun pa* headed by the four *zla gcig drun 'khor*. Each wing was itself led by two cavalry-men, each of whom would carry a standard representing dPal ldan lha mo and gNas chun rDo rje grags ldan (*gžun srog rgyal po yab sras*, HR).

²⁸ Harrer 4.3.1948. It seems that they are identical with the 'Dam *rgya šog pa* of DL9 70b. As can be seen from the use of 'go pa and *ya sor*, both seem to be identical, i.e. *ya sor* = 'go pa, leader etc.

²⁹ Petech 1972 278; on the titles *Jayisang* and *tayiji* see Lessing 769,1027 and Mathews 6655.6 and 6008.2.

³⁰ MBTJ 261a.

³¹ DL7 498b; on the title *da'i chin*, Mongolian *dayičing*, Chinese *tai-ch'ing* see Ham-bis 82,n.124, 88,n.142.

³² Harrer 4.3.1948; for the only photograph of a 'Dam *ya sor* known to us see Shen/Liu 173, taken in 1945, which does not show the "headman of a tribe in eastern Tibet" but the 'Dam *ya sor* clad in the stag sun robe (PL1).

II. Description of the Festival

As stated above, the *ya sor spyi khyab* had to preside over the events that took place from the 22nd to the 27th day of the first Tibetan month; each participant had to wear special costumes etc. which will be - partly very briefly - described in the following short account of the festival³³ or in the glossary at the end of this paper.

On the 22nd³⁴ day there took place what was called the *Klu sbug sgar bsgrigs*, the "preparations for camp (of the *gTor rgyab*-cavalry) at Klu sbug".³⁵ On that day the *ya sor spyi khyab* would wear the rgyan bzi robe, the hat called va sgor and a belt made of golden brocade (gser sked) and various utensils, worn by all high officials.³⁶ The *mgon gñer*, *ya g.yog* and *gzim dpon* used to wear robes made of less expensive *rgyan*

³³ Our description is based on the precise accounts on that festival in *Festivals* 17-32, Bell 1928 273-276, 283f. and Schäfer 1950 181-198. For additional or diverging (cf. the dating of the events) information we will separately mention the relevant sources; except for a few instances we do not indicate the references in the above given three works. We may say that Schäfer 1950 is not always too reliable concerning the dates and minor details, though, it seems, it more or less copies the account in Bell 1928. There has been another Tibetan text on the New Year's festival: It is known that the famous *sde srid* Sans rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705) is the author of a booklet entitled *Lo gsar dga' ston 'bel gtam* (Lange 210). Unfortunately this text is not accessible to us.

³⁴ In dating these events we follow the main Tibetan sources and Tibetan informations. Some Western and Chinese accounts often differ from the official dates.

Thus for the Klu sbug *sgar bsgrigs* Schäfer 1950 183 has the 20th day, Harrer 25.3.1946 the 21st (but in the entries for that year he dates the whole festival one day too early); for further description of that day see Harrer 14.3.1947, 2.3.1948; Žva sgab pa I,133; Chang 1980 82.

³⁵ Žva sgab pa I,133; II,456. Klu sbug [*thari*] is the "grassy space" to the south(-east) of the Potala and to the (south-)west of gYu thog zam pa west of Lhasa (Ferrari 92, n.62 with slight changes by ourselves) and the "Thorny scrub heath" of Waddell map op.330. It is spelt quite differently in the various Tibetan and Western texts: Klu sbug (KLTJ 6a; Festivals 17), Klu sgug (LKK 339a; Festivals 17), Klu dgugs glin (DL8 112b), Klu phug [*glin khai*], mentioned as a place for a camp already in 1640 (DL5a 96b; for a mention for 1642 see DL5a 113a), Glu spug (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 510) and we find in the latter work also a Klu sbug [*chu šull*] (water-channel at Klu sbug; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 441; it may be the small brook to be seen in Sis/Vaniš/Jisl, folder at the end of that work). Lu gu [*mda'i sgar*] is a rather slipshod spelling to be found in Situ 72a. In Western works we found: "Lugu" plain (Bell 1928 273), the "Labukh" meadow (Schäfer 1950 183) and "Lugu naga" (Das 1885 162; this spelling seems to be a misprint for Lugu maga, i.e. Klu sgug dmag sgar, military camp at Klu sgug). It is also the "Lu-bup gang" (Klu sbug *sgan*) to be found on the map in Sandberg. Whether the "camper à Soubrou" on the 22nd day of Bonvalot 236 refers also to the Klu sbug *sgar bsgrigs* I am not sure. The "Lubu", quarter of Lhasa (David-Neel 1928 279) is not identical with Klu sgug than but it is the part of Lhasa situated next to it and hence bearing the same name.

³⁶ On which see Festivals 17 and Žva sgab pa I,68f. Cf. also n.658 and 659 of Sotheby's 107.

bži silk than that of their master's. First the party rode to the main entrance of the gTsug lag khan (= Jokhang) on beautifully adorned horses,³⁷ which were led by the two rta 'khrid pa. There were speeches by the dge bskos of 'Bras spuñs tshogs chen (the highest supervisor of the monastery of 'Bras spuñs) and the senior minister (*bka'* blon khri pa or *bka'* blon bgres pa). Then all of them proceeded to Klu sbug than, followed by the cavalry, where a beautiful tent camp had been pitched. On their way the *chan rgyab pa* had to clear the way of onlookers. Having arrived at the camp where the government lay officials had already assembled, the two *rgyan bzañ ma* assisted by the *khruñ žu ma*, they in turn assisted by the *khruñ g.yog*, would offer beer (*chan*) to the *ya sor spyi khyab* and the other officials and would help the former perform the *phud gtor*-offering, in the course of which the *ya sor spyi khyab* each took a few drops between the thumb and the fourth finger and flicked this little offering to the ground.³⁸ Afterwards a decree issued by the Fifth Dalai Lama³⁹ was read aloud and one of the *bka'* blon gave a speech full of good advice and such like.

On the next day, the 23rd day,⁴⁰ there took place the Grva bži rtsis bšer, "the inspection (of the arming of the cavalry) at Grva bži".⁴¹ On that day the *ya sor spyi khyab* would wear the *khal kha gzugs* and the articles mentioned for the Klu sbug *sgar bsgrigs*. Also at Grva bži a tent-camp had been erected and all of the officials, together with the cavalry, proceeded to Grva bži, where a feast was held, after which the roll-call took place, performed by four *rtsis phrug pa* and one *śod drün*, who would check the equipment of the soldiers against a list compiled by the *rtsis khan* or another office. Thereafter the soldiers were awarded with scarves (*legs dar*) and finally the party returned to Klu sbug than.

³⁷ See the photographs in Harrer 1952 61 and Tung pl.109.

³⁸ Bell 1928 275.

³⁹ Cf. Festivals 18; Bell 1928 274 (= Schäfer 1950 184).

⁴⁰ Surprisingly Schäfer 1950 184 has the same date; instead Taring 1970 136 gives the 22nd day, as does Harrer 25.3.1946

⁴¹ Also spelt Gra phyi (Festivals 19) and even Gra sgyi (Situ 82a, 86b); it is a plain (cf. also Gra bži than in MBTJ 129a) with a garrison a few miles to the north of Lhasa; the latter was built in 1733 (Petech 1973 100). In 1931 there was established the Hydro-electric factory (Gra bži glog 'phrul las khuns, žva sgab pa II,271). The "dgra ſi" of Wylie 158,n.389 seems to be pulled out of thin air. For a bird's eye view of that place see Harrer 1960 141, upper photograph.

On the next day, the 24th day,⁴² took place what was known as *sMon lam gtor rgyab* or *gtor rgyab chen mo*, the "great casting of the *gtor ma*",⁴³ ceremonies to prevent evil from arising during the new year. On that day the *ya sor spyi khyab* would again wear the *khal kha gzugs* etc., while the *mgon gñer*, *ya g.yog* and *gzim dpon* would wear the *rgyan bži* or stag sun robe. After having thrice circumambulated - most of them on horseback - the *gTsug lag khan*, accompanied by the cavalry and infantry, the latter performed some sham-fighting, whereafter the *ya sor spyi khyab* took their seats on thrones standing in front of *Bla bran rñin pa*⁴⁵ and held a review of both cavalry and infantry,⁴⁶ and subsequently they received homage from the onlookers who presented scarves etc. Thereafter some religious ceremonies were performed by the monks of *rNam rgyal grva tshan*, *sNags pa grva tshan* and *Byan chub gliñ pa* (DY),⁴⁷ followed by the appearance of the *dGa' ldan khri pa* (abbot of *dGa' ldan* monastery) and the *gNas chun chos skyoñ* (the so-called State-oracle).⁴⁸ Finally they proceeded to the south of *Klu sbug than* where eight cannons - apparently of Chinese origin - were fired against the *Bya skya(g) dkar po ri*.⁴⁹ Aft-

⁴² Surprisingly in 1751 it seems to have taken place on the 21st day (DL7 429b), while *dBus gTsai* 252a gives the 23rd day for 1920, as does Harrer 25.3.1946; Becker 55 according to the *Wei-tsang shih-lüeh*, and Rockhill 210f. according to the *Wei-tsang t'u-chih* both give the 18th day (cf. also Stein 1972 215).

⁴³ It is spelt either *gtor rgyab* (DL7 239a; DL8 51b; Žva sgab pa I,133; DY; HR) or *gtor rgyag* (DL7 291a; Festivals 22; Cha pa 1) and also *gtor rgyags* (*dBus gTsai* 252a); it is also mentioned as *gtor bzlog* (DL7 386). On that ceremony see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 482; 'Bras spunis 393-395; Chang 1980 83f.; Harrer 26.3.1946, 16.3.1947, 4.3.1948; *dBus gTsai* 252aff.; Macdonald 206f.; Shen/Liu 185 and Norbu 197.

⁴⁵ This is the mansion of the much respected noble house of Thon situated to the south-east of the *gTsug lag khan* (cf. no.25 of Taring 1980 9).

⁴⁶ See the photographs in Tung pl.107; Snellgrove/Richardson, 122; Harrer 1952 60 and Harrer 1953 op.176.

⁴⁷ On which see Richardson 1980 332,n.2; 'Bras spunis 192 and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 509.

⁴⁸ As we are limiting ourselves to the description of the secular aspects we only refer to the works cited in n.43 of this paper.

⁴⁹ Festivals 24; 'Bras spunis 162; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 482. The *Bya skya(g) dkar po ri* is a mountain behind Grib (for which place see Ferrari 96,n.73). My informants did not agree in identifying this mountain. According to them the mountain is called either *sMin drug rdza ri* (PL1; HH), for long time ago the pleiades (*smin drug*) are said to have fallen down there (PL1) or *Mi 'khrugs rdza ri*, as it is consecrated to Buddha Akṣobhya (TK). A popular name is *Me sgyogs ri* (PL1; PL3). The following - apparently more reliable - information I owe to the kindness of H.Richardson: "*sMin drug rdza ri* is not the mountain at which the cannons are fired; it is much further up the Grib valley. I have climbed it and it is much higher than the low hills just south of the river opposite Lhasa. They are not a single hill but a low range. The part on which the target-tent is placed is called *Me sgyogs ri*; the part further west is *Glan mgo ri*, *Glan dar ma's bla ri*, where there is a mass of rocks said to be his *ban so* (tomb)." (HR). For an interesting legend about the *Glan mgo ri* see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 482.

erwards the soldiers and the monks as reward for their service were given presents by the 'Phral bde las khuṇs and all of them returned to Klu sbug than.⁵⁰

On the following day, the 25th day,⁵¹ the "invitation of Maitreya" *byams pa gdan 'dren*⁵² was celebrated, in the course of which "an image of Maitreya was taken around the city on a cart, supposedly an imitation of the Indian *rath*" (HR). At the same time there also took place horse-races (without riders) and foot-races, starting from the foot of the Ya sna ri zur⁵³ near 'Bras spuṇs and ending at gSun chos ra.⁵⁴ Meanwhile the wrestling and weight lifting took place, in the course of which the lifters had to carry very heavy stones round the place in front of gSun chos ra as long as possible.

On the 26th day, there was arranged the "galloping behind the fort" (i.e. Potala-palace), *rdzon rgyab žar 'phen*,⁵⁵ in front of the mansion

The cannons were supposed to be used to hit the above mentioned tent, where a sheep was left inside (see Stein 1972 215). On the cannons see Becker 58 and Rockhill 210f. "They are short mortars, dug in the ground, the shell being about one decimetre and the caliber a little larger" (Harrer 26.3.1956). "Two of the cannons were said to be made of leather with brass bands. They had special names. I cannot remember offhand but one was something like Srin mo gzon nu. The old jingals were probably replaced after 1940 or so". (HR)

⁵⁰ In this way some 360 taels were spent (Stein 1972 215)

⁵¹ DL7 429: 22nd day; Macdonald 207: 23rd day; Schäfer 1950 195 now "overtook" the other accounts and gives the official date.

⁵² It is also known as *byams pa chos 'khor* (DL7 386 etc.), the "procession of Maitreya"; for descriptions see Aoki 204; Bell 1928 274; Bell 1946 268; 'Bras spuṇs 395-398; Chang 1980 84f.; Cha pa 1; Macdonald 207; Shen/Liu 186. Harrer 25.3.1946 gives "Cham-ya Shön-dril" [*byams pa bžon* ?]

⁵³ "The Ya sna ri zur is presumably the spur of the hills to the east of 'Bras spuṇs; the spur to the west is the Phyi zur" (HR).

⁵⁴ The open space by the southern side of the gTsug la khan (cf. no.28 in Taring 1980 9 and n.11 in Richardson 1977, photograph 1).

⁵⁵ The spelling of this word is very uncertain, as I found several different spellings: žabs 'bel (Festivals 28), bžar 'phen (žva sgab pa I,663) žar 'phen (op.cit.133; PL1; PL3), žag 'ben (Cha pa 1; later corrected to žar 'phen), žam bes (Bell 1928 283; Roerich 1942 301 = Stein 1959 111:18°; the written form of žam bes was first given in Bell 1920 II, 192: žam bes btan pa "to gallop") and žags 'phen (DY), all of them trying to transcribe the word of modern colloquial Tibetan, Lhasa dialect: [jambé:] "to run" (cf. Chang 1980 85; DY; PK; PL1; PL3; Aoki 204 presents a "ser pan"). We chose the form žar 'phen in the main text of this paper only because it is the one with the most references! Two probably explanations of two of the spellings given above were indicated to me: the first (žags 'phen) might refer to the distance of the target from the rider, i.e. one leash (žags) about five metres, and the second may refer to the "blind" (žar) eye on the target, which the archers were supposed to hit; "blind" for it is no real eye (DY). It seems that these spellings represent popular etymologies. We may mention that there is also a verb žabs 'bol glod, Chinese p'ao-pu j "to run, hurry" (THTC 707).

and parks of the lHa klu familiy (lHa klu dga' tshal).⁵⁶ That day the cavalry-men, according to tradition representing the warriors of Ge sar,⁵⁷ split up in small groups and fought against each other. The first group of the right wing was led by the fighters of the house of rDo rin, since one of the ancestors, the famous rDo rin Panqita (+ 1792),⁵⁸ for some time administered the Tibetan government in 1750 and 1751, while the left wing's first group was headed by the fighters of the house of bSam grub pho brañ, the family of the Seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1757),⁵⁹ the first so-called *yab gžis* family. Afterwards archery and shooting contests were held, in the course of which the riders had (1) to shoot with a gun at a target, and (2) to shoot an arrow at the next target and so forth, while galloping on their horses.

Also on the next day, the 27th, an archery contest called *gnam mda'* "shooting at the sky", was held, in the course of which the archers had to shoot as far as possible.⁶⁰

With these games the secular festivals following the *sMon lam chen mo* came to an end.

⁵⁶ See Waddell map op.331,no.5 and the photographs in Landon 1905 II,223.

⁵⁷ Cf. Bell 1928 283 (= Roerich 1942 309 = Stein 1959 111:18° and Schäfer 1950 182).

⁵⁸ Festivals 28 (dGa' bži); Bell 1928 284 (= Schäfer 1950 182); on rDo rin Panqita see Petech 1973 53-55 and Petech 1972, index.

⁵⁹ On this noble house see Petech 1973 32-39; it seems that Bell 1928 284 (= Schäfer 1950 182) confounded bSam grub pho brañ, named after the palace near Zans ri mkhar dmar, with the palace of the Oyirad-rulers at Lhasa dGa' ldan khan gsar (cf. Petech 1972 8).

⁶⁰ For further detail see Taring 1970 136.

III. Preliminary list of *ya sor spyi khyab*

It may not be out of place to present a preliminary list of the *ya sor spyi khyab* of the time between 1920 and 1951. Though it is far from being complete, it may serve as an additional information to the biographical facts of some twenty-century government officials. It seems that the date of the promotion of *rim bži* often took place one or two years before the appointment of *ya sor spyi khyab*; thus this list might help further dating and identifying Tibetan officials.⁶¹

- 1921 Khri smon bSod nams nor bu⁶²
- 1921 rDo riñ bsTan 'dzin nor bu⁶³
- 1923 bŠad sgra dPal 'byor bsod nams dban phyug⁶⁴
- 1933/4 Tshes gsum phun khan bskal bzan dban phyug⁶⁵

⁶¹ The following list could only be compiled with the kind help of the following: H. Harrer, H.E.Richardson, Pha lha Thub bstan 'od ldan, Pha lha rDo rje dban 'dud and Zom phud lcam Rig 'dzin chos skyid by identifying photographs of the *ya sor spyi khyab* and supplying me with further information such as dates etc. In many cases the photographs were dated by the photographers or the relevant travelogues. It is obvious that further inquiries among the Tibetans outside Europe would bring more precise results.

⁶² Identification: Bell 1928 273 and photograph op.274; the statement that Khri smon was younger than rDo riñ seems to be incorrect, see below.

bSod nams nor bu was a *mag pa* from the sÑe mo mDo mKhar family before 1924. A few biographical data are given in Petech 1973 97 and Bell 1928 273. We may add: 1933 Gon dkar (? "Khung Gye") rdzon sdod (SBT 24); he seems to be the Khri smon pa who acted as sTod sgar dpon in 1949 (Harrer 16.10.1949).

⁶³ His biographical sketch is given in Petech 1973 63f. and Bell 1928 273. For a photograph of him see Bell 1946 op.241, "young Longstone", aged 15.

⁶⁴ Identification: PL1 according to the photograph in McGovern 169 (= David Neel 1979 23; it is very likely that the latter work copied the photograph from the former, the author of which took the photograph in early 1923, a time when A.David-Neel did not stay at Lhasa!).

His biographical sketch is given in Petech 1973 183. We may add: Before 1919 (?) he acted as *bka' gag* (SBT 22). In 1924 (1919 in Petech, loc.cit. appears to be a slip, since none of the sources give this fact) he acted as *rtsis dpon*, but in the same year he was dismissed and made *sPo bo rdzon sdod* (Bell 1946 170; SBT 22). He is said to have died in about 1928, but surprisingly we find him still as *sPo bo rdzon sdod* in 1933 (SBT 22; but it is quite possible that the compilers forgot to delete his entry as is the case a few times!).

⁶⁵ Identification: PL3, PL1 according to the photograph in Reynolds 38f. Mrs. Valrey Reynolds kindly sent us a much better reproduction. Otherwise it would have been much more difficult to identify the *ya sor spyi khyab*. We wish to express our sincere thanks for this help.

bsKal bzan dban phyug (SBR 1.35; the name given in Petech 1973 123 should be corrected accordingly) was born in 1897 (SBR 1.35; SBT 25 has 1900, WNT 75 and HR both have 1904). His other biographical data are given in Petech 1973 123. We may add:

- 1936 Pha lha rDo rje dban 'dud⁶⁶
 1936 Zur khan dBan chen dge legs⁶⁷
 1937 Khyun ram rDo rje rgyal po⁶⁸
 1937 lCañ can dBan ldan rdo rje⁶⁹
 1939 Bon groñ Šod pa Tshe brtan dban rgyal⁷⁰
-

On 1.7.1931 he was appointed Phag ri rdzon sdom nub pa (GYTR 244), the office being carried out by the representative of Ka šod Chos rgyal ñi ma lhun grub (on whom see Petech 1973 88; GYTR 87, 283), when in 1932 he was promoted rim bži and appointed Gro mo spyi khyab, a post he finished in 1940 (November) when he was made assistant in the So nam las khuns (GYTR 40; Petech 1973 123). In May 1947 he was appointed assistant to the dmag spyi (ACWWT 26.5.1948).

⁶⁶ rDo rje dban 'dud (PL3; PL1; correct the name given in Petech 1973 87 accordingly) was born in 1915 (PL3), žabs sdom in 1932 (WWT 54). His biographical data are given in Petech 1973 87. Let us add that he still held the post of sku sruñ mda' dpon in the summer of 1947 (Harrer 28.7.1947). Later he acted as phogs dpon (PL3). He is now resident in Switzerland after having fled to India in 1959 (PL3).

⁶⁷ Identification by his companion PL3.

His biography is given in Petech 1973 152. For a photograph of him as bka' blon see Tucci 1956 op.78 (centre) taken in 1948.

⁶⁸ HR. Khyun [rtse] ram pa rDo rje rgyal po (HR; PL1; SBT 15 and WWT 33) from the area of Pa snam was born about 1885 (WWT 33; I cannot say whether he is identical with Khyun ram pa Don grub rgyal po, born in 1884, 1899 žabs sdom and gTsāñ mda' dpon in 1924; ŠBR 1.7.). In 1911 he stayed at Darjeeling and visited gžis ka rtse with Tsha roñ Zla bzan dgra 'dul in the same year. During the fighting in 1912 he acted as mda' dpon of the gYu thog post at Lhasa and was wounded (SBT 15). Subsequently he was deputed to sTod to collect taxes for the maintenance of the army (SBT 15). Afterwards he acted as sPu hrans rdzon sdom and in about 1930 he was mda' dpon in Khams (WWT 33). In 1934 he acted as sne šan to Huang Mu-sung (1885-1937); (on Huang see H.L.Boorman and R.C.Howard, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, New York/London 1968, vol.II, 203-205; on his mission to Tibet see H.Richardson in *Bulletin of Tibetology* 1977, no.2, 31-35); in the same year he was awarded the title of tha'i ji (tayaji) and subsequently he acted as bšer dpañ and in 1937 he was appointed Hor spyi khyab (WWT 33). On account of some differences with the Regent Rva sgreñ sprul sku Thub bstan 'jam dpal ye šes rgyal mtshan he was arrested on May 22nd, 1940 and banished (to Kon po?) on June 6th of the same year (TNR 55,66), but still held his title of tha'i ji. He died at Ru thog in March 1945 (ACWWT 22.1.1946). For a photograph taken shortly before his appointment as ya sor spyi khyab see Chapman op.46.

⁶⁹ HR. lCañ can (not lCañ lo can as in the Indo-British records; cf. Petech 1973 203). Let us add that he seems to have been appointed gSañ rdzon rdzon sdom in March 1948 but seems to have quitted the post in the same year. (ACWWT 26.5.1948, 5.9.1949; I must confess that I may have confounded him with his half-brother, since the reference only mentions them as "Chhanglochen" and the like; see n.79 below).

⁷⁰ Identification by PL1, PL3 and SP according to the photograph in Schäfer 1943 pl.32 taken in early 1939.

His biographical sketch is given in Petech 1973 123; he is a nephew of Tshe gsum phun khan pa (cf. n.65).

- 1940 Phun khan mGon po tshe rin⁷¹
 1940 Byan nos Rig 'dzin rdo rje⁷²
 1941 sKyid sbug bSod nams dban rgyal⁷³
 1941 Zom phud Thub bstan dban phyug⁷⁴

⁷¹ Gould 1940 26a = Gould 1941 23.

His biographical sketch is given in Petech 1973 27. Let us add the following: 1938 žabs sdod as bka' drun che ba (WWT 77); in September 1939 he was appointed rGyal rtse rdzon sdod nub pa, a post he took over in 1940 (GYTR 8,92) when he also appears as dza sag. He left the governorship either in June 1941 or on New Year's day in 1942 (GYTR 70) but there is still a mention of him as rGyal rtse rdzon sdod for the year 1945 (GYTR 22,36 this piece of information seems very doubtful!). For a photograph of him wearing the rgya lu chas (1) see Tung pl.41.

⁷² Gould 1940 26a = Gould 1941 23.

Byan nos pa was a mag pa from the Rin [chen] sgan family from sTod lun, to the west of Lhasa; he seems to have entered the house of Ban nos by the end of 1923 (on that family - also called sPo šod/šud phun khan - see Petech 1973 115). He was the son of the "late" (1933) Rin sgan bskal bzan ni ma (b. 1880, 1904 žabs sdod, 1924 Sen rdzon rdzon sdod [SBT 1.10.]); afterwards he acted as mi dpon for some time [SBT 21]) and was born in 1902 (SBT 1.40; SBT 21: 1901 ca; WWT 13: 1904). In 1913 he was sent with sGog mkhar bSod nams mgon po (1890s-1918), sKyid sbug dBan 'dus nor bu (1897-?) and sMon groñ/bSam mkhar mKhyen rab kun bzan (1897-?) to be educated at Rugby; he returned to Tibet in 1915 (or 1918?) whereafter he received training in electrical and hydroelectrical engineering. He was again sent to England in 1919 for a refreshercourse. In 1921 he became žabs sdod (while he stayed outside Tibet?!) and in 1924 he brought with him the hydroelectrical plant which he used for establishing the hydroelectrical factory at Gra bzi (see n.41). In 1933 he was appointed sPu hrän rdzon sdod, a post he held until 1937, but always sent a representative (WWT 13). During the visit of the Political Official of Sikkim, F.Williamson, in 1933 he acted as interpreter (Caccia/Teichman). In the same year (or even earlier?) he was made gñer tshai pa and from now on acted as interpreter to the bka' šag (WWT 13; Gould 1940 26a: bka' šag gi gsun bsgyur gnai mkhan; Gould 1941 23). He died on March 23rd, 1945 (ACWWT 24.5.1945). For a photograph of him see Tucci 1973 pl.177.

⁷³ GYTR 82.

bSod nams dban rgyal (according to žva sgab pa II,247; WWT 36 and SBT 15 call him bSod nams stobs rgyas, perhaps confounding him with his father) was the third son of sKyid sbug bSod nams stob rgyas (who was active as official at Yatung in 1904 and afterwards was Tibetan Trade Agent at rGyal rtse [SBT 15; WWT 36]; he must have died before 1933 or even before 1924 since he is not mentioned in ŠBR) and was born in 1904. He received military training at Shillong and Quetta in 1923. In 1925 he became žabs sdod and he is said to have been promoted to the rank of mda' dpon in July 1932. In 1934 he commanded the Diñ ri regiment and in the same year was deputed to Khams. At one time - before 1932 - he acted as bka' drun (SBT 16; WWT 37). He died on February 22nd, 1946 (ACWWT 18.6.1946).

⁷⁴ Identification and date by SP; GS.

Thub bstan dban phyug was the illegitimate second son of the rGya ri sras chui, the brother of the then lHa rGya ri khri chen (the former fell in the Sino-Tibetan war in 1912 [Bailey, 177 and TK]) and he was born in 1909 (SP; SBT 25; WWT 77: 1908, but the compilers often forgot to subtract one year from the age indicated to them). For his father had died so early, the mother Thon (née bKras mthon) Thub bstan chos 'dzoms († ca. 1941; unfortunately only her nun's name is known, SP) had both sons brought to her own family Thon pa (her husband seems to have been the Thon pa Don grub rgyal po of Petech 1973 69) where they lived at Bla brān rñin pa (see n.45) and during their youth they were known under that name. He was regarded as

- 1943 'Bri yul bSod nams dban rgyal⁷⁵
 1943 mTsho sgo dños grub rdo rje⁷⁶
 1946 b'Sad sgra dGa' ldan dpal 'byor⁷⁷
 1947 bKras mthoñ bSod nams stobs 'byor⁷⁸
 1947 lCañ can dBañ phyug rgyal po⁷⁹

thug sras (protégé, HR) of mkhan chen Blo bzai nag dban 'byun gnas (1880-?; SBT 17; WWT 41 and HR). At the beginning he was a rtse drui; from 1928 to 1938 he acted as yig tshan gñer pa and in 1938 he was permitted to become layman and was made šod drui with the office of sku srui mda' dpon (TNR 78; HR). At approximately the same time he was granted the estate of Zom phud in qÑal (SP; cf. Bailey 254; Zom phud gžis ka [Sömpü Shika] and the Zom phud chu nearby, both situated to the west of lHun rtse rdzoñ on the map op.243; "there is a place Zom phu near mTsho nag" [HR]). From now on he used his estate's name for himself and his family (we may add that there were several spellings of that name indicated to me: Zur phud (NK) and gZims phud (DY)). Thus he founded another offshoot (zur pa) of the lHa rGya ri family. Already in 1933 he is mentioned with his new office of tshon spyi (SBT 25: "Tsang Chi Shapto Kosho", i.e. tshon spyi žabs sdod sku žabs), but it seems that he did not hold that office at that time (he rather may have been a candidate for that post). Sometime before 1946 he was given the title of tha'i ji (Harrer 10.6.1946) and apparently in the same year was appointed gžis rtse rdzoñ sdod (Harrer 2.6.1946 spyi khyab; ACWWT 11.3.1947 by T.M.Khan: spyi rdzoñ). He died in July 1949 (SP: summer 1949), still holding the post at gžis ka rtse (ACWWT 5.9.1949). For photographs of him see Mele 7th last plate, and Tucci 1956 op.126, both taken in 1948.

On the origin of the lHa rGya ri family see Karsten. We should like to correct a statement given there on p.163,n.12, 13, 14: The lHa rGya ri pa are not identical with the Gye re lha pa or Ge re lha pa, who hail from Chu ūl and belong to those family listed among the Bod mi'u gduri drug (cf. bSam yas 285; Schuh 1981 p.61 doc. 13; Harrer/Zas gžis 27). We hope to be able to return to that subject later.

⁷⁵ Identification Peter op.10 and PL3 according to the photograph in Tung pl.108 (sitting left, taken in 1943).

bSod nams dban rgyal was born in 1891, 1913 žabs sdod, 1924 Sa ñan 'go pa (ŠBR 1.23); 1925-31 Gam pa rdzoñ sdod; 1932-34 mda' dpon; 1935 rtsis dpon; in 1936 he was among the officers deputed to search for the new incarnation of the Dalai Lama (WWT 23). Surprisingly he is mentioned as las tshan pa (fifth rank) in žva sgab pa II,339 for the same time.

⁷⁶ Identification by PL1 and as in n.75.

His biographical data are given in Petech 1973 140.
 Let us mention that there may have been a "third" ya sor spyi khyab (?!). In Tung pl.37 the photograph shows another official wearing the khal kha gzugs; unfortunately my informants were not able to identify him but insisted that he has to be a ya sor spyi khyab (PL1; PL3). We can only explain this strange occurrence with an untenable suggestion: It thus may have been that one of the ya sor spyi khyab, either 'Bri yul or mTsho sgo, had been somehow handicapped and therefore as a substitute another official had to take over the generalship. This suggestion is by no means based on facts and as I am informed, Zom phud Thub bstan dban phyug had to participate during the whole festival though he was badly ill (SP).

⁷⁷ Harrer 21.7.1946. His biographical data are given in Petech 1973 184.

⁷⁸ Harrer 16.3.1947. His biographical data are given in Petech 1973 91. We may add that he was appointed Nag tshan 'go pa in October 1945 (ACWWT 5.2.1946).

⁷⁹ Harrer 16.3.1947. His biography is given in Petech 1973 215 where he is named dBañ 'gyur rgyal po (according to HR); we follow lCañ can's brother-in-law in naming him (RR), since the Indo-British record often confounded dban phyug and dban 'gyur. He may be the lCañ can who was appointed gSañ rdzoñ rdzoñ sdod in March 1948 (ACWWT 5.2.1946, but see n.69).

- 1949 Ru thog pa rNam rgyal dban 'dud⁶⁰
 1950 Tsha ron dGra 'dul rnām rgyal⁶¹
 1950 bSam pho bsTan 'dzin don grub⁶²

⁶⁰ Identification by PL1; PL3; SP and HR according to the photograph shown in Zwalf pl. 8.

He is also known as Ru thog rgyal po, the "king" of Ru thog, since his family claimed descent from the kings of Ru thog in mNa' ris (PL1; they seem to be identical with the Ru thog dbari po of mNa 'ris, mentioned as descendants of Sron btsan sgam po between the years 1658 and 1668 in rGya bod hor sog gi mchog dman bar pa rnams la 'phrin yig sñan nág tu bkod pa rab sñan rgyud mari [The Collected Letters of the 5th Dalai Lama], n.p., n.d., 107b, 173b, 189a). rNam rgyal dban 'dud (correct ŠBR 1.44) was born in 1896: žabs sdod in 1924 (ŠBR 1.44). Until 1938 he acted as rGya mda' rdzon sdod (WWT 58) and probably in the same year was appointed skyid groi rdzon sdod, a post he held until 1940, the year when he was promoted mda' dpon in the Di ri regiment (HR), a post of which he was relieved in May 1947 (ACWWT 26.8.1948).

⁶¹ Identification HH; PL1; PL3 and typewritten descriptions of the photographs of Peter Aufschaiter by the latter, now kept by the Völkerkundemuseum Zürich.

dGra 'dul rnām rgyal (the name bDud 'dul rnām rgyal in BDT vol.IX,445 seems to be an error) was born in 1920 (Taring 1970 274) as the only son of the famous Tsha ron Zla bzān dgra 'dul (on whom see Petech 1973 137f.); since 1935 he attended the St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling (WWT 74). On March 12th 1948 he was promoted rim bži and made assistant at Grva bži (Harrer 12.3.1948; Brauen 139 and ACWWT 26.5.1948). For a photograph of him as ya sor spyi khyab clad in stag šun see Brauen pl.88 taken by Harrer in 1950.

⁶² Identification HH; PL1.

His biographical data are given in Petech 1973-38. We may add that he was appointed bšer dpan in February 1946 (ACWWT 18.6.1946).

IV. Glossary and Selected Index to the Notes

klu dgugs / sgug / sbug / phug: see n.34

rkañ dmag: see gzim chuñ pa

kha gyon 'go mtshal (*Festivals* 18; *žva sgab pa* I,69: 'go mtshal gyi kha gyon): Caftan-like coat of vermillion colour with greenish-blue lining (PK), worn over the *rgyan bži*-robe by the *chañ rgyab pa*; for photographs see *Tung* pl.97 (centre) and *zwalf* pl.79, p.136 (left) and - worn by other officials and over different robe - in *Brauen* pl.116 (3rd from right).

kha bañ: see khal bañ

(*khar kha gzugs*): see khal kha gzugs

khal kha gzugs (*KLTJ* 48a; *DL7* 542a: *khal kha'i gyon gzugs*; in Lhasa-Dialect pronounced (API): [khā:kasū.], i.e. *khar kha gzugs* (PL1; PL3; GS; SP), "the costume in Qalqa style" (i.e. the Mongol group known as Khalka but it seems that *khal kha* very often refers to the Mongolian peoples in general)): The costume worn by the *ya sor spyi khyab*, ya g.yog and other officials of the fourth or higher rank (TT). It is said that this was the robe worn by Gušri Qan and indeed one is able to find 'portraits' of him wearing a very similar robe with fur-trimmings and collar and also the hat va sgor; for reasons of space we cannot go into detail but we may say that we intend to devote a separate study to this interesting costume in the near future; for photographs see - among many - *Schäfer* 1943 pl.32; *zwalf* pl.8; *Tung* pl.37; *David-Neel* 1979 23; *Shen/Liu* 56 and *Reynolds* 47.

khal bañ (PL1), also *kha bañ* (PL3): Hat consisting of a bottom of black fox fur with red-coloured top worn by the *gzim dpon* (PL1); according to my informants, all hats red or partly red originated in Mongolia, thus also the *khal bañ* is of Mongolian origin. It was not worn by government officials but some of their underlings (PL1). For photographs see *McGovern* 269 and *Bell* 1928 op.274 (standing right).

khru tog (bum gzugs) (PL1; DY; KST): The golden *bum pa* (vase) attached to the top of the va sgor and other hats on whose *bya lag* a precious stone is fixed indicating the rank of the wearer, e.g. *mu tig* (pearl) for a *srid blon* (KST; PL1), *padma rāga* (ruby) for a *bka' blon* (KST), *byu ru* (coral) for a *dza sag* and *tha'i ji* (KST), *g.yu* (turquoise) for *rim bži*, *sras rnam pa* and *mda' dpon* (KST; PL1), *mu men* (lilac stone, DY; but see *TED* 968a, 311a: sapphire and *Jackson* 292: lapis lazuli)

for *las tshan pa* (KDT), *dun* (conch) for military officials like *ru dpon*, *brgya dpon* and *lding dpon* (KST; PL1). The *ya sor spyi khyab* used to wear a special *khru tog* with a coral on top of a pearl (PL1; PL3). It is obvious that the Tibetans have adopted this system of indicating the official's ranks from the Manchu-Chinese system as can be seen from the list published in Vollmer 26 (according to S. Camman in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 1944). For an excellent photograph see Reynolds 45, but we may say that the legend is wrong: as shown above the turquoise indicates the fourth rank (*rim bži*) and not the third; moreover the former owner of the *khru tog* shown, the *rtsis dpon Žva sgab pa dBan phyug bde ldan*, never held a rank above the fourth (cf. ACWWT passim).

khruñ žu ma (PL1; HR; Dagyab 77a; Roerich 1952 383 has *khruñs žu ma* and Festivals 18 spells it *khruñs žu ma*): Two maids of honour assisting the *rgyan bzan ma*, clad in the Lhasa-costume of less lavish than that worn by the latter. They seem to be the "Tung-shema" of Das 1904 341; for photographs see Bell 1928 op.275 (second from right and left) and zwalf pl.79 (second from left).

khruñ g.yog (PL3; HR; also styled *rgyan g.yog*, PL3): Two maid-servants below the *khruñ žu ma* dressed less lavishly than the latter; for photographs see Bell 1928 op.275 (the woman to the right and left) and zwalf pl.79 (right).

Grva bži: see n.41

'go mtshal gyi kha gyon: see *kha gyon 'go mtshal*

mgron gñer (PL3; Peter op.10, but only the two men wearing the *dar 'bog* are *mgron gñer!*): The two major attendants of the *ya sor spyi khyab*, selected from minor government officials, with mainly representative functions (PL3). They used to wear - depending on the occasion - the *rgyan bži*, *stag šun*, *khal kha gzugs* etc. but always of inferior quality than those worn by their masters; for photographs see Brauen pl.88; McGovern 269; David-Neel 1979 23 and zwalf pl.8

rgya lu chas (1): The clothes made of wool worn by the *gzim chun pa* on unformal occasions; it has been described in *Žva sgab pa* I,68; we intend to devote a separate study to this and the following costume in the near future together with some very rare photographs.

rgya lu chas (2) (HR: *rgya lugs chas*, but see the explanation of the word *rgya lu*, "prince" in *Žva sgab pa* I,69): The garment worn by the *zla gcig druh 'khor* - and also by other officials for instance

on New Year's day - made of various brocades and consisting of quite a few articles; for reasons of space we have to devote a special study to this robe in the near future; for photographs see Tung pl.97 (right and left) and, worn by other officials or nobles, Bell 1946 op.316; Tung pl.41; Tucci 1973 pl.177; Chapman op.52; for a colour photograph of the jacket (*phu stod*) see Brauen pl.115.

rgyan bži (KLTJ 48a; DL7 542b; bSam yas 237; Festivals 17; TED 232b; *rgyan bži ma*), also *rgyan gži* (WTCWC 3152: = Chinese *mang-tuan*^b; "robe [with the pattern of] the four-clawed dragon"; Sumatiratna I, 442c): It is also mentioned under its Chinese designations borrowed from Mongolian: *man nug* and also *man lhug*. The *rgyan bži* robe is a costume made of Chinese silk with the pattern of two dragons (in most cases the Chinese four-clawed *mang*^c but sometimes also the five-clawed *lung*^d; on both see Camman 37f.) rearing up on front and back and one dragon rearing upon each sleeve (cf. type 2a of Camman 37f.) While the Chinese name refers to the dragon motif, the Tibetan name stands for the "four ornaments" (*rgyan bži*) forming the whole silk pattern as there are: (1) water (*chu*), (2) rocks (*brag*), (3) dragon ('*brug*) and (4) clouds (*sprin pa*) (KST; PL1 indicated a different order of the symbols: rocks, water, clouds and dragon, but the former seems to be the better one). The *rgyan bži* silk can appear in various colours such as yellow for the *ya sor spyi khyab*'s robe (Festivals 17 and also DL7 542b), white, vermillion, blue and red (bSam yas 237, 227, 276; DL7 542b). It seems that the Tibetans did not care for the numbers of the claws, i.e. they do not seem to have distinguished *mang* and *lung*, perhaps because they hardly came into the possession of an "Imperial" five-clawed dragon robe. Thus in Mailey 15 we find a robe originally made of five-clawed dragon brocade with the addition of the two "Imperial" cranes. For this robe apparently was to short for the Tibetan owner it was enlarged by inserting a part of four-clawed dragon brocade in between; thus this robe has now got a dragon with four five-clawed and one four-clawed arms!

We may add that Sumatiratna I,442c explains *rgyan bži* in quite a different way: "*magnur*; brocade with the pattern of dragon-medallions embroidered with golden thread at the button tape". It seems that the author has made an error, since this description rather points to what is called *mdzod gos ser po* by my Tibetan informants; cf. the photograph of Khri smon sras bSod nams dpal 'byor in Sis / Vaniš 219 (PL1).

The *rgyan bži* robe was worn by the *ya sor spyi khyab*, the latter's attendants and also other high officials on important occasions like New Year's day (cf. the photograph of *Tsha roṅ Zla bzañ dgra 'dul* in Chapman op.300).

rgyan bzah ma (DL8 156a; Festivals 17; Roerich 1952 238; PL1; HR):

The two maids of honour and the main maid-servants of the *ya sor spyi khyab*, chosen by the latter from their household (HR; cf. also Chang 1978 173; according to TK where were also women in Lhasa who took over the job for several years when they were still young enough) to assist the latter to offer beer and to help the latter perform the *phud gtor* (see Festivals 17; Bell 1928 275 = Schäfer 1950 183). They were clad in the most beautiful and splendid costumes of the Lhasa noble ladies of the highest rank - except for their headdress being that of the common people, i.e. consisting of corals instead of pearls -, hence their designation "beautifully adorned one" (*rgyan bzah ma*). Their costume is described in Festivals 18; Chang 1978 173-175; Schäfer 1950 183f.; for photographs see Bell 1928 op.275 (centre) Tung pl.110 and zwalf pl.79 (second from the right).

bcad ldan (DL7 479b; bSam yas 229; Dagyab 183a and TED 391a, also spelt *cōd ldan* [KLTJ 48a], *dpyan ldan* [PL1], *dpyad pa* [DL7 480b; DL9 29b], *dpyod ldan* [WTCWC 3154] and *spyad ldan* [PL3]; it seems that the *bcan dan* of PC1 145a has nothing to do with that satin): A Chinese satin embroidered with gold, called *chuang-tuan*^e (cf. WTCWC 3154; Hauer 562 and Camman 117); it was worn by the *rta 'khrid pa* (PL1); cf. the photographs in Harrer 1952 61 and Harrer 1959 127. There exist e.g. white, red and greenish-red *bcad ldan* (bSam yas 229).

lcog dar: see gzim chun pa

chan rgyab pa (Festivals 18; PL3): A servant whose duty was to clear the way of onlookers - using a whip. He would wear the yellow *rgyan bži* robe, the gser sked, kha gyon 'go mtshal and the hat styled 'bog to; for photographs see Tung pl.97 (centre) and zwalf pl.79 (left).

rta 'khrid pa (PL1; DY, perhaps also *rta 'khrid mkhan* (DY) since it is pronounced in Lhasa dialect (API): [tāt̪i·nē:] and therefore PL3 indicated a "*rta 'khrid gñer*" to me, the existence of which word was totally denied by DY): The two grooms under each *ya sor spyi khyab* who would lead the latter's horses. They had to wear a jacket of *bcad ldan* silk and trousers made of śan rtse and the hat styled sog

žva; for photographs see Harrer 1952 61 and Harrer 1959 127.

rta pa: Cavalry men forming the *rta dmag*, which is said to represent the army of Gušri Qan (PL1); it is not easy to determine the number of soldiers since the sources do not agree; we find the following estimates: some hundred (Aoki 203), three or four hundred (Bell 1928 276), five hundred (HH), six hundred (Gould 1941 23), about one thousand (Shen/Liu 185) and even three thousand soldiers, i.e. cavalry and infantry, the latter of whom were restricted to five hundred (see under *gzim chun pa*; Becker 55 = Rockhill 210). It may well be that the number of soldiers depended on the number of government officials who had to provide them, as there were not always 175 officials (cf. ŠBR, where we find only 163 officials - except the *bka' blon* - listed of whom 135 only held an office). The cavalry was divided into a right and left wing (*g.yas*, *g.yon ru*) each led by one *ya sor spyi khyab* (on the division of troops in Central Asia see Doerfer IV,84-91). Behind the latter rode each one cavalry man carrying the gžun srog rgyal po yab sras (HR). The soldiers used to wear ancient armour, about which armour the following is said: Some centuries ago an army of some five hundred Huhu (HH; possibly the Hui-hui, Muslims of Central Asia) tried to reach Lhasa, but was stopped at a place called Zam gsar (apparently the place Zam pa gsar pa to the north of Yañs pa can, to the north-west of Lhasa, cf. Harrer 9.1.1946) because of a heavy snow-storm causing the death of all five hundred soldiers. Their armour was taken by the Tibetans and henceforth used for equipping the *rta pa* of the New Year's parades (HH). The number of armour may be a hint to the uncertain number of soldiers. "There is also the story of a golden tent-peg having been found among the dead at 'Dam' (HR). The armour consisted of a coat of mail (*khrab*), trousers made of the fur of the spotted deer (*śa dor*, DY; TED 136a) often bearing the red-coloured Chinese *shou* - symbol for longlivity, a helmet (*lcags žva*) with a display of a number of peacockfeathers fanning out (*rma bya'i sgro mdonis* PL1) and bearing letters in Arabic script (HH), a sword called 'ur du su, a scabbard (?mgo śubs of Festivals 20), rainbow-boots and four mirrors (*me loni*) and of course weapons like rifles (*me mda'*), a quiver (sag thag), lances (*mduni*) and bow (*gžu*) and arrow (*mda'*) (Festivals 20); for photographs see Harrer 1960 207 and Tung pl.112, 113 and also Tung pl.107; Harrer 1952 61; Harrer 1953 op.176 and Lechenberg 96. Instead of HH's account on the origin of these armours PL1 believes them to be those worn by the soldiers of Gušri Qan, but the inscrip-

tion does not support that opinion, and it seems that the Oyirad under Gušri Qan had no contact to Muslim peoples.

stag šun (PL1; PL3; *Dagyab* 276) also *hor stag šun* (DY; PK), i.e. "tiger-skin [silk] from Mongolia": Silk very similar to the *rgyan bži* silk but lacking the pattern of rocks and water at the bottom. There exist two types of *stag šun*, viz. *stag šun rñin ma* with the pattern of many small clouds (cf. the photograph in *Brauen* pl.88: the seated *ya sor spyi khyab*), being very expensive and *stag šun gsar ba* with a few large clouds (*loc.cit.* the two standing *mgron gñer*) being less expensive than the former (DY); for another photograph see *Shen/Liu* 173.

dar 'bog (PL1): Silken cloth of square form which was used for wrapping up documents in order to carry them wheresoever there was need of them. The document would be rolled up in the cloth in the following way: the document would be placed diagonally near one corner and the cloth would be rolled up over the document starting at this corner and ending at the opposite corner. The corners not touching the document become the end of the resulting roll; these ends are tied together and the roll is hung over the right shoulder with the document hanging on the left side (DY). For photographs see *Zwalf* pl.8; *Brauen* pl.88 and *David-Neel* 1979 23; we may say that the *dar 'bog* is the distinctive mark of the *mgron gñer*, who are the only persons wearing it.

'Dam: see n.26

'Dam rgya šogs brgyad 'go pa: see n.27

'Dam brgyad šog: see n.27

'Dam ya sor: see n.28, 31

Bya skyā[g] dkār po ri: see n.49

bya lag (PL1; *Sumatiratna* II,223b): The red coloured flat top of the va sgor (PL1); the word seems to be a loanword from Mongolian: *jalava*, "crest, tassel". Since the *va sgor* underwent considerable changes during the centuries the term *bya lag* also changed its meaning. Originally this term refers to a tassel of an official's hat, later it stands for the whole flat top, because the former yellow flat top was superseded by the red tassel and thus today the hat has not any yellow part anymore. This piece of information can be deduced from pictures of persons wearing the *va sgor* in the last three-hundred years, e.g. murals in the *gTsug lag khan* of Lhasa etc.

'bog to (PK; Festivals 18: žva 'bog) also 'bog tho (NKK 73b; TED 922a), 'bogs do (Sumatiratna II,322e) and ser can bog to (TED 878a): The yellow cap worn by the šod drun (see the photograph in Sis/vaniš pl.129, right); formerly this had been an enormous big hat (cf. 'bogs chen in žva sgab pa I,68 n.5) and this old form is still preserved by the actors of the Tibetan theatre (see the photograph in Schuh op.344). In due course of time it became smaller; for an intermediate form see the photograph of the rGyal rtse rdzon sdod of 1904, Phun khañ pa, in Landon op.106. Žva sgab pa, loc.cit., explains this word as a derivation from the Mongolian bovda "holy, august", for instance in Ordos Mongolian pronounced bogt'o (Mostaert 74b).

sbyon ba: see under gzim chun pa

mai nug (DL7 471b; Sumatiratna II,398g) and *mañ lhug* (bSam yas 227): A Chinese term adopted by the Tibetans through the Mongol version *mangnuv* resp. *mangluv*, itself representing Chinese *mang-lung*⁹ "dragon, monster" (cf. Serruys 244n.) and designating the brocades with the pattern of dragon of Chinese origin. It is identical to the Tibetan term rgyan bži.

Mi 'khrugs rdza ri: see n.49

Me sgyogs ri: see n.49

dmag dpon chen po: see n.9

sMin drug rdza ri: see n.49

va sgor (žva sgab pa I,69; Dagyab 564a) or in full *va nag gi žva sgor* (DL7 542a; KLTJ 48a) and also *va sgir* according to its modern spoken version in Lhasa dialect [wagi:r] (PL1; PL3; DY), Festivals 17 and 'Bras spun 401: *va lpags nag po'i sgir ldan gyi dbu žva*): The winterhat worn by the lay officials made of a black fox fur bottom with a red coloured flat top (bya lag). In Mongolian this hat is simply known as *qara ünegen malav-a*, the "black fox hat" (DL7M II, 335b); it may well be identical with the *va nag gi žva mo* of many sources, e.g. DL5a 243a already for the year 1655. We may add that it seems that the *va sgor* underwent considerable change during the three centuries of its existence in Tibet; from hitherto unpublished "portraits" of Gušri Qan it can be seen that his hat is quite different from those worn by the officials nowadays: the former hat had a fur bottom, a yellow flat top and a red tassel; the latter become larger in due course of time and superseded the yellow flat top. Thus today the *va sgor* has lost the yellow part; for photographs see the

colour plate in Schäfer 1942 pl.32. As is the case with many official hats to the top is attached the *khru tog*.

(*žabs phyi*): see under *gzim dpon*

žar 'phen: see n.55

gžun srog rgyal po yab sras (HR): The two standards carried by the two *rta pa* each representing either dPal ldan lha mo or gNas chun rDo rje grags ldan (DY; Festivals 19: *sruṇ ma dmar nag gi rten mdun*), the gods of war (Shen/Liu 185), on whom we refer to Nebesky-Wojkowitz, index.

Zam (pa) gsar (pa): see under *rta pa*.

zla gcig drun 'khor (Festivals 23; PL1; PL3): Four officials who had to command over the *gzim chun pa* (Festivals 23); they used to wear the *rgya lu chas* (2) (see photograph in Tung pl.97 and Chapman op. 203).

gzim chun pa (*žva sgab pa* I,68 and 133, and most likely in DL8 151a for the year 1785), also spelt *gzim spyon ba* (Festivals 22f.; HR; it seems that *sbyon ba* is a term designated a certain kind of soldiers, cf. *sbyon dmag* and *sbyon pa* in *žva sgab pa* I,640). They are also named *lha'i dmag mi* (PL3): The *gzim chun pa* originally were a kind of bodyguard of the Dalai Lama (Macdonald 1977 129) consisting of five hundred soldiers (Festivals 23) and residing at Žol (Chang 1980 83f.). They were commanded by the four *zla gcig drun 'khor* and used to wear *rgya lu chas* (1) on informal occasions. When acting during the parades over the *rgya lu chas* they would wear armour consisting of a small coat of mail (*go khrab*, PL1) with a helmet to which was attached the head-covering styled *yari žva* (cf. *žva sgab pa* I,68; for a photograph of the helmet see Zwalf 124). This costume is quite similar to that worn by the warrior shown on pl.82 of Rock and also to the costume worn by Bhutanese dancers (cf. *Druk Losel* vol.2 no.4/ vol.3 no.1 titlepage and p.23 and B.J.Hasrat, *History of Bhutan*, Thimpu 1980, p.194 upper right. Some of the *gzim chun pa* also used to wear a large headdress made of feathers and flags like those worn by local deities (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz pl.VI, p.149) called either *lcog dar* (PL1) and serving as a ghost-trap (PL1) or styled *lha'i chas* (PL3; cf. the *lha mdoṣ* of Nebesky-Wojkowitz 373). Furthermore they had the usual arms like shield (*phub*), bow and arrow (*mda' gžu*), a gun (*me mda'*) and a quiver (*sag thag*); for some of these articles see also the list in DL7 448b-449a. For photographs see Tung pl.98-101.

gzim dpon (DY; PL3 had indicated a *żabs phyi* "servant", but the existence of the latter in that connection was strictly denied by DY; of course for PL3 they appeared to be mere servants): Four minor attendants of the *ya sor spyi khyab* below the *ya g.yog* who used to wear similar robes to those worn by their masters of inferior quality and more dark coloured than the latter's robes; as hat they wore the *khal ban*. For photographs see McGovern 269 and Bell 1928 op.274 (standing right).

'ur du su (*dpa' dam-*) (DL9 196a) and also 'u thu'u su (Festivals 20): Sword belonging to the armour of the *rta pa* most probably hailing from the Ordos area (the lands within the bend of the Huang-ho), since Ordos is transcribed by the end of the 18th and in the early 19th century in Tibetan texts as 'ur thu su (DL8 132a), 'u thu su (DL8 174) and also 'ur du su (DL9 97a) and the like. My informants were not able to identify it.

ya po: see n.13

ya g.yog (PL3): Four attendants of the *ya sor spyi khyab* below the *mgron gñer* and above the *gzim dpon* who usually wore the costumes similar to those worn by the *ya sor spyi khyab* of the same colour but less lavish like the *rgyan bži* or *stag šun* and the hat *va sgor*. For photographs see Peter op.10; Shen/Liu 56; Bell 1928 op.274 (sitting right: five!?) and Reynolds 38f.

ya so: see n.13

yar žva: see under *gzim chuñ pa*

yar sor: see n.13

śa dor: see under *rta pa*

śan rtse (PL1): Trousers made of greenish-blue silk worn together with the jacket made of *bcad ldan* by the *rta 'khrid pa* (PL1); the name is certainly of Chinese origin but I am unable to identify its Chinese name.

sag thag (DL5a 243b; DL7 449a; Festivals 23; PL1 indicated a "seg 'dog" to me): A quiver the designation of which seems to be derived from Mongolian *savaday* "quiver".

sog žva (PL1; DY etc.): The hat of Mongol provenance worn by the servants of noble houses or government servants and also by the *rta 'khrid pa*. It is a wide, flat red hat fringed all around; see photograph in Harrer 1959 127.

gser sked (KLTJ 48a where the 'gn̄ bu should be added; Festivals 17:

sked rags gser khebs): A belt made of golden brocade with various designs worn together with the *rgyan bži*, *khal kha gzugs* or *stag sun* robe (only *rñin mai* DY; KST). Serruys 454 mentions a "gold (plated) belt" for the first half of the 16th century, but this may not be the same. For photographs see Reynolds 46; Schäfer 1942 pl.32 etc.

bSam gžun: see n.27

lha'i chas: see under gzim chun pa

lha'i dmag mi: see gzim chun pa

V. Addenda

ya sor: There is made mention of a place "Gyantsho Trashi Yaso" (i.e. rGya mtsho bkra shis ya so[r]) said to be situated nearby Lhasa in the diary of H.Harrer (Harrer 14.4.1946). A certain "Denshang" had lived at that place (loc.cit.). Whether there is any connection with the term *ya sor* in question we cannot say.

ya sor spyi khyab: It seems that a Žol khañ pa acted as *ya sor spyi khyab* in 1948 (Harrer 27.2.1948).

'Dam rgya šogs brgyad (see n.27): The expression *šogs brgyad* seems to refer to the "Eight banners" the 'Dam-Mongols were divided into. Thus 'Dam rgya šogs brgyad 'go pa are the eight leaders of the banners each consisting of hundred persons (DY).

'bog to (see Glossary): According to the Chinese translation of the "Secret Biography" of the Sixth Dalai Lama (Ts'ang-yang chia-ts'o ch'ing-ko chi pi-chuan¹⁰, Peking 1981, 166, n.68 this hat is of Tibetan origin, a statement we cannot accept since all our sources and informants agree in the fact that it is of Mongolian origin.

mañ nug (see Glossary): It is spelt *mañ nog* in the biography of the Third Panchen Rinpoche, *rJe bla ma srid ži'i gtsug rgyan pañ chen thams cad mkhyen pa Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye šes dpal bzañ po'i žal sña nas kyi rnam par thar pa*, fol.87a.

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DL5a Za hor gyi ban de nāg dbāñ blo bzañ rgya mtsho'i 'di snañ 'khrul pa'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa du ku la'i gos bzañ. Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, vol.ka [covers the years 1617-1665]

DL7 lCañ skya qutugtu Rol pa'i rdo rje, rGyal ba'i dbāñ po thams cad mkhyen pa rdo rje 'chañ blo bzañ bskal bzañ rgya mtsho dpal bzañ po'i žal sna nas kyi rnam par thar pa mdo tsam brjod pa dpag bsam rin po che'i sñe ma. Lhasa 1759. Biography of the Seventh Dalai Lama

DL7M Translation into Mongolian of DL7 by dargan siregetü Nāg dbāñ bstan 'phel, Ilavuvsad-un erketü qamuy-i ailaduvči včir dhara blobzañ bskal bzañ rgy-a mco dalai blam-a-yin gegen-ü namtar-i tobči-yin tedüi ögülegsen galbarava erdeni-yin ite-gelel neretü tuvuži. 2 vols

DL8 Nag šod bla ma bstan 'dzin šes rab, rGyal ba'i dbāñ po thams cad mkhyen gzigs chen po rje btsun blo bzañ bstan pa'i dbāñ 'jam dpal rgya mtsho dpal bzañ po'i žal sna nas kyi rnam par thar pa mdo tsam brjod pa 'dzam glin tha gru yañs pa'i rgyan. Lhasa 1811. Biography of the Eighth Dalai Lama

DL9 rGyud smad dbu mdzad 'Jam dpal tshul khriims and bDe yañs rab 'byams pa skal bzañ chos 'phel, rGyal ba'i dbāñ po thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzañ pa'i 'byuñ gnas nāg dbāñ luñ rtogs rgya mtsho dpal bzañ po'i žal sna nas kyi rnam par thar pa mdor mtshon pa dad pa'i yid 'phrog. Biography of the Ninth Dalai Lama.

G.Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neopersischen*. 4 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-1975

DY oral communications by Brag g.yabs skyab mgon Blo ldan šes rab (L.S.Dagyab)

A.Ferrari, *Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*. Completed and edited by L.Petech with the collaboration of H.Richard-

son, Roma 1958

Festivals Thubten Sangye, ed., *Festivals of Tibet - Bod kyi dus ston.*
Dharamsala 1974

A.H.Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet.* Vol.II, Calcutta 1926

S.S.Gergan, ed., *Bla dvags rgyal rabs 'chi med gter.* New Dehli 1976

B.Gould (1940), *lHar bcas srid ži gtsug rgyan goñs rgyal dbañ sku phren
bcu bži pa chen po ños 'dzin žu tshul dañ/ gser khriñ mña' gsolla
sogs mdo tsam bkod pa.* Translation of Gould 1941 (sic!) by Rañi
Chos ñid rdo rje and lCañ can bSod nams rgyal po, Kalimpong/Lhasa

B.Gould (1941 [!]), *Report on the Discovery, Recognition and Installation of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.* New Delhi

GS oral communications by dGon gsar rin po che V

GYTR *Tibet - Gyantse and Yatung Trade Reports 1926-1947.* Typewritten
letters by the Trade Agents at Gyantse and Yatung, now kept by the
India Office Library

L.Hambis, *Documents sur l'histoire des Mongols à l'époque des Ming.* Paris 1969

H.Harrer, *Tagebuch 1943/45-1951.* My thanks are due to M.Brauen of the
Völkerkundemuseum Zürich for having made a copy of it accessible.

H.Harrer (1952), *Sieben Jahre in Tibet.* Wien

H.Harrer (1953), *Seven Years in Tibet.* London

H.Harrer (1959), *Sieben Jahre in Tibet.* Gütersloh

H.Harrer (1960), *Meine Tibetbilder.* Zürich

H.Harrer and T.Zas gžis, *Die Verwaltung von Tibet.* Lhasa 1947 (?). Ty-
pewritten ms. kept by the Völkerkundemuseum Zürich

HH oral communications by H.Harrer

HR written communications by H.E.Richardson

E.Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache.* Tokyo/Hamburg 1952-1955

D.& J. Jackson, *A Survey of Tibetan Pigments.* Kailash IV:3, 273-294

J.Karsten, Some Notes on the House of lHa rGya-ri. *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson.* Warminster 1980, 163-168

KLTJ Dī rghā yu rindra ji na'i byuñ ba brjod pa zol med hag gi rol
mo. Autobiography of bka' blon mDo mkhar žabs druh Tshe riñ dbañ

rgyal (hence it is known as the *bka' blon rtogs brjod*). Ed. T.T. Taikhang, *Rare Tibetan Historical and Literary Texts from the Library of Tsepon W.D.Shakabpa*. 1.vol., New Delhi 1974

J.E.Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français*. Kasan 1849

KST written notes on Tibetan costumes by Kun bzañ bSod nams dbañ 'dus (1901-1972; on whom see *Petech 1973 94f.*) to DY, who kindly allowed me to utilize them

H.Lechenperg, ed., *Himmel Hölle Himalaya*. München 1958

P.Landon, *The Opening of Tibet*. New York 1905

P.Landon (1905), *Lhasa*. London

F.Lessing et al., *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. Berkeley/Los Angeles 1960

K.Lange, *Die Werke des Regenten Sains rgyas rgya mc'o (1653-1705)*. Berlin 1975

LKK *bDag cag gi ston pa mñam med šākya'i rgyal po'i bka' gañs can 'dir 'gyur ro cog gi gsun par 'dzam glin spyi nor gyi dkar chag legs bśad 'phrul gyi lde mig*. The *dkar chag* of the Lhasa-edition of the *bKa' 'gyur* of 1933

D.Macdonald, *Lands of the Lamas*. London 1929 (reprinted under the title *Cultural Heritage of Tibet*. New Delhi, n.d.)

A.Macdonald (1977), *Un portrait du cinquième Dalai Lama*. A.Macdonald et Y.Imaeda, *Essais sur l'art du Tibet*. Paris, 120-156

J.Mailey, *The Manchu Dragon*. New York 1980

R.H.Mathews, *Chinese-English Dictionary*. Shanghai 1931

MBTJ *mDo mkhar Tshe riñ dbañ rgyal, dPal mi'i dbañ po'i rtogs brjod pa 'jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*. Biography of Pho lha ba bSod nams stobs rgyas, written in 1733

F.W.McGovern, *Als Kuli nach Lhasa*. Berlin ca. 1924/25

P.Mele, *Tibet*. Calcutta 1975

A.Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*. Peking 1941

R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*. s'Gravenhage 1956

NK oral communications by rNar skyid ñag dbañ don grub

NKK *bKa' 'gyur rin po che'i gsun par srid gsum rgyan gcig rdzu 'phrul šin rta'i dkar chag no mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho'i lde mig*. The *dkar chag* of the sNar thañ bKa' 'gyur of 1733

T.J.Norbu, *Tibet, verlorene Heimat. Erzählt von H.Harrer.* Wien/Berlin/
Frankfurt a.M. n.d.

PC1 *Chos smra ba'i dge sloň blo bzaň chos kyi rgyal mtshan gyi spyod tshul gsal bar ston pa nor bu'i phren ba.* Autobiography of the First Pan chen rin po che (1567-1662). Edited and reproduced by Ngawang Gelek Demo with an English Introduction by E. Gene Smith, *The Autobiography of the First Panchen Lama Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan.* n.p., n.d.

L.Petech (1953), *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal.* Vol.IV, Roma

L.Petech (1972), *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century.* Leiden, 2nd ed.

L.Petech (1973), *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet 1728-1959.* Roma

L.Petech (1977), *The Kingdom of Ladakh C.950-1842 A.D.* Roma

H.R.H.Peter, Prince of Greece and Denmark, *The Aristocracy of Central Tibet.* Kalimpong 1954

PK oral communications by Phu khaň mkhan sprul Byams pa bskal bzaň

PL1 oral communications by Pha lha Thub bstan 'od ldan (on whom see Petech 1973,87)

PL3 oral communications by Pha lha rDo rje dbai 'dud (see n.66 of the present paper)

N.Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian.* Wiesbaden 1974³

G.J.Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch.* Helsinki 1935

V.Reynolds, *Tibet a Lost World.* Bloomington/London 1978

H.E.Richardson (1977), The Jo-khang 'Cathedral' of Lhasa. A.Macdonald et Y.Imaeda, *Essais sur l'art du Tibet.* Paris

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J.F.Rock, *The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of Southwest China.* Cambridge, Mass. 1974

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G.N.Roerich (1942), The Epic of King Kesar of Ling. *JRASB* 8:2, 277-311

G.N.Roerich and Lopsang Phuntsok (1952), *Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan.*

Repr. ²1971, 1978

RR oral communication by Rag ra rin po che bKras mthon Thub bstan chos dar

bSam yas bka' blon bSad sgra dBan phyug rgyal po, Rab 'byams dag pa'i žin gi yon tan kun tshañ dpal lugs gsum mi 'gyur lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khan rten dan brten par bcas pa legs gso'i srid žu ji ltar bsgrubs pa'i tshul gyi khyad par brjod pa'i dkar chag skal bzañ dad pa'i sgo 'byed no mtshar rgya mtsho'i lde'u mig. The dkar chag of the bSam yas monastery written in 1854. Ed. Lokesh Chandra, *The Samye Monastery*. New Delhi 1961

G.Sandberg, *The Exploration of Tibet*. New Delhi 1973 (repr.)

ŠBR Šin byi šod druñ znam kyi mtshan tho (bkod par). List of the lay officials of the year 1924; published in Petech 1973, 240-249. Thanks to the kindness of M.Brauen we were able to use the original scroll kept by the Völkerkundemuseum Zürich.

SBT Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet. List of the Chiefs and Leading Families. Calcutta ³ 1933

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E.Schäfer (1950), *Fest der weissen Schleier*. Braunschweig

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W.D.Shakabpa, *Tibet. A Political History*. New Haven/London 1967

T.Shen and S.Liu, *Tibet and the Tibetans*. New York 1973

V.Sis and J.Vaniš, *Der Weg nach Lhasa*. Prag 1956

V.Sis, J.Vaniš and L.Jisl, *Tibetan Art*. London n.d.

Situ Tā'i si tur 'bod pa karma bstan pa'i ñin byed kyi ran tshul drañs por brjod pa dri bral ſel gyi me loñ. Originally edited and completed by Ba'i lo Tshe dbañ kun khyab. Autobiography of Si tu Pañ chen (1700-1774). Ed. Lokesh Chandra, *The Autobiography and Diaries of Si-tu Pañ-chen*. New Delhi 1968

D.Snellgrove and H.E.Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet*. London 1968

Sotheby's Catalogue of Islamic, Indian, Tibetan, Nepalese and South-East Asian Decorative and Other Works of Art, Also Antiquities.
London 16/17.2.1981

SP oral communications by Zom phud lcam (née Žag pa) Rig 'dzin chos skyid

R.A.Stein (1959), *Recherches sur l'épopée et le bardé au Tibet*. Paris

R.A.Stein (1972), *Tibetan Civilization*. London

Sumatiratna, *Bod hor kyi [sic!] brda tshig don gsum gsal par byed pa mun sel sgron me*. Ulaanbaatar 1959, 2 Vols.

R.D.Taring (1972), *Daughter of Tibet*. London

Z.J.Taring (1980), *lHa sa gtsug lag khañ gi sa bkra dan dkar chag*. New Delhi

TED S.C.Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*. Calcutta 1902

THTC *Tsang-han tui-chao ch'ang-yung tzu-hui*^k / *Bod rgya šan sbyar rgyun mkho'i mdzod*. Ch'eng-tu 1980

TK oral communications by sPro khañ mKhas grub lags

TNR *Tibet - Internal: News Reports 1931-1945*. Typewritten records of the Trade Agents, now kept by the India Office Library.

TP written communications by Tshe dban spen pa (Tsewang Pemba)

TT communications by bKras mthon bsTan 'dzin rnam rgyal to Mrs. V. Reynolds, who kindly supplied me with those notes.

G.Tucci (1956), *To Lhasa and Beyond*. Roma

G.Tucci (1973), *Transhimalaya*. Geneva

R.J.Tung, *A Portrait of Lost Tibet*. London 1980

J.E.Vollmer, *Five Colours of the Universe*. Edmonton 1980

L.A.Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mystery*. London 1905

T.V.Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad*. Roma 1962

WTCWC *Wu-t'i ch'ing-wen-chien.*¹
Peking 1957

WWT *Who's Who in Tibet*. Calcutta 1938

Žva sgab pa dBai phyug bde ldan (W.D.Shakabpa), *Bod kyi srid don rgyal*

rabs - An Advanced Political History of Tibet. 2 vols., Kalimpong
1976

W.Zwalf, Heritage of Tibet. London 1981

CHINESE CHARACTERS

- | | | |
|---|--|-----------|
| a | ya-hsün/sun | 雅遜 |
| b | mang-tuan | 螢綿 |
| c | mang | 螢 |
| d | lung | 龍 |
| e | chuang-tuan | 粧綿 |
| f | shou | 壽 |
| g | mang-lung | 螢龍 |
| h | p'u-p'ai | 鋪排 |
| i | ya-chou-hsi | 壓軸戲 |
| j | p'ao-pu | 跑步 |
| k | Tsang-han tui-chao ch'ang-yung tzu-hui | 藏汉对照常用词汇 |
| l | Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wen-chien | 五体清文鑑 |
| m | Ts'ang-yang chia-ts'o ch'ing-ko chi pi-chuan | 仓央嘉措情歌及抄传 |

TOWARDS THE COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE TIBETAN BIBLE - THE LORD'S PRAYER IN DIFFERENT TRANSLATIONS

by

P.KLAFKOWSKI (Posnania)

Apart from a few old scattered books and papers, very little has so far been done in the field of the study of the Tibetan Bible translations. Indeed, to many a Tibetologist, the entire rich field of Tibetan Christian literature is something to be passed by in silence, if not to be laughed at. After all, Tibetology is generally - and not always correctly - regarded as the study of Tibetan Buddhism. True, one can think of a few cases in which the secular life of a people has been under so strong influence of the "state religion" as it was in the Land of Snow; however, the recent appeals in different media on behalf of the Tibetan Muslims revealed what's been a surprise to many - that not all Tibetans are following the Buddha's teaching. One could argue that, after all, we do have the monumental work on the missionaries to Tibet, by Professor L.Petech.¹ The point is, that both that, and all the remaining few publications in the field, concentrate on the lives of missionaries and the related events, while paying little or no attention to what the missionaries themselves deemed their most important task - giving the others the word of the Christian God in the peoples' language.

When I first decided to approach the task of cataloguing and approximately evaluating the available corpus of the Tibetan Christian literature, I had very little idea what a difficult task it would prove. To begin with, there has never been any Himalayan index of Bible translations; most of the printed texts have been unavailable for decades; very few veterans of Tibet missions have survived to this day and could be con-

¹ *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal.* 7 vols., Rome 1952-56. It may be of interest to mention here that there exists a very recent yet relatively unknown Czech translation of Desideri's *Relazione*, based on Prof.Petech's edition of the same (MITN vols.5-7), with extensive notes and an introduction by Dr. J.Kolmaš.

sulted; in at least one - admittedly extreme - case a certain well-known missionary society answered my queries thanking me for reminding them that they had done, indeed, some work in Tibetan, as they have "sort of" forgotten all about it; finally the contemporary conditions in the Himalayan area do anything but facilitate the missionary researches.

The result of my long search, which involved several Bible societies and dozens of individuals over a period of almost two years, is an annotated catalogue of almost a hundred pages, listing the translations and identifying the translators for the following languages (in alphabetic order): Balti, Sikkimese Bhutia, Boro (Bodo), Bunan, Dzongkha, Kanauri, Ladakhi, Lhoke, Manchand, Nevari, Purigskad, Rong (Lepcha), Shina-Guerezi, Literary Tibetan, Colloquial Tibetan, Tinan, and Zangskari, besides giving the basic texts in Greek and Latin. For as many of the above as it proved possible, the following specimen texts are included: *Matthew 6,9-13, Luke 1,1-4, Luke 11,2-4, John 1,1-18*. All these come from the New Testament, the only part of the Bible easily available in Tibetan at present. For comparisons, the full catalogue includes also a few samples from the Old Testament, including the early translation of the *Seven Days of Creation*. The catalogue covers all the Bible books translated and published in between 1762 and 1981.

As I have mentioned above, the work would not be possible if not for the help from friends too many to list them. However, one single help proved of decisive importance: the one from Miss Kathleen Cann, Archivist, the Bible Society, London. I fulfill a most pleasant duty thanking her, and the Bible Society, for putting at my disposal whatever materials I might need - and more - and the open permission to use those materials in whatever way I wished.

It would be pointless to try including all the collected data in the present paper. Let me hope the full catalogue may have a chance of seeing the light one day.* For the present purpose, the following points shall be summarized:

1. an outline history of the Tibetan Bible
2. an inventory of translations into the remaining languages of interest,
3. selected samples of the landmark Tibetan translations.

* The catalogue shall appear, in its final version, in *Monumenta Serica*, where it was accepted in mid-1982.

1. An outline history of the Tibetan Bible.

The earliest translation of any part of the Bible reported so far is early 18th century (?) rendering of the *Gospel of Matthew* by Cassiano de Macerata.² It has not proved possible to secure a sample of the translation to include in this work. Most of the 18th century Christian literature in Tibetan was of apologetic character, rather than translations. The 1762 *Alphabetum Tibetanum* - a summary of the achievements of the earliest period of Christian proselyting in Tibet - contained the following translations:

The Sign of the Cross,
The Lord's Prayer,
Hail Mary,
The Credo,
The Ten Commandments.

The individual translators, however, have not been named. The above texts are all quoted and annotated in the full catalogue, mentioned in the introductory part of this paper.

The first half of the 19th century witnessed hardly any progress in Tibetan Bible translations, although already by 1850 the following translations into Rong (Lepcha) have been published: *Gospel of Matthew* (twice), *Gospel of John* (twice), and the *Book of Genesis and Exodus I-XX*. It is well worth a mention that the pioneer Rong 1845 *Gospel of Matthew* was translated by a gentleman fittingly named William Start. The same man, on May 3rd, 1872, wrote an interesting letter to the Bible Society, London, explaining the problems he had encountered in order to translate the word "God" into Rong. I am hoping to publish this interesting letter in the near future.

The only hint at some work being done in Tibetan is the following remark I quote from the catalogue of the Bible Society, London:

"The Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.IV, No.1 records that A.Csomo (sic) of Körös was employed by Dr. Yates and other missionaries in the translation of the Liturgy, Psalms and Prayerbook into Tibetan about 1837-42."

² This translation is not extent in the library of Macerata (see MITN 1, lxxxix), and seems to be either misplaced or lost. However, the recent accidental discovery of some of Desideri's Tibetan works mistakenly bound with Syriac letters in the Jesuit Archives in Rome (information based on a letter from Prof. L.Petech of Febr. 7th, 1981) indicates that there may be still some hope left for Macerata's papers to surface one day.

I have not been able to find out anything more about that particular aspect of Csoma's works, nor about Dr. Yates. In absence of details, it may only be concluded that Csoma de Körös is also at least one of the 19th century pioneers of Tibetan Christianity, and that it seems a must to undertake detailed research along the line indicated.

The arrival of the Moravian missionaries to Lahul in 1846 marked the beginning of their activities which dominated the entire second half of the 19th century. H.A.Jaeschke joined them in 1857. In 1861 his first Tibetan work - *Gospel Harmony* - was printed in Kyelang. In the next 20 years the Moravians translated and published - in separate volumes - the entire New Testament and parts of the Old one; many of those have also been reprinted at that same time both in Europe and Shanghai. The four Gospels came out in uniform edition in 1883; the then newly-established Scandinavian Alliance Tibet Mission in Ghoom revised that edition and brought it out in Shanghai in 1894. The 1898 *Gospel of John* translated by A.Giraudeau is the major Catholic contribution in that era dominated by Protestant activities.

The Scandinavian Alliance Tibet Mission Press opened in Ghoom in ca. 1900. By 1903, it has brought out - in 17 fascicles - the entire Tibetan New Testament, based on the earlier translations by the Moravians but carefully revised with the help of many contributors including David Macdonald, Edward Amundsen, Graham Sandberg, and some Tibetan converts. The complete New Testament, later bound in one volume with separate pagination for each original fascicle, was reset and reprinted in Shanghai in 1913 and 1933.

In between 1905 and 1935 several translations of the Old Testament books were published, some of them being revisions of the Moravians' works and some new. Those scattered efforts have been brought together by Yoseb Gergan³ whose complete translation of the Bible was printed in Lahore in 1948. Gergan's work is so far the only successful attempt at translating the Bible by a single man. This is not the place to discuss this extraordinary work in detail, nor to try finding out how far it was

³ There exists a book about Gergan's life, albeit written in most irritating "proselyting" style: A.Maberly, *God Spoke Tibetan*. Pacific Press Publishing Association 1971. As I was informed by the late S.S.Gergan, Yoseb's son, he was engaged in writing his father's biography. I would like to call on those who have more possibilities at their hands than I do, to trace and preserve whatever of that work S.S.Gergan might have completed.

dependant on the earlier translations.⁴ It is enough to say that the achievement of Yoseb Gergan has not yet been repeated by any translator or a team.

By 1968, several New Testament books of what is popularly known as *Gergan's Bible* have been reprinted with some revisions and changes. The complete New Testament, which included all those revisions and corrections, was brought out by the Bible Society of India, Bangalore, in 1970, and reprinted in 1972.

The Tibetan Old Testament is, for practical purpose, completely unavailable at the moment, although some reports from India mention a new translation that is slowly being completed.

Considering the huge amount of the literature of the Bible-translator-guide type, it is surprising that literally nothing has so far been published in the field of philosophy (I use the term deliberately) of the Tibetan Bible translations and the delicate problem of using the Buddhist vocabulary in them.⁵

By the kindness of the Bible Society, London, I obtained two letters sent from Kyelang to London in 1882 by H.A.Jaeschke and F.A.Redeslob, in which the above-mentioned problems are treated at length. I hope to bring out these letters soon, together with the one by W.Start already referred to in connection with the Rong (Lepcha) translations.

2. Translations into related languages and dialects

The compiling of the list of the dialect translations has proved, in many ways, even more difficult than cataloguing the standard Tibetan translations. The translations into dialects have always been released in small editions, as the number of their potential readers was limited. Many of those translations have never found their way to large libraries, or exist there in defective or incomplete copies. All the other things being equal, the dialect translations prove many times a much

⁴ Such a work might well be the beginning of Tibetan literary criticism. I am hoping to return to this subject in future. The focal point of *Gergan's Bible* is that, no matter what theologians might say, here we have a Tibetan Bible written by an educated native, not by a Western missionary (even if assisted by some converts).

⁵ I deliberately do not discuss these points when quoting several translations in the last part of this paper, as such a discussion would take much more space than I have here. A separate paper on Buddhist vocabulary in the Tibetan Bible, based on all the available materials and using the Greek originals for comparisons, should be ready in a few months' time.

more interesting reading than the standard Tibetan ones, because:

- a) in many cases these translations use local words and expressions taken from the colloquial language the area of which may not be easily accessible these days (like the Kanauri translation);
- b) in several cases the Tibetan script of the dialect translations is modified to show peculiarities of the local pronunciation, thus providing a lot of purely phonetic data (e.g. Tinan, Bunan and Manchand translation);
- c) in at least three cases - Ladakhi, Zangskari and Dzongkha - the Gospel translations are the first conscious attempts at creating written forms of the respective dialects which have otherwise always been written in the standard literary Tibetan spelling and idiom;
- d) finally, in the case of the Balti translations printed in Arabic script, the Kanauri ones in Tankri and Devanāgarī, and the Purigskad and Balti ones in romanization, we get a lot of material for the study of different scripts for the same phonetic system.

The full catalogue, referred to in the introductory remarks, contains all the available details, samples of each of the above translations, and many more points of related interest. Instead of trying to summarize all that here, I shall only list what texts have been translated into which languages and dialects.

Balti: The four Gospels and the Acts (Arabic script),

Gospel of John and Psalms 1-25 (Roman script);

Bhutia (= Denjongke): Lord's Prayer only (Roman script);

Boro (Bodo): complete New Testament and Psalms (Roman script);

Bunan: Gospel of Mark (modified Tibetan script);

Dzongkha: Gospel of Mark;

Kanauri: Gospel of Mark (modified Devanāgarī script),

Gospel of John (Tankri script);

Ladakhi: Gospel of Mark (Tibetan script adapted for dialect use);

Lhoke (Bhutan): Prodigal Son story only (Tibetan script and transcription);

Manchand: Gospel of Mark (modified Tibetan script);

Nevari: Gospels of Mark and John (Devanāgarī script);

Purigskad: Gospel of John,

Acts of the Apostles,

Letter to the Romans (all in Roman script);

Rong (= Lepcha): Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John,

Genesis and Exodus I-XX,

Old Testament Stories (all in the Rong script);

Shina-Guerezi: *Gospel of Mark* (Persian script);

Colloquial Tibetan: *Prodigal Son* story only (Tibetan script and transcription);

Tinan: *Gospel of Mark* (modified Tibetan script);

Zangskari: *Gospel of John* (Tibetan script).

It has to be added that several more translations are being prepared for various languages of the three Himalayan states, the details of which are not made known for many reasons.

3. The Lord's Prayer in Tibetan translations

To illustrate what has been said so far, I would now like to present a collection of the most important renderings of the *Lord's Prayer* into standard literary Tibetan. In the full catalogue, I have given the Greek and Latin texts for both versions of the Prayer (*Matthew 6:9-13* and *Luke 11:2-4*). It does not seem useful to include those in the present paper. For basic comparisons I shall give only the two passages as they figure in the King James Version of the Bible, the translation that the 19th and early 20th century translators most often worked with.⁶

Matthew 6,9-13:

9. "... Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name

10. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.

11. Give us this day our daily bread.

12. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.

13. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil:

For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen."

Luke 11,2-4:

2. "... Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name.

Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth.

⁶ As there exist some differences between the various editions of the King James Version depending whether the respective edition is to be read in churches or used by philologists, I prefer to specify that the edition I used is the 1979 one by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. That edition contains an extensive Bible dictionary, an atlas with its gazetteer, footnotes giving alternate renderings of several key words and phrases, and a lot of other data not usually found in other editions.

3. Give us day by day our daily bread.
4. And forgive us our sins; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil."

The first - chronologically - available translation comes from Alphabetum Tibetanum, 643-45. I shall quote only the Tibetan text; in the full catalogue I have included the Latin text as well, since it does not follow closely the *Vulgata*.

The translation reads:

nged rnams kyi yab nam mkha'i klong du bzhugs pa'i |
 khyed kyi mtshan thams cad nas sangs rgyas par 'rgyur |
 khyed kyi yul khams 'byom par shog |
 khyed kyi thugs 'dod ji ltar nam mkha' la de ltar 'jig rten du
 mdzad par 'gyur |
 nyin re bzhin nged rnams kyi sba' leb de rin |
 nged rnams la gnang bar mdzod pa dang |
 ji ltar nged rnams kyis sbus lon mkhan la bzod par byed |
 de ltar nged rnams la nged kyi sbus lon mzod par mdzod pa dang |
 nged rnams la skyul ba 'byung ba'i ma btang bar |
 ma zad nged rnams mi lags pa las sgrol bar mdzod |
 de ltar yin pa yin |

Remarks: The first feature of the above rendering that strikes the eye is the extremely diverse length of different lines, which does not facilitate committing the text to memory. The word "bread" is translated *sba' leb* (Lat. *panem*), a strong point in favour of the unknown translator, as all the later renderings use the word "food" (*kha zas*). The most remarkable feature is the translation of "amen" as *de ltar yin pa yin*, the only case of translating that word I have ever come across. The syntax of the Tibetan text shows a strong Latin influence (cf. *ma zad* = Lat. *sed* at the beginning of the sentence rather than at the end of the previous one).

F.A.Redeslob's translation (1883)

(Matthew 6,9-13 only, Luke unavailable):

kye nged rnams kyi yab nam mkha' la bzhugs pa |
 khyed kyi dam pa'i mtshan la bsnyen bkur bgyid par shog cig |
 khyed kyi rgyal srid 'ong bar gyur cig |
 khyed kyi dgongs pa bzhin du nam mkha' la sgrub pa ltar |
 sa la yang sgrub par gyur cig |
 zhag re'i kha zas de ring yang nged rnams la gnong zhig |

yang nged rang gis bu lon pa'i bu lon sel ba ltar |
 khyed kyis kyang nged rnams kyi bu lon sel zhig |
 yang nged rnams kyi nyams sad par ma mdzod kyis |
 ngan pa las nged sgrol bar mdzod cig |
 khyed dus rgyun du rgyal srid dang | dbang dang | gzi brjid dang
 bcas pa'o | A men |

Remarks: The length of lines is more uniform than in the previous case. In a stylistic contrast, we can see the elaborate use of vocative and imperative particles (kye at the opening, and the different ones at the end of each line), which gives the text a literary character. "Bread" is translated as "food". A somewhat strange effect is achieved by placing the ending ...pa'o immediately before A men. Let us note the use of sgrol ba ("deliver") in the penultimate line, as the text rendering will show an interesting alternate translation.⁷

The Ghoom New Testament (1903)

Matthew 6,9-13:

kye nged rnams kyi gab nam mkha' la bzhugs pa |
 khyed kyi mtshan dam par srung bar shog cig |
 khyed kyi rgyal srid 'ong bar gyur cig |
 khyed kyi dgongs pa bzhin du nam mkha' la sgrub pa ltar |
 sa la yang sgrub par gyur cig |
 nga tsho'i zhag re'i kha zas de ring yang nged rnams la gnong zhig |
 yang nged rnams kyis bu lon pa'i bu lon bsal ba ltar |
 khyed kyis kyang nged rnams kyi bu lon sel bar mdzod cig |
 yang nged rnams kyi nyams sad par ma gnang zhig |
 ngan pa las nged rnams thar bar mdzod cig |
 rgyal srid dang dbang dang gzi brjid dus rgyun du khyed kyi yin |
 no | A men |

Remarks: In many cases a good improvement on the previous translation, the Ghoom brings still more clarity to the message, and removes unnecessary points. It is of interest to note the rendering of the last line, with the key word translated *thar ba* rather than *sgrol ba* of the earlier version. Still, taken as a whole, the text reads somewhat stiff, without the impression of being a direct talk to "Our Father".

⁷ i.e. *sgrol ba* comp. with *thar ba*. The Moravians must have been guided, at least to a considerable extent, by Jaeschke's lexicographic works culminated in his dictionary (lithographed 1671-76, first English edition 1881). Jaeschke's dictionary is full of references to his translation activities. It might not be without interest to extract all such items from the dictionary and see how Jaeschke's principles have been put to practice in his, and other Moravians', translations.

The *Shanghai Revised Edition* of 1913 has introduced no changes into the *Lord's Prayer* as found in the *Gospel of Matthew*.

Luke 11,2-4:

kye nged rnams kyi yab nam mkha' la bzhugs pa lags |
 khyed kyi mtshan dam par srung bar shog cig |
 khyed kyi rgyal srid 'ong par gyur cig |
 nged rnams kyi zhag re'i kha zas zhag re bzhin du nged la gnong
 zhig |
 nged rnams kyis bu lon pa re'i bu lon sel bas |
 khyed kyis kyang nged rnams kyi sdig pa sel zhig |
 yang nged rnams kyi nyams sad par ma gnang zhig |
 ngan pa las nged thar bar mdzod cig |

Remarks: Since this is the first rendering of the passage in question available for the use in this paper, it can hardly be commented on, but can only function as a reference for the later renderings. It seems of interest that the words "Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth" are left out - a sin of omission on the translators' part? As usual, "bread" is rendered as "food". The text given the same, bookish rather than the direct talk impression, as its earlier counterpart from the first Gospel.

The *Shanghai Revised Edition* of 1913 has introduced no changes here, either.

Yoseb Gergan's translation (1948)⁸

Matthew 6,9-13:

kye nged kyi nam mkha' la bzhugs pa'i yab |
 khyed kyi mtshan ni dam pa rtsi bar shog |
 khyed kyi rgyal srid slebs shig |
 khyed kyi dgongs pa bzhin nam mkha' nang sgrub pa ltar | sa gzhi
 ru'ang sgrub bar shog |
 nged kyi zhag re'i za thang ni de ring yang gnag bar mdzod |
 yang nged kyis bun pa rnams kyi bu lon sel bar byas pa ltar |
 khyed kyis kyang |
 nged kyi bu lon sel bar mdzod cig |
 yang nged nyams sad pa'i nang ma 'dren par | ngan pa de las nged
 skyob par mdzod cig |

⁸ The story of that edition was told at least twice: Chander Ray, Die Geschichte der Tibetanischen Bibel, (M.Hang, ed., Am ewigen Quell, vol.3, Stuttgart 1956), and by A.Maberly (see n.3 above). Gergan's Bible is now very scarce, and I'd like to take a chance to call for a reprint of this only complete edition of the Tibetan Bible ever.

Remarks: Even a casual glance at the syntax of the above text, and the simple yet stylistically powerful use of the *ni* particle, reveals that here we have a native Tibetan, and not a foreigner, who's writing. The text is simple, much more direct than all the previous versions, and in many ways much better. Let us only point out the rendering of the "bread" as *za thang ni* = "the daily food ammount" to illustrate the point.

Luke 11,2-4:

*kye yab |
khyed kyi mtshan dam pa rtsi bar shog |
khyed kyi rgyal srid slebs shig |
nged kyi zhag re'i kha zan zhag re bzhin gnang du mdzod |
nged kyis kyang bu lon pa re re'i bu lon sel bas |
nged kyi sdig pa rnams sel bar mdzod |
yang nged nyams sad pa'i nang 'khrid par ma mdzad cig |
ces zhus shig gsungs so |*

Remarks: In contrast with the earlier rendering of the same passage, we can see that Yoseb Gergan avoided the temptation of adding the heavenly locative to *yab* = "Father". Thus the original is followed closely, and the *kye* particle gives precisely the right feeling of a direct address. Again, the phrase "Thy will be done ..." is left out (is it possible that the King James Bible Gergan and the Ghoom people used, excluded the passage?)⁹. The final words *gsungs so* seem to be the translator's concession to the traditional style of Tibetan holy books.

The 1972 Tibetan New Testament

Based on Gergan's Bible, and revised by a committee including P.Vittoz and E.T.Puntshog, this edition is the only Tibetan New Testament easily available at the moment. It is a publication of the Bible Society of India.

Matthew 6,9-13:

*nam mkhas bzhugs pa'i nged kyi yab |
khyed mtshan dam par srung bar shog |
khyed kyi rgyal srid 'ong bar shog |
khyed kyi dgongs pa nam mkha' la |*

⁹ Here we have a problem that only a theologian could answer. The King James Version of the Bible has the words "Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth" as verse 2, chapter 11 of Luke's Gospel. However, the authoritative Greek New Testament (ed. K.Aland, M.Black, C.M.Martini, B.M.Metzger and A.Wikgren, Stuttgart 1968) has the same passage opening with *Pater* only, and leaving out the phrase in question. It can be possible that the Tibetan rendering of this passage may indicate whether the translator used the Greek, or the King James Version, as his basic text.

sgrub ltar sa la'ang sgrub par shog |
 nged kyi nyi ma re'i kha zas |
 de ring yang ni gnang bar mdzod |
 nged kyi gzhan nyes sel ba ltar |
 nged kyi sdig pa sel bar mdzod |
 nyams sad nang du ma 'khrid par |
 ngan pa las nged thar par mdzod |
 rgyal srid dbang dang gzi brjid ni |
 rgyun nas rgyun du khyed kyi 'o | A men ||

Remarks: Of all the translations quoted, this one sounds most Tibetan. The close adherence to the traditional poetic pattern, the careful choice of key words - with the possible exception of the usual "food" instead of "bread" - and the entire mood of the translation puts the passage head and shoulders above the other renderings. However, it has to be noted, that the entire passage has been shifted from the plural to the singular, to which a theologian might possibly object.

Luke 11,2-4

yab lags |
 khyed mtshan dam pa srung bar shog |
 khyed kyi rgyal srid 'ong bar shog |
 nged kyi nyi ma re'i kha zas |
 de ring yang ni gnang bar mdzod |
 nged kyis gzhan nyes bsal ba ltar |
 nged kyi sdig pa sel bar mdzod |
 nyams sad nang du ma 'dren cig ces zhus shog ||

Remarks: The only rendering that preserves the direct opening "Father", without adding anything. The translation preserves to a high degree the abrupt, "telegraphic" style of Luke's text. As in the previous case, we can see that the text has been edited by men well-versed in Tibetan poetic techniques. It has to be mentioned that the passage in question is set as if it was prose, in lines continuous with the previous verses of the Gospel, while in the case of Matthew 6,9-13 the text is indented and set as a poem, with each line under the previous one. This printer's trick produces a strong effect when reading the entire respective Gospels and analyzing them as continuous narratives.

I hope to return to the question posed by the 1972 Tibetan New Testament in the near future, in a comparative study of that and the 1948 Yoseb Gergan's translations taken as a whole. For the moment, let me close this paper with words of hope that Tibetan Christian literature, so long neglected, may be found interesting by those who would never give it a thought before.

"... BUT THEY DON'T HAVE ANY LITERATURE!"
OR A FEW WORDS ON THE RONG (LEPCHA) HERITAGE *

by

P. KLAFKOWSKI (Posnania)

I

The ways of Himalayan studies are sometimes rather puzzling to a newcomer. The experience of seeing how some peoples may be pushed aside to make way for the others is, admittedly, not limited to the lofty abodes of snow, yet it is there where we can encounter one of the most interesting cases of the phenomenon. Can it be that there exists a nation of at least 20 thousand men, highly distinct and different from all its neighbours, a nation that speaks an almost totally unknown language written in a script whose origin is still a mystery, that has a written corpus of hundreds of old manuscripts that have never been seriously investigated - and nobody bothers to study all that? That, in a nutshell, is the problem of the Rong studies these days. All that data, and probably much more, is there all right - but nobody bothers to study it. The very fact that the nation itself is much better known under its Nepal-originated derogative nickname "Lepcha", rather than its own name "Rong", illustrates the case better than anything else.

How can it be, one may ask, that an entire nation living in the area of paramount importance to Tibetology can be so neglected? This was the first question I asked on my return from India in 1978, with my bags full of tangible proofs that both the language and the culture are still very much alive. Strangely enough, the answer was not too difficult to find. The well-ridiculed "discovery" by General George B. Mainwaring that the Rong people had been the original inhabitants "of the garden of Eden" - which, by the way, he never said nor wrote - seems to have laid an anathema of Rong studies; a serious question about the age and history of

* This paper was presented within the "short communications" at the conference.

the language became something like asking a great Tibetologist to evaluate Lobsang Rampa's "sumbum". The remarks by Mainwaring - who, originally, only claimed the language was much older than many other ones, and supported the claim with a few rather unfortunate comparisons, unpardonable to a linguist but excusable in the mouth of an eccentric general - distorted and misquoted, appear in almost each of the few existing publications dealing with the Rong language and people.

It has proved a mixed blessing that Mainwaring's dictionary had been edited for publication by A. Grünwedel. The latter's attitude to Buddhism, particularly in his later years, is well known. His pronouncement of the Rong series of stories of Tashe Thing the Savior of the World a translation of the Tibetan Padma Sambhava cycle - repeated *ex cathedra* by all who followed - contributed to the neglect of Rong literature. The dictionary itself, even now that it has been reprinted, is really not very useful without an available corpus of texts to translate with. The reputations of both the author and the editor finish the doubts one might have.

What, indeed, do we have in the field of Rong studies? The available Western publications have been listed by H. Siiger,¹ and very little could be added. A few papers by R.K. Sprigg - important and interesting as everything he writes, but concerned only with minor aspects of the language - , some anthropological papers by Nebesky-Wojkowitz, the two volumes of three promised by H. Siiger in 1967, G. Gorér's sex-centered *Himalayan Village*, John Morris's *Living with the Lepchas*, a ghost book by B.N. Shaha,² E. Haarh's study of what happens if we put a Lepcha folio on its edge and read it like that, and a few modern Indian contributions of different values but still better than nothing - and that is all.

Strangely enough, nobody seems to question - in private - that the language is dying out, and that something should be done to help it. Shall we then wait until there are only a few speakers left, and

¹ It contains the basic bibliography for the Rong studies, 17-25 and particularly 237-246. As that source is well-known and easily available, I shall give full details only for those books which came out after Siiger's work.

The Lepchas, culture and religion of a Himalayan people, Copenhagen 1967.

Volume 1 is an exercise in cultural and social anthropology.

Volume 2, by H. Siiger and J. Rischel, contains a selection of annotated and translated Rong religious texts.

Volume 3, announced to contain an analysis of Rong religion, has not yet been published.

² B.N. Shaha, *A Grammar of the Lepcha Language*, 1884. This book does not seem to have ever been actually seen by anyone, and not a single well-known European library seems to have a copy of it. H. Siiger reports the existence of that mysterious book in vol. 1, 18.

start doing "something" when it is too late? Or isn't a written, highly developed language worth of preserving? Odds are against any such work, true, the geographic site of the native area being probably the highest barrier to conquer - but it still seems worthy of trying. Too many languages have died out while linguists and philologists cried crocodile tears and did nothing. There does exist a tangible chance to preserve a significant portion of the Himalayan heritage. Shall we miss it?

II

I have used the word "literature" in the previous pages. Before I go on, I should explain that the term means to me what a standard Oxford dictionary lists as definition 2, namely "all the writings of a country or a period; ...".³ I do not use the term in its popular meaning of "creative fiction", as there has never been any of it in the Rong world (nor, for the matter, in Tibet⁴), although nobody questions the existence of Tibetan literature while the same for the Rongs is explicitly denied).

I have published elsewhere⁵ a preliminary account of what I had been able to see, learn, and collect, on my two trips to only one Rong village within the area of Kalimpong. It is difficult to deny the existence of a literature when one is faced with a huge pile of old, fascinating-looking manuscripts, and being told that it is but a fraction of what exists elsewhere.

Those who - in different ways - deny the Rong literature the right to exist, usually qualify the statement with an inevitable remark that the Rong books are "almost always" translations from, or imitations of, the Tibetan ones.⁶ However, even from that type of a statement two conclusions are - or rather should be - obvious:

³ A.S.Hornby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. Revised edition, Oxford 1980, 495.

⁴ The only possible candidates could be the popular biographies of Milarepa, the controversial "Secret Life" of the Sixth Dalai Lama by Alagsha Nomon Han Ngawang Lhundub Dargyay, and the popular descriptions of the world ('Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad etc.).

⁵ P.Klafkowski, Rong, the Vanishing Language and Culture of Eastern Himalaya. Lingua Posnaniensis 23, In honorem Ceslai Kudzinowski. Poznań 1980, 105-118.
The paper contains detailed information about the available Rong printed texts, the beginnings of the language revival movement, and 8 plates including the photographs of Father Benjamin Stolke, Athing Joseph Rongong, and some specimen publications.

⁶ But still, it could be argued that absolute majority of the Tibetan literature belongs to the Indian, not Tibetan, sphere of influence, yet nobody questions the fact that "Tibetan literature" exists - and that the Kanjur belongs to it, too!

- (1) - that there are still some other texts which do not confirm to the rule, and
- (2) - that a translation, or an imitation, of an otherwise identifiable original, forms a perfect and fascinating field of a study, in which several unknown things may turn out. Part III of this paper will give an example of the point in question.

A few collections of Rong manuscripts exist in different European libraries - London and Leiden being the best known ones - but, for obvious reasons, a beginner in Rong has to be content with the printed texts to work with. The printed Rong texts now available are, more often than not, Bible translations. Does it mean we should reject them as linguistic evidence? No, not at all. The missionaries of old who did the translations really knew the language - not just speculated about it. The indispensable dictionary by Jaeschke - hardly a Tibetologist could survive without it - is a by-product of the Bible translator's life-work; Sarat Chandra Das's dictionary was brought to its present shape by two missionaries: the French-Tibetan dictionary, the only one of its kind, is written by a missionary; it would not be too high a statement to say that Tibetology as we know it begins with missionaries, not Budhologists, I.Desideri being the really first Tibetologist, centuries before the forgotten missionary (again!) whose papers, edited by Schroeter, formed the very first Tibetan dictionary published full eight years before the works of Csoma de Körös. In short, Tibetology would not exist in its present shape without missionaries - no matter what is our "ideological" attitude to proselyting activities as such. Why is it, then, that the Bible translations and missionary writings are so little studied these days?⁷ Are we that clever, to be able to afford pushing all that aside? I invite the reader of these words to obtain a copy of the

⁷ An example of the results can be seen in Siiger op.cit.vol.1,18. He writes: "Their (= missionaries') first publications were *The Gospel of St.John in Lepcha*, 1872; *The Book of Genesis and parts of the Exodus in Lepcha*, 1874; and *A Lepcha Primer*, 1874." However, the correct chronology runs as follows: *Gospel of St.Matthew*, translated by W.Start and C.G.Niebel, 1845; *The Book of Genesis and Exodus I-XX*, translated by C.G.Niebel, 1849; *Gospel of St.Matthew*, revised edition, 1849; *Gospel of St.John*, translated by W.Start and C.G.Niebel, 1849; *Gospel of St.John*, reprint 1872. As we can see, the Rong books had been printed long before the Moravian missionaries started printing their Tibetan translations in Lahul. The above chronology is based on my field research in Kalimpong, compared with the records of the Bible Society, London, for which I am greatly obliged to Miss Kathleen Cann, the Archivist. For a complete chronology of the Rong language textbooks printed in Kalimpong and Darjeeling, see my paper referred in n.5. Two more items have recently been published: K.P.Tamsang's *Lepcha Grammar* (in Rong only), Kalimpong 1977, and A.Chakrabarty's *Read Lepcha*, New Delhi 1977.

late Father B.Stolke's Rong re-telling of the story of the Old Testament:⁸ you don't even have to learn the script, it is all there in an interlinear Devanāgari transcription. How much can we learn from such a work, written at the end of his life by a man who lived with people, and spoke and studied their language, for over half a century? "Much" is the only obvious answer. The translator is now dead, his knowledge lost to us, his papers scattered. A replay of the story of Gergan's Bible,⁹ a Tibetologist might comment. Yes - unfortunately.

A fitting epitome of all that could be the fact that so high-ranking a series as *Monumenta Tibetica Historica* has brought out a facsimile of a Rong document without bothering to translate it, as if the language - and the probable contents of the documents in question as well - were both dead and of no real importance.¹⁰ In a volume devoted exclusively to documents from Sikkim, the original land of the Rongs...

III

As an example illustrating the valuable material we can find when we turn to the Rong literature, let me now say a few words about the Rong religious epic¹¹ of Tashe Thing, the Savior of the World.

The existence of the Tashe Thing stories was well known to General

⁸ Published in Kalimpong 1977. A photograph of its first page is included in my paper mentioned in n.5. The book is available either from the publisher, or from St.Augustine Presbytery, Kalimpong.

⁹ I am referring to the only complete Tibetan translation of the Bible, by Yoseb Gergan, titled *Dam pa'i gsung rab*, the *Holy Bible in Tibetan*, Lahore 1948, out of print.

That was the first Bible translation completed by a native Tibetan. Yoseb Gergan died in 1945. All the subsequent editions of parts of the Bible in Tibetan are based directly on his work, and his other books - published in India by his son S.S.Gergan - have become well-known. Yet neither is that Bible reprinted, nor do we have a biography of Yoseb Gergan. After the recent death of S.S.Gergan, the best chance of getting biographic data on his father is gone for ever.

¹⁰ *Monumenta Tibetica Historica III,3.* Ed. D.Schuh and L.S.Dagyab, St.Augustin 1978, 75-78.

Habent sua fata libelli! When I obtained the transcription and translation of that document - with the help of Prof. R.K.Sprigg and Mr. A.Foning of Kalimpong - it turned out the puzzling, irregular script of the document was an ornamental variety designed, at the turn of the century, by Mr. Foning's grandfather! Can it now be said the Rong tradition is still alive? (Source: personal communication from Prof. Sprigg dated November 10th, 1981).

¹¹ "Religious epic" is a general term, but in employing it I take a chance to follow Professors D.Snellgrove and P.Kvaerne, who give it to the *gzi brjid* of the Bonpos. Tashe Thing story, at least at one time, held a comparable position in the Rong world.

Mainwaring. In the preface to his Rong grammar¹² he expresses his conviction that the original tale had been the central part of native mythology, later re-edited and corrupted in terms of Tibetan Buddhism (which the General apparently did not think too much of!). Such a comment, coming from the man who spoke and wrote the language, and was at the advantage of being able to consult the then old tribe members (who surely must have known much more than the contemporary elders), just cries for an investigation to follow.

There followed none. The "garden of Eden" ridicule worked perfectly, and whatever doubts may have existed were dispelled by the authoritative pronouncements by A.Grünwedel, placed right at the beginning of the dictionary so as not to leave space for such doubts. Still, the story lingered on, and the tribe elders who knew both their own language and Tibetan still claimed views almost identical to the one held by the General.

I saw my first manuscript of the complete tale in Kalimpong in late 1976, in posession of the late Father Stolke. The text, of which I had a copy made,¹³ was written in 1925 by Kam Sherab. The obvious question follows, who was he? Unfortunately, I was not in a position to start any research (permits, permits!); however, from the words of both Father Stolke and some old Rongs he introduced me to, it appears that Kam Sherab was a respected tribal "wise man", once a monk in Tibet, a teacher and authority in both languages. In fact, the story was written as a textbook for Father Stolke, who at that time studied the language with Kam Sherab. The Father was not clear whether the text, as he had it, was the original writing of his teacher's or a copy of something much older, but he remembered many more Tashe Thing manuscripts Kam Sherab had at that time. The text - approximately 150 pages long in a manuscript copy made for me - was originally written in black ink, in beautiful large handwriting.

Encouraged by that, I was directed by Rev. Pastor Subba to the Rongong family of Tirpai Town, a locality on top of the hills facing Kalimpong's Tenth Mile. Cutting the long story short,¹⁴ there I obtained an-

¹² G.B.Mainwaring, *A Grammar of the Rong (Lepcha) Language as it exists in the Dorjeeling and Sikkim hills*, 1876; reprinted New Delhi 1971.

¹³ It is my pleasant duty to express my gratitude to Mr.T.Samling of Marion Lee, Kalimpong, for the difficult and tiring job of copying the long text.

¹⁴ The story of Mr.A.J.Rongong, and the list of his manuscripts in my possession, are given in my work referred to in n.5. I take this opportunity to once more thank Mr. Birendra Rongong, A.J.Rongong's son, for presenting his father's papers to me. After four years, I still believe they will see the light soon.

other manuscript of the tale, in a bilingual Rong and English volume. The text of the Rongong manuscript is 82 pages long, the last two pages untranslated but titled in English *Teachings left behind by Tashe*. The handwriting is so small and compact that, if reproduced in more legible size, the text would be about as long as the previous one. The Rongong texts bears a colophon, which I am going to quote in full:

"I, Tagan, have written this book, and if there is anything that should be added to, or deleted from it, may the gods not be angry with me but pour out their blessings, so that this story of Tashe is remembered as long as the Himalayas stand in the north, and as long as the twin rivers of Tista and Rungeet are flowing. I request the learned readers to correct whatever mistakes they may find in this book. May the god of learning accept the young age of this writer as the explanation of his errors. The writer took up the pen in the third month of the Horse Year, and completed his task in the fifth month of the same year."

The above colophon is found between the introductory and the first chapters of the tale. Nine chapters follow, the last one of which tells more details about the story of the manuscript, which appears to be the work of two men - Ugen Lingpu the main writer and Tagan the copyist. The chapter is interesting enough to be quoted in full, too. It reads:

"The one who reads or writes the story of Tashe Thing shall meet him at the moment of death. I, Ugen Lingpu, the priest of Tashe Thing, beg to be excused for producing this tale by so miserable a creature of just body and belly. In Tibet, the tales of Tashe are innumerable and of all kinds, and I brought them. I learnt these stories and wrote them down when I was 70 years old. I can't give all the details.

O Lepcha children, do not dismiss my story because it is not complete, but study it respectfully, so that it may bring you peace and guide you, as well as all sentient beings and insects, to the realms of Tashe and Takbo Thing. At the end of your lives you shall be asked whether you had studied, and lived by, the precepts of Tashe. To all those who studied it, read it, understood it, thought about it, and abided by it, shall be given whatever they might desire. Therefore, do everything in order to meet Tashe. I wrote this story thinking of all the illiterate Lepcha children, and beg to be excused for all my mistaken and missing points. Do not mind them, o King, but let us study more and give us more

instructions. I dedicate this book to you, O God who keeps all Tashe Thing books under your care, and guards the house from the kings of devils. Do not be angry with me, and do not tease me by criticising my work. O men of the future, when you are in times of trouble or epidemics of diseases, read this story of Tashe and Takbo Thing so that you can be cured. Bear this in mind, and study this book with care. I have shown this book to all people, so that even those who do not read it may know about it.

I, Tagan, pray to the God who is in heaven to pour his blessings on me. Do not become separated from this book, like the bow can't be separated from its string.

This is the end of the ninth chapter dealing with Tashe Thing's departure from this world. I am finishing this writing on October 20th, 1894.

I, Tagan, was asked by my maternal nephew Tubjok to write the Tashe Thing story. I started writing in the Horse Year on the 5th of September, and finished on October 20th. As I have written this story of Tashe and all other kings on my nephew Tubjok's request, may I be forgiven, by the merits of my work, for any killing and swapping insects, trampling and killing ants and insects under my feet, for the evil thoughts in my heart and the evil eye which I was casting ill-wishingly at others, and also for causing harm to my relatives or for biting them with my mouth. May all those who have died and gone to hell - grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, paternal uncles, maternal uncles, elder brothers, elder sisters, younger brothers and sisters, aunts and children - be allowed to be reborn again in Sungtoperi, the Heaven."

This is the end of the bilingual part of the Rongong manuscript, followed by *Teachings left behind by Tashe*, a concluding prayer and the copyist's final colophon - all in Rong only - ending with the name "A.J. Rongong" and the date "1960".

How can anybody deny literature to a literary language in which such sentiments can be expressed?

I have come to know about yet another manuscript of the tale - reportedly kept at the Lepcha Mani Gumpa in Kalimpong - too late to go there and examine it.

On my return to Europe in 1978, I started following all the traces that might lead to the papers by General Mainwaring, and particularly to

the manuscripts of the dictionary described by Grünwedel. Those papers have not turned up yet. An unexpected treasure has, however, been brought to light - a huge, two-volume manuscript approximately as long as both the ones discussed above, giving a complete series of Tashe Thing stories collated from two distinctly different manuscripts and written in romanized Lepcha by A. Grünwedel himself. That manuscript, for a copy of which I am gratefully obliged to Dr. G. Grönbold of the Bavarian State Library, Munich, forms the last of the three I have at my disposal when writing this paper.

IV

To give an idea of what at least one complete variant of the story tells, let me now give a summary of the Rongong manuscript, preserving the original division into chapters introduced in the English part of the text.

Introduction - the story of evil giant Dal Mung Matatungta, his revolt against the gods, and the origin of Mahākāla.

The first colophon - see p. 169 of this paper.

Chapter I - the miraculous birth of Tashe, his finding and adoption by the king.

Chapter II - how Tashe met Princess Mandara and fell in love with her: his wedding; he kills a man by accident and is exiled.

Chapter III - Tashe's life in exile; how he learnt all arts and crafts; how he went to the land of Takbo Thing (identified in the text with Nepal) and subdued rebellious demons there.

Chapter IV - Tashe spreads all kinds of learning in the lands of Takbo Thing; his fame grows; the country enjoys a golden era.

Chapter V - invited by the Tibetan king Rhi Rungchi Chen (= khri srong lde'u btsan ?), Tashe goes to Tibet and helps the king to subdue the rebel demons and to spread education.

Chapter VI - Tashe's subsequent life in Tibet; the death of the king; Tashe conceals it for 25 years, during which time he rules himself while the royal prince is growing up; teachings on the nature of death; Tashe announces his decision to go to the western provinces where the local demons are

causing a lot of trouble to the people.

Chapter VII - the new king and Tashe's Tibetan wife plead of him not to go to the west; he refuses to change his mind; sets out accompanied by marvels and miracles; encounters a powerful demon, debates with him, subdues him and turns him into his own ally.

Chapter VIII - Tashe's teachings on life, death, and the true nature of things; his Ascension.

Chapter IX - the story of the manuscript; quoted in full in the previous section of this paper.

Teachings left behind by Tashe - two unnumbered pages in Rong only, ending with the concluding prayer and the colophon by the 1960 copyist Athing Joseph Rongong.

V

The above story, even in summary, reminds one strongly of the Padma Sambhava cycle. Considering the fact that the Lepchas have been under the Tibetan rule for several centuries, it can hardly be a surprise; yet the persisting conviction of the tribe elders that Tashe Thing had been their own hero, long before the Rong-Tibetan contact took place, gives one a lot to think of. Is it possible that the much-ridiculed General Mainwaring was right, after all? Since no detailed study of Tashe Thing tale has been undertaken so far, it remains at least a distinct possibility. The Tibetan influence definitely is there in the Rong world - but it should not be overemphasized. The very script of the Rong language is certainly not of Tibetan origin, and the reprinting of Grünwedel's *ex cathedra*-sounding introduction to Mainwaring's dictionary without any qualifying commentary is regrettable, as it may strengthen the impression Grünwedel was right. The same holds true for E.Haarh's views on the Rong script, which are based on turning the pages by 90 degrees in order to superimpose a theory on the reality which in its ordinary shape does not confirm to it.¹⁵ And still - linguistically speaking - the Rong language displays the clusters with *y* and *r* subjoined, clusters in which both

¹⁵ The Tibetological works by E.Haarh are well known, and justly so; still, his views concerning the Rong script do not appear to be based on any solid evidence. The problem is that his views have recently surfaced in A.Chakrabarty's work (see n.7 above), and the readers of that book may well be led to believe the theory is right, not being given any arguments to the contrary.

parts are fully sound; this feature only shows the language must be an old one, if the strongest related language of the area, Tibetan, reveals the opposite case.

VI

The restoration of the Tashe Thing tale in its fulness, on the basis of the three manuscripts described in this paper, can and will decide once and for all whether the tale is, or is not, of pure Rong origin. It can reasonably be expected that at least some episodes of the full tale will throw a lot of light on our knowledge of the Rong life and its social and cultural patterns. If the basic core of the story can be established and proved genuine, we shall have to "rehabilitate" General Mainwaring, besides being forced to admit the Rongs do have something original of their own. If the tale proves an imitation of the Tibetan stories, both the primary (native) and secondary (outside) influences should be separated and discussed. Finally, if it proves merely a translation, it should at least be studied together with its possible Tibetan original. Is it not a matter of great importance to Tibetology that we might have a long, completely unexplored local recension of the famous Tibetan "religious epic"? "... no literature", indeed!

ADDENDUM: As far as the dispute regarding the origin of the Rong script is concerned, I'd like to refer the readers to my paper, Towards a Rong-Tibetan Comparative Project, which will come out in the Körösi Csoma Jubilee Volume, Budapest 1984. In that paper I am discussing, in a more detailed way, the for-and-against points of the dispute, besides giving both the script chart and numerous examples of words and phrases in it.

NOTES ON STAG SGRA KLU KHONG*

by

Fang Kuei LI (Honolulu)

The famous stone pillar south of the Potala Hill, erected by sTag sgra Klu khong not long after 763, has been studied twice, once by L.A. Waddell (*JRAS 1910*) and once by H.E. Richardson (1952). Waddell's reading of the inscriptions on the pillar shows many gaps and often mistakes; Richardson gives a much better reading and translation. The present study is based mainly on Richardson's reading with some emendations of my own. Because Richardson does not give the original rubbings of the inscriptions, it is impossible to be certain of some of my emendations.

I do not wish to present at this time a complete version with my emendations and translation. I only wish to compare some events mentioned in these inscriptions with those mentioned in the Tun huang Tibetan documents and in the Chinese historical records, with the hope of clarifying some of them.

1. The name sTag sgra Klu khong does not appear in the Chinese records. The normal transcription of sTag sgra is Hsi-no-lo^a, which appears several times in the T'ang history, but refers to different persons. For example, one refers to the famous minister and general sTag sgra Khong lod, who was disgraced (killed according to the Chinese history) by the Tibetan King in 728 (Bacot, 24, 48); another refers to a prince of Su-p'i^b who fled to China in 755 (TCTC c.217, the 14th year of T'ien-pao^c). It is incredible that sTag sgra Klu khong who led the Tibetan army to invade China, as told in the inscription, and finally captured Ch'ang-an, the capital of the T'ang dynasty, was not mentioned in the Chinese records. Instead, Ma Chung-ying^d was mentioned as the Tibetan general who captured Ch'ang-an and put a brother of the Princess Chin-ch'eng^e on the

* I wish to express my indebtedness to Betty Shefts, Turrell Wylie, and South Coblin for examining the transcription and translation of the inscriptions, and their valuable suggestions.

throne. I suspect that Ma Chung-ying was the Chinese name assumed by sTag sgra Klu khong, and wrote a short paper about it in 1956, but because of the limited circulation of this publication, I shall briefly summarize my arguments here.

In the 760's and 770's, four famous Tibetan generals were known to the Chinese as the Szu Chieh-tu^f (four military governors) who almost yearly invaded China. Each of them commanded ten thousand men (*khri dpon?*), and each man was equipped with four horses (CTS c.120, Biography of Kuo Tzu-yi^g). Although the names of the four generals were not given where this fact was mentioned, however in 765 four generals were mentioned to lead an army of 200,000 men and menaced Feng-t'ien^h, a district close to the capital Ch'ang-an. The names of the four generals were given, namely: Shang Chieh-hsi Tsan-moⁱ (i.e. Zhang rGyal zigs bTsan ba), Shang Hsi-tung -tsan^j (i.e. Zhang sTong rtsan), Shang Yeh-hsi^k (i.e. Zhang rGyal zigs Shu theng), and Ma Chung-ying^l (CTS c. 196a, the 1st year of Yung-t'ai^m). They were the same four generals, I believe, who invaded China in 762, and finally took Ch'ang-an (in 763 according to the Chinese records) and held it for a few days. Their names, as given in the Tibetan records were Zhang rGyal zigs, Zhan sTong rtsan, Zhang bTsan ba and Blon sTag sgra (Bacot 60, 66). The names agree with those given in the Chinese records for the year 765, except that Blon sTag sgra is substituted by Ma Chung-ying.

Ma Chung-ying was given the Chinese title *Ta-chiang*ⁿ (great general), *Ta-ch'iu*^o (great chief), or *Tsai-hsiang*^p (minister of state) in the histories of T'ang (CTS c.196a; HTS c.216a). There is no doubt that he was a very important person in Tibet. At the same time, as mentioned in the Tibetan records, there was Blon sTag sgra Klu khong, who was also an important person and whose deeds matched that of Ma chung-ying. He was the general who together with Zhang rGyal zigs Shu theng commanded the invading forces to capture Ch'ang-an, as mentioned in the inscription. He was also *blon che* succeeding Zhang rGyal zigs Shu theng (Bacot 102, 132). It is highly probable that Ma Chung-ying and Blon sTag sgra referred to the same person.

If Ma Chung-ying was the Chinese name assumed by Blon sTag sgra, it is probably no accident that he took the Chinese surname Ma. The Military Governor of Ho-hsi^q was Fu-meng Ling-ch'a^r in 744 (TCTC c.215, 3rd year of T'ien-pao^s). Fu-meng was a Ch'iang tribal name^t, common in the districts of P'u^u and T'ung^v, but it was changed to Ma^w later. Thus, Fu-meng Ling-ch'a was also quoted in the Chinese history as Ma Ling-ch'a (CTS c.109; HTS c.136; Biography of Li Szu-yeh^x). It is possible that

sTag sgra was a man from this region. It is interesting to note that he was described as a Li (Khotanese) according to Richardson 33.

2. sTag sgra Klu khong, as the inscriptions show, came to power by denouncing 'Bal lDong tsab and Lang Myes zigs, who were disloyal. They were punished, perhaps, soon after Khri strong lde brtsan succeeded to the throne in 755 (754 ?), as indicated by an entry in the *Tibetan Annals* in the year 755, when "the property of the incriminated Lang (and) 'Bal was assessed (Bacot 56, 63)." The downfall of the Great Ministers for being disloyal seemed to be a common political event in early Tibet, and they are usually succeeded by their denouncers (Bacot 101-102, 131-132; *Li-ms.*). The great ministers were not only powerful in government, but were also great military figures who tended to hold on to their position and sometimes even threatened the King. Often the King discovered their treachery in time to punish or kill them or cause them to commit suicide, such as sPung sad zu tse, Khri 'bring rTsan brod, sTag sgra Khong lod, etc. We may understand from the inscription on the north side of the pillar why sTag sgra wanted especially the King to grant his descendants the command of 'Phan yul. 'Phan yul was known to be a famous recruiting ground in the time of Kings of Tibet (Richardson 33). The request apparently was made to strengthen and maintain his military position in the government.

3. sTag sgra Klu khong was some kind of a China expert. He noticed, as hinted by the inscription on the south side of the pillar, that the Chinese government and its defences were weakened at that time by the rebellion of An Lu-shan and others. Thus he planned to invade China around the 760's by cutting the 'A zha population from China. By this time the 'A zha country in Ching-hai^y was ruled by Tibet. Their relation was friendly, but there was a large population of 'A zha who settled in the territory of Ling-chou^z and who was friendly to China. He knew that the 'A zha King fled with his Chinese wife, Princess Hung-hua^{aa} to Liang-chou^{bb} when Tibet conquered the 'A zha country about 663. The Chinese government moved them to Ling-chou^{cc} and created a special district, named An-lo^{dd} (peaceful and happy) with the 'A zha King as the governor^{ee} (cts c.197, *Biography of T'u-yü-hun^{ff}*). This 'A zha population was increased when mGar Khri 'bring's son Lun-Kung-jen^{gg} fled to China in 699 with 7000 tents of 'A zha (HTS c.110, *Biography of Lun-Kung-jen*). As can be shown by the inscription of the Chinese records, sTag sgra's strategy was to attack Ling-chou, the seat of So-fang military governor^{hh}, to which the 'A zha settlements belonged, and to isolate the 'A zha population from the Chinese. He meant to use them to sweep down southward

and eastward to invade China. China was taken by surprise, and the Tibetan army was able to proceed rapidly toward the capital in 763.

4. Before this event, according to the inscription, China promised to sent Tibet a yearly tribute of 50,000 bolts of silk. It was not possible to find confirmation of this fact in the Chinese records. In 756 the Uighur *khagan* and the Tibetan King sent envoys to the Chinese court and offered help to quell the rebellions. The Emperor feasted them, but sent them away without apparently accepting their offer (TCTC c.218, 1st year of Chih-teh ⁱⁱ). In 757 Tibet again sent envoys to offer help; the Emperor bestowed bolts of silk, utensils, and other things, but did not accept their offer. On the other hand, the Uighur's help was apparently accepted, and in the eleventh month of the 2nd year of Chih-teh (757), the Uighur chief was promised a yearly gift of 20,000 bolts of silk (CTS c. 195, Biography of Hui-heh ^{jj}), but there was no mention of a yearly gift of 50,000 bolts of silk to Tibet.

5. The special district created by the Chinese government to settle the 'A zha who fled and took refuge in China in 663 and 699 was interestingly named An-lo (peaceful and happy). The name corresponds to the Tibetan name bDe gams which was known to be associated with the 'A zha (Thomas III, 4-5, 23). The establishment of bDe gams as a province can be perhaps approximately dated. During the reign of Khri srong lde brtsan, according to the Tibetan records, the Tibetan state was great, and when the territory west of the Lung-shan range ^{kk} was captured, five Ten-thousand districts (*mthong khyab khri-sde*) were established, and a great new province was created for the *bde blon* (Bacot 115, 154). The Tibetan text may be quoted as follows,

*chab srid che ste long 'san la rgyud yan chad || phyag du
bzhes nas | mthong khyab khri sde inga btsugs | bde blon khams
ched po gcig gsar du bskyed do ||*

This refers, I believe, to the establishment of bDe gams after the capture of many cities and districts west of the Lung-shan range around or slightly before 760. Chinese history agrees in saying that the Territory west of Lung-shan was taken by the Tibetans about that time. The geographic location of bDe gams might be just in the area west of Lun-shan.

6. The inscription on the south side also mentions the name of a Chinese minister. The name is slightly eroded on the stone, but it can be emended to read ['Bye'u Ts]in keng (Richardson reads the first syllable as 'Gye'u; Waddell Bye'u). This name corresponds to the Chinese name

Miao Chin-ch'ing ¹¹ (Anc.Ch. Mjäu tsjěn-khjæng), who was the President of the Imperial Chancellery ^{mm} at that time. He was too old and ill to flee from the capital when the Tibetans captured it (CTS c.113; HTS c. 140, Biography of Miao Chin-ch'ing). The inscription is eroded here, and I cannot make out what is said about him. According to Chinese history, he was carried to the Tibetans in a sedan chair, but he refused to talk, and was finally released. The interesting point here is that his official title was given in Tibetan as *nang blon*, corresponding to the Chinese title of the President of the Imperial Chancellery. We still know very little of the function which many Tibetan official titles implied, and the translation or a few Chinese titles into Tibetan, or vice versa, may indicate to us some idea of the function of the Tibetan official title in the early Tibetan political system.

Abbreviations

- Bacot J.Bacot, F.W.Thomas, Ch.Toussant, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet, 1940-1946*
- c chüan 卷 "chapter"
- CTS Chiu T'ang-shu 趕唐書
- HTS Hsin T'ang-shu 新唐書
- Li Fang Kuei Li, On Ma Chung-ying 馬重英考
Wen-shih-chen Hsüeh-pao 文史哲學報 7, 1956, 1-8
- Li ms. Fang Kuei Li, On Ston-rtsan Yul-yung 祿東贊考 (ms.)
- Li Fang Kuei Li, The Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821-822. TP 44, 1-99, 1956
- Richardson H.E.Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa. The Mu-Tsung/Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan Treaty of A.D. 821-822 from the Inscription at Lhasa, 1952*
- TCTC Tzu-chih T'ung-chien 資治通鑑
- Thomas F.W.Thomas, *Tibetan Literary texts and Documents in Chinese Turkestan. 4 vols., 1935-1963*

CHINESE CHARACTERS

a	悉諾邏	x	李嗣同業
b	蘇毗	y	青海
c	天寶	z	靈州
d	馬重英	aa	弘化公主
e	金城公主	bb	涼州
f	四節度	cc	靈州
g	郭子儀傳	dd	安樂州
h	奉天	ee	刺史
i	尚結息贊磨	ff	吐谷渾傳
j	尚息車贊	gg	論子仁
k	尚野息	hh	朔方節度使
l	馬重英	ii	肅宗至德元載
m	永泰	jj	回紇傳
n	大將	kk	隴山
o	大酋	ll	苗晉卿
p	宰相	mm	門下省侍中
q	河西節度使		
r	夫蒙靈誓		
s	天寶		
t	羌姓		
u	蒲州		
v	同州		
w	馬		

THON MI SAMBHOTA AND HIS GRAMMATICAL TREATISES RECONSIDERED

by

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Among the many moot issues that still inhibit our full understanding, as well as our scientific control, of the two early Tibetan grammatical treatises commonly attributed to "Thon mi Sambhoṭa", none is more perplexing than the paradox posed by the question of the historical relationship, especially the textual filiation, between these two texts, the *SCP* and *RKHP* on the one hand, and the *Mhv.* and *Mdv.* on the other. If one elects to follow the usual Tibetan scholastic tradition, the *SCP* and *RKHP* are necessarily far older than any other elements surviving within the received corpus of the Tibetan linguistic and grammatical literature, by reason of their putative association with the inventor of the Tibetan script, the founder of Tibetan literary culture, "Thon mi Sambhoṭa". But if this is true, how then are we to explain the silence of the *Mdv.* on the subject of "Thon mi", as well as its silence concerning the two texts commonly attributed to him? The "Introduction"¹ to the *Mdv.* bristles with specific notices of earlier linguistic texts and their authors, as does its colophon; but after we have read both, "it is impossible to believe that the [*Mdv.*] authors had ever heard of Thon mi Sambhoṭa or of the *SCP* and *RKHP* texts. Above all, it is difficult to understand how Thon mi Sambhoṭa and the texts now generally attributed to him could have escaped notice in the [*Mdv.*] and its colophon had they and their presumed author then enjoyed anything resembling the positions of unquestioned and even supernatural authority that both came to enjoy in later centuries" (*SGTT* 13a). With the *Mhv.*, the situation is precisely parallel. To cite two simple but significant examples, from among the many that might be introduced:

¹ ITS 238-264, "IV.Untersuchung des Sgra sbyor bam po gñis pa, Die Einleitung", with a variorum text, translation, and detailed commentary.

(a) the *SCP* has Tibetan translation-equivalents for the noun cases, which it employs as specific grammatical terms.² The Indic originals for these *SCP* terms may be identified, in a general way at least, both from Pāṇinian and extra-Pāṇinian sources.³ But what may not presently be explained is why, if these Tibetan terms for the noun cases as found in the *SCP* are themselves anywhere as old as their appearance in that text would ostensibly make them out to be, they do not then appear in the *Mhv.* § 211, 4738ff., where the topic of the section is the case of the noun, but where the cases are simply listed in order, with no reference to the Tibetan names for the cases as known from the *SCP*, or - for that matter - any reference to the Indic originals upon which these Tibetan names are without question based.⁴ If the authors of the *Mhv.* knew anything of the *SCP*, and if they had ever heard of its Indic-based Tibetan translation equivalents for the noun cases, then they too, like the *Mdv.* "Introduction" and colophon authors, surely went to extraordinary lengths to conceal their knowledge in dignified silence;

(b) the Indic terms, used intact, not translated, of āli and kāli for "vowel" and "consonant" distinguish the *incipit* of the *SCP*; one does not need to read very far into the text to encounter these terms. How then are we to explain that neither āli nor kāli is known as a grammatical term to the *Mhv.*, or indeed to much of the post-*Mhv.* Tibetan grammatical tradition?⁵ Again, one is forced to conclude that if the *Mhv.* and *Mdv.* authors, working in the early part of the ninth century, had ever heard of the *SCP* and *RKHP*, if indeed they had ever seen copies of these texts, they must have had extraordinarily well concealed reasons for going to the lengths that they did in order to put all such knowledge behind them. In a word, and to take the liberty of repeating oneself twice over, "it is impossible to believe that the [*Mdv.*] authors had ever heard of Thon mi Sambhotā or of the *SCP* and *RKHP* texts."

² *SCP* §1.8, *las* (acc.), *ched* (dat.), *rten gnas* and also *tshe skabs* (loc.); §1.10 *'brel pa* (gen.); §1.11, *byed pa po* (instr.); and §1.15, *'byun khuis* (abl.).

³ Inaba Shōju, *Chibetto-go koten bunpō-gaku*, Kyoto 1954, 15 (but this book is not, pace De Jong, a "Tibetan grammar" [as he has it in his *I-IJ* notice cited *infra*,n.8.], but a study of the tradition(s) of the Tibetan grammarians).

⁴ A further, and equally paradoxical, complication, must also be noted: the section of the *Mhv.* immediately preceding that cited, *Mhv.* § 210, 4706ff., does know some - but not all! - of the *SCP* terms for the noun-cases, e.g., *las*, but not *rten gnas*, etc., which only goes to make the absence of all these grammatical terms from the *Mhv.* account of the noun paradigm in its § 211 all the more strange: the entire point deserves careful reinvestigation.

⁵ *SGTT* 125-148, reprinting with additions *HJAS* 26, 1966, 125-147.

This, roughly, is where the paradox alluded to above stood in 1963,⁶ and also, one must report more with disappointment than with surprise, more or less where it stands today. In 1976 hopes that a way out of this philological impasse might have been found were briefly raised by the publication of a paper by the Japanese scholar Yamaguchi Z.,⁷ that addressed itself anew to the entire problem of the historicity of "Thon mi Sambhoṭa", and to the interfiliation between the two grammatical treatises ascribed to him by the usual tradition, especially since this contribution chose to make an alleged identification of an overt notice of the *SCP* and *RKHP* in the *Mdv.* into the lynchpin of its argumentation. By an interesting coincidence, the year in which this new Japanese contribution was published, 1976, also saw the reprinting of our 1963 study from *JAOS* 83, 485-502 as *SGTT* 1-18. Unfortunately *Y* appeared too late to be noted among the "Addenda et Corrigenda", *SGTT* 18, 70 to this reprinted paper, where otherwise it would of course have found its rightful place. Naturally, too, if the expectations initially engendered by *Y* and its allegations concerning the Japanese scholar's putative identification of an overt notice of the treatises generally attributed to "Thon mi Sambhoṭa" in the *Mdv.* had proven to be justified, then it would also have been necessary to rewrite much of our 1963 contribution in the light of *Y* and its findings, in which event the accident of timing thanks to which both *Y* and *SGTT* happened to be published almost simultaneously would have been unfortunate as well as curious. But as it turned out, such was not the case. The high expectations naturally engendered by *Y*'s claims are not,

⁶ *SGTT* 1-18, reprinting with minor changes *JAOS* 83, 1963, 485-502; subsequent citations *infra* to this contribution are to pages in *SGTT*, but also include the pages in the original *JAOS* publication, for the convenience of any who may have only that earlier version at hand, also because the earlier version is the one that *Y* cites. More recent, touching upon some basic questions in the study of the grammarians, and also noting the more important reviews of *SGTT*, is our paper: Phone, Phoneme, and Graph in the Old Tibetan Grammarians. *AOH* 34, 1980, 153-162.

⁷ Yamaguchi Z., *Sanjūshō, Seinyūhō no seiritsu jiki wo megutte - Thon-mi Sambhoṭa no seizon nendai - . Tōyō Gakuhō* 57.1-2, 1967, 1-34, abbreviated as *Y* throughout the present contribution for the paper in question, and *Y* for its author.

regretfully, substantiated by a careful inspection of his work;⁸ for better or worse, the problem remains today where we left it in 1963. Neither our paper of that year, nor its reprinting in *SGTT*, requires serious or substantial revisions in the light of Y. But since Japanese language contributions to our field are still not widely studied in European Tibetological circles, and particularly in view of the generally prolix, if not at times positively labyrinthine, quality of much of Y's argumentation, it may serve some useful purpose if we attempt to communicate to the members of this Symposium Y's principal points, even though, with regret, we must preface this communication with the general caveat, to the effect that Y does not, in the end, contribute anything new to our present understanding of the general problem of the history and origins of the *SCP* and the *RKHP*, and especially to the effect that he is manifestly unsuccessful in demonstrating an overt notice of these two texts in the *Mdv.*, the key point upon which his entire argument hinges - and the issue also that, as a result, remains as perplexing a paradox for all these studies today as it did some twenty years ago, when we initi-

⁸ An inspection, e.g., rather more careful than that which formed the basis for the remarks anent Y by J.W.De Jong in *I-IJ* 22, 1980, 86, where he characterizes Y as "an excellent article... [that] completely supersedes Miller's and [that] deserves to be published in English translation". With the second of De Jong's statements we of course have no debate; but since, to the best of our knowledge, the English translation and republication of Y to which he aspires have yet to be undertaken, and since also, in the meantime, too few Tibetologists - and probably even fewer readers of the *I-IJ* - generally read Japanese scholarship, and so are unable to verify De Jong's encomium firsthand, the effort of the present contribution towards informing the interested reader of the details of Y's argument and methodology may perhaps serve the purpose of placing De Jong's enthusiastic remarks into a somewhat more balanced perspective. De Jong's evaluation of Y can only leave the reader who cannot consult Y directly with the impression that it aims principally at overthrowing our tentative conclusions of 1963 concerning the history of the *SCP* and the *RKHP*, while actually Y throws his net far wider; he would correct alleged errors in the work of Tucci (Y n.25 and 57), and particularly in that of Inaba (Y n.18 and 20), with whom he takes especially sharp issue, notably when he purports to detect Inaba being "influenced" by our views (Y n.30), apparently a very serious charge. But Y is by no means uniformly opposed to our 1963 positions: for specific instances, see his pp.7, 10, and 16, and his notes 3, 16, 31 and 59, among others that might be cited where Y approves of what we wrote in 1963.

ated these discussions.⁹

The linchpin of Y's argument is, as we have already pointed out, his contention that the "Introduction" to the *Mdv.* contains an overt notice of the two grammatical treatises commonly attributed to "Thon mi Sambhoṭa". Since the historicity of the *Mdv.* is beyond question, and since also this text may be dated with some confidence in the first decades of the ninth century, this would appear to settle the question of the dating of the *SCP* and *RKHP*, as well - or so Y would argue - as the question of the historicity of their putative author. But in order to follow the development of Y's argument, and especially in order to fully appreciate the implications of Y's failure to substantiate this, the principal point in his presentation, it is first of all necessary to rehearse the content of Y's contribution in somewhat greater detail than would otherwise probably be justified solely by the intrinsic value of his paper.

Throughout his paper, Y simultaneously advances his argumentation along two quite separate, and not always sufficiently integrated, dimensions; this does not always make it particularly easy to follow the overall route of his reasoning. Most of the time Y shows himself to be more interested in what is said about the two texts with which he is principally concerned, the *SCP* and the *RKHP*, than in what these two texts themselves say. This is why, in turn, the principal argument of Y's paper eventually centers upon a single statement in yet a third text, the *Mdv.*, a statement that Y vigorously maintains must necessarily and can only possibly refer to the *SCP* and *RKHP*, when as a matter of fact, as we shall see shortly below, neither happens to be the case. What Y is attempting to

⁹ The basic question of whether the rigorous study of the two early Tibetan grammatical treatises might not perhaps enhance our understanding of the earliest stages in the development of Tibetan culture as well as clarifying certain outstanding issues in the history of the Tibetan language, particularly if such study were to be directed primarily toward whatever internal evidence these two texts themselves have preserved concerning the circumstances and process of their compositions - in a word, study directed toward the higher-text-criticism - was, to the best of our knowledge, first raised in a paper on the relationship between the *SCP* and the *RKHP*, and on the issue of their attribution to Thon mi Sambhoṭa, that we read in Japanese to a general meeting of the Nihon Chibetto Gakkai at Kyoto University in autumn of 1960. These two texts were, of course, then already well known to scholarship, thanks to the efforts in particular of Bacot and Schubert in Europe, and Inaba in Japan; but previous studies had dealt almost entirely with the texts as viewed within the context of the later Tibetan scholastic tradition, which was followed both as a guide to what the texts meant (and hence also to how they were to be translated), and also as the only clue then available concerning their genesis and textual pre-history. The suggestions we made at the Kyoto meeting did not find their way into print until our 1963 paper.

do in this connection reminds one more than a little of a scholar of art history attempting to appraise a scroll painting or some other object *d'art* solely by studying, e.g., the seals, inscriptions, and other ancillary evidence that has, over the ages, collected about the work in question, without ever studying closely, indeed without looking at all at the scroll itself. This facet of Y's approach to the question of the history of the *SCP* and the *RKHP*, which might be dubbed his *external* one, cannot but remind us of those experts in the connoisseurship of tea-ceremony paraphernalia who refuse to look at the tea-bowls themselves if they cannot first study the boxes in which the bowls have traditionally been kept.¹⁰ No one, of course, would even remotely wish to suggest disregarding, much less discarding, the external evidence provided by seals, inscriptions of connoisseurs, and similar secondary materials in studying the history of any work of art: the boxes in which the teabowls were traditionally kept do have their role in establishing the history of the bowls. But this purely *external* approach to the history of the *SCP* and the *RKHP* has its own severe built-in limitations, as we demonstrated in detail some twenty years ago. It is precisely because of the almost total lack of significant, reliable early notices of these two texts that we are placed in such a difficult position when it comes to the task of working out the details of their early history.

At other times, to be sure, Y does depart from this exclusively *external* approach to our mutual subject; he does also, occasionally, concern himself with the internal evidence of the texts of the *SCP* and *RKHP* themselves - and a good thing this is, too, since when all is said and done, it is the texts themselves that constitute virtually the only data that we are able to put under contribution as we go about our exceedingly arduous task of attempting to clarify how and when and at whose hands the *SCP* and *RKHP* most likely took shape. But to treat such *internal* evidence is, in effect, to treat linguistic materials, since these two texts are, after all, grammatical treatises, i.e., linguistic documents on more than one level - these texts themselves constitute primary linguistic evidence, which evidence takes the form of what they say and of how they say it, at the same time that they also constitute secondary linguistic evidence, which takes the form of what they say about the language that they are describing; and as we shall also explain shortly below, Y's argumentation in both of these purely linguistic realms is

¹⁰ On this general approach, cf. our remarks in *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, 1981, 171.

more often than not exceedingly difficult to accept, simply because his view of the nature of language - any language, apparently, but in this particular case specifically and categorically the Tibetan language - departs so markedly from the norms generally accepted in linguistic science as to render many of his conclusions, along with much of the argumentation by which these conclusions are arrived at, extremely unlikely to gain acceptance in scholarly circles.

First, we must address ourselves to the most representative example of Y's overwhelming reliance upon external textual evidence, indeed, the cardinal point upon which the major argumentation of his paper, in the first analysis, depends, and the issue concerning the possibility of an overt notice of the *SCP* and the *RKHP* within the *Mdv.* to which attention has already been directed above in the present paper. Attention has also been directed above to our tentative conclusions of some twenty years ago in this connection, arrived at through a study of the available internal evidence.¹¹ What Y now proposes is to cast aside all this internal evidence, in favour of one single item of external evidence - an item that, moreover, on closer inspection proves to be of even less than gossamer substantiality.

Y now argues - and this argument forms the central point of his contribution - that the totality of the received texts of both the *SCP* and *RKHP* necessarily must be dated prior to the notorious *skad gsar bcad* of (most likely) 814,¹² because, he alleges, both the *SCP* and the *RKHP* are overtly mentioned in the *Mdv.* "Introduction"; moreover, and once again according to Y's allegations, the *Mdv.* has specific reference to these two early grammatical treatises commonly attributed to "Thon mi Sambhoṭa", which texts it furthermore directly relates to the *skad gsar bcad*, in the following passage:¹³

byā ka ra ḥa'i lugs dañ mi mthun te | mi bcos su mi ruñ
ba rnam kyañ bcos,
"those that were not in accord with the usage of the
vyākaraṇa and that by all means had to be revised,
were revised ..."

¹¹ SGTT 16b = 500b.

¹² ITS 213, 240. It is impossible here to become involved with the multifarious question of the *skad gsar bcad*, except to note that, particularly in the light of ITS 230-233, Y's translation of this collocation as *shin'yakugo no saiyo* ("adoption, acceptance of the new translation language", with *saiyo* "adoption, acceptance", for *bcad*) raises many questions.

¹³ ITS 243, §4 = Y 11.

This, then, is the heart of Y's argument for dating the *SCP* and the *RKHP* - an argument that, it must carefully be noted at the outset, is exclusively external, dealing as it does solely with what someone has said about a text (or texts), and in this instance, even more tenuously, as we shall learn below, actually only what someone has seemed, or may be thought to have said, about a text, rather than with what either (or any) of the texts immediately concerned itself says.

Both the *SCP* and the *RKHP*, Y argues, must have been in existence, and known to Tibetan scholarship, prior to the *sKad gsar bcad*, and hence also prior to 814, since the *Mdv.* in the passage he cites - and that we cite above - identifies both these texts as representatives of the new linguistic normative usage into which translators were now to bring their texts into conformity, revising them if, as, and when necessary in the process. And not surprisingly, our 1963 contribution is scored rather severely for having apparently overlooked what appears to Y to be this all too simple and obvious point.¹⁴ But is the point really all that simple and obvious? Alas, no.

Unfortunately, there is a fatal flaw in Y's proposition that will be immediately evident to any reader of his contribution after even a single cursory perusal of the *Mdv.* passage that he cites, and upon which he erects the entire remainder of his argument, namely that the text in question does obviously not refer to the *SCP* and the *RKHP*, Y only claims that it does. Furthermore, Y goes on to add to his problems (although in the process he admittedly simplifies his position) by citing in evidence not even a full text but rather only a fragment, and then by focusing his entire attention upon this one, single fragmentary passage from the *Mdv.*, most conveniently - for his *a priori* position - ignoring all the rest of the *Mdv.* "Introduction" and colophon from which his "proof-text" is extracted, i.e., ignoring the all-important context in which his fragment is found, and in terms of which his fragment must be read and interpreted if it is to be of any use at all to our studies. And the fact is that, in context, i.e., in the *Mdv.* "Intro-

¹⁴ Y 31-32, n.53, dubbs our alleged failure in this connection to be *jōshikiteki de wa nai*, which is strong language indeed, and means, roughly, "to be lacking in normal, common sense; to be senseless" (cf. Koh Masuda, ed., *Kenkyusha's New Japanese - English Dictionary* [4 Tokyo 1974], 625b, s.v. *jōshiki*). The reader who does have occasion to refer to Y's original text will find that his "notes" are arranged pretty much without direct connection to the text to which they are appended, thus the necessity here (and, e.g., in our n.8 *supra*) always to indicate, in citing Y, whether one is drawing upon its text or its "notes".

duction", in its colophon, and particularly in the expository portions of the *Mdv.* itself, the word that does appear, which is not *SCP* or *RKHP* but *vyākaraṇa*, appears several times over, always in contexts and textual circumstances that render self-evident precisely what the *Mdv.* authors meant when they wrote *vyākaraṇa* - at the same time that they make it self-evident that they did not, indeed could not possibly have ever, meant with their use of this word to have reference to the texts known to us today as the *SCP* and the *RKHP*.

Even after several conscientious rereadings of Y's paper, we must confess that it remains far from clear to us both why and how Y initially arrived at the *idée fixe* that when, in this single fragment of its "Introduction", the *Mdv.* authors wrote *vyākaraṇa* they absolutely, necessarily, and positively meant to refer to the *SCP* and the *RKHP* as later attributed to "Thon mi Sambhoṭa". But no matter what Y's reasons were, or are, for arriving at his unsupported, undemonstrated, and ultimately undemonstrable *a priori* postulation in this respect, once he does so arrive, he then continues to repeat and reiterate the identical point so frequently, so firmly, and with such conviction that soon it becomes for him a self-evident truth of the natural law, no longer in need of documentation and no longer available for debate. But of course, it is none of these things: It is only Y's hypothesis, a hypothesis moreover in support of which no evidence at all can be, or is, cited by Y, while at the same time, much evidence that argues directly against this same hypothesis can, and here will, be cited.

The only hints of an argument based upon philological evidence in support of this hypothesis of Y's are two points made in his footnote 26, p.27; but both these are easily dismissed.

First, Y claims that when the *Mdv.* in the single fragment that he cites has reference to *vyākaraṇa*, it must necessarily have meant to indicate the *SCP* and the *RKHP* because these two are the only texts in the Tibetan canon that are dignified by the designation *vyākaraṇa*. Not true: there are plenty of other possibilities, beginning with the *Vyākaraṇa subanta* = *Lunī du ston pa subanta*,¹⁵ and even more importantly the *Candra-vyākaraṇa sūtra* = *Lunī ston pa candra pa'i mdo*,¹⁶ which is still not even

¹⁵ No.4431 in H.Ui et al., ed., *A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons...* Sendai 1934, 681; No.5895 in vol.149 of T.Suzuki, ed., *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition ...* Tokyo-Kyoto 1957, 460b1-470a6.

¹⁶ Sendai 4269 = Peking 5767 (in vol.140).

to mention the several other texts in the canon in the titles of which *vyākaraṇa* also figures as a term.¹⁷

Second, Y argues that since the *vyākaraṇa* at issue are identified by the *Mdv.* as the norm into accord with which the texts of Tibetan translations were to be brought in the course of their revision, the texts in question must necessarily have been treatises relating directly to Tibetan - and not Indic - grammatical matters, and hence (sic!, Y) necessarily also the *SCP* and the *RKHP*, since these two texts are the only possible ones known to us that could have been the texts at issue, etc., etc. (the circularity into which Y's argument falls at this point will be apparent to the reader, making it unnecessary further to belabor that particular point here). But again, not true: and this we shall learn shortly below from the *Mdv.* itself.

Apart from these two gossamer-like arguments, both of which repose upon nothing more substantial than their author's own *idée fixe*, Y offers no philological or linguistic evidence whatsoever in support of his totally gratuitous equation of the *vyākaraṇa* in the *Mdv.* fragment he cites with the *SCP* and the *RKHP*: we are expected to take Y's claim on faith, as he does, while not to do so is to be "irrational, to fly in the face of common sense". But is it?

Obviously, the only route out of this melancholy impasse is, as usual, to return to the texts themselves - a step quite as necessary in this variety of argumentation based - since that is the way Y would have it - purely upon external evidence, as it would be in one dealing with internal evidence: it is time to stop being solely concerned with what the texts say about other texts, and to look instead rather more closely at what the texts themselves say.

The all-important "Introduction" fragment from the *Mdv.* upon which Y focuses all his attention, and upon which not only his *idée fixe* but also his philological auto-da-fé are solemnly erected, is, to begin with, just that: it is only a fragment. In the text itself, *vyākaraṇa* is found as only the second item in a list of two, where it follows *dañ*, while the item prior to this *dañ* is *chos kyi gžuh*. Simonsson tentatively rendered this last as "*Religionbücher*", earlier Ferrari¹⁸ as "*l'essenza della legge*". Whatever the precise significance of this particular colloca-

¹⁷ Sendai 4280 = Peking 5910 (in vol.149), to cite only a 'single example.

¹⁸ ITS 243, citing A.Ferrari, *Arthaviniścaya*. Roma 1944, 540.

tion as it appears in the passage in question (and for the moment at least, we would tend to favour Ferrari's rendering over Simonsson's), the textual occurrence of this expression correlate with and immediately preceding Y's all-important *vyākaraṇa* cannot simply be overlooked, as Y has manifestly overlooked it. What has happened, then, is that Y's citation of the passage has been deliberately truncated, in such a way as to make it appear to the uncautious reader as if the *Mdv.* plainly, overtly, and simply singled out *vyākaraṇa* and *vyākaraṇa* alone to be the sole norm that it adduces for the *skad gsar bcad*. But clearly the text does not do this.

And even if it did, this would in and of itself still not document Y's equation of *vyākaraṇa* as necessarily equivalent to, and textually identical with, the *SCP* and the *RKHP*. But for the moment, even that important point is somewhat less important than is the task of restoring the full, untrammeled context of the mutilated, truncated fragment that Y attempts to make into the keystone of his principal proof-text. Whatever the word *gžun* in *chos kyi gžun* means, the collocation as a whole can hardly be taken as having overt reference to Tibetan texts or Tibetan translations: if, as the passage says, some (*kha cig*) translations now had to be revised in order to bring them into conformity with the usage (*lugs*) of the *vyākaraṇa* and with the usage of the *chos kyi gžun*,¹⁹ surely this cannot, in the context of the passage as a whole, be taken to imply that Tibetan translations were now to be revised so as to be in conformity with Tibetan translations - which is the cul-de-sac into which we fall if we follow Y and make *vyākaraṇa* necessarily refer, first of all, to Tibetan, and not to Indic, grammatical texts, and second of all, specifically to the *SCP* and *RKHP*.

But Y has not been content merely to mutilate his citation of this - to him, at least - critical passage from the *Mdv.* so as to make it appear as if it supported his otherwise totally undocumented contention; he has also neglected to read any further in the text in question, either in the *Mdv.* "Introduction" from which he extracts this fragment, or, even more importantly, in the *Mdv.* treatise proper. For if he had done so, he would soon have encountered several passages that preserve overt philological evidence that is at once so massive as to instantly obviate all attempts either to truncate or mutilate, while at the same time they lucidly demonstrate (a) precisely what the *Mdv.* authors meant

¹⁹ Or, "with the usage (*lugs*) of the *vyākaraṇa* and with the *gžun* of the dharma..."

by *vyākaraṇa* in the single passage to which Y has devoted all his attention, as well as (B) that this, their meaning, cannot possibly have been the *SCP* and the *RKHP*.

The first of these context-critical passages overlooked by Y is to be found only a few lines beyond Y's own truncated proof-text,²⁰ where we read, once more, *byā ka ra ḡa'i sgra'i lugs ...*, but where once more the collocation in question is only the conclusion, following one of a sequence of ... *dañ* conjunctions, of a list; and it is the prior elements of this list that provide the context necessary for beginning to understand what *vyākaraṇa* means, and meant, here and throughout the *Mdv.*: *theg pa che chuñ gi gžuñ las ji ltar 'byuñ ba dañ gna'i mkhan po chen po nā gā rju na dañ ba su bandhu la sogs pas ji ltar bśad pa dañ ...*, i.e., a list of the elements into accord with which the revised texts are to be brought, that notices, "wie [sie] den Texten des Mahāyāna und des Hinayāna ..., wie [sie] von den alten grossen Gelehrten Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu und anderen erklärt wurden, und mit dem, wie [sie] nach der Sprachmethode (*sgra'i lugs*) des Vyākaraṇa analysiert werden ...".²¹ It is, in other words, the contents of this list as a totality that represents, for the *Mdv.* authors, the norm(s) into accord with which the necessary revisions of the *skad gsar bcad* was now to bring the Tibetan translations of Indic texts. Once more, the total context of the collocation in which the term *vyākaraṇa* is here found scarcely points either in the direction of an original Tibetan grammatical treatise, or treatises, any more than it warrants, or for that matter even suggests, Y's gratuitous equation of the *vyākaraṇa* in the |slightly prior *Mdv.* passage that he does notice, with the *SCP* and the *RKHP*.

But it is the second of these additional passages, neither noticed nor discussed by Y, that is even more important, and that leaves no possible room for further doubt about what *vyākaraṇa* meant for the *Mdv.* authors. To have located this second passage, however, Y would have had to read rather further into the text in question, beyond the "Introduction" and its colophon, on into the actual body of the treatise itself, thus discovering just what it is that the *Mdv.* actually is about, in the sense of what it is that this text does. Doing this, he would have found that in contrast with the *Mhv.*, which is a list, the *Mdv.* is truly

²⁰ ITS 244, § 5.

²¹ Translation from ITS, loc.cit., who also cites *ibid.* the earlier version of Ferrari.

and genuinely a hermeneutically-oriented treatise on the principles of Indic-Tibetan translation: specific, individual Tibetan renderings for individual Indic terms are analyzed, compared, criticized, and whenever possible exegetically supported in terms of the general, overall received corpus of Indic grammatical science, analysis, and tradition of linguistically-based text-commentary, in a word, in terms of the *vyākaraṇa*, not understanding this narrowly as the name of any particular text(s), but always intending it to be taken broadly, to mean "grammar" or "linguistic science" in the sense of that kind of explanation, elucidation, and analysis that "makes manifest" the messages of the texts - any texts, all texts, but in this limited context of the *Mdv.*, particularly the texts of the *skad gsar bcad* translations.²² In the *Mdv.* "Introduction" it is clear that *vyākaraṇa* is not the name of any text(s), and particularly not an overt reference to the *SCP* and *RKHP*, as Y would have it mean; here *vyākaraṇa* has reference to the totality of the Indic grammatical tradition, at least to the extent that this tradition was perceived, received, and understood in ninth-century Tibet. Furthermore, reading in the hermeneutical portions of the treatise itself, we soon discover that here the *Mdv.* authors employ *vyākaraṇa* in a still more specific sense - a sense moreover that renders any connection with the *SCP* and the *RKHP* even further out of the question - , i.e., to refer to the corpus of Indic grammatical exegesis and analysis particularly codified and transmitted in the *dhātupāṭha* text-tradition of the grammarians.²³ The more

²² It is important to keep in mind that *vyākaraṇa* is by no means simply a word that "means 'grammar'", much less an equivalent for, e.g., English "a grammar"; rather, in linguistic contexts, *vyākaraṇa* must always be understood as having underlying reference to the essential Vedic tradition that "Indra made speech manifest" (J.F. Staal, ed., *A Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians*. Cambridge 1972, 21). One of the reasons why Y has been able so firmly to convince himself that *vyākaraṇa* in the *Mdv.* must, necessarily, and literally, have overt reference to the *SCP* and the *RKHP* is because he understands this term in a far too limited sense, as if it could only refer to this or that grammatical text or treatise in the particular. The far more involved, and significant, sense of *vyākaraṇa* must also be kept in mind if we are to comprehend the most common employment of this term in Buddhist Sanskrit (and Pāli), as meaning "prediction, prophecy, esp. of future (re)births": the semantic link involved is of course that important common ground shared between the predictions of the karmic cycle and the predictive powers of any effective grammatical description.

²³ The *dhātupāṭha* are the Indic grammarians' catalogs of roots, with differences according to the school or tradition being followed in any particular case; typically (and e.g., for Pāṇini, where the *dhātupāṭha* is preserved only as it was known to the commentators) the listing of the roots is accompanied by meaning entries; and it is the content of these meaning entries (which for any school may or may not originally be part of the root catalogs themselves) upon which the *Mdv.* is drawing in its hermeneutically oriented citation of this portion of the *vyākaraṇa* tradition. On the *dhātupāṭha*, see G.Cardona, Pāṇini, *A Survey of Research*. The Hague and Paris 1976, 161-164, and the several references in Staal, *A Reader* ..., s.v. 546.

we study the treatise-proper portions of the *Mdv.*, the more obvious it becomes that it is the tradition of the *dhātupāṭha* to which its authors have reference, especially but interestingly enough by no means exclusively in the form which the *dhātupāṭha* had by then assumed in Mahāyāna scholastic circles. In the larger sense, then, by *vyākaraṇa* the *Mdv.* refers to the Indic grammatical tradition in general; more specifically, it uses the term to refer to the *dhātupāṭha* text-tradition; but in neither instance is there any question of the term having reference to any Tibetan grammatical work, early or late, and particularly not to either or both of the early treatises commonly ascribed to "Thon mi Sambhoṭa".

For a striking, and specific, documentation of this claim, we have only to turn to the *Mdv.* article on *yakṣa*,²⁴ which begins with the most straight-forward statement possible: *yakṣa žes bya ba byā ka ra ḥa las yakṣa pū ja yin žes 'byun ste ...*, "yakṣa [kann] nach der Angabe des Vyākaraṇa: *yakṣa pūjāyām* [bedeuten] ...", then goes on to recount still other ways of analyzing this term, and concludes with a (somewhat unsuccessful) attempt at a hermeneutic vindication for the Tibetan translation *gnod sbyin* = *yakṣa*.²⁵ And what is particularly significant about this particular *Mdv.* article is the fact that, as Simonsson has already pointed out in his translation and study of the passage, there can be no question or doubt either concerning what *vyākaraṇa* means in this passage, or concerning which particular portion of the vast *vyākaraṇa* tradition and/or literature the *Mdv.* here is putting under contribution, since *yakṣa pūjāyām* is attested in the Pāṇini *dhātupāṭha*, at X,153.²⁶ So also for countless other passages of etymological-hermeneutic translation-commentary in the *Mdv.* Time after time, even when there is in the *Mdv.* treatise-proper no overt reference to *vyākaraṇa*, the *Mdv.* authors are, the study of their text makes clear, recounting the etymological analyses of the Indic *vyākaraṇa* tradition in the larger sense, and repeating the lore of the *dhātupāṭha* tradition in the somewhat narrower sense, in attempts toward the vindication of specifically *skad gsar bcad* renderings of Indic originals into Tibetan; thus, to limit ourselves, for the convenience of the reader interested in verifying our citations easily, to a few of the more striking examples of this particular principle that may

²⁴ ITS 277.

²⁵ As registered, e.g., in *Mhv.* 3218.

²⁶ ITS 277; the citation is to be found in "Der Dhātupāṭha nach N.L.Westergaard", in O.Böhtlingk, *Pāṇini's Grammatik* ... Leipzig 1887, reprinted Hildesheim 1964, 81*.

easily be culled from among those already edited, translated, and studied in Simonsson, we may note the *Mdv.* articles on *maharṣi*,²⁷ where the *Mdv.* cites both the Pāṇini and the Candra *dhātupāṭha* traditions; *viśabhuji*,²⁸ where the reference is to the Pāṇini tradition; *viṣṇu*,²⁹ where both the Pāṇini and Candra traditions of the *dhātupāṭha* are laid under contribution by the *Mdv.*, each for one of two different etymological hermeneutic purposes; and *homa*³⁰ where it is the Pāṇini school that is at issue.

This list of citations could, if either necessary or desirable, be extended almost without limit, but surely there is no utility in such further display of data. Even in the light of the above - all easily verifiable in Simonsson's study, where for that matter they have been available since 1957! - one and only one conclusion concerning Y's gratuitous insistence upon the mechanical equation between the word *vyākaraṇa* in the single truncated fragment from the *Mdv.* "Introduction" with which he concerns himself on the one hand, and the *SCP* and the *RKHP* on the other, imposes itself: the equation, which we must remember is in turn the point of departure for the entire argument of Y's paper, is immediately ruled out of all possibility by the internal evidence of the *Mdv.* itself.

And so we see that, indeed, and for all practical purposes, this particular facet of the entire question of the history and origin of the two old Tibetan grammatical treatises attributed to "Thon mi Sambhoṭa" remains, *pace* Y's allegations, precisely at the point where we perforce left in it 1963: "[a]s one reads the [*Mdv.*], ... it is impossible to believe that [its] authors had ever heard of Thon mi Sambhoṭa or of the *SCP* and *RKHP* texts";³¹ this statement has already been cited above, in our present introduction to the problem of Y's position, and its overall

²⁷ ITS 271-272; note that since the meaning given for *ṛṣi* in the *dhātupāṭha* texts cited by Simonsson is simply *gatau*, the non-committal all-purpose gloss that is advanced for a total of 336 different verbs (Edgren, cited by Bühler, in Staal, *A Reader* ... 198), the *Mdv.* author(s) have had to draw upon yet another facet of the hermeneutical tradition - in other words, upon the *vyākaraṇa* in the broadest sense of that expression - in order to render it as *śes pa dañ ldan pa* "mit Wissen ausgerüstet". This provides a particularly instructive example of what *vyākaraṇa* really signifies in the *Mdv.*, while simultaneously demonstrating that it cannot possibly have anything to do with the two early treatises attributed to "Thon mi Sambhoṭa".

²⁸ ITS 272.

²⁹ ITS 274-275.

³⁰ ITS 276-277.

³¹ SGTT 13a-b = 497a-b.

applicability remains - regrettably! - unaltered now that we have scrutinized that position in detail. Nothing has changed, more is the pity.

In effect, it is also difficult to avoid the conclusion that Y's study of the secondary literature on this question has unfortunately been quite as fragmentary and just as truncated as his reading of the *Mdv.* itself, which is after all the primary document involved. Had he read further in the *Mdv.*, beyond the single fragment upon which he erects his entire hypothesis, he would surely have seen that the said hypothesis cannot seriously be maintained; if at the same time he had read further in our 1963 contribution - at least, e.g., up to the passage cited above - he would have learned that in 1963 we already anticipated, and more than adequately answered in the negative, precisely the same point that Y was later to raise in 1976. And equally cavalier, if not indeed downright captious, is Y's steadfast refusal, throughout his 1976 contribution, to take the least notice of Simonsson's 1957 monograph, to which our 1963 paper was so greatly, and so obviously, in debt, and which it cited time and time again. When all is said and done, Y's refusal even to acknowledge the existence of Simonsson's study, much less to consult and cite it, is probably the single most astonishing lapsus in Y's study, if only because, as we have here surely by this time made clear, a glance at Simonsson would have answered all Y's questions on this score, and would in the process incidentally spared us the time and effort required for this refutation of Y's allegations.

So much for Y's failure to handle adequately what we are here dubbing the external aspects of the problem, i.e., what is said about this or that text: it is time now to pass on to a critique of Y's approach to what we may call the internal aspects, i.e., what the texts themselves say in, of, and about themselves. In other words, the problem now essentially becomes one of linguistic issues; this is only appropriate, and unavoidable, since after all the texts about which we are speaking are linguistic texts. It will also be useful for the reader to keep in mind, at this point in particular, that it was the fundamental linguistic issues underlying the *SCP* and the *RKHP* that were, above everything else, the principal concern of our 1963 paper - of far more concern, e.g., than the admittedly interesting, but scientifically less significant, issues of who wrote these texts, and when, and whether or not there ever really was anyone named "Thon mi Sambhota", etc., etc. Our principal concern, in 1963 as now, was (and is) centered in questions of Tibetan linguistics, not in problems of Tibetan history or historical bibliography, valuable and important as both these topics surely are. Our

only reason for submitting the traditional attribution of the *SCP* and the *RKHP* to a "Thon mi Sambhota" to scholarly scrutiny was (and is) to clarify as far as possible the history of these two texts with a view to enhancing the potential scientific and linguistic exploitation of the ancient data relevant to the history of the Tibetan language that we believe these texts contain. We attempted to demonstrate, admittedly only in summary fashion, that more than once the received texts of the grammatical statements and descriptive, resp. prescriptive categorizations of both the *SCP* and the *RKHP* - but more often in the case of the former - appear to refer to a stage or stages in the history of the Tibetan language that is (or are) different from those stages with which we - and later Tibetan scholasticism as well - are familiar. We also earlier attempted to establish as far as possible - and unfortunately, that was (and is) not really very far - the linguistic reality - or more directly and simply put, the historicity - of a selected few of these "earlier and different" Tibetan linguistic forms and features, through citations of sporadic occurrences of the same from early MSS and other fortuitously available archaic documentary sources, no small number of which have survived by lucky chance, and may now be utilized by scholarship.

The later Tibetan grammarians - and only naturally, following them also the European and Japanese students of these texts - have necessarily "explained away" these survivals of earlier linguistic stages through a variety of exegetical techniques, sometimes blatantly interpolating transparently spurious statements into the received texts,³² at other times displaying the full spectrum of their exegetical gifts in what for all that remain vain attempts at harmonizing the formal discrepancies between the language they knew (and used) and the language that they found described in the *SCP* and the *RKHP*.³³ The point was always and necessarily remained a sore one. It hinged, when all was said and done, upon the plain and simple fact of the existence of the phenomenon of linguistic change: language, any language, all languages change(s) in the course of time. Today we are so familiar with this axiom, and so used to working within the constraints that it imposes upon the scientific investigation of linguistic questions, particularly linguistic questions involving older written-records, that we sometimes find it difficult to recall the enormous difficulties that this, for us simple, proposition presented to earlier generations. In the *SCP* and the *RKHP* were

³² For an example, SGTT 9a = 493a, to *SCP* 51.6¹.

³³ SGTT 12a = 496a.

anywhere as ancient as (the later) Tibetan scholastic and historical tradition generally held that they were,³⁴ then the language with which they are concerned, the language that they describe, could hardly, in the nature of things, have been identical with any of the far later stages of Tibetan. And the "nature of things" to which we here have reference is, of course, nothing more or less than the phenomenon of historical linguistic change. But since of course the very existence, not to mention the nature, of this phenomenon was quite unknown to traditional Tibetan scholarship, we need not wonder at the inability of said scholarship to cope with the textual evidence for historical linguistic change that, *inter alia*, these two ancient grammatical treatises with which we are here concerned have managed to preserve throughout the long history of their textual transmission.

And confronted with the Tibetan evidence for this same phenomenon of historical change in language, Y for his part cannot be said to have risen significantly above the level of traditional Tibetan scholasticism: for him, it is for all the world as if the past century or more of linguistic science had never existed, he recognizes nothing of the possibility of historical change in language, and he will admit no such possibility in the specific case of the history of the Tibetan language. Hence he is able to contribute almost nothing that is of value in enhancing our understanding of the linguistic dimension of these texts.

Y's argumentation on linguistic issues - i.e., his treatment of what is, in this case, the internal evidence of the problem - is, in a word, oriented along lines that are so very different from the course of approach customary in the consensus of contemporary scholarship on these matters that it is all but impossible to submit it to the necessarily detailed scrutiny. Hence no comprehensive critique of his position on these issues is either possible or desirable, and we shall attempt none here; a few scattered indications, which follow, will more than suffice.

In 1963 we noted³⁵ that the text of the SCP, §1.13 - as distinct from the battery of later scholastic exegesis and speculation that has

³⁴ In this connection, the fuller implications of the clearly late tradition dividing up the history of Tibetan translation-texts into "three periods" (ITS 217-218, n. 4) requires further attention than it has received to date, particularly with a view to clarifying the basis upon which it was established by the schools.

³⁵ SGTT 11aff. = 494aff. We are unable to enter here upon the question of Y's dismissal of our treatment of SCP §1.8, except to note that he claims that both we and Bacot before us have misunderstood, and mistranslated, the passage, of which his is alleged to be the only correct version known.

grown up over the course of centuries in connection with this passage - describes the particle *ste* alone, and "as it now stands appears to be quite ignorant of the forms *te* and *de* of written Tibetan, an omission that has long taxed the commentators". At the same time we suggested that the existence of early MSS in which "there is a tendency [emphasis now added] to use *ste* exclusively, in contrast to the later orthographic practice" encouraged one in the view that this apparent discrepancy between the received text of the *SCP* and "written Tibetan" might be explained as a result of linguistic change, i.e., a special case of the historical changes that, so far as we now know, all languages undergo in the course of time; or, as we expressed this observation in 1963, "... the text of Śloka 13 ... evidently does not describe *te* and *de* not for any particularly esoteric or covert purpose but for the completely straight-forward reason that the *SCP* author or authors, accustomed to and describing an orthography much like that of many of [the old MSS cited], were not familiar with *te* and *de*".³⁶

Y now, for his part, counters these suggestions, and dismisses the documentary evidence earlier cited in their support, in the following fashion (his pp.17-18): (α) it is, he argues, "totally inconceivable" (*zenzen kangaerarenai*) that there could ever have been a period or stage in the history of Tibetan when *ste* was the only particle: (β) furthermore, that the *SCP* śl.13 does not describe *te* and *de* alongside *ste* only demonstrates that the *SCP* itself, either as it originally was written or in the text that we now have, is "imperfect" (*fukanzen*); (γ) it is "unclear" (*fumei*) to Y precisely what the texts we cited in support of this suggestion, i.e., the texts showing only *ste*, really are, unclear "whether they are 'documents' (*monjo*) or 'MSS' (*shahon*)";³⁷ but (δ) since the Žol stele inscription has *te* and *de* as well as *ste*, the documentary-examples we cited must be regarded as "comprising miswritings and/or miscopyings" (*goki, gosha wo fukumu* ...).

The methodological and linguistic-historical flaws in Y's argument here are surely so self-evident that little need to be said concerning them in detail. Everything here hinges upon (α), Y's *a priori*, as well as *ex cathedra* declaration to the effect that something simply could not have happened, ever, in Tibetan linguistic history, for no other reason than because, as Y puts it, "it is inconceivable that it should have happened". Why or how this is "inconceivable" we are not told, only

³⁶ SGTT 12a = 496a.

³⁷ We have no idea what distinction Y intends by these expressions, hence we include his original Japanese terms.

that Y finds it so, and with that the entire question is apparently settled: *causa finita est*. Most students of these issues will probably find this unsatisfactory, and will, along with the present author, dismiss it out of hand, pausing along the way only to note, for whatever the observation may be worth, that the argumentative technique employed on this point is a mirror-image of Y's approach to the alleged identity of *vyākaraṇa* in the *Mdv*. "Introduction" with the *SCP* and the *RKHP*: that equation (which scrutiny of the text in question immediately showed to be false) we were then told was true simply because it was true, and to question it was "irrational", just as now we are warned that even to suggest that the Tibetan language has undergone historical linguistic change is "inconceivable".

In other words, no basis for (α) is suggested or advanced apart from Y's privy intuition; and since Y's privy intuition was clearly unreliable in the *vyākaraṇa* = *SCP*, *RKHP* equation, little more need be said here on this point. Nor need we spend time refuting the obvious circularity (β). On (γ) perhaps a bit more requires to be said: if the identity of the texts cited in 1963 is still "unclear" to Y, this can only be - again, the case is the same as that of his treatment of the *Mdv*. and its secondary literature discussed *supra* - because Y has not troubled himself to consult the documentation of our 1963 paper, where it is made quite clear just what these texts, all published and easily available, are, and where they come from. With (δ), the distance that separates Y's view of the nature of language, and of the phenomena of linguistic history, from our own becomes so substantial that further meaningful dialog is all but ruled out of question. Y finds no value for historical linguistics in "miswriting or miscopyings". He does not appear to understand how and why this in turn cuts him off from one of the major resources available to linguistic science when it turns its attention to questions of history.

Y's approach to the linguistic aspects of our question is, as already demonstrated above, not only ahistorical (since he rejects, when he does not simply ignore out of hand, the evidence of early written records) and monolithic (since he assumes, without evidence, a single course of development for the whole of the history of the Tibetan language, allowing for no possibility of variations particularized as to specific times and places), it is also what can only be termed monarchial: this, because of the totally exaggerated emphasis that he places upon the epigraphical evidence of the Zol inscription solely because of its "royal" origins and "royal" authority.³⁸ Of course, this inscription is important

for the history of the Tibetan language; but this importance derives from its age and authenticity, not from its associations with the Tibetan kings. But for Y, the "royal" auspices under which this inscription was composed, inscribed, and erected somehow give it a special role in the history of the Tibetan language, as when, e.g., Y cites the Žol text in a vain attempt to counter Uray's completely satisfactory observations that perhaps "[Thon mi's] reforms did not prevail for a long time, the lay clerks using the old alphabet and ignoring Thon mi's normative rules".³⁸ For Y, this is yet another thing that he unilaterally decides "could not have happened": after all, it was the "king of Tibet" who set in motion the process that ended with the supposed writing of the *SCP* and the *RKHP* by "Thon mi Sambhoṭa", and no one would have dared not to follow the rules established with the authority of the "king of Tibet" behind them - or so we are asked to believe, apparently for no other reason than that Y so believes. But many, one suspects, will wish to decline, as we certainly do. And most linguists will regretfully conclude that, powerful though the Tibetan monarchy may well have been, to thus attribute special powers over the history of developments in the Tibetan language to them is to remove the entire discussion from any possible level of scientific plausibility.

Finally, in concluding it, Y envelopes the linguistic aspect of his argument in yet another protective layer of internally contradictory circularity: having earlier professed, on his p.17, his inability to determine the identity of the documents we cited in 1963 in our attempt to illustrate something at least close to the variety of Tibetan, at an earlier historical stage, that most likely underlies the description at some points in the *SCP*, he thereafter, on p.33 in his note 59, forgets his earlier complaint that the documents on question were "unclear" (*fu-meī*) as to origin and instead stigmatizes them as irrelevant because they are "documents from the northern occupied areas, famous for not following the *vyākaraṇa*" - leaving the bemused reader, if any still be interested in recovering Y's chain of argument, to recall his earlier *ad hoc* - and demonstrably false - equation of *vyākaraṇa* with the *SCP* and the *RKHP*, hence by this last enigmatic statement he in effect means that these documents cannot be cited as evidence relating to the texts of the

³⁸ Y 27, n.29.

³⁹ But Y's citation for Uray's comment (originally in *AOH* 5, 1955, 121) is undocumented; it is assigned to "TLB", an abbreviation that does not appear elsewhere in Y. Was it not perhaps simply taken over from the original paper of *SGTT* 2a = 486a, where the same quotation is to be found?

SCP and the *RKHP* "because they are famous for not following" the normative statements of those texts!

It would not be seemly to prolong this demonstration further. Our 1963 paper was a first, tentative essay - and the English word "essay" is here to be understood literally and etymologically, as meaning *versuch*, which it does not always do today - an essay at confronting a wide spectrum of problems in the early and even the pre-history of the Tibetan grammarians' tradition. The paper probably raised more problems than it solved, and asked more questions that it answered, but there is no need, nor any intention on our part, to apologize for either circumstance. Nevertheless, and for all the lacks and imperfections of that 1963 paper, it still hardly seems to us that Y's 1976 paper now "completely supersedes" our earlier effort, as has been suggested: would that it did.

On all linguistic issues - and it is the linguistic aspect of the question that was central to our 1963 paper, as even now it remains central to our continued concern for the *SCP* and the *RKHP* - as well as on solely textual and bibliographical matters - Y's assumptions and approach both depart so markedly from the accepted norms of scholarly argumentation that they neither merit nor even admit of close scrutiny; nor can the conclusions that he attempts, on the basis of his idiosyncratic hypothesis, possibly rise above that hypothesis's own wholly unsatisfactory level: and "die Phantasie verliert sich, sobald sie diese Hypothesen verfolgt, in einen Abgrund".⁶

⁶ J.Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*. (Ed. L.Heinemann), Berlin 1928, I.x., 119.

Abbreviations

<i>AOH</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>HJAS</i>	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>I-IJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
<i>ITS</i>	<i>N.Simonsson, Indo-tibetische Studien. Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie. I, Uppsala 1957</i>
<i>SGTT</i>	<i>R.A.Miller, Studies in the Grammatical Tradition in Tibet. Amsterdam 1976</i>
<i>SCP</i>	<i>Sum cu pa</i>
<i>RKHP</i>	<i>rTags kyi 'jug pa</i>
<i>Mdv.</i>	<i>Madhyavyutpatti, i.e., the sGra sbyor bam po qñis pa</i>
<i>Mhv.</i>	<i>Mahāvyutpatti</i>
<i>Y</i>	<i>Yamaguchi Z. 1976, see n.7</i>

THE ORIGIN OF THE TIBETAN SCRIPT

by

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In this paper I am going to try to elaborate upon and prove the theory of Amdo Gendun Chomphel¹ on the origin of the Tibetan script, with my own research in the same field.

There are three theories on the origin of the Tibetan script. The first theory is that the Nāgarī² script is the origin of the Tibetan script. This is stated in the Tibetan grammar book *The Beautiful Pearl Rosary, the Necklace of Wisemen* (*mKhas pa'i mgul rgyan mu tig 'phreng mdzes*), commonly known as *Situe Sumtag* (*si tu'i sum rtags*)³ as follows:

"Thon mi Sambhoṭa pioneered the Tibetan script
modelled from the Nāgarī script at the castle
of Maru (in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet) after
he came back from India."

(thon mi sambhoṭa ... rgya gar nas ... slar
ldog pa'i tse, sku mkhar ma rur nāgara'i yi ger
dpe byas te bod yig gi gzugs brtzams. ...)

The second theory is that the Lantsa⁴ script is the origin of the

* Editors' note: This paper was already published - without the author's permission - in *Tibet Journal* 7:3, under the title: In Defence of Amdo Gedun Chomphel's Theory of the Origin of the Tibetan Script. - Appreciation of the author's presence at the conference justifies this new print.

¹ Amdo Gendun Chomphel (1905-1951) is a philosopher, historian, poet and artist. For details about him, see H.Karmay, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, the Artist. *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson, Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies*. Oxford 1979, 145-149.

² The Nāgarī script (*nāgara'i yi ge*) in this case was one of the Devanāgarī writings used by Kashmirians. For more information, see n.14.

³ The author of this grammar book is Dumbuwa Chokyi Jungney (or. Situ Chokyi Jungney), 17th century.

⁴ A script in use among Nepalese Buddhists and a kind of ornamental writing used by Nepalese and Tibetan calligraphers for inscriptions. See figure 1.

Tibetan U-chen (*dbu can*)⁵ script and that the Vartu⁶ is the origin of the Tibetan U-mey (*dbu med*).⁷ This theory started in the 17th century and most Tibetans have accepted it. It is stated in such Tibetan grammar books as *The Origin and Explanation of the Rules of Tibetan Grammar and Morpho-phonology* (*bod kyi brda sprod pa'i bstan bcos sum cu pa dang rtags kyi 'jug pa gnyis kyi rtza 'grel legs par bshad pa tsig nyung don bzang utpala yi rna rgyan*).⁸ In this book, it is written as follows:

"The manifestation of Mañjuśrī, the great, renowned Dharma minister Thonmi Sambhoṭa, took the Lantsa script as the model for the U-chen script and the Vartu script as the model for the U-mey script."

('jam dbyangs mi'i srid pa bzung ba chos blon chen po thu mi sambhoṭa zhes mtshan snyan yongs su grags pa'i bka' drin can des lantsa la dpe mdzad nas dbu can dang, wartu la dpe blangs te 'bru ma⁹ mdzad.)

The third theory is that the Gupta¹⁰ script is the origin of the Tibetan U-chen script and the U-mey is the natural outcome of writing U-chen quickly. This is the theory of Amdo Gendun Chomphel. He wrote two excellent articles, primarily to correct the misunderstandings of recent Tibetan grammarians on the origin of the Tibetan script, which were published in 1936 and 1938 in the Tibetan newspaper *Yulchog Sosoe Sangyur Melong* (The Mirror of the News of Every Country). A copy of a page of this newspaper is given in figure 2. In the latter article he criticized the theory that the Lantsa and Vartu scripts were the origin of the Tibetan U-chen and U-mey scripts respectively. He pointed out very clearly as follows:

⁵ I.e. "the letter having a headline". It is mainly used for printing scriptures. It may be called "capital" letter as in Roman scripts. See figure 1.

⁷ I.e. "the letter without a headline". It is a name for various Tibetan handwriting forms and is mainly used for government documents and social correspondence. See figure 1.

⁶ See figure 3, column XII.

⁸ Written by Nyangtoe Gashiwa Sonam Paljor Tsiring in 1810.

⁹ A kind of U-mey style, also called Drutsa ('bru tsa).

¹⁰ See figures 6 (B) and 7.

"It has been said that when Minister Thonmi invented the Tibetan letters, he made U-chen based on Lantsa and U-mey based on Vartu. This was just fabricated later by some glib people out of their own mind. This is proved by the fact that earlier historians like the Great Gölo¹¹ etc. mentioned nothing about it. ... In general, this claim that (the Tibetan) letters were made using the Lantsa as a model is completely untrue, because the Lantsa script appeared only recently."

(blon po thon mis bod yig gsar bzo mdzad pa'i tse, lantsa la bstun nas dbu can dang, wartu la bstun te dbu med bzos so bya ba 'di, phyis kyi kha bde 'ga' zhig gis rang dgar blo bzo byas pa tzam yin gyi. 'gos lo chen po sogs sngon gyi lo rgyus smra ba dag gis zur tzam yang ma gsungs. ... spyir lantsa la dpe blangs zer ba ni shin tu yang mi bden pa zhig ste, lantsa ni phyis tza na gsar du byung ba'i yi ge yin pa'i phyir.)

I quite agree with Gendun Chomphel. The first appearance of the Lan Lantsa and Vartu scripts was not before the 11th century A.D. It first appeared some four hundred years after the era of Thonmi Sambhoṭa. I am basing this statement mainly on evidence from G. Bühler's collection of Indian Paleography. Among nearly three hundred different alphabets, the only form similar to the Lantsa and Vartu scripts appeared only in the earlier 11th century. They are on Plate VI, Alphabets from Northern Manuscripts, column numbers XII and XIV (see figure 3). We can see from these examples that the Lantsa and Vartu scripts evolved from these two forms and then further developed into the present Nepali, Hindi, and other late Indian scripts, but not the Tibetan script.

Gendun Chomphel did not agree that the Tibetan U-chen and U-mey scripts were pioneered by Thonmi Sambhoṭa at one time. For this, he added three sentences to the article as follows:

"The Omniscient¹² Buton¹³ did not state either that both the U-chen and U-mey scripts were

¹¹ Gö Lotsawa Shonu Lodro or Yesang Tsepa (1372-1481).

¹² The word "Omniscient" in this case is just the translation of the Tibetan title thams cad mkhyen pa.

¹³ Buton Rinchen Drub (1290-1364), the author of more than a hundred books on Buddhism, Tibetan literature, history and grammar.

pioneered simultaneously in the very beginning. He just mentioned that the Tibetan letter was made after the model of the Kashmirian¹⁴ letter. ...The U-mey script is the natural outcome of writing U-chen quickly."

(*kun mkhyen bu ston gyis kyang kha che'i yi ge la dpe blangs te bod yig bzos so bya ba tzam las, dbu can dbu med gnyis ka dang po nas bzos par ma gsungs so. ...dbu med ni dbu can mgyos su bris pa las rang bzhin gyis byung.*)

Obviously, we can easily prove that the U-mey script evolved gradually from the U-chen form, as with the Roman capital letter and small letters, (for actual examples see Figure 4). I first suggested this at Lhasa, in 1951, and I submitted it to my teacher Amdo Gendun Chomphel after I learned his explanation of the evolution of the various forms of Tibetan letters and their origin. More examples are the Tibetan writing styles in the Bhutanese script and the Tun-Huang documents, in which are shown the beginning of the transition period of the U-chen script changing into the U-mey script (see figure 5).

Gendun Chomphel also proved that the origin of the Tibetan script U-chen is the Gupta autograph. He based this on historical evidence uncovered by his own research in India and stated as follows:

"There were very many different forms of the Magadha letters, one after another, during the entire time of the early period of the Aryān, the era of the Buddha, and during the descent-line of the king of Maurya and Gupta. We can see the letters ourselves, directly, because the pillars and the copper plates of those kings exist even now. ...A Tibetan can read almost half of the inscriptions on those

¹⁴ The Kashmirian script (*kha che'i yi ge*) and the Nāgari script are the same thing. Tsepón Shakabpa quoted a speech by Geshe Khunu Tenzin Gyaltsan Rinpoche on this subject in *The Political History in Tibet* (*bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*). Tibetan version, 31, n.27. He said: "The Kashimirian writing was named Nāgara in earlier time. ... The present Kashimirian letter called 'Urdu' came from the Arab country later." (*kha che'i yi ge la nāgara zer zhing. ... deng dusdar ba'i kha che'i yi ge urdu bya ba ni rjes su a ra bi'i yul nas dar ba zhig yin.*)

pillars and copper plates even if he/she does not know a single Indian letter."

(*sngon gyi aryāñ rnams dang, sangs rgyas kyi dus dang, mōrya'i rgyal rgyud kyi skabs dang, gupta'i rgyal rgyud sogs kyi skabs thams cad du, magadha'i yig gzugs shin tu mi 'dra bz dag rim gyis byung ba, rgyal po so so'i rdo ring dang, zangs kyi glegs bu rnams da lta yang dngos su bltar yod pa'i phyir ro. ...de'i dus kyi rdo ring dang, zangs kyi glegs bu rgya gar gyi pañdita dag gis kyang klog mi nus pa dag bod pa rgya yig 'bru gcig tzam yang mi shes pa zhig gis kyang phyed tzam klog nus pa yin pa'i phyir ro.*)

Gendun Chomphel compared a copper plate of the Gupta period, containing one of the Gupta scripts, with Tibetan U-chen for proving his discovery and published that in the same Tibetan newspaper. A copy of this appears in figure 6 (A).

I also did some research on the origin of the Tibetan script during the more than ten years that I was in India. I found that Gendun Chomphel's theory was one hundred percent correct. We can easily see this in figures 6 and 7. These sample alphabets were selected from the Northern and Southern Gupta alphabets which I copied from G.Bühler's collection of Indian Paleography.

I wondered why Gendun Chomphel did not mention whether or not the Nāgarī script is the origin of the Tibetan script. Later I realized that the Nāgarī writing system originated from the late Gupta script. To make sure, I checked with one of my best linguistic teachers, Prof. D.S.Dwarikesh. He is an Indian scholar with a keen intellect, at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, U.S.A. He said that the origin of the various Nāgarī writing systems were Gupta scripts. The Tibetan script might be modelled from one of the late Gupta or earlier Nāgarī scripts. Therefore it is understood that there was no need to argue for it, since we found that the Gupta script is the origin of all Tibetan writing systems, including the Zhangzhung¹⁵ Maryig (the letter smar yig was used for ancient Bonpo scriptures).

¹⁵ Zhangzhung was an ancient Tibetan kingdom in western Tibet.

I saw an old Bonpo scripture at the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. A librarian explained to me that the letters used in that scripture are in the Zhangzhung script. However, it appeared to me to be a kind of secret script known as Khadro Dayig (*mkha' 'gro brda yig*) or a sign letter of the Dākini; a style of an earlier Indian writing that might have been used in Tajik or Khotan in earlier times, and which could be derived from a Gupta script. Since then I have thought that the writing system of ancient Tibet (during the Bon civilization) was modelled from the earlier Gupta script, and that the writing system of the Tibetan middle ages (at the time when the Buddhist culture was brought into Tibet) is modelled from the late Gupta script. One kind of Zhangzhung script and the Tibetan U-mey script are similar. If we reconstruct these two different scripts, I believe it will finally reach one root, which is the Gupta script.

Furthermore, my Tibetan literature teacher at the Potala college (rTse rig gnas slob grva), Gegen Lodro Chosang from Mindroling monastery (one of the best Nyingma sect universities in Tibet), taught me that there is a traditional saying that present Tibetan writing is derived from the Zhangzhung Maryig and that the Zhangzhung script is derived from the Tazig Pungyig (*stag gzig spuṇs yig*). If this is true, then the origin of the Tazig Pungyig might be an earlier Gupta script that was used in Tajik (ancient Persia).

To reach a final conclusion on the true origin of the Tibetan script, much more work is needed, especially using modern methodology and scientific research. Tremendous research needs to be done using the ancient history texts from the earlier Bon in Tibet and its relationship with ancient Tajik, Khotan, and Northwestern India, and from the earlier Indo-Tibetan relationship up to the middle ages. The evidence should be based on both the Zhangzhung-Tibetan histories written in their own languages and the relevant neighbouring countries' histories written in earlier Tajik, Khotanese, Nepali, Kashmirian and other Indian languages, with support from archaeological materials.

I sincerely hope that Tibetan and foreign scholars, particularly those growing up in this mid-twentieth century, will take interest in this field and will find the truth.

Now, I will conclude this paper with a Tibetan proverb in a verse as follows:

"The view from a person whose one eye is covered,
Is the same as a one eyed yak eating grass (seen
only from one side)."

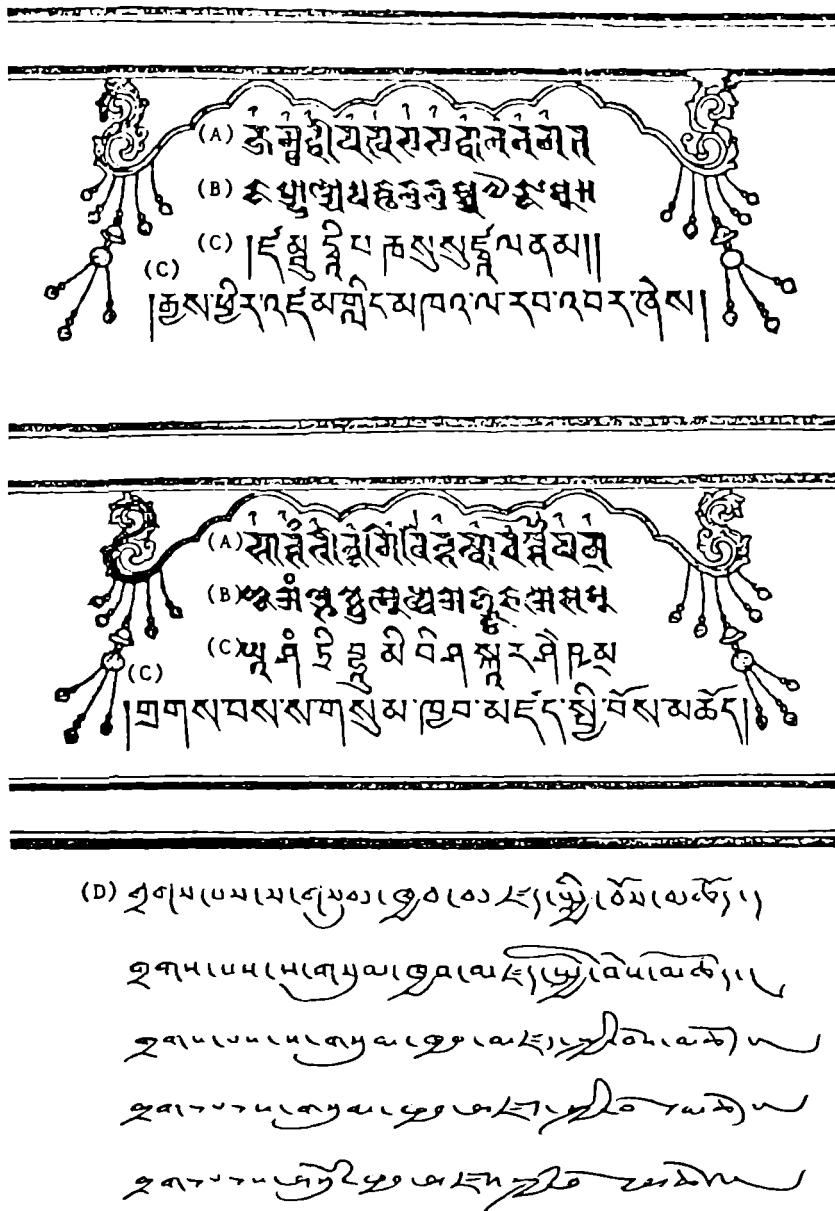
For correcting faults and mistakes such as that
one-sidedness,

One should critically analyse with an unprejudiced mind."

(*mig ya gcig bsgrigs pa'i mthong tsul ni,
g.yag zhar bas spang rtzva bzas dang mtsungs.
de 'dra ba'i skyon 'khrul sel ba'i phyir,
blo gzu bor gnas pas dpyad zhib mdzod.*)

Tibetan Alphabet

ཀ	ཁ	ງ	ນ
ka	kha	ga	nga
ཆ	ຂ	ຈ	ຍ
ca	cha	ja	nya
ຕ	ທ	ດ	ນ
ta	tha	da	na
ພ	ພ	ບ	ມ
pa	pha	ba	ma
ຕྰ	ຖྰ	ດྰ	ວ
tza	tsa	dza	wa
ଶ୍ଵ	ଶ୍ଵ	ଦ୍ଵ	ୟ
zha	za	'a	ya
ର୍ଲ	ର୍ଲ	ଶ୍ଵ	ସ
ra	la	sha	sa
ହ୍ର	ହ୍ର	ଫ୍ର	ବ
ha	a	fa	va



(A) Lantsa, (B) Vartu, (C) U-chen, (D) All five lines are U-mey scripts. The first line is called Drutsa, the second line is called Tsugthung, and last three lines are called Khyug. (There are various styles of U-mey, more examples of which will be published in my forthcoming paper, *The Development of Tibetan Scripts.*)

FIGURE 1

The Tibetan Newspaper *Yulchog Sosoe Sangyur Melong* (January 2, 1938)

དྲବ୍ୟାକୁଣ୍ଡିତମ୍

ସୁର୍ଯ୍ୟପୂର୍ବଶାନ୍ତିଶର୍ଵିଷାମନଶ୍ରୀମେହେଠି ।

କୁମରପାତର
ବନ୍ଦି

ଶୁଦ୍ଧାର୍ଥୁପଦ
ବେଳୀଶୁଦ୍ଧା

ଶ୍ରୀମଦ୍ଭଗବତପ୍ରକାଶନ

FIGURE 2

G. Bühlér, Indian Paleography, Plate VI: Alphabets from Northern Manuscripts

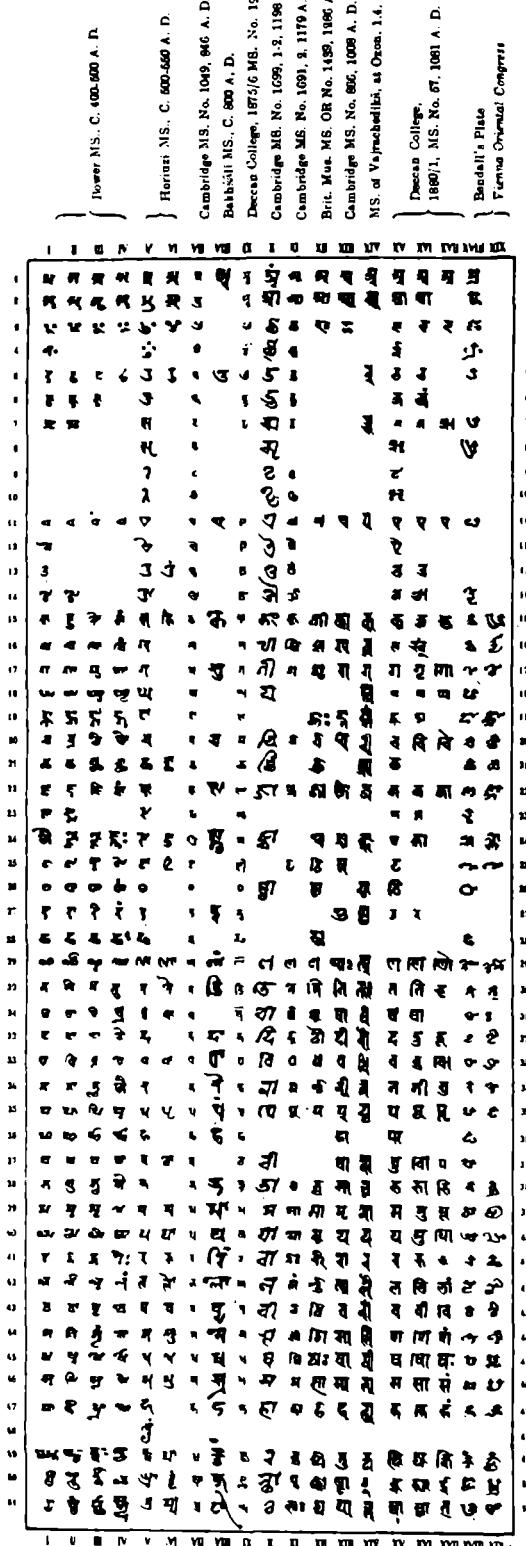


FIGURE 3

How the "U-chen" form changed into "U-mey" form

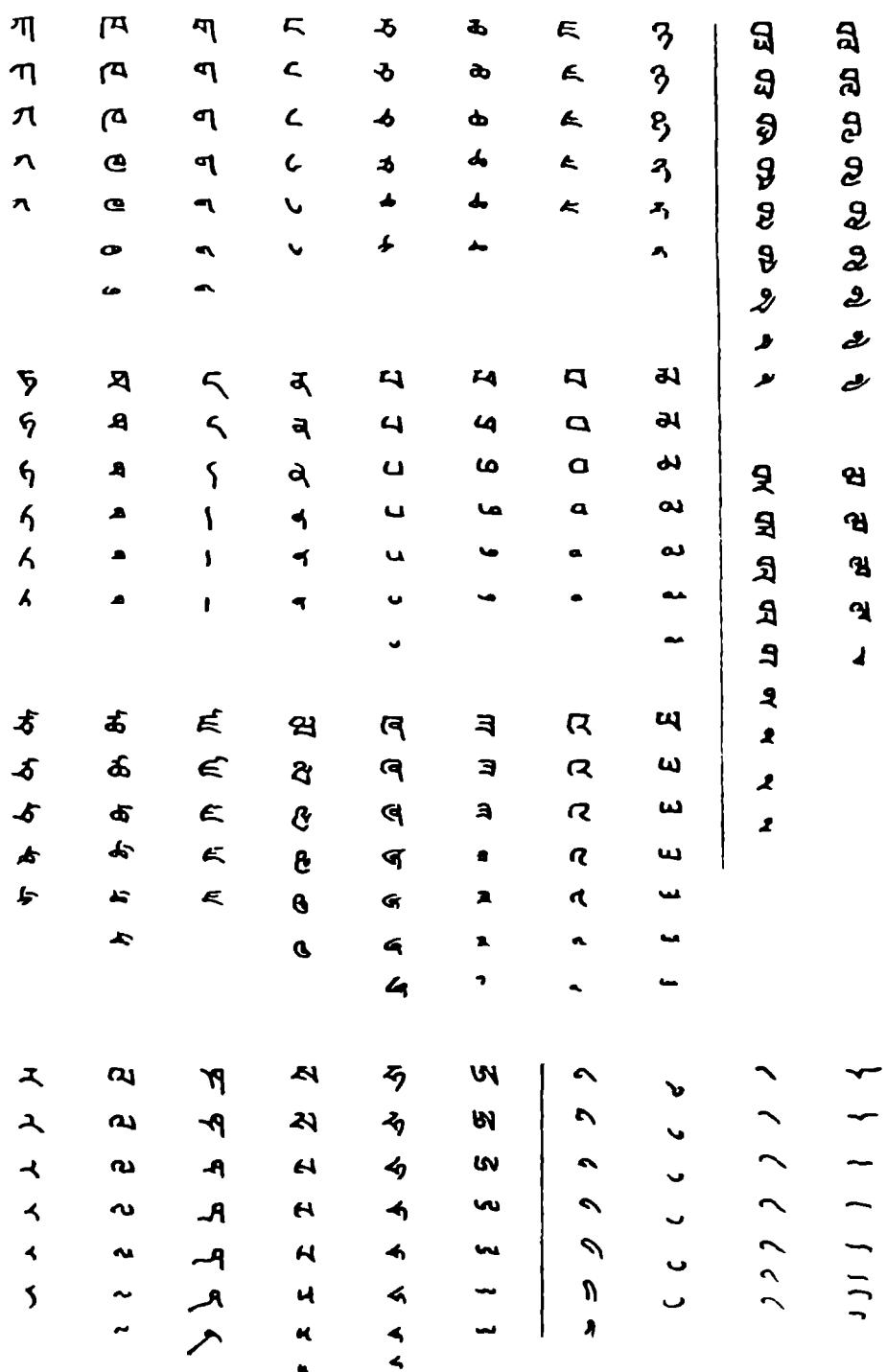


FIGURE 4

(A) A copy of a letter in present Bhutanese writing

କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା
କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା କୁର୍ମା

(B) A copy of a piece from a Tun-huang Document

ମହାମୁଖମନ୍ତ୍ରକୁଣ୍ଡଳେ ପୁଣି ଅନ୍ତରୀଳସାରୀ । ୧୫:୩
ପ୍ରତିରୋଧକଲାପିତା ॥ ଯଗରଃଶରୀରାଦୁଷ୍ଟବ୍ୟାପି ଏତଙ୍କାମକଣ୍ଠରେ ଦୂ
ର୍ଧକୁଣ୍ଡଳେ ପ୍ରତିରୋଧକଲାପିତା ॥ ଯଗରଃଶରୀରାଦୁଷ୍ଟବ୍ୟାପି ଏତଙ୍କାମକଣ୍ଠରେ ଦୂ
ର୍ଧକୁଣ୍ଡଳେ ପ୍ରତିରୋଧକଲାପିତା ॥

FIGURE 5

(A) A Copper Plate of Kumāra Gupta (A Copy from Gendun Chomphel's Article)

ॐ श्रीकृष्णाय विष्णवाय श्रीरामाय
 क्षमा अर्थमनुदेवताप्रियं श्रीरामाय
 नगर्जनदेवताप्रियं श्रीरामाय

(B) G.Bühler, *Indian Paleography*, Plate VI (Column 11):
 Northern Alphabets from C.350 to 800 A.D.,
 Gupta Inscriptions, Maukhari, 6th cent. A.D.

अ र ए र ए र ए र ए र ए र ए र ए र
 अ र ए र ए र ए र ए र ए र ए र ए र

FIGURE 6

(A) G.Bühler, *Indian Paleography*, Plate VII (Column 1):
 The Southern Alphabets from C.400 to 750 A.D.,
 Gupta Sāñci, 412 A.D.

ଶ୍ରୀରକ୍ଷେତ୍ରକେନ୍ଦ୍ରିଯୁଦ୍ଧବିନ୍ଦୁକୁଣ୍ଡଳେ
 ଗୁରୁରକ୍ଷେତ୍ରର୍ମହାତ୍ମ୍ୟପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣବ୍ରତାନ୍ତରୁଷ୍ମ୍ଭାଷ୍ମି

(B) G.Bühler, *Indian Paleography*, Plate IV (Column 1):
 Northern Alphabets from C.350 to 800 A.D.
 Gupta Inscriptions, Allāhāvad-Praśasti, C.375 A.D.

ଶ୍ରୀରକ୍ଷେତ୍ରକେନ୍ଦ୍ରିଯୁଦ୍ଧବିନ୍ଦୁକୁଣ୍ଡଳେ
 ଗୁରୁରକ୍ଷେତ୍ରର୍ମହାତ୍ମ୍ୟପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣବ୍ରତାନ୍ତରୁଷ୍ମ୍ଭାଷ୍ମି

FIGURE 7

GUNGHANGPA'S TEXT IN COLLOQUIAL AMDOWA

by

THUBTEN J. NORBU (BLOOMINGTON)

Introduction

The text presented here is a rare example of written colloquial language of the pastoral people ('brog pa) of Tibet. It is included in Gungthangpa's *gsung 'bum*, vol.10, 150-158 and bears the marginal title *Phal skad zab chos* (The Profound Dharma Given in the Vernacular).

There are many dialects of the pastoral language ('brog skad). In Amdo they can basically be divided into those dialects north of the Yellow River (rMa chu) and those to the south. Our author, Gungthangpa (Gung thang pa) dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, came from the area of Dzoge (mDzod dge or mDzo dge) to the south of the Yellow River. I learned this particular dialect when I was a child from my teacher Lhagsam at Kumbum Monastery, north of the Yellow River. My teacher was from the pastoral people of the Kokonor region (the tribe known as Upper 'Ong rtags). His dialect was very similar to that of Gungthangpa, but it leans toward the northern dialect.

The southern dialect enunciates the original Old Tibetan "prefixed" consonants more strongly than the northern. For instance, in the southern dialect, the literary *dkon mchog gsum la phyag 'tshal lo* is pronounced approximately hkön-mchokh xsǖm la fšyak ntshellö. Northerners soften these initial consonants. There is no difference in the vocabulary between north and south.

To the south-west of the Amnye Machen Mountain Range is the land of the Golok. The Golok have their own distinct pronunciation and some difference in vocabulary usage. The Golok speech ('go log skad) is to be distinguished from the pastoral language.

The fourth of the major Amdo dialects is the valley dialect (*rong-skad*). This valley dialect has many local variations. One could indeed say that each valley has its own dialect. The pronunciation of the val-

ley dialect more closely approximates the central Tibetan, because the original prefixed consonants are scarcely pronounced. The vowel pronunciation and vocabulary usage is, however, very different. One kind of valley dialect spoken in Cone (Co-ne) comes closest to central Tibetan pronunciation. There are several other smaller dialect groups such as that of Drotsang (Gro tshang), which could be classified as a valley dialect. There are a large variety of minor dialects which show admixture with non-Tibetan languages like Monguor, Mongolian, Chinese, Turkic, etc. For instance, the Gonlung (dGon lung) dialect seems to be half Tibetan and half Monguor.

I was trained in the pastoral language at Kumbum because the pastoral language was the official lingua franca of Kumbum, where a large number of languages were spoken. Knowledge of the pastoral language was required for all official positions.

Gungthangpa was born at Dzoge in 1762 A.D., on the eighth day of the second month, at about the time of sunrise. His father's name was The po lcags po byams pa. His mother's name was Bo chog. At the age of five, the Second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa came to Tashichöling (bKra shis chos gling) Monastery in Dzoge and recognized him as a reincarnation of the holder of the gSer khri che ba, usually called the Ganden Tripa (dGa' ldan khri pa). The particular Ganden Tripa that began the incarnation lineage was the fiftieth, dGe 'dun phun tshogs, alias Khri chen gung thang pa, alias Zha bra dge 'dun phun tshogs, who held the throne of Tsongkhapa from 1714 to 1720 A.D. His immediate reincarnation was the fifth abbot of Tashikhyil named Tshangs sras dGyes pa'i rdo rje. Our Gungthangpa was an incarnation of this man.

At the age of seven, in 1786, on the eighth day of the first month, he was taken to Tashikhyil Monastery. On the thirteenth day, the Second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa gave him lay and novice vows together, naming him dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me. Then he took refuge and guruyoga teachings from the Second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa. Among his other teachers was rDo rams pa Blo bzang rin chen who taught *vajracchedikā*, *Mañjushrīnāmasaṅgīti*, etc.

At the age of nine he received letters of praise from the Eighth Dalai Lama, 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho. At the age of ten, he studied tantra and received many initiations from the Second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa. He received the Yamāntaka, Mahākāla, Devī and Kubera initiations from Rin chen chos bzang. From other teachers he studied the proper manner of conducting rituals. At the age of twelve, he entered into the regular curriculum of Tashikhyil Monastery. At the age of fourteen he became an expert in the seven logical treatises of Dharmakirti. Additionally he studied

painting and different languages and scripts (including Chinese and Mongolian). When he reached the age of seventeen and was preparing to go to Central Tibet, he had already authored several poems in praise of places, and thus became known as a writer.

In the eighth month of that year, he arrived at Lhasa. The Tibetan government welcomed him warmly and he had a special audience with the Eighth Dalai Lama. On the seventh day of the eighth month of 1778 he went to Drepung where he studied in the sGo mang grwa tshang. His teacher there was Hor skal bzang dngos grub. He later visited Tashilhumpo Monastery and met the Seventh Panchen Lama, Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes. From him he received initiation into many tantric rituals and teachings. He made pilgrimage to many monasteries in Central Tibet and then returned to Drepung.

On his return, he studied uninterruptedly, memorizing the six main Bka' gdams pa texts and the twenty-one Indian commentaries. He practiced debating and became so skillful that no one could compete with him. Aside from this, he studied philosophical textbooks of Drepung, Sera and Ganden. He also studied Buddhist cosmology. He participated as an examiner in all the debating contests held in Drepung. He studied Mahāyāna and Hinayāna Abhidharma and Vinaya, by both Indian and Tibetan authors. He memorized the basic works on the various kinds of Buddhist philosophy.

At that time, he began teaching in the monastery. He took initiations under the Panchen Lama - Lamrim, Śāṃvara, etc.; he intensified his studies.

At the age of twenty-five, during the 1786 New Year festival in Lhasa, he had an examination debate, came out undefeated, and received his lha rams pa dge bshes, or "Doctor of Philosophy" degree. After that, 'Jig med dbang po, the Panchen Lama, and Klong rdol Lama asked him to return to Amdo. In the seventh month, he set out. In the eleventh month he arrived at Tashikhyil.

At the age of twenty-six he stayed in his retreat place, Yid dga' chos 'dzin, and at Tashikhyil. He practiced the general lamrim (Path Stages, beginning with "Refuge" and ending with the union of method and wisdom - zung 'jug) as well as the two stages of tantra practice and also the Three Bases (gtso bo rnam gsum) of the Buddhist Path (1. frustration with existence in the vicious circle, 2. Bodhi Aspiration and 3. Right View), etc.

At the age of twenty-eight, he went to his home town of Dzoge and gave teachings at the request of his followers. On the fifteenth day of

the third month of 1792 he was installed as abbot of Tashikhyil. He made the monastic orders and curriculum more strict, and he attended classes personally. He was always giving lectures, especially on *Vinaya* and *Abidharma*, inspiring a new interest in those subjects. He also lectured on *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. He discussed the *Abhisamayālamkāra* commentary of Śimhabhadra, the *Vijñānahṛdayālamkāra*, and other texts both separately and together. He talked on *Jātaka* in combination with the *Sūtrālamkāra* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva.

For seven years he served as abbot of Tashikhyil. Then he built a new monastery at Dzoge, known as *Dga' ldan rab rgyas gling*. Inside, he placed books and images and arranged for support of the monks. Until the age of sixty-two he spent part of his time there and part at Tashikhyil, meditating for clearing away the obstructions to omniscience.

In the meanwhile, he wrote his books on all the five monastic subjects, many tantric studies, biographies of scholars, poems, dance and music manuals, biographies of *bKa'* gdams pa teachers, commentaries, many *sādhanas*, consecration rites, image building manuals, praises to Milarepa and other Tibetan teachers, regulations for various Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries, admonishments for lay people, students and tantrics, offerings to mountain deities, oracular rites, etc. Finally, he died in 1823, aged sixty-two.

He had many renowned disciples, the best known being *dPal mang dkon mchog rgyal mtshan* and *Thu'u bkwan chos kyi rgyal mtshan*. His philosophical works were made the official textbooks in *sGo mang grwa tshang* at Drepung and also at Kumbum, Labrang, Tashikhyil and many other monasteries in Tibet and Mongolia, even as far as Urga and Buriatia. His stories, admonitions and poems have been very popular with followers of Tibetan Buddhism up to the present day.

Phal skad zab chos, the work of Gungthangpa edited and translated here was first brought to my attention by Professor A. Róna-Tas of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I had previously heard about a conversation between *Rol pa'i rdo rje* (the Second *lCang skyā* incarnate, 1717-1786) and Gungthangpa. Therefore, even though the text itself doesn't directly name *Rol pa'i rdo rje*, I believe that the *kho* of the conversation refers to him. If that's the case, then the *no* must be Gungthangpa himself, who could have been no older than seventeen years of age at the time the conversation took place.

This conversation recorded by Gungthangpa is, according to the title and content, meant to convey the basics of Buddhism to ordinary people in ordinary language. The subject of the conversation is based on the

story of Gompo Dorje (*mGon po rdo rje or Khyi ra ras pa*). All Tibetans are familiar with this story, but non-Tibetans might need some introduction to it. While Milarepa was staying in a mountain cave, singing his songs, a frightened stag came running toward his cave, heard his singing and come to sit down beside him. Then a dog came chasing after the stag and it, too, was charmed by Milarepa's singing. Then the hunter Gompo Dorje came running up. At first he was unhappy because he was expecting to get meat for his family. Then he wondered why his dog was lying down next to the deer. Milarepa sang a song for him. Then Gompo Dorje was converted by Milarepa's perception of wordly existence and its impermanence. This song is quoted several times in the course of the conversation.

Finally, it is to be noted that Gungthangpa also authored a short text entitled *The Tea Offering of Gompo Dorje*, as an appendix to the present text; however, it has not been included in this study. It is hoped that the publication of this text will be of benefit to those studying the historical dialectology of Tibet, and that it will demonstrate further the capabilities of one of Tibet's greatest scholars.

In the following I give the transliteration of the text together with a word for word translation. The translation-system used here is the one accepted by the American Library Association and the Verein Deutscher Bibliothekare. The subscribed a *chuñ* is marked by underlining the vowel (e.g. yod, a etc.). These forms, words or phrases which I consider to be "colloquial" are marked by wavey lines.

*rDo-rje 'chañ-dbañ mi-yi gar rol-pa'i ||
yab-rje bstan-pa'i sgron-me'i žal sna-nas ||
skye-bo blo dman-kun-gyis go bde'i ched ||
phal-skad tshul-du gañ-ba'i zab chos bžugs-so ||*

[151,1] | A las bzañ-tsho bzañ-na chi-a ñon-da | rJe-btsun rin-po-ches¹
Oh blessed ones! Good what to listen. By Jetsun Rimpoché
dam-pa'i chos-gi ñin-khu rkyan-pa gsun-gi yod-gi | No žas | ya a-rgya chi-
holy religion juice, the only saying has. Yes Father what
red | bskyed-rim rdzogs-rim | dbu-ma'i lta[2]-ba- | tsho gsun-gi yod-ni e-
is it? Gradual generating, the Middle Way's² view saying is he?
gradual completion,
red | Khos | he-he | khyod kha-tshod ma mtho | de tshos sion-na 'gyo-sgo-ni'i
By him.Ha!Ha! you don't be high in mea- before those need⁴to go pro-
sure of your mouth³
chos zab-mo cig-re yod | slob-dpon Arya-de-bas-ra | bsod-nams
found Dharmas one by one, the teacher Āryadeva by even "Unvirtuous
min-pa dañ-por bzlog || bar-du bdag-ni bzlog- [3] ba-dañ || tha-mar
deeds at first are cleared up, in the middle ego is cleared up,
lta-žig kun bzlog-ba || zer-cis rim-pa rim-pa yas 'gyo
lastly wrong⁵ views are cleared up", by saying that step by step way
tshus-zig bśad yod-gi a | kun-mkhyen 'Jam-dbyāns bžad-pa'i-ra |
to go explaining is. Even the all-knowing Jam-dbyāns bžad-pa:
'og-ma 'og-ma'i lta-ba gon-ma gon-ma'i steg zer-ni'i [4] thad-na |
"Lower and lower views elevate higher and higher" saying according
sañs-rgyas-gi bstan-pa zer-ni-po 'di skas-a 'bud-'bud -yas 'gyo-na
to the Buddha's doctrine called this, on ladder climbing to go
min-gi | ya-tha-na zab-mo zig-yod-gi | myur-mo zig-yod-gi brdzes mchod⁶
is not. Up to there a refined have. A fast have the one jump a

1 Milarepa

2 Madhyamaka

³ "don't open your big mouth"

⁴ *sgo* means here "necessary" (*dgos*)

⁵ lit. "broken"

⁶ read *mchor*

rgyan yas snab⁷-pa mi 'gyo | byan-chub lam-gyi rim-pa brdzes [5] zig-mo |
distance light/understanding. Tsong-kha-pa's Lam-rim the one.

khyug-len yas chog-na rim-pa zer-sgo don med-ki a | skyes-
If (you) can just pick up if can do stage called necessary not the three
bu gsum-gi lam-rim-gi mgo tshugs-sa-po 'chi-ba mi-rtag-pa sgom rgyu 'di
kinds of people's⁸ beginning place, this death and impermanence is the
yin | 'di tshan-ma'i kha nañ-na rtsa-ra | 'di'i blo-
subject for meditation. This all in everybody's mouth search! Mind di-
kha phyogs-mkhan [6] dkon thag-chod yin | de'i rtags-ga den-sañ slob-yñer
rected to this is definitely rare. Sign of this now-a-days student
rgyag-mkhan | sgom-sgrub yed⁹-mkhan gzan-don-gi myin btag-gi sku-rim
meditation practice one who does for sake of others name

groñ chog brda-mkhan | thams-chad-gi ze- 'dod-
called religious service prayer visit chaser. All those real desire
de | rani-ran skyid-thabs- [152,1] zig | phyug-thabs-zig | mtho-thabs-zig
that. Their own comfort a, way to get rich a, a way to positions
'di rkyan-pa sems-'bu'i phug-ga bcug- 'dug-ni-po 'di tshe 'di snañ-gi
this only inside the recess of the mind what is put. Of this life
dbañ-na son-ni-red | snañ-ses 'gon-rgan- | di sgo 'phud-
power went cognition the old enchantment-ghost, the one who

[2] *mkhan-na¹⁰ 'chi-ba mi rtag-pa sgom-sgo-ni-red |*
drives out door it is necessary to meditate on impermanence and death.

de ma yas a chos zab-zab mtho-mtho chi-ra-zig bca'-kha yas-na-ra |
Not doing that, the very deep and high Dharma as much as, as much as

de chos-a mi-'gyo¹¹ | 'khor-ba'i 'khor-lo bskor ni min-gi
you do. To the Dharma will not go. The wheel of samsara turning no else,
med zer-ris mdo-rgyud thams- [3] cad-da jo-bo yab-sras-tshos gsun yod-gi
they said. All sutra, tantra, Atisha, father and son¹² all have

⁷ read *snañ*

⁸ the inferior, the intermediate and the great.

⁹ WT *byed*

¹⁰ read *ni*

¹¹ same as WT *'gro*

¹² Tsongkhapa

a | de'i stabs-ki dam-pa gon-ma-tsos mi-rtag-pa 'di rkyan-ba gsuñ-gi
 said. For this reason early holy ones this impermanence only they keep
 bsdad-zig | de-rin rJe-btsun rin-po-ches de gsuñ-ni-red | mi-rtag-pa 'di
 saying. Today Jetsun Rinpoche said this: "This impermanence
 chos chuñ-[4] chuñ min | mgo chos-ä 'jug-rkyen 'dis yed-da |
 is not a simple religion. Initial entrance into religion is this (im-
 bar chos-gi bskul-ma 'dis yed-da | mjug-mthar-phyin-
 permanence). In the middle, this urges to religion. In the end this is
 -skyed 'dis yed-da | khyed-cha-bo bltas-gi na rgad-po chos-rgyus sin-
 the completion." You all look! I am an old man, have become familiar
 re yod | Nos | a-[5] rgya los-zig los-zig da-yin-na | mi-
 with religion.¹³ Father, of course, of course it is decided. Those
 rtag-pa de-tshos dra-ma dri-ma šes a | ned-ki bka'-gyur nañ-na | srid-
 impermanences are understood a bit. In my Kanjur: "The
 gsum mi-rtag ston-ka'i sprin-dañ 'dra || 'gro-ba'i skye-
 three existences¹⁴ are impermanent as an autumn cloud. Wherever one looks,
 chi gar-la lta-dañ mtshun's || [6] 'gro-ba'i tshe-
 the death-and-birth of animate beings is the same. The being's life is
 'gro nam-mkha'i glog 'dra-ste || ri-gzar 'bab-chu bžin-du myur-mgyogs 'gro |
 like lightening in the sky. It goes fast like waterfall in a mountain
 | da-run cig-re cig-re yod nas e-'don | Khos | hi-hi | 'don mi-
 gorge." Still, I will recite one by one? He, he, no need
 sgo- mi-sgo | de sgra-zig kyag btan-ni-red | de'i [153,1] myin-na šes
 to recite! It's just a sound, making noise. The name¹⁵ is not called
 ni mi zer | ne-tshos ma-ñi bton-ni-ra khyad-med |
 understanding. It's no different from a parrot reciting the "Mañi".
 kha-gi bśad-dus tshan-mas 'di-rug zer-ra-ra | de zer žor-ra-ra |

While talking from the mouth, even anybody can blabber about this and blabber about that.

¹³ sin "catch, caught"¹⁴ gods, nāgas and men¹⁵ "its mere name"

phyi'i dgra 'dul-rgyu | nañ-gi gñen skyoñ rgyu | rgyu nom-pa
 Outside enemies subdue a way, close friends to protect a way, wealth
 bsog-rgyu 'di-a ñin mtshan ñis-ka mi khom-ma | ya-ra-'du
 to accumulate a way; because of these no time no night. With upper
 [2] ru-ru | ma-ra-ra 'du ru¹⁶ | chi-red | phyin-chad srid-gsum rtag-
 busy with lower busy. What is it? In future, in the three existence
 -pas ldog-kyi zig go-ni min-mo | khyed-rnam-pa rigs-
 they will not understand the opposite of permanence. You all are masters
 -pa'i dbañ-phyug legs-bśad 'dom-ma 'ja'-ne-tshos-ra | sgra chos-can |
 of learning, literature with spans measures. "Sound is
 mi-rtag-pa yin-par thar¹⁷ | byas-pa | [3] yin-pa'i phyir | skad-cig-ma yin-
 impermanent, because it is compounded, because it is
 -pa'i phyir | gsun-de | sa-bstib gton-than gnam bkra gton-than
 momentary" he said. Way of making the earth break, the sky colourful
 gnañ-gi-ra | bar 'ga'-re bltas-na skad-cig-ma mi-sgo ni |
 doing. Sometimes when you examine it, it doesn't stay even an instant.
 bskal-pa'i bar-bar mi-'jig-ci'i blo-rtse-zig yod-kha-red | nas sans-rgyas
 For aeons not changing mind having. I'm not teach-
 ka-kha [4] zus ni min-da | na rgad-pos bsam-tshul yin-na | sgra
 ing the alphabet to a Buddha. What I, an old man am thinking, you
 chos-can gsuh-gi 'dug-rag-ga | rañ-rañ chos-can | mi-rtag-pa yin-par thar¹⁸ |
 talk about sound. The dharma itself is impermanent.
 rñed-dka' rñed-na don che-ba'i dal-'byor lan-gcig thob-pa 'di nam-'chi
 When one finds what is difficult to obtain a single human life with its
 nes-pa mi 'dug-pas myur-
 opportunities for great benefit, the time of death is uncertain. Thus
 -du sñin- [5] po-žig len dgos-par 'dug-pa'i phyir | gsun-ne¹⁹ |
 quickly we must grasp the essence. These small words, if
 'drus-chuñ-re kha nañ-na gcig bskor-na bka'-drin-che-gi | a-tsa-yi yi žu-
 if you turn them inside the mouth, I shall be grateful. Too much you

¹⁶ read ru-ru¹⁷ read thal¹⁸ read thal¹⁹ read gsun-de (?)

-rgyu man mi-ñan | na de-rin mGon-po rdo-rje yin | dus rgyun kho kho-ran
 should not ask I am today Gonpo Dorje always he is himself.

yin | da mdo-don rJe-btsun-gi gsun-ne- [6] po 'di-red | thog-

Now the meaning of the sūtra is said by Jetsun to be this: In the
 mar | rJe lho-brag Mar-pa'i žabs-la 'dud | brdzes-ni-bo | drug-pa rDo-
 beginning, "salutation to Marpa of Lho-brag". He who does. Be praised
 rje 'chan-gi no-bo pha-rgan Mar-pa lo-tsa mchod

the form of the Sixth Vajradhara, the old father Marpa the Translator.

brjod yod-ni-red | des ñon-da gson-da khyi-ra-ba | brdzes-ni-po

By him to hear, to listen, the hunter he who made/told

na mGon-po rDo-rje snod-ldan-gi rin-po-che lta-ba'i [154,1] gdul-bya

I am Gonpo Dorje the follower who is a suitable vessel.

yin-ni-po-gi snod-ldan ñan-par bskul-ni-red | khyed-rug cha-pos bzañ-na
 Urge to be a capable vessel. A few of you good listen to

chi a ñon-da | ña'i žor-na yod-kyi red | a 'ja'-ba-tsho | ras-rus g.yar-ma
 what is who are incidentally with me. People on pilgrimages don't look

re po bltas ma 'dug-ga tshur-ra chos-a ñon-da | [2] sañ-s-rgyas-gi gsun
 around borrowing listen to religion on this side. The Buddha's mere

'di-tsho'i 'gra-tsam-žig thos-rgyu byuñ-ni-bo skal-ba bzañ-ni yin |
 sound of these words they happened to hear are/were fortunate.

sans-rgyas žes-bya'i sgra 'di-yaq | 'jig-rten dag-na śin-tu dkon |
 Also this sound which is known as Buddha is in the worlds very rare.

gsun-zig e-gq | Nos | e a-rgya | mñam-bor bsdad-na myig-gis rdzi-ma mi-rig
 Did you hear these? Oh, Father! If it stays together you will not see
 zer [3] thañ-na | khyod chos-a 'di-'dra-žig mkhas-ni-bo de-rin
 the eyelashes, it is said. You skilled in religion like this.... I didn't
 min ma žes | da rJe-btsun rin-po-che'i gsun-tsho'i don-mdö mdud²⁰
 know except today. Jetsun Rinpoche's saying's meaning explain a little

sems-ma 'dzin-rgyu ñuñ-ñuñ re šod-da | Khos | e-ro | chos ñan-tshul-'di-
 for keeping essence of sūtra in mind Hey, you! In this way of lis-
 -a rten-'brel cig re 'grig-rgyu yod-ni [4] red | khyos šod-dam zer-ra |
 tening to religion the omens fit. You tell. You explain.

²⁰ *mdud* "knot", here "essence"

gsun-da-yin-na rdzos-ra | Nos | ya lags-so lags-so | gsun-du gsol | thugs
 Do the saying now Yes, yes! Please tell. Please
 brtse-ba chen-po'i sgo-nas gsun-du gsol | zab-rgyas chos-kyi 'khor-lo
 great compassion. The profound and vast wheel
 bskor-du gsol | ya | Khos | d-e-r-a-zig [5] mtho bud-tha-ra |
 of religion please turn! OK. This much went high.
 da chog-gi chog-gi | chod thams-cad rten-'brel-gi ran-bzin yin | o-da |
 Now alright, alright! All existents are nature of the omen. Oh, now.
 thog-ma ran-la rJe-btsun rin-po-ches | 'brug 'ur-sgra che-yan-ston-sgra
 Beginning, the Jetsun Rinpoche: "Even the dragon's great noise is
 yin || gsun-ba 'di chos-pa 'jig-rten-pa tshain-mas go dgos-ni-zig
 empty noise." This talk all religious and non-religious must understand
 yin | [6] den-san thos-bsam sgom-sgrub sbyin-gton | chi-yas-na ze phugs-²¹
 Nowadays, reflecting on what is heard, fulfill meditation, giv-
 -de kho bzañ-gi e zer sñam | blañ
 ing, whatever do, they real thinking may be they will say "he's good".
 bya²² -cig-ga med-nis grags-pa skam-po²³ -zig-ga re-ba yed-ni-po 'di ran-
 Not one practice, a hollow fame to hope a little bit of
 -gi dge-ba phran tshegs-po 'jig-rten chos brgyad-da sbags-nas chud-
 merit mixed with the eight worldly dharmas is
 [155,1] zos a gton sbyad-po yin | sñan-grags bdud-kyi phye-gtor²⁴ -zer |
 made to go to waste. Fame is an offering of Māra
 ran-gi bsod-nams-gi phye-re 'brus chun-po | grags skam-gi rlun-nia
 The small amount of our own powder of merit. The wind of the hollow
phyar-btan-ni chi len-gyi yin | de dga'-gyi med | 'jig-rten gram dpe |
 fame scatters. What is to gain? Don't be happy. Worldly proverb:
 myi-bo kyag-na 'chi-ran | rta-bo kyag-na btson-
 "When a man swells up, it's time to die, if a horse swells up it's

²¹ "innermost intention"²² "ought to take"²³ lit. "dry"²⁴ "flour scattering"

[2] ran zer-ra | o de-'phro | 'ja' kha-dog legs-kyān yal-time to sell", after this: Even an excellent colourful rainbow-nas 'gro || 'jig-rten ñams-su dga'-yan rmi-lam-tsam || 'dod-fades away. Even feeling happy in the world, it's like a dream. While-yon bde-ba che-yan sdig-pa'i rgyu || gsun-zig | the comfort of sensual qualities is great, it's a cause of sorrow" it is
e rJe-btsun thugs-rje can-gi gsun 'di chi ma-bden-na | 'di-na la-said. What the gracious Jetsun said is completely true. Here some-las khan-ba yar- [3] 'khor mar-'khor rigs mi gcig-ba-tsho phugs | houses of various kinds are built in this way and that way.

rGya-nom Bod-nom khya-khya rug-rug-tsho bśam | phyi-zog
 Displaying all different kinds of things from China and Tibet. Outward
 nañ-rdzas 'ug-dmar-gi tshañ bsog yas-nes nañ-na ñams
 things, furnishings like a red owl collecting for its nest, not enough
 dga'-nis mi chad rañ-rañ-na rañ-thig-nas 'gyan bsdad yod thog-ga |
 to be happy inside self to self draw lines postpone,
 'chi-bdag rgyal- [4] po rtse-ba-nas²⁵ byis-thi²⁶ khras 'dzin-'dzin yas
 The king of death unexpectedly, like a hawk catching a sparrow the time
 khyer-dus | tshe-bsog-po skyag-ges²⁷ sdon-mgo khyer-ra |
 of taking. A lifetime's accumulation, "the skyag-ge will take to the
 pho-rog-gis sdon-rtsa khyer-ra | rañ-na 'dzin-rgyu khab
 tree top, the crow takes the root of the tree". To take with oneself
 skud-ba zig-gi med | de med-na med-mo |
 there is not even a needle and thread. If you don't have it, you don't
 de'i don 'dag-ga bsags-nes sdig-ba thams-cad-po gña'-ya
 have it. For that reason collected all sins take on the back and need
 [5] khur-ris 'gyo-dgos | tshe-'di e-skyid brgyab-ni-bo rmi-lam zeg rmis-to go. Making this life happy like dreaming a dream,
 -nis sad-btañ-ni-ra khyad med | sñin-bo med-ni-bo de-
 when you wake up, things are not different. Understand then that
 -dus ses a | 'gyod-pa rtas mi zin-ni-po de dus yon-dā-ra |
 it is without essence. Regret comes at that time you cannot grasp what
 you see.

²⁵ "crack"²⁶ "small birds"²⁷ a kind of black and white bird

don-'dag tshan soñ-ni yin | da ña phyir-soñ-ni chos bca'-ya brdzes-
 The reason is completely gone. Now I am going back. If you say you will
 -run las-ki gśin-rjes [6] mi gton | chos bca'-na
 do religion the death-lord of karma will not let you go. If you do
 bca'-dus deñ-sañ yin | de-riñ nañ-sña gñis-ka'i ra gan sña-la-
 religion, the time is now. Both today or tomorrow if you don't look
 gzig ma brtsad-na | phugs riñ-bo'i blo-rtse ci-yod |
 which is earlier What is it that you think it is of long duration?
 de'i stabs-ki rJe-btsun rin-po-ches | de'i 'phro-'phro-na | 'dus-byas
 Because of this Milarepa said: Even per-
 rtag-rtag 'dra-yañ myur-du-'jig | rdzas kha-san yod-pa de-
 manent seeming compounds, soon are destroyed. Things existing are yes-
 -riñ-med || mi [156,1] na-niñ yod-pa da-lo śi ||
 terday, not existing now. A man living last year is dead this year.
 grogs bzañ-po yod-pa dgra-ru sdañ ||zas phan-por zos-pa dug-tu 'gro ||
 Good friends become enemies. Food eaten for benefiting us becomes
 drin bzañ-po bskyañs-pa kha-'gyod-che || gsuñ ni red-da |
 poison. Someone you treat kindly, has great complaints" he said.
 'di-so lhag-pa bśad-ki chi-'dug | tshan-mas | a-ma [2] a-ma khis
 What is special about those to talk about. Everyone:"Mother until the
 ñin-par 'tsham-por yin tha || a-ma khar-rtsañ cig-na 'gyo-tha-ra mdañ
 day before yesterday was fine. Mother yesterday went somewhere and last
 śi soñ-zig | a-ma na-niñ rgyu bzañ tha-ra | do-zig can-med-ki
 night died. Last year mother had good wealth, this year nothing",
 brdzes-kha 'dra-'dra | ñin-ñin khas bśad-ki | mnion-sum-ma rig-gi | dmār-
 they talk like that. The whole day they talk. You really see. This
 -khrid [3]'deb-ki-la yod-ni-po de red | myig-da rna-gis ma-rig ma-go-ni
 Real Teaching is existing. Is not unseen or unheard by eye
 ma-red-da | sems 'di-a dkar sa-zig ma-brgyus ni-red | ran-thog-qa
 and ear. To this mind a light place is not experienced. These do not
 kha-zig ma-bskor-ni-bo 'dis ma-ñan-ni-red | da ran-gis ran-na sñiñ-zig
 turn to themselves, they are not able. Now they themselves need to
 rji dgo-rgyu-red-a | tshe-thun-'di'i [4] skyid-na skyid-khom chi yod |
 pity themselves. How much time for happiness, to be happy in this
 short life?

sdug-na sdug-khom chi yod | dbugs rta-rñia-tsam-pa 'di son dus sems-ma-
 How much time for sorrow? To obtain or not to obtain a human body,
 'dzin-rgyu-zig med-na mi-lus thob-pa zer-ra ma thob zer | da 'og gsun-
 there is nothing to hold in mind, when the breath goes. The following,
-tha-ne min-ne | sdig sdug ran-gis byas-pa ran-la gnod || [5] khyod mgo-
 did he not say: "The bad one does injures oneself. Among a
 -bryga'i nañ-nas ran mgo gés || phyag-sor-mo bcu-la gañ-
 hundred heads you hold your own head dear. Which ever of the ten fingers
 -bcad tsha || bza'-mañ nañ-nas ran-ñid gšes || ran-
 you cut, it hurts. Among many companions, you hold yourself dear. The
 -mgo 'don-pa'i 'dus-la-bab || tshe 'di mi-rtag myur-du 'di chi ||
 time arrives when self is out. This life is impermanent and death is
 chos-la phyi bšol byar mi-run || brtse- [6] ba'i gñen-
 sudden. Doing relation you should not postpone. Loving friends throw
 -gyis 'khor-bar-'phen || o gñen zer-rgyu-med | den-sañ phan-
 you into samsāra". No reason to say is a friend. Nowadays those
 -'dogs- -ga zer-mkhan phal-cher-gi | kha-gi thon-chos
 who say they will help for the most part, the mouth does noth-
 ma-yed ma- -brdzes run | rgyan bskor-ni rgyu nom-pa dgo-tshus | tshon-
 ing real, not make. Indirectly²⁸ they are looking for material
 -kha bu-log yed-tshus²⁹ | de chos-gi [157,1] cha-rkyen
 wealth, for selling and defaulting on loans. "These are necessities of
 yin-thañ | 'dra-'dra 'grig-'grig-tsho bšad-nas | kha 'jig-rtten-gi gtin-
 religion", they talk like it is agreeable. Mouth is turned to the
 -na bskor | bag-med-gi bya-ba nañ-ba chos-na bkag yod-tshad-po |
 depth of the world. "All the bad unrestrained actions are stopped in
 tshani-mas de bca'-gi yod-gi | 'dul-ba yul-dus yin-zer |
 religion. Oh, everyone is doing that. Vinaya depends on time and
 spyod-nañ ran-gis-byas khag- [2] nañ dus-a 'jog-ni-
 country", they say. Bad actions done by self, bad excuses are put on the
 bo | de'i myin-na sdig-ba'i grogs-po zer-ra | bdud dya'-rab
 times. The name of this is called the "sinful friend". It is possible

²⁸ lit: "For a far distance"

²⁹ read tsul

d^{ba}-phyug-yin brdzes-na-chog | rog-pa yod-ni che-a phan-ni-red | myi
 to make that they are Māras. What is the benefit to have friends. A
 man-po yod-sa mye ſor-na rān-rān e thar ita-na min-gi |
 place with lots of people where fire breaks out for their own escape
 rog-pa yo-gi-zer bsdad [3] 'jog tshus-med-a |
 each looks only for. There is no way to stay there and say "I have
 myi man-run rnam-smin myon-dus rān-rān-gi mgo-yin |
 friends". Lots of people, when they experience the effects of
 myi-mān bar-nas lus mi 'gyo-ra |
 karma, it is on their own head. Being among many people, will not
 sus myon rog-ga mi-yed | da nes-nes-gi da re-ba
 leave you out. No one will come to assist you. Now, definitely now,
 da rān-mgo-zig 'don-dgo-rgyu red | Nos | a-rgya kha-
 hope, now it is necessary to pull out one's own head.³⁰ Father! Don't
 -lon ma-tsha 'di-a thon-rag- [4] ga rān-mgo thon-nis son-ni-yin | da lhag-
 open your big mouth. Until now I went independently. Now what
 -pa chi 'don-rgyu yin | Khos | ya | bya-byis-tsos 'ba'-bu thus-yi kha
 more should I depend on. Small birds pick up worms, go feeding
 gsos 'gyo-gi-ra | de rān-mgo thon brdzes-ni ma-red | da sdi bcas tshad-po
 themselves. That doesn't make them independent. Those who do that
 myi tshe ston zer-red | rān-mgo 'don-na | bla-ma bsten-pa'i
 have an empty, exhausted life. "To be independent it is time to rely on
 [5] dus-la-bab || tshe 'di-ru bde-la phyi-mar skyid || dam-chos byed-pa'i
 a Lama. This life is pleasant, the next - comfortable. Now is
 dus-la bab | gsuñ-tha-a | dan-po lam-gyi rtsa-ba
 the time to practice religion", it is said. First, the basis of the path,
 bśes-gñen bsten-tshul 'di-a rten-'brel ma 'chug-pa zig dgo-ni-red |
 the way to depend on a Lama - for this it is necessary to be unmisaken
 de 'phro lam thun-moñ-dāñ thun-moñ ma-yin-pa-tsho
 about the signs. After that the ordinary and extraordinary paths,
 [6] rim-pas slob-tshul man-rgyu-red-da | de-rin bśad-nis thag mi-
 there are many ways to learn step by step. I cannot finish talking
 -chod | na-rug-tsho rJe-btsun rin-po-che'i žabs-phyi-a 'gyo |
 about it today. We go to serve the Jetsun Rimpoche.

³⁰ to be independent or responsible

sgom-re rgyag-da | ḥams-dāñ rtogs-pa nañ-nas śar-gi śar-gi yon dus
To take a meditation. When time comes arising from inside feeling and
 mdo snags thams-cad gdams-par śar-
understanding, after all tantra and sūtra has arisen in the understand-
[158,1] nas gtan-gi bde-skyid mgo tshugs yon | de dus rañ mgo-thon-ni-yin-
 ing, permanent happiness begins. Then one is independent.
da | gžan-gi mgo-thon-ni don-gñis lhun-gyis grub-pa brdzes-ni-po de yon-
Other's independence, fulfillment of the two goals/benefits natural-
rgyu-red ||
ly is achieved. It will come.

The Profound Dharma given in the vernacular so as to be understood by all unlettered people. From the words of the Father Tenpay Dronme, Vajradhara dancing in a human form

[151] Ka: Oh how good it is to listen to the Blessed One! Jetsun Rinpoche (Milarepa) has expressed the real essence of the Holy Dharma!

No-sha: Sure, father. What is it? Is he talking about the Generating Stage? The Completion Stage? The view of the Madhyamaka?

Kho: Ha Ha! You don't open your mouth too wide! Before those must come the Profound Dharmas one by one. Even the teacher Āryadeva said, "First unvirtuous deeds are cleared up. Then the ego is cleared up. Finally, wrong views are all cleared up." By that, he means that the way to go is step by step.

Even the omniscient Jamyang Žad pa said, "Lower and lower views elevate higher and higher."

This thing called the Teaching of the Buddha is not a ladder to climb. It's a refined thing, up there. The understanding cannot jump a long distance quickly. The Stages of the Bodhi Path are just that, stages. If it is something you can just pick up, why talk about stages? In the Path Stages of the three kinds of persons, the beginning place is meditation on death and impermanence. Search everyone's mouths. Those who's minds are directed to it are definitely few, as are those who study the signs of it and those who meditate on it. The real desire of those who look for household rituals and religious services, under the pretext of helping others, is for a way to provide for their own comfort,

[152] a way to get rich, a way to high positions. These things only are in the recesses of their minds. They have fallen under the power of this life's appearances. Perception, the old enchantment ghost! One who would drive it out the door must meditate on impermanence and death. Without that, no matter how much you do, no matter how sublime or profound the teaching, it will not go to the Dharma. It is nothing but the wheel of *samsāra* turning. All the sūtras and tantras and Atisha, the father and his sons have said so. It is for this reason that the earlier holy ones kept saying only this, "Impermanence".

Today, the Jetsun Rinpoche said: "This impermanence is not a simple teaching. It is the initial entrance into the Dharma. In the middle, it urges religion. In the end, it is the completion".

Look, all of you. I, an old man, have become familiar with religion.

- No: Father, of course! Of course it is so! I have understood a little bit of these impermanences. It says in my Kanjur: "The three existences (gods, *nāgas* and men) are impermanent as an autumn cloud. Wherever one looks, the deaths and births of beings are the same. The movement of the lives of animate beings is like lightening in the sky. It goes fast like a waterfall in a mountain gorge." Shall I recite some more?
- Kho: Hi hi! No need! No need to recite! That's only a sound; making a noise. Knowing the name is not understanding. That's like a parrot reciting *Om Maṇi Padme Hūṃ*. Anybody can blabber about this and blabber about that. Day and night they look for ways to subdue outside enemies, for ways to keep close friends, for ways to accumulate material wealth. They are busy with people up and people down. Why is it? In the future, they will not understand the opposite of permanence in the three realms of existence. You are all masters of learning, measuring the spans of literary works. "Sound, having *dharmas*, is impermanent because it is compounded, because it is momentary", he said. Sometimes, when you examine the way the earth breaks or the way the sky becomes colourful, it doesn't stay even an instant, while the mind stays unchanged for aeons. I'm not teaching the alphabet to a Buddha! What this old man is thinking ... You talk about sound having *dharmas*. It's very own *dharma* is impermanence. Getting what is difficult to obtain, a single human life with its opportunities for great benefit, yet ... the time of death is uncertain. Therefore we must grasp the essence quickly. I will be grateful if you will just turn these small words around in your mouths. You shouldn't ask too much. Today, I am Gonpo Dorje. Always, he is himself. Now the meaning of the sūtras was explained by the Jetsun (Milarepa) like this: first, "I make salutations to Marpa of Lho-drag." He is praising the form of "The Six", Vajradhara, the old father Marpa the Translator. The hunter who listened to Milarepa was me, Gonpo Dorje, the follower who was a suitable vessel. I urge you to listen like suitable vessels. A few of you who happen to be with me are listening good to what I am saying. People on pilgrimages don't look around borrowing things. They are fortunate who happen to hear the mere sound of these words of the Buddha, listening to religion on the side. Even the sound of "Buddha" is very rare in the worlds. Did you hear these words?

- No: Oh, father! "If (the eyelids) stay together, you will not see the eyelashes", they say. You are so knowledgeable in the Dharma. I didn't know until today. Explain the meaning of the words of Jetsun Rinpoche (Milarepa) a little for keeping the essence of the sūtras in mind.
- Kho: Hey, yes! The omens concur with this way of listening to religion. Tell! Explain! Speak now!
- No: Yes, yes! Please tell. Please speak with compassion. Please turn the profound and vast wheel of religion. Okay?
- Kho: This much went high! Now alright, alright! All existents are of the nature of the omen. Well, then. To begin with, Jetsun Rinpoche said: "Even the great noise of the dragon (thunder) is empty". These words people will understand whether they are religious or not. Nowadays people who reflect on what they hear, try to meditate, give charity, whatever, are really thinking that others will say, "He's good." This hope for hollow fame without real practice, a little virtue mixed with the eight worldly dharmas, is wasted. Fame is a flour-scattering offering of Māra (delusion). The little bit of flour of our merits, the wind of hollow fame scatters. What is to gain? Don't be happy. Worldly people have a saying: "When a man swells up, it's time to die. When a horse swells up, it's time to sell". Then again: "Even a nicely coloured rainbow fades away. Feeling happy in this world is like a dream. While sensual pleasures gives great comfort, it becomes a cause of suffering." So they say. What the gracious Jetsun (Milarepa) has said is completely true. Here some have houses built this way and that displaying foreign things, Tibetan things, all kinds of things. They're not content to stay inside. Like the red owl, they collect outward furnishings for their nests. The king of death swoops down unexpectedly like a hawk catching a sparrow. "A lifetime's accumulations that the skyag-ge (a black and a white bird) takes to the treetop, the crow takes to the root of the tree." There isn't even a needle and thread we can take with us. If you don't have it, you don't have it. All the sins accumulated on account (of possessions) must be borne on the back. Making this life happy is like dreaming a dream. When you wake up, things are no different. Understand, then, that it has no essence. Regret comes when you see something you cannot possess. All the purpose is gone out.

Now I'm going back. The karmic Lord of Death will not let you go just because you say you will practice Dharma. The time to practice Dharma is now. Why don't you check and see which is earlier, today or tomorrow? What is it that you think it is of long duration?

This is why Milarepa said: "Even permanent seeming objects are soon destroyed. Yesterday's things are not here now. Last year's

[156] person, this year, is dead. Good friends become enemies. Food for nourishment becomes poison. One whom you treat with kindness is full of complaints." What's so special about this explanation? Everyone talks like, "The day before yesterday mother was just fine. But yesterday she went somewhere and last night she died. Last year mother had nice things; this year, nothing." They talk like that the whole day through. That this is a real teaching is self-evident. It's not something the eye and ear cannot see and hear! But they have no light place in their thoughts. They don't turn to themselves. How much time to be happy in this short life? How much time for sorrow? If nothing else is held in mind when the breath departs, (think about) obtaining or not obtaining a human rebirth.

Didn't Milarepa say this: "The evil you do harms yourself. Among a hundred heads, you take care of your own. Whichever of the ten fingers gets cut, it hurts. Among many companions, you hold yourself dear. The time will come when you are no more. This life is fleeting and death is sudden. Don't postpone the Dharma. Loving friends can throw you into *samsāra*." No reason to call them friends. Nowadays for the most part, people will say that they will help, but their mouths do nothing real. Indirectly, they are looking for wealth, for selling things or borrowing things without repaying. They talk nice like, "I need it to practice religion", while their mouths revolve in the depths of worldliness. "Evil,

[157] shameful deeds are nullified by Dharma. Everyone does it. The Vinaya rules have to be adjusted to the time and place", they say. They credit their bad excuses for bad actions to "the times". My name for them is "friends of sin". One could even call them "Māras". What good does it do to have friends? When fire breaks out in a crowded place, everyone looks for their own escape. No one is going to just stand there and make a speech about how they have frieds. When a lot of people suffer the effects of bad *karma*, it is on each of their heads. Being in a crowd

is no exemption. No one will help you. Now, definitely now, you must be hopeful. Now you must assume responsibility and pull your own head out.

No: Father, don't talk like that. I've been taking care of my own head, going independently, all my life until now. What else am I to depend on?

Kho: Little birds hop around pulling worms and feeding themselves. That doesn't make them independent. People who live like that have empty, exhausted lives. "When you are independent, it is time to rely on a Lama. When this life is comfortable and prospects are pleasant, it is time to practice the Holy Dharma", he said. In the beginning, reliance on a Lama which is the basis of the Path, it is necessary not to be mistaken about the signs. After that there are many ways to learn, step by step, the ordinary and extraordinary Paths. I cannot finish describing them today. We pay our respects to Jetsun Rinpoche and do some meditation. When the time for experience and realization comes, all the sūtras and tantras will become meaningful and abiding happiness will begin. That is independence. The independence of others will come naturally when the "two goals" (for self and others) are achieved.

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LINGUISTIC NOTES ON AN AMDOWA TEXT

by

A.RÓNA-TAS (Szeged)

Studies of Tibetan linguistic history are hampered by many factors. The most well known of them is the major difference between the written language and the various types of the spoken vernaculars. Different sources are at our disposal and with their assistance it is possible to tentatively reconstruct some of the main traits of the earlier stages of Spoken Tibetan.¹ It is, however, a unique case that as early as the turn of the

¹ In *Language* 44, 1968, 147-149 R.A.Miller following and correcting the earlier attempts of Roerich and Nishida suggested the following periodisation of the history of Tibetan:

- I. Proto-Tibetan (?-7th century)
- II. Old Tibetan (7th century - first part of the 9th century)
 - IIa. Old Church Tibetan
 - IIb. Old Tibetan (proper)
- III. Late Old Tibetan (first part of the 9th century - 10th century)
 - IIIa Classical Tibetan
 - IIIb. Literary Tibetan
- IV. Middle Tibetan (10th - beginning of the 17th century)
 - IVa. Early Middle Tibetan, literary texts
 - IVb. Late Middle Tibetan, literary texts
 - IVc. Middle Spoken Tibetan (Amdo)
 - IVd. Middle Spoken Tibetan (T'ien-ch'üan)
- V. New Tibetan (17th - 19th centuries)
- VI. Modern Tibetan (20th century -)
 - VIA. Modern Literary Tibetan
 - VIb. Central Tibetan
 - VIc. Lhasa
 - VID. Shigatse
 - VIe. Chamdo, etc.

The basic problem with this periodisation was pointed out by Miller himself who wrote: "The principal problem of the above system is that it is too largely based upon historical criteria and too little related to specific linguistic features It also attempts to delimit periods in the history of the language almost solely by reference to texts and literary documents which, because of the early development of canonical orthographic traditions in Tibetan culture seldom reflect changes in the language to any notable extent, except inadvertance or scribal blunder." (p.149)

18th and 19th centuries, a Tibetan scholar endeavoured to fix the spoken form of his mother tongue through the means of Written Tibetan.

At the second Csoma de Körös Symposium, Professor Steinkellner - in a very instructive short communication² - drew attention to a text written by Guṇ than dKon mchog bsTan pa'i sgron me alias Guṇ than 'Jam pa'i dbyangs (1762-1823). He remarked that this text, being a chapter in the tenth volume of the collected works of this learned *dge lugs pa* scholar³ "... had evidently been written in colloquial language". He gave a short biography of Guṇ than pa, which is now complemented by the work, written in Tibetan, of the geshe Lobsang Dargyay.⁴ We learn that Guṇ than pa was born in the morning of the 8th day of the 2nd month in the water-horse year of the 13th *rab byun*, in the south-eastern part of mDo smad, in mDzod dge smad. He was admitted to the Dzoge monastery bKra śis chos glin at the age of five, to Labrang at the age of seven and went to Central Tibet at the age of seventeen, in 1788. There he studied in the sGo man grva tshan of Bras spuns and returned to Labrang in 1792. The text was written between 1792 and his death in 1823. In conclusion, Steinkellner summed up: "... with this text we have a piece of late 18th century Amdowa-dialect before us, which, considering the cultural circumstances, could hardly have been recorded more precisely."

The "deciphering" and the linguistic interpretation of the text presented many difficulties. Therefore, on the advice of friends, the opportunity of my short stay at the University of Bloomington, Indiana, in 1980 was used to ask Professor Thubten Norbu - himself educated in Amdo -

I would suggest to distinguish throughout in the history of Tibetan its written and its spoken forms. For the reconstruction of Spoken Tibetan we have several types of sources at our disposal:

1. Tibetan transcribed by non Tibetan writings;
2. Tibetan transcription of non Tibetan languages;
3. Loanwords from Tibetan in other languages;
4. Loanwords in Tibetan from other languages;
5. Written Tibetan as the source of Spoken Tibetan;
6. Inner reconstruction of the Tibetan linguistic history;
7. Comparative-historical analysis of the Tibetan dialects.

A more detailed elaboration of these sources, their peculiarities and methodological problems involved were dealt with by me in a lecture given at the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Vienna, in October 1981.

² See E. Steinkellner, A literary source for the late 18th century spoken Tibetan (Amdowa). AOH 34. 1980, 245-248.

³ Ngawang Gelek Demo, ed., *The collected works of Guṇ-than Dkon-mchog-bstan-pa'i Sgron-me*. Reproduced from prints from the Lha-sa block, vol.10, New Delhi 1975.

⁴ L.Dargyay, *Guṇ than dKon mchog bsTan pa'i rNam thar mdor bsdus*. (A Concise Biography of Guṇ Than Dkon Mchog Bstan Pa'i Sgron Me.) Wien 1981.

for his assistance. He kindly completed a transliteration of the text, underlining those words or expression, which he considered to be spoken Amdowa. To this he added an interlinear and a coherent English translation. This work is published in this volume (see pp.221-242.)⁵ Having at hand the manuscript of Prof. Norbu's paper it was possible to go ahead and solve some problems on which I read a paper at the Third Csoma de Körös Symposium (1981, Velm - Vienna). During the Symposium, I took the opportunity to consult with Professor Norbu for the second time and with the tulku Amchog (Achok) Rimpoché, a Tibetan scholar also educated in Amdo. Both Amchog Rimpoché and Prof. Norbu were so kind to read the text on tape and so I can now contribute - along with the original text - a transcription of the reading of the text.

Before presenting the material and endeavouring to offer some conclusions, a few methodological remarks have to be made. The ultimate aim is, of course, to supplement material to the spoken language of Amdo. However, it has to be borne in mind that what we have in hand is not identical with the spoken language. Neither is it the spoken vernacular of the time of Gun than pa, nor of the two Amdowa speakers. As it is known, there does exist a so-called reading style, which has its subforms according to place and time, and differs only in pronunciation to which conventional rules are used. The texts themselves - with regard to the last centuries - were considerably influenced by the spoken language, more by its grammar and less by its phonetics. The reading style follows the usual recitation practice at the monasteries. Thus the reading style depends on the spoken language and - with due caution - can be used for its reconstruction. The spoken language itself not only has dialects, but also sociolects, such as the elevated style used in the central Lhasa monasteries and by the earlier Tibetan aristocracy. This spoken subtype is surely different from the spoken language used by the lower classes at the same place. So we are far from having a homogenous spoken Tibetan, and a uniform spoken Amdowa does not exist. The most that can be aimed at is the reconstruction of the spoken language of the monasteries

⁵ In his transliteration Norbu originally used his own system. I would like to mention only two of his peculiarities: The bilabial stop series WT *p*, *ph* and *b* were rendered as *b*, *ph* and *bh*, further the WT sibilants *ž* and *š* were written as *sh* and *ç*, respectively. Though these peculiarities reflect an older Tibetan tradition (on the problem see R.A. Miller, *The Si-tu Mahāpāṇḍita on Tibetan phonology*, reprinted in: *Studies in the grammatical tradition in Tibet*. Amsterdam 1976, 19-31) it was advisable to re-transliterate the text according to the system accepted by the American Library Association and the Verein Deutscher Bibliothekare. On the difference between N's transliteration and mine see n.8 below.

in Amdo. It can be assumed that Gun than pa tried to render this subtype.

In his efforts to record the spoken language, Gun than pa was hampered and at the same time helped by the conventional reading rules. When he tried to fix the spoken language by the means of the Tibetan alphabet, he had to take into account the fact that the letters and their combinations already had conventional pronunciations, and these were different in Amdo and in Lhasa.

Concerning the phonetical reconstruction, it is possible to reckon with the following: 1. Gun than pa used the reading conventions at Labrang at the end of the 18th century. 2. To this he added a few new orthographical devices. 3. Consciously or unconsciously he made mistakes, due to the fact that a given miswritten form was to be read in the same way as - from the point of view of the written language - the correct form was.

To give a few examples of the aforementioned, it is possible, e.g. to quote the sound, which is represented in Tibetan orthography by the letters for bilabial stops + a subscribed ya. The series *by*, *py*, *phy* are pronounced in Central Tibet⁶ as affricates: *dž*, *tš* and *tš'* while they became *f's* > *š* in Amdo. There is sound evidence that the pronunciation of WT *by-* as *š* existed in the early 18th century in Amdo,⁷ and therefore it can be supposed that in all cases where Gun than pa wrote *by-* etc., it was read in his time as *š-*. There is another item of evidence concern-

⁶ On the term "Central Tibetan" as a dialect distinct from Lhasa see R.A.Miller, The independent status of the Lhasa dialect within Central Tibetan. *Orbis* 4. 1955, 49-55. On the confusion existing in the description of CT and Lh see my *Tibeto-Mongolica*. 1966, 33-35, n.44.

⁷ In a review on L.M.J.Schram's book, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, III, published in *Oriens* 17, 1964, 237-241, I dealt with the problem of the oral transmission of the Gesar epics from Tibetan to Mongolian. There I drew attention to one of the names of the young Geser in the Mongolian versions: Ši-lo, which I identified with the Amdowa word for "young boy" occurring in a fragment of an oral Amdowa Tibetan version of the same epics published by Roerich (*Le parler de L'Amdo*. 1958, 57). I accepted there R's reconstruction, who gave as the WT equivalent of the Amdowa form Ši-lo the form *byis lu*. To this a perfect parallel is the Mongolian word for "coral" *sirū* (read Širū), which is Tibetan *byi ru*. My earliest data for the Mongolian name is the 1716 Peking edition of the Mongolian Geser. The word for "coral" is present in the Volga Kalmuck (Šur) and in Manchu (Š'ur) in the second probably a Mongolian word. This wide diffusion of the Amdowa form of the Tibetan word points likewise to the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. I would remark here that when I asked the Amchog Rimpoche how "young boy" was in Amdowa, he also gave the form Ši-lu, but when I asked him to write it with Tibetan characters, he wrote Ži li to which he added that "young girl" was Ši-mo. There can be no doubt that Roerich's reconstruction is correct, this case shows only that if an Amdowa word has no canonized WT form, it can be written in different ways.

ing this. Though most of the words with radical *by-* etc., are pronounced with (f)š-, a few are not. The verb *byed*, *byas*, *bya* is in present Amdowa yē, yī and ya respectively. In these cases, Gun than pa wrote *yed*, *yas* and *ya*. The gutturals + *ya* btags series is pronounced as an affricate (tš- etc.) nevertheless only two cases are found where -kyis is written as -chis (151,5) and *chi'i* (153,3) respectively.

An important feature of the spoken dialects is the emergence of the long vowels. Gun than pa used a subscribed a *chun* to note long vowels (in transliteration furtheron marked by underlining the vowel) in conformity with the usage to transcribe long Sanskrit vowels. It is of interest that this subscribed a *chun* is used only with a, e and o, but never with u and i. The long i is rendered in many ways, as -i'i, as -a'i and as -as. This long i was a result, e.g. of the change of a final -as through a long ē to i. And in fact in place of WT *nas* both *nes* and *ne*, can be found.

Gun than pa used the a *chen* to denote a separate syllable consisting only of the vowel a. Thus he wrote *chos-a*, which surely had to be read as tš'ō-a. The change *my-* > h is also very early in the Eastern Tibetan dialects. The letter combination *my-* is read in Central Tibet as h, but as it is known Old Tibetan has had *my-* before i and e in cases where Classical Tibetan had only m-. E.g. OT *myi* "man", WT *mi* is pronounced in Central Tibetan as *mi*, in Amdo it has an initial h-, and this is not written with the letter for h, but with the letter combination *my-*.

The final -s disappeared early and the final -l later on. That the final -l had at least began to disappear in the time of Gun than pa can be assumed from the fact that he wrote *tshus* instead of WT *tshul*, both pronounced ts'ü. Later the final -d began to disappear too, so such "mistakes" as *rdzos* for WT *rdzod* indicate a contemporary pronunciation dzö.

A few more words of caution have to be added. Both informants were in Lhasa or with Lhasa speakers for a long time, they use the Lhasa standard language and had to readapt themselves to their old Amdowa dialect. They both read the text many times and I recorded their final readings. Since the readings of the two speakers were recorded independently, in many cases they complement each other. This lessens the actual inference both of the Lhasa standard and their own actual parole features. While reading the text they made some mistakes. I did not correct them, which would have disturbed the current reading. Where they corrected themselves, I recorded the corrected form, but if not, I recorded the misread one. I did not normalize their speech, therefore, one and the same word sometimes has a slightly different transcription.

The text of Guṇ thaṇ pa consists of two different parts. The talk between the master and the pupil is in colloquial language. The quotations cited by them are not. They are carefully recorded in Written Tibetan and I assume that they were intended to be read in the more prestigious Lhasa pronunciation. Both my informants read these citations in Amdowa. It was an interesting experiment, because the same words occur in the colloquial part with another orthography than in the citations.

In any case, Guṇ thaṇ pa's purpose was to give a text for reading.⁸ It was, therefore, the intention of the author that - about 180 years after its conception - two of his countrymen should give their reading and understanding of the text.⁹

⁸ In three cases I had to depart from the usual transliteration system. In transliterating the Written Tibetan of Guṇ thaṇ pa I used ž for ḡ, š for ḡ and ḡ for ḡ. This was necessary, because the sign ' denotes palatalisation, and ž and š are not palatalised spirants, while ḡ is a palatalised stop. Since Amdowa has both š and ḡ, to avoid confusion, I also distinguished this feature, in the transliteration of the written forms.

⁹ The text was read more times and fluently at a normal speed. A's tempo was a little faster. For the sake of easier comparison, I wrote the read forms beneath the written ones, this does not mean that a longer space denotes a pause. In the case of A's reading, the junction is of importance, therefore, I noted it where necessary. In October 1981, through the kind invitation of the Vienna Institute for Tibetology I had the opportunity to control my transcription of A's reading. I offer here my sincere thanks to Professor Steinkellner for this possibility.

[150] *rDo-rje* 'chañ-dbañ mi-yi gar rol-pa'i || *yab-rje bstan-*
 A: *Dordži* ntš'aŋwaŋ mi¹⁰ gär röyil¹¹ yabdžé dam-
 N: *Dordže* ntš'aŋwaŋ mi-yi gär röwí yäwdžé dam-
-pa'i sgron-me'i žal sha-nas || *skye-bo blo dman-kun-gyis go*
 bī džonmī žā qani k'ū¹² lo manking'i go
 bī džonmī šā qani tšō lo mankindži go
bde'i ched || *phal-skad tshul-du gnañ-ba'i zab chos bžugs-so* ||
 di tšäd hakäd ts'irda naŋwī zaptš'ō žiqsō
 di tšäd hakäd ts'idi naŋwī sabtš'ō šigsō

[151,1] *A las bzañ-tsho bzañ-na chi-a nón-da* | *rJe-btsun rin-*
 Ā lä ^βzants'ō zaŋga tš'ia hönta džébtsun rim-
 Ā lä zants'ō zaŋga tš'ia hönda džibtsun rim-
-po-ches dam-pa'i chos-gi nin-khu rkyañ-pa gsun-gi yod-gi |
 botš'i dambī tš'ögi naŋk'i rk'aŋ^üa sungi yō k'i
 botš'i dambī tš'ögi naŋk'i tšaŋa sūnggi yō k'i
No žas | *ya a-rgya chi-red* | *bskyed-rim rdzogs-rim* | *dbu-ma'i*
 Noži yā arg'ā tš'érē k'erim dzorum yimi
 Noši yā ardžā tš'érē tsérim dzorim yimi
Ita-ba- [2] *tsho gsun-gi yod-ni e-red* | *Khos* | *he-he* | *khyod*
 rtawats'ō ysungi yōni erē k'ö hehe k'ö
 tawats'ō sūnggi yōni erē k'ö hehe tš'ö
kha-tshod ma mtho | *de-tshos snion-na 'gyo-sgo-ni'i chos zab-*
 khats'ō mant'o dets'ö qonna g'ogoni tš'ö zab-
 khats'ō mant'o dets'ö qonna džogoni tš'ö sam-
-mo cig-re cig-re yod | *slob-dpon Arya-de-bas-ra* | *bsod-nams*
 mo tšigre tšigre yō xloxa^üon aryadevīra sonom
 mo tširē tširē yō loxa^üa aryadevīra sonom
min-pa dañ-por bzlog || *bar-du bdag ni bzlog* - [3] *ba-dañ* || *tha-*
 manba doŋwor dōg warda dagna^wdox wada t'a
 mñba daŋwor do warda dagna doxwadaŋ t'a

¹⁰ A's reading reflects mi'i.¹¹ Mistake for röwi, correct in the first reading.¹² For skye bu, in the first reading it sounded k'ö, in the control reading, šk'ewo.

-mar lta-žig kun bzlog-ba || zer-cis rim-pa rim-pa yas 'gyo
 mar tažig kín dòx^ua zerdži řimba řimba yí g'ó
 mar tašig kín dox^ua serdži řimba řimba yí džö

-tshuss-zig bšad yod-gi a | kun-mkhyen 'Jam-dbyaňs bžad-pa'i
 ts'ūzig šä yō-q-á¹³ kün-k'én dzayaŋ žabi
 ts'ūzig šä yō-k'i-á küntšén dzanyaŋ šabi

-ra | 'og-ma 'og-ma'i lta-ba gon-ma gon-ma'i steg zer-ni'i |
 ra oma omi rtawa góyma góymí rteg zerní
 ra oma omi tawa goma gomi teg zerní

[4] thad-na | sans-rgyas-gi bstab-pa zer-ni-po 'di skas-a 'bud-'bud
 t'adna sanrg'iġi tamba zerniwo de kia bömbö-
 t'äna sañdžegi tamba zerniwo de kia bömbö-

-yas 'gyo-na min-gi | ya-tha-na zab-mo zig yod-gi |
 yi g'óna mǐngi yat'ana zabmo zgi¹⁴ yō-k'i
 yi džöna mǐngi yat'ana samo zig yō-k'i

myur-mo zig yod-gi brdzes mchod rgyan yas snab-pa mi 'gyo |
 nirmo zgi yō k'i dži mts'uŋyaŋ yí nawa¹⁵ ming'o
 nirmozzi yo k'i dži tš'óndža yí nawa mǐndžo

byań-chub lam-gyi rim-pa brdzes [5] zig-mo | khug-len yas
 fsantš'i lamg'i rimba dži zigmo k'iglen yí
 'santš'i lamdži řimba dži zigmo k'ulen yí

chog-na rim-pa zer-sgo don med-ki a | skyes-bu gsum-gi lam-
 tš'ogna ramba zergo dön mē k'ia xk'iwa sǐmgí lam-
 tš'ogna řimba zergo dön me k'ia stšewa sǐmgí lam-

-rim-gi mgo tshugs-sa-po 'chi-ba mi-rtag-pa sgom rgyu 'di yin |
 rímgí go ts'ígsawo tš'iwa mǐrtax^ua gom rg'inde yin
 rímgí go ts'ugsawo tš'iwa mǐrtax^ua gom džinde yin

'di tshan-i ma'i kha nań-na rtsa-ra | 'di'i blo-kha phyogs-mkhan
 de ts'aŋmí k'a naŋna tsara dí lok'a šönk'än
 de ts'aŋmí k'a naŋna tsara dí lok'a šönk'än

¹³ The g is like a sonant stop, the vocalic part being extremely short, in slow reading it is k'i.

¹⁴ A peculiarity in A's speech, see later many times.

¹⁵ Uncertain reading. A did not understand the word and read first snab-pa. N read sna-ba.

[6] *dkon thag-chod yin | de'i rtags-ga deñ-sañ slob-ḡher rgyag*
kon t'agtš'ō yin dī rtaga dañsañ lobhér g'an-
kön t'agtš'ō yin dī taga dañsañ lobhér džan-
-mkhan | sgom-sgrub yed-mkhan gžan-don-gi myiñ-btag-gi sku-rim
k'än gomdžub yink'än žendöngi hantaggi kírim
k'än gomdžub yink'än žendöngi hantaggi kírim
groñ chog brda-mkhan | thams-chad-gi že-'dod-de | rañ-rañ skyid-
džontš'og dank'än t'amtš'egi žändodē ragrañ sk'id-
džontš'og dank'än t'amtš'egi žändodī ragrañ tšed-
-thabs- [152,1] zig | phyug-thabs-zig | mtho-thabs-zig 'di rkyañ-
t'abzig s̄igt'abzig t'otabzig de rk'anj-
t'abzig s̄igt'abzig t'otabzig de tšaq-
-pa sems-'bu'i phug-ga bcug-'dug-ni-po 'di tshe 'di snañ-gi
wa sembu h̄iga tšiq_ndigniwo dits'ende naga
wa sembi h̄iga tšiq ndigniwo dits'ende naga
dban-na son-ni-red | snañ-šes 'gon-rgan- | di sgo 'phud-
?oggā soñnarē naqši_ngongän de go h̄ir-¹⁶
yægga soñnærē naqxi gongän de ..!¹⁷ h̄i-

[2] *mkhan-na 'chi-ba mi-rtag-pa sgom-sgo-ni-red | de ma yas a chos*
enk'anne tš'iwa martax¹⁸a gomgonarē de ma yia tš'ō
nk'anna tš'iwa mirtax¹⁸a gomgonarē de ma yia tš'ō

zab-zab mtho-mtho chi-ra-zig bca'-kha yas-na-ra | de chos-a
zabzab t'omt'o tš'irazig tšak'a yinara de tš'öa
sabsab t'omt'o tš'irazig džak'a yinara di tš'öa

mi-'gyo | 'khor-ba'i 'khor-lo bskor ni min-gi med zer-ris mdo-
ming'o k'orwi k'orlo korni mïngi mezer ri_mdo-
mindžo k'orwi k'orlo korni mïngi mēzer ri do-

-rgyud thams- [3] cad-da Jo-bo yab-sras-tshos gsun yod-gi a |
rg'ü t'amtšadda džō yafsits'ō suŋ yō-g-ä
rdžü t'amtši da¹⁸ džowo yabsits'ō sūŋ yō-k'ü-ä

¹⁶ The -r is irregular here, in the first reading and in the control h̄id.

¹⁷ Not clear.

¹⁸ Misreading.

| de'i stabs-ki dam-pa gon-ma-tsos mi-rtag-pa 'di rkyan-ba
 di rtayi damba gogmatsö martaxwa nde rk'ogwa
 di tabyi damba gogmatsö mirtaxwa de tšaqwa
 gsun-gi bsdad-zig | de-riñ rJe-btsun rin-po-ches de gsun-ni
 sungi sdazig deraq džébtsün rinbotš'i de sunna-
 sungi däzig deraq džébtsun řimbotš'i di sunna-
 -red | mi-rtag-pa 'di chos chuh-[4] chuh min | mgo chos-a 'jug-
 re martaxa de tš'ö tš'uŋtš'uŋ mìn go tš'öa džig-
 re mirtaxa de tš'ö tš'uŋtš'uŋ mìn go tš'öa džig-
 -rkyen 'dis yed-da | bar chos-gi bskul-ma 'dis yed-da | mjug-mthar
 kin dī yeda war tš'ögi kirma ndi yeda džig t'ar
 tšin dē ēta war tš'ögi kirma dē ēta džig t'är
 -phyin-skyed 'dis yed-da | khyed-cha-bo bltas-gi na rgad-po
 sink'id dī yeda k'etš'awo tegi na gab
 tšintšid dē ēta tš'etš'awo degi na gab
 chos-rgyus sin-re yod | Nos | a- [5] rgya los-zig los-zig da-
 tš'ög'ü sinre yö nö arg'a lözig lözig da-
 tš'ödžü seré yö nö ardža lëzïg lëzïg ta-
 yin-na | mi-rtag-pa de tshos dra-ma dri ma šes a | ned-ki bka'-
 yina martaxa dets'ö¹⁹ džama džima ſia něk'i kan-
 yina mirtaxa dets'ö džama džama xiā něki kan-
 'gyur nañ-na | srid-gsum mi-rtag ston-ka'i sprin-dan-'dra ||
 g'ir naqna sìxsum martay tonki xtšindaq dža
 džir naqna sìsum mirtay tönki tšindaq dža
 'gro-ba'i skye-'chi gar-la lta-dan mtshunis || [6] 'gro-ba'i tshe-
 džuwí²⁰ k'entš'i garla tadaq ts'uŋ džói ts'en-
 džowí tšentš'i garla tadaq ts'uŋ džówí ts'en-
 -'gro nam-mkha'i glog 'dra-ste || ri-gzar 'bab-chu bžin-du myur-
 do²¹ namk'i log džati ragzar batš'i žindí nír
 džo namk'i lo ndžati řygzer babtš'i žindí nír

¹⁹ First reads as n̄ets'ö.

²⁰ In the first and in the control reading džowi.

²¹ In the first reading džo, when controlled -ndo!

mgyogs 'gro | da-rūn cig-re cig-re yod nas e-'don | Khos | hi-hi |
[di yi]ndžo²² da-rūn tšigre tšigre yō qī endon k'ō hehe
džondžo darūn tšire tšire yō qī endön k'ō héhé

'don mi-sgo mi-sgo | de sgra-zig kyag btañ-ni-red | de'i
ndon mürgo mürgo de džazig k'ag tañnarē dī
domirgo domirgo²³ de džazig tš'ag tañnarē dī

[153,1] myin-na šes ni mi zer | ne-tshos ma-ŋi bton-ni-ra khyad-med |
ningga šini mizer nets'ō mani tönnire k'adme
ningga xini mizer nets'ō mani tönnire tš'emē

kha-gi bšad-dus tshan-mas 'di-rug zer-ra-ra | de zer žo-ra-ra |
k'agi šaddü ts'aŋmi dərīg zerara de zer žora²⁴
k'agi šadü ts'aŋmi derīg zerara de zer žorara

phyi'i dgra 'dul-rgyu | nañ-gi gñen skyon-rgyu | rgyu nom-pa
šii²⁵ džandžirig'i nanga hén k'oqrg'i g'i nomba
šii džandidži nangi hén tš'ondži dži nomba

bsog-rgyu 'di-a hin mtshan nis-ka mi khom-ma | ya-ra-'du
soyrg'i dia hin ts'än hika mī k'omā yär²⁶ndi-
sogdži dia hin ts'än hika mī k'omā yär di-

[2] ru-ru | mar-ra 'du-ru | chi-red | phyin-chad srid-gsum rtag
rīri marandırı tš'irē šintš'ad sixsim rtax^ui
rīri marandırı tš'irē šintš'äd sixsum tax

-pas ldog-kyi zig go-ni min-mo | khyed-rnam-pa rigs-pa'i dbañ-
dogk'i zig gona mīnmo k'ednamba rīgbī ywag-
wi dogdži zig gona mīmo tš'ednamba ūigbi og-

-phyug legs-bšad 'dom-ma 'ja'-ne-tshos-ra | sgra chos-can | mi-
šig legšid doma ndžanets'ōra dža tš'ötšen ma-
ši lawši doma džanits'ōra dža tš'ötšen mī-

-rtag-pa yin-par thar | byas-pa [3] yin-pa'i phyir | skad-cig-
rtax^ua yinbar t'ar fsiwa yinbi tsér ka tšig-
rtax^ua yimbar t'är fsiwa yinbi fsér ka tšig-

²² Misreading. In the first reading g'ondžo, Control: hirmg'ox ndžo.

²³ N read WT 'don mi-sgo 'don mi-sgo.

²⁴ Misreading, also in the first reading and at control, seemingly the more grammatical form.

²⁵ Because of the uncertainty of the reading of the former word, the reading speed has been slowed down and this word was read slowly. In the faster control reading I heard fsi.

²⁶ Both have misread the text. A said at the control that it may be ya-ra.

-ma yin-pa'i phyir | gsuñ-de | sa-bstib gton-thań gnam bkra
 ma yinbi šér suñde satib tōgt'ag anam dža
 ma yimbí fšér sūñde satib tōgt'an nam dža

gton-thań gnań-gi-ra | bar 'ga'-re bltas-na skad-cig-ma mi-sgo ni |
 tōgt'ag nañgira war ngara tāna katśigma mīrgone
 tont'ag nañgira war gari tāna katśigma mīrgone

bskal-pa'i bar-bar mi-'jig-ci'i blo-rtse-zig yod-kha-red |
 karwi wara²⁷ mīndžigtši lōrtsézig yōk'arē
 karwi warwar mīndžitsi lortsézig yōk'arē

nas sans-rgyas ka-kha [4] zus ni min-da | na rgad-pos bsam-tshul
 ñe sañg'i kak'a žini mīnda ña gabō samts'iy
 ñe sañdži kak'a šini mīnda ña gäpi²⁸ samts'iy

yin-na | sgra chos-can gsuñ-gi 'dug-rag-ga | rān-rān chos-can |
 yinna dža tš'ötšän sīngi dīragga rānrag tš'ötšän
 yēna dža tš'ötsen²⁹sūñgi dīraga rānraq tš'ödžän

mi-rtag-pa yin-par thar | rhed-dka' rhed-na don che-ba'i dal-
 martax^ua yinbar t'ar hēka hēna dön tš'ëwi da-
 mīrtax^ua yinbar t'är hēka hēna dön tš'ëwi dä-

-'byor lan-gčig thob-pa 'di nam-chi nes-pa mi 'dug-pas myur-
 ndžör lantšig t'owa di namtš'i ñewa mindix^ui hīr-
 ndžor läntšig t'owa dī namtš'i ñewa mīndīgwi hīr-

-du shiñ- [5] po-žig len dgos-par 'dug-pa'i phyir | gsuñ-ne³⁰ |
 dī hīgwo ³¹len gōwär dīgbī t'ser suñde
 dī hōgwo šig len gōwär dīgbī fšer sūñde

'drus-chuñ-re kha nañ-na gcig bskor-na bka'-drin-che-gi |
 džū tš'uñre k'a nañna tšig kórnā kandžin tš'egi
 džū tš'uñre k'a nañna džig kórnā kadžin tš'egi

a-tsa-yi yi žu-rgyu man mi han | na de-riñ mGon-po rdo-rje
 adzeyi yi žig'ii mañ miñen ña deriñ gombo dordži
 adzayi yi šidži mañ miñē ña deraq gombo dordži

²⁷ Misreading. Control: warwar or warwara, the meaning is the same.

²⁸ N read WT rgad-pa'i.

²⁹ Misreading.

³⁰ Both read -de instead of -ne

³¹ Omitted. In the first reading žig, at control: hāgwožig.

yin | dus rgyun kho kho-rañ yin | da mdo-don rJe-btsun-gi gsun-
 yin dü g'ün k'o k'orä yin da dodön džebtsüngi sun-
 yin dü rdžün k'o k'orä yin da dodön džebtsüngi sun-
 -ne- [6] po 'di-red | thog-mar | rJe lho-brag Mar-pa'i žabs-la
 nabo derē t'oma rdže lhodžag marbi žabla-
 niwo derē t'oma dže lhodžag merwi žabla-

 'dud | brdzes-ni-po | drug-pa rDo-rje 'chan-gi no-bo pha-rgan
 ndid dzinowo džix^ua dordži tš'anggi qowo p'agan
 dö dziniwo džik^ua dordži tš'anggi qō hargan

 Mar-pa lo-tsa mchod brjod yod-ni-red | des hon-da gson-da khyi-
 marwa lotsa tš'od džō yinarē dē hönda sönda k'ē-
 marwa lotsa tš'öi džō yinéri dī hönda sönda tš'e-
 -ra-ba | brdzes-ni-po na mGon-po rdo-rje snod-ldan-gi rin-po-che
 rawa dziniwo qangonbo dordži nordangi rimbots'ē
 rawa dziniwo qa gombo dordži nördängi ūimbot's'ē

 Ita-bu'í [154,1] gdul-bya yin-ni-po-gi snod-ldan han-par bskul-
 tawū³² ardīldža yinnawogi nordan hanwar kirt-
 tawi dīža yinniwogī nordän hänwar ki-
 -ni-red | khyed-rug cha-pos bzañ-na chi-a hon-da | na'i žor-na
 narē k'erig tšawō zaŋna tš'ia hönda qī žonna
 nerē tš'érig tšawō zaŋna tš'ia hönda qī šörna

 yod-kyi red | a 'ja'-ba-tsho | ras-rus g.yar-ma re-po bltas
 yōk'ire ā ndžawats'o ūiřū yerma rewo tī
 yötšeri ā džawats'o ūiři yärma re o tā

 ma 'dug-ga tshu-ra chos-a hon-da | [2] sans-rgyas-gi gsun 'di-
 mandiga ts'üra tšöa hönda sang'i xsuq de-
 ma di³³ ts'irī tšöa hönda saŋdžigii sun de-
 -tsho'i sgra-tsam-žig thos-rgyu byun-ni-bo skal-pa bzañ-ni
 ts'ö džatsamžig t'ög'ii ūuŋnawo kara zaŋna
 ts'ö džatsamžig t'ödži ūuŋněwo kawa zaŋni

³² A read tawū. At control: Ita-bu is tawu and Ita-bu'í is tawū.

³³ N omitted -ga.

yin | *sans-rgyas žes-bya'i sgra 'di-yan* || 'jig-rten dag-na
 yin sang'i žisi džandiyin džigten dagna
 yin sañdži šizi dzandiyān džigten dagna
 šin-tu dkon || *gsuñ-zig e-go* | Nos | e a-rgya | mham-bor bsdad-
 ſinti xkon suñzīg egō nō e arg'ā hambor da-
 xinti kon suñzīg egō nō e ardžā hambor dä-
 -na myig-gis rdzi-ma mi-rig zer [3] than-na | khyod chos-a 'di
 na higgī dzima mīriq t'aŋga k'ō tš'ōanda
 na higgi dzima mīriq zer t'aŋga ts'ō tš'ōa di
 -'dra-zig mkhas-ni-bo de-rin min ma šes | da rJe-btsun rin-po-
 ndžazig k'ino³⁴ deraq mīnma ši da džebtsun rimbo-
 ndžazig k'iniwo deraq mīnma xi da džibtsun ūimbo-
 -che'i gsuñ-tsho'i don mdo mdud sems-ma 'dzin-rgyu huñ-huñ re
 tš'i suñts'ō dön do mdid sema ndzing'i huñhuñ re
 tš'i suñts'ō dö dömdi sema ndzindži huñhuñ re
 šod-da | Khos | e-ro | chos han-tshul-'di-a rten-'brel cig-re
 ſoda k'ō ērō tš'ō hänts'ü ndia tendžel tšigre
 xöda k'ō ērō tš'ō hänts'ü ndia tendžel tšigre
 'grig-rgyu yod-ni [4] red | khyos šod-dam zer-ra | gsuñ da yin-
 džigg'i yōna rē k'ō šöddam³⁵ zera suñda yin-
 dīgdži yōni rē tš'ō xödam sera suñda yin-
 -na rdzos-ra | Nos | ya lags-so lags-so || gsuñ-du gsol | thugs
 na dzöra nō yā lagso lagso suñdu sol t'üg
 na dzöra nō yā lagso lagso suñdu sol t'üg
 brtse-ba chen-po'i sgo-nas gsuñ-du gsol | zab-rgyas chos-kyi
 tsewa tš'enbi gonī suñdu sol zabg'i tš'ök'i
 tsewa tš'embi gonī suñdu sō säbdži tš'ötši
 'khor-lo bskor-du gsol | ya | Khos | de-ra-zig [5] mtho bud-
 k'orlo kordu sol yā k'ō derazig mt'o wōd
 k'orlo kordu sō yā k'ō derazig t'o büd

³⁴ A contracted form. In the first reading k'inniwo, at control k'inowo.

³⁵ Not well understood. First A read šödama. At control he'read hödam and added that h- is more colloquial.

-tha-ra | da chog-gi chog-gi | chos thams-cad rten-'brel-gi rañ-
t'ara da tš'ogi tš'ogi tš'ö t'amtšā tendžegi rañ-
t'ara da tš'ogi tš'ogi tš'ö t'amđžā tendže ...³⁶ řag-
-bžin yin | o-da | thog-ma rañ-la rje-btsun rin-po-ches | 'brug
žin yin ōda t'ogma rañna džebtsun řimbotš'i džug
šen yin ōda t'ogma řagna džibtsun řimbotš'i džü
'ur-sgra che-yañ stoñ-sgra yin || gsuñ-ba 'di chos-pa 'jig-rten-
irdža tš'eyiñ tonđža yin suñwa di tš'öwa džigerten-
irdža tš'eyan tonđža yin suñwa di tš'öwa džigtem-
-pa tshan-mas go dgos-ni-zig yin | [6] den-sañ thos-bsam sgom-sgrub
ba ts'añmi go gonizgi yin dañsañ t'ösam gomdžub
ba ts'añmi go göni zi³⁷ yin dañsañ t'ösam gomdžub
sbyin-gton | chi-yas-na že phugs-de kho bzañ-gi e zer sham | blan-
džintöñ tš'iyina že higde k'o zañgi ezer nám laq-
džintöñ tš'iyina ši p'ügde k'o zañgi ezer nám laq-
bya cig-ga med-nis grags-pa skam-po-zig-ga re-ba yed-ni-po 'di
ša tšigga mēñi džaxa kambozigga rewa yeniwo ndi
dža tšiga meni džax^ua kambozigga řewa yinniwo di
rañ-gi dge-ba phran-tshegs-po 'jig-rten chos brgyad-da sbags-nas
rañgi gewa tš'an ts'ö³⁸ ndžigerten tš'ö g'äda wagni
řang gi gewa tš'ants'agpo džigten tš'ö džäd³⁹ wagni
chud- [155,1] zos a gton sbyad-po yin | shan-grags bdud-kyi phye-
tš'i zöa xtöñ džawo yin handžag džidk'i še-
tš'ü söa toñ džäpo yin händžag džidžé še-
-gtor-zer | rañ-gi bsod-nams-gi phye-re 'brus chun-po | grags
torzer rañgi sonamgi šere ndžü tš'uñwo dža-
torzer řangi sonamgi šere džü tš'uñgu dža-
skam-gi rlun-ná phyar-btañ-ni chi len-gyi yin | de dga'-gyi med |
kamgi lugna tšartaqni tš'éleng'i yin de gag'i med
kamgi lugna tšartaqni tš'élendži yin de gadži mē

³⁶ N omitted -gi.³⁷ Sic.³⁸ Both A and N misread the text. A read at control: tšants'axwo and added that they don't pronounce the žimbu.³⁹ Sic.

'jig-rten gtam dpe | myi-bo kyag-na' 'chi-ran | rta-bo kyag-na
džigrtén tam x^u-e hō k'agna tš'erän tao k'agna
džigten tam x^u-e hō tš'agna tš'erän tao tšagna

btsöñ- [2] ran zer-ra | o de-'phro | 'ja' kha-dog legs-kyan gal-
soqran zera ō denṭš'o ndža k'adog legk'en yel-
tsogran zera ō děnṭš'o ndža k'adog lagdža⁴⁰ yel-
-nas 'gro || 'jig-rten hams-su dga'-yan rmi-lam-tsam || 'dod-yon
nindžo džigten hamsi⁴¹ rgayan armalamtsam döyön
nēdžō džigten hamsi gayan milamtsam döyön

bde-ba che-yan sdig-pa'i rgyu || gsun-zig | e rJe-btsun thugs-
dewa tš'eyaq dixwī g'i sunzig ē rdžebtsun t'ug-
dewa tš'eyaq dīgwi dži sūnzig ē džibtsun t'ig-
-rje can-gi gsun 'di chi ma-bden-na | 'di-na la-las khan-ba
dže tšāngi xsun di tš'i madenā dena lalē k'awa
dži tšāngi sūn di tš'i madenā de...lalē⁴² k'awa

yar- [3] 'khor mar-'khor rigs mi gcig-ba-tsho phugs | rGya-nom
yänk'or mank'or rig ma rtšigwats'o hiiy g'anom
yar^enk'ora mar^enk'ora⁴² žig ma tšigwats'o hiiy džanom

Bod-nom khya-khya rug-rug-tsho bšam | phyi-zog nañ-rdzas 'ug-
wonon k''ak'a riyrīy ts'ō bšam šezog nañdzi īg-
onom tš'atš'a riyrīy ts'ōšam šeso nañdzi ug-
-dmar-gi tshañ bsog-bsog yas-nes nañ-na hams dga'-nis mi-
marki ts'aq sogsog yiní nañna ham gani mii-
märgi ts'aq sogsog iní nañna ham gani mii-
-chad rañ-rañ-na rañ-thig-nas 'gyan bsdad yod thog-ga |
ts'ad rañrañga raqt'igni g'añdä yō t'oga
ts'ä řaŋřaq taraq⁴³ t'igni džaŋdä yō t'oga

'chi-bdag rgyal [4] po rtse-ba-nas byis-thi khras 'dzin-'dzin-
tš'ibdag rg'ärwo rtsewaní šit'e ts'i ndzindzin-
ts'idag džowo tsewaní šit'i ts'i ndzindzi-

⁴⁰ Sic⁴¹ -na is omitted.⁴² The impression is that here a real colloquial phrase crept in.⁴³ -na was read as -da and segmented as rañ-rañ da-rañ.

-yas khyer-dus | tshe-bsog-po skyag-ges sdon-mgo khyer-ra |
 yi k'erdi ts'esoxo k'agi doongo k'era
 yi t'serdü ts'esogo t's'äygü doongo t's'era

pho-rog-gis sdon-rtsa khyer-ra | rañ-na 'dzin-rgyu khab skud-
 p'oroggü doqtsa k'era rappa ndzinrg'i k'ab ki-
 hóroggi doqtsa t's'erá rappa dzindži k'ab kid-
 -ba zig-gi med | de med-na med-mo | de'i-don 'dag-ga bsags-nes
 ba zig k'i med de menne mēmo dīdon dō sagnī
 ba zig k'i mē di mēna mēmo dīdon daga sagnī

sdig-ba thams-cad-po gha'-ya [5] khur-ris 'gyo-dgos
 erdix'a t'amtšabo yañaya k'iri g'ogö
 dīgwa t'amtšabo haya k'iri džogö

| tshe-'di e-skyid brgyab-ni-bo rmi-lam-zeg rmis-nis
 ts'endi ek'id g'aba nō rmalam zge rmīnī
 ts'endi etš'i džäb niwo mīlam zeg mēnī

sad-btañ-ni-ra khyad-med | shin-po med-ni-bo de-dus šes a |
 sadtagñira k'ädm̄ed hīgwo meniwo dedī šī ā
 sätagñira t's'ämē hōgwo meniwo didi xi ā

'gyod-pa rtas mi zin-ni-po de dus yod-da-ra | don-'dag
 g'opa rti mīzinnowo de dü yödara dandag
 džopa ti mīsiniwo dēdī yōdara dondag

tshañ-soñ-ni yin | da na phyir-soñ-ni chos bca'-ya brdzes-
 ts'angsogni yin daga širsogni t's'ö džaya dži-
 ts'angsogni yin daga⁴⁴ širsogni t's'ö džaya dze-

-ruñ las-ki gšin-rjes [6] mi gton | chos bca'-na bca'-dus
 roñ lägi šindži maxton t's'ö džana džadü
 roñ lägi šindži mīton t's'ö džara⁴⁵ džadü

deñ-sañ yin | de-riñ nañ-sña għis-ka'i-ra gañ sña-la-gzíg
 dañsañ yin derēñ naqna hikira kañ galazgi
 dañsañ yin deraq naqna hikira kañ qalazig

⁴⁴ Misread.⁴⁵ Misread.

ma brtsad-na | phugs riñ-bo'i blo-rtse ci-yod | de'i stabs-ki
 matsänna híraqwo lortsé tšiyod di rtabki
 matsäna híraqwi lotsé tšiyö di tabgi

 rje-btsun rin-po-ches | de'i 'phro-'phro-na | 'dus-byas
 džebtsün rimbotši di tš'onts'ona díši
 džibtsun řimbotši di tšotšona dítši

 rtag-rtag 'dra-gan myur-du-'jig | rdzas kha-san yod-pa de-riñ-
 rtaytag dayaq herde ndžig dzi k'asaq yöpa deraq
 ragtag džayaq hirde džig dzi k'asaq yöpa deraq

 -med || mi [156,1] na-nin yod-pa da-lo ši || grogs bzañ-po
 mèd mè nanaq yöpa dalo xi džog zaqwo
 mè mii nanaq yöpa dalo xi džog zaqwo

 yod-pa dgra-ru sdañ || zas phan-por zos-pa dug-tu 'gro ||
 yöpa džarii daq zä p'anbor zöwa dígtendžo
 yöpa džarii dä sää p'ambar söwa dígtendžo

 drin bzañ-po bskyañs-pa kha-'gyod-che || gsuni-ni red-da |
 džin zaqwo k'aqwa k'äng'öd tše suqna rēda
 džin zaqwo tšaqwa k'ändžödtše suqna rēda

 'di-so lhag-pa bšad-ki chi-'dug | tshañ-mas | a-ma [2] a-ma
 diso hawa šaki tš'indig tš'aqmi ama ama
 diso lhagwa šäki tš'endü tš'aqmi ama ama

 khis-hin-par 'tsham-por yin tha || a-ma khar-rtsañ cig-na
 k'ihiñbar ts'ambu yint'ä ama k'artsaq tšigna
 k'ihiñbar ts'ambur yint'ä ama k'artsaq tšigna

 'gyo-tha-ra mdañ ši soñ-zig | a-ma na-nin rgyu bzañ tha-ra |
 g'ot'ara daq xi soñzig ama nanaq arg'i bzön t'āra
 džöt'ara daq xi sūñzig ama nanaq džii zaq t'āra

 do-zig can-med-ki brdzes-kha 'dra-'dra | hin-hin khas bšad-ki |
 dozíg tšaqmäk'i dzik'a ndžandža hin hin k'aši šagi
 dōzíg tšaqmäki dzek'a džadža hin hin k'i šä k'i

 mñon-sum-ma rig-gi | dmar-khrid [3] 'deb-ki-la yod-ni-po
 mqonsuma ríggii martšid dëbkila yöniwo
 qonsuma ríggii martšii debgila yöniwo

de red | myig-da rna-gis ma-rig ma-go-ni ma-red-da | sems
 derē ahīgda nāgi marīg magoni marēda sem-
 derē hīga nagi marīg magoni marēda sam-

 'di-a dkar sa-zig ma-brgyus ni red | ran-thog-ga kha-zig ma-
 dia kasazgi marg'inarē ragt'oga k'azig ma
 dia karsazig mardžinarē ragt'oga k'azig ma

 -bskor-ni-bo 'dis ma-han-ni-red | da ran-gis ran-na shiñ
 körnowo dī ma hennarē da rangī ragna hīq-
 körniwo dī ma henerē da rangī ragna hīq-

 -zig rji dgo-rgyu-red-a | tshe-thuñ-'di'i [4] skyid-na
 zgi rdže górg'í rēā ts'et'uŋ dī k'ida
 zig dži gídži rēā ts'et'uŋ dī tšeda

 skyid-khom chi-yod | sdug-na sdug-khom chi-yod | dbugs rta-
 k'id k'om tš'e--d⁴⁶ dīgna dīgk'om tše--d⁴⁶ ?üg rta-
 tše k'om tše yō dīgna dīgk'om tše yō ug ta-

 -rña-tsam-pa 'di son dus sems-ma-'dzin-rgyu-zig med-na mi-
 rgatsamba ndi saqdi sema ndzing'izgi mēna mi
 qatsamba di soqdī sama dzidžizing' mēna mi

 -lus thob-pa zer-ra ma thob zer | da 'og gsun-tha-ne min-ne |
 lī t'opa zerera mat'ob zer da og xsuŋ t'āni mīne
 lī t'oba zera mat'obzer da og sūŋ t'āni mīnē

 sdig sdug ran-gis byas-pa ran-la gnod | [5] khyod mgo-
 dīdī rangī ūwa ragla nōd k'ö ngo-
 dīdū rangī ūwa ragla nō tš'ō ngo-

 -brgya'i nañ-nas ran mgo gšes || phyag-sor-mo bcu-la gañ-
 bg'i nagnī raggoxši ūg sormo tšila gañ-
 dži nagnī raggo tši ūg sormo tšila gañ-

 -bcad tsha || bza'-mañ nañ-nas ran-hid gšes || ran-mgo 'don-
 tšadts'a za mañ nagnī raghid ūi raggo ndon
 tšadts'a za mañ nagni raghe tši⁴⁷ raggo dön

⁴⁶ A contracted from tš'e-yod > tš'e-d

⁴⁷ Sic.

-pa'i 'dus-la-bab || tshe 'di mi-rtag myur-du 'chi || chos-
 bī dīlabab ts'enda martag hīrdī ntš'i tš'ö-
 bī dīlabab ts'enda mīrtag hīrdī tš'i tš'ö-
 -la phyi-bšol byar mi-run || brtse- [6] ba'i ghen-gyis 'khor-
 la šišöl šarmaruŋ rtsewa hēng'i nk'or-
 la šiwšöl šarmaröŋ tsewi hēndži k'or-
 -bar-'phen || o ghen zer-rgyu-med | deñ-sañ phan-'dogs-
 ...⁴⁸ p'en ō hen zerg'imed dañsaŋ han dog
 or/?p'en ō hen zerdžümē dañsaŋ han dogā
 -ga zer-mkhan phal-cher-gi | kha-gi thoñ-chos ma-yed ma-
 ga zer mk'än hartš'ergi k'agi ...⁴⁹ tš'ö mayid ma-
 serk'an haltš'ergi k'agi t'og tšig mayi ma-
 -brdzes ruñ | rgyan bskor-ni rgyu nom-pa dgo-tshus | tshoñ-
 rdziruŋ rg'an körni g'i nomba góts'ü ts'ogn-
 dziruŋ , džan körni dži nomba góts'ü ts'ogn-
 -kha bu-log yed-tshus | de chos-gi [157,1] cha-rkyen yin-
 k'a wulon⁵⁰ yets'ü de tš'ögi tš'ak'én yin-
 k'a wulo its'ü di tš'ögi tš'atšen yén-
 -than | 'dra-'dra 'grig-'grig-tsho bšad-nas | kha 'jig-rten-
 t'an ndžandža ndžindžigts'o šadnī k'a ndžigtēn-
 t'a dada dindigts'o šäni ...⁵¹ džigten-
 -gi gtin-na bskor | bag-med-gi bya-ba ñan-ba chos-na bkag-
 -g-tanŋa⁵² kör wagmedgi šaba ñanwa tš'öna kag-
 -g-tanŋa kor wagmedgi šawa ñanba ts'öna kag-
 yod-tshad-po | a tshañ-mas de bca'-gi yod-gi | 'dul-ba yul-
 yōts'abo a ts'agni de tšak'i yō k'i dīwa yīr-
 yōts'äpo a ts'agni di tšagi yō k'i dīwa yī-

⁴⁸ Incomprehensible. Also not clear in the first reading. At control: k'owar hen.

⁴⁹ Omitted. In the first reading and at control: t'og.

⁵⁰ So, with some hesitation, in the first reading wulog at control wulox.

⁵¹ Omitted.

⁵² A sonorised syllabic g.

-dus yin-zer | spyod-nan rañ-gis-byas khag- [2] ñan dus-a
 dü yinzér tögan rangiši k'agan düa
 dü yinsér tögan ūangiši k'agan düa

'jog-ni-bo | de'i myiñ-na sdig-ba'i grogs-po zer-ra | bdud
 ndžoynowo dí hingga axdiġwi džoxo zera dí
 džoniwo dí hingga dīgwi džoxo zera dí

dga'-rab dbañ-phyug-yin brdzes-na chog | rog-pa yod-ni
 gerab⁵³ šigiyin dzina tš'og rox^üa yöni
 gerwa yišiyin dzena tš'og rox^üa yöni

che-a phan-ni red | myi mañ-po yod-sa mye šor-na rañ-rañ
 tš'ea p'anni rē hé moqo yösa hé šorna raqraq
 tš'ea hänä rē hé moqo yösa hé xorña raqraq

e thar lta-na min-gi | rog-pa yo-gi-zer bsdad [3] 'jog tshus-
 e t'är tana mängi rox^üa yök'i zer da ndžogts'ü
 e t'ä xtana mīrgi rox^üa yök'i ser dä džogts'ü

-med-a | myi mañ-run rnam-smiñ myon-dus rañ-rañ-gi mgo
 meā hé maŋruŋ nammin hōqdü raqrangii ngo
 meā hé maŋruŋ nämmiñ hōqdü raq...gi⁵⁴ go

-yin | myi-mañ bar-nas lus mi 'gyo-ra | sus myon rog-ga
 yin hé maŋ warni lii mi ng'ora sū hōq rov-ya
 yin hémaŋ warna⁵⁵ lii mi ndžora sū hōq roa

mi-yed | da nes-nes-gi da re-ba da rañ-mgo-zig 'don-dgo-
 mèyed da qenqegi da ūewa da raqgozíg dön ...⁵⁶
 mèyé da qenqegi da ūewa da ūaqgozíg dongo

-rgyu red | Nos | a-rgya kha-lon ma-tsha 'di-a thon-rag-
 g'i rē nō arg'a k'alon mats'a dea t'önrax-
 dži ūe nō ardžā k'alon mats'a dea t'önrag-

[4] -ga rañ-mgo thor-nis soñ-ni-yin | na lhag-pa chi 'don
 ga ranggo t'önni soñniyin ga laxwa tš'indön
 ga ranggo t'önni soñniyin da⁵⁷ lhagwa tš'i dön

⁵³ Not clear, in the first reading gerawan, at control: yaŋšigiyin.

⁵⁴ Second rañ is left out.

⁵⁵ Sic.

⁵⁶ dgo is omitted. In the first reading after correction dongo. So also at control.

⁵⁷ Instead of na da is read.

rgyu yin | Khos | ya | bya-byis-tsos 'ba'-'bu thus-yi kha
 g'i yin k'ö yā šaśits'ö mbambü t'üyi k'a
 dži yin k'ö yā šaśits'ö babü t'üyi k'a

 gsos 'gyo-gi-ra | de rañ-mgo thon brdzes-ni ma-red | da sdi
 xsö g'ogüra de rango t'ön dzinamarē da di-
 sö yogüra de rango t'ön dzénemarē da ga

 bcas tshad-po myi-tshe ston zer-red | rañ-mgo 'don-na |
 gtši⁵⁸ ts'abu⁵⁹ hëts'e rtöñ zerre rango ndonna
 tši ts'abu hëts'e ton serē rango döna

 bla-ma bsten-pa'i [5] dus-la-bab || tshe 'di-ru bde-la
 lama ténbi dílabab ts'e ndíri dela
 lama ténbi dílabab ts'e diri dela

 phyi-mar skyid || dam-chos byed-pa'i dus-la bab | gsun-
 šimar k'id damtš'ö šewi dila bab sun
 šimir tšid damtš'i šewi dila bab sun

 -tha a | dan-po lam-gyi rtsa-ba bšes-ghen bsten-tshul 'di-
 t'a dañwo lamg'i rtsā šehen tents'ü ndíi-
 t'a a dañwo lamdži tsawa šehen tents'ü ndíi-

 -a rten-'brel ma 'chug-pa zig dgo-ni-red | de 'phro lam
 i⁶⁰ tendžél ma ntšigwazig gónarē de ntš'o la
 tendžel ma tš'igwazig gónarē de antšo lam

 thun-mon-dan thun-mon ma-yin-pa-tsho [6] rim-pas slob-tshul
 t'uñmonda t'unmog mayinbats'o rimbí lobtsir
 t'uñmonda t'unmog mayinbats'o řimbí lobtsil

 man-rgyu-red-da | de-riñ bšad-nis thag mi-chod | na-rug-
 mang' iréda deraq šäni t'ag mitš'od ñaríg-
 mañdžiréda deraq šäni t'ag mitšo ñaríg-

 -tsho rJe-btsun rin-po-che'i žabs-phyi-a 'gyo | sgom-re
 ts'o rdžébtsün rimbotsí žabšila ng'o gomre
 ts'o džibtsun rimbotsí šabdži a džo gomre

⁵⁸ So, with a stop g. In the first reading tši. N read instead of sdi sña. At control according to A da sña'i bcas tshad-po should be written and dañi tšits'abu should be read.

⁵⁹ Both A and N read tshad-bu.

⁶⁰ A has a separate syllable, N has none. in A's first reading lam-a rtendžél but with hesitation, at control dí-a.

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<i>rgyag-da</i>	<i>hams-dan rtogs-pa nañ-nas šar-gi šar-gi yoñ-dus</i>
<i>g'agda</i>	<i>hamdan tox^ua nagni šargi šargi yondi</i>
<i>džagda</i>	<i>hamdan tox^ua nagni xärgi xärgi yondi</i>
<i>ndo snags thams-cad gdams-par šar-</i>	<i>[158,1] nas gtan-gi</i>
<i>doñag</i>	<i>t'amtša rdambar šar ní tangi</i>
<i>doña</i>	<i>t'amtše dambar xär ní tängi</i>
<i>bde-skyid mgo tshugs yoñ de dus rañ mgo-thon-ni-yin-da </i>	
<i>dek'id go ts'ü yoñ de dü rañ go t'önniyinda</i>	
<i>detšid go ts'üg yoñ dedü rañ gó t'önniyinda</i>	
<i>gžan-gi mgo thon-ni don-ghis lhun-gyis grub-pa brdzes-ni-</i>	
<i>žangi go t'önni dönhi lhüng'i džöba dzini-</i>	
<i>žangi go t'önni dönhi lhindži džöpa dzini-</i>	
<i>-po de yoñ-rgyu-red </i>	
<i>wo de yoñg'irē</i>	
<i>wo de yoñdžirē</i>	

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Notes on the text

Thubten Jigme Norbu, brother of the Dalai Lama, was born in the Ku-kunor region, near to the Kumbum monastery. His original dialect was called Jothang and considerable differed from the later one, which he learned in the monastery. He described the dialect, which he learned there, as Banak'agsum (the Banaga sum of Roerich), or more generally 'brog skad a language of higher prestige used in the monastery. His teacher was a native from Ontag (On rtags).

The Amchog Rinpoche was born in 1944 at a place called Bark'am or Bark'an ('Bar khams, 'Bar khan) in rGyarong, district Tsok'a (rGyal mo tsha ba roñ, Tsho kha). This place was near to a small river, the 'Bar khams chu. He was declared the rebirth of the Amchog Rinpoche of the monastery Amchog Tséñigompa (A mchog mTsan ñid dgon pa) and joined this monastery when he was five. His immediate predecessor was a certain 'Jam dbyans mKhyen rab rGya mtsho who lived about 96 years and died in 1940. The predecessor of that Amchog Rinpoche was dKon mchog bsTan pa'i rGyal mtsan who lived about 60 years. Even for our Amchog Rinpoche it is not clear whether there was one more predecessor or not, or, more exactly, whether the A mchog bSod nams Chos phel was venerated as the first Amchog Rinpoche or dKon mchog was the first. Consequently, it is not clear whether our Amchog Rinpoche is the third or fourth member of the lineage - a not unusual situation, when it is borne in mind that the first Dalai Lama declared himself as the third and conveyed the title posthumously to his two predecessors.

The original personal name of Amchog Rinpoche was Tse riñ Don 'grub. His monk-name (*rab byuñ gi miñ*) is bLo bzañ Thub bstan mkhyen rab rGya mtsho. The monastery which he joined, the A mchog mTsan ñid dgon pa, was situated in Ra khog. It was the central monastery in Southern Amchog, which is not identical with the Northern Amchog noted on Roerich's map. Southern Amchog is in the NW part of Sechuan. Ra khog was near to the Ra chu river, which flows into the sDañ chu that joins the rÑa chu, i.e. the Tatung river. The whole region pertains to the watershed of the Yangtse, while the waters of the Northern Amchog run into the Yellow River. This region was also mentioned by Roerich: "Des clans amdowa se rencontrent aussi plus au sud sur la frontière du Sseu-tch'ouan, où vivent, près de Song-p'an, les Amdowa rÑa-wa ou rÑa-khog (*lha-khog*)" (p.4). The region is also called, according to Roerich *lha-lde*, where *lha* is "five" and *lde* is a hypercorrect form to *sde*, i.e. the region of the five villages, a name also well known to Amchog Rinpoche. Though he was very un-

certain about the present Chinese names of the region, he could remember Ch'eng-tu from which his monastery was about 250 km. The place he pointed out to me on the map was near to Sung-p'an. According to him, the people of the Northern Amchog region were emigrants from Southern Amchog.

There is a very interesting legend concerning the origin of the Southern Amchogpas. AR remembers that when a travelling company was on way from South Amchog, in the evening they recited a t'ink'a (*thun skad*). The t'imb'a (*thun pa*) is the guard or watchman and t'in is the term for a watch-time or turn. The t'ink'a was loudly cried by the man having the clearest and strongest voice. It began with prayers to the local gods of Amchog and the place where they actually stayed over night. The name of the local gods were always identical with the names of the highest mountains of the region. After having boiled the tea, they made a tea-libation offer and the prayer was continued. After the prayer they related their history. This began with the story that they were people of Amchog and the people of Amchog came from Nga-ri (*mNa ris*), i.e. from West Tibet. After recalling their origin they invited those assumed to be around in the night, who listened to this "identification", to come and share their food and drink. AR who had heard about this custom only from hearsay, explained it was a precautionary measure against robbers and thieves. It is understood that origin from Nga-ri is considered to be prestigious, but the reason for this was unclear to him. Nga-ri is the region of Ladakh and Zangskar. It remains an open question for the time being, whether this geneology has any historical background or originates from the well known Buddhist sources, according to which after the persecution of Buddhism by Glangdarma, monks took refuge in East Tibet going through West Tibet and the Turfan region. Two other possible interpretations were tentatively mentioned by AR. According to the first, the robbers may have been from Nga-ri and this identification of the travellers could have appealed to their relationship. According to another interpretation, Nga-ri has a high prestige in the history of Buddhism, because it was introduced from India through Nga-ri to Tibet proper, and thus people originating from such a holy land should be respected. Anyhow the people of Southern Amchog have a consciousness of identity with West Tibet. This feeling was strengthened by meeting people in Lhasa who came from West Tibet. The Amchog people realized that their dialects are nearer to each other than each of them to the Lhasa dialect. AR who lived almost two years in Lhasa together with his teacher, a born Amchogpa, was fully aware of this fact, which he realized when they read and spelled the texts. The spelling of the texts was easier to the Am-

chogpas and the people from West Tibet than to those who came from other regions. Of course, differences also existed. AR remarked that the spelling was easiest for the rJarong people, because they pronounced the word for "bird" as p̄a, while the Amchogpa as f̄a and the Lhasa-people as t̄sa (WT bya).

The teacher of AR, himself a born Amchogpa, followed him to Lhasa and they also lived together in India and spoke with each other always in the Amchog dialect, which was strange to the other Tibetans.

Since for the interpretation of the reading style, which was outlined earlier, it was important to know how they learnt to read, I noted the spelling system of the Amchog monastery, which differs from the Lhasa one. The four vowel signs are called:

	Amchog pronunciation	transcription	Lhasa pronunciation	transcription
o	na-ro	na ro	na-ro	na ro
i	gi-gi	ki gi	ki-ki	ki gu
e	džiggi	'gri ni	dəŋpo, dəŋwu	'gren po/bu
u	žamk'i	žam kyi	šabk'u	žabs kyu

The transcription of AR is very near to the system of Guñ-thān-pa.

The prescribed letters are distinguished in the Lhasa spelling system⁶¹ with a postponed -o, this is not used in Amchog. The subscribed -y- and -r- are called as in Lhasa ya-ta and ra-ta, but all other letters considered to be subscribed are called btax or wtax in Amchog. Thus bya is spelt wa-ya-ta..., but bla is spelt wa-la-btax ... in Amchog and pa-la-ta in Lhasa. The final letter is not specially marked in Lhasa usage and it is called cuq (mjug). Thus, e.g. khan is spelt k'a-ŋa in Lhasa, but as k'a-ŋa-bžax or k'a-ŋa-wžax (WT bžag, Lh šaa) in Amchog. In the system of spelling after all units the pronunciation is given: WT dbyar: da-wa-ya-ta: yya, ra-bžax = yyär.

WT rten: ūra-ta-btax džiggi: rte, na-bžax = rten - sten.

WT mchod rten: ma-tša-na-ro: mtšo, ta-bžax : mtšod, ra-ta-btax: rta, džiggi: rte, na-bžax : rten = mtšorten

WT gnod rkyen: ga-na-na-ro: yno, da-bžax: ynod, ra-ka-btax: rka, ya-ta: šk'a, džiggi: šk'e, na-bžax: rk'en = onodk'en

WT 'dug gnas: an-da žamk'i: dī, ga-bžax : dīg, ga-na-sa-bžax: ynī = dīy'ni.

WT 'byuñ: am-ba-ya-ta: mdža, žamk'i: mdži, na-wžax = mdžuñ.

⁶¹ In describing the spelling system of Lhasa I followed Lhasawa Losang Thonden's *Modern Tibetan Language I*, 1980, to which J.Szerb drew my attention.

WT *byuñ*: *wa-ya-ta*: fša, *žam-k'i*: fši, *ga- wžax* = fšun.

WT *dus ltar*: *da-žamk'i*: tí, *sa-bžax* : tú, *la-ta-btax*: rta, *ra-bžax*: rtär = türtär.

WT *dbu*: *da-wa-žamk'i*: yí

WT *brgyad*: *wa-ra-ga-btax*: wga, *ya-ta*: wg'a, *tabžax*: wg'ad.

As it can be seen the letters in isolation are spelt with their original sound values (the exception is *ba* pronounced as *wa*), but the simplest combinations are pronounced in the Amdowa dialect. The prescribed *d*- is pronounced as a letter *d*, but in combination with the radical *g*- the cluster is *y*- . The prescribed *g*- is pronounced in isolation as a stop, but in the combination *gn*- as a spirant *y*- . The *a-chuñ* is an before dentals and *am* before labials, though not pronounced in case of '*dug*', but pronounced in case of '*byuñ*'. The radicals are differently pronounced in isolation and in combination, so e.g. in *dus* the letter *d* is pronounced as voiced *d*, but in the word as voiceless fortis *t* or media *D*, while in '*dug*' it remains voiced *d*. The prosthetic vowels in *onodk'én* or in *digoni* are reduced and to be heard only in careful spelling where they serve to help to memorize that there a *g*- has to be written. In the actual pronunciation there is a free variation of such forms as *bžax* - *wžax* or *rta* - *šta*.

With this system of spelling and pronunciation it was logical to ask which were the most common spelling errors. According to AR the following:

1. The interchange of the members of the *ra-ta* series. Frequently *gr* was written for *br* or vice versa, e.g. *bgráns* for *sbrañ*, or *gr* and *dr* were mixed as in *gra* for *dra'* etc. but *br-* was never confused with *phr-*.
2. The interchange of the superscribed *l* and *r* as *lta* - *rta* or as we have seen *rha* and *lha*.
3. The interchange of the voiced and not voiced, not aspirated consonants as *ja* and *ca* or *da* and *ta*, but never not aspirated with aspirated.
4. The interchange of *by-* and *phy-*, because both were pronounced as *fš-*.

There was no problem in distinguishing the stop + *ya-ta* series from the affricates that is *ky* from *c*, *khy* from *ch*, *gy* from *j*.

Though we do not know the spelling system used in the Labrang monastery at the time of Guñ than pa, similar practices are known from the 19th century⁶² and there is no reason to doubt that it did not much dif-

⁶² Such a system was described by B.Széchenyi in his travel notes published in 1890-97. Professor Kara gave this interesting piece to one of his students to work it up; therefore, I do not wish to go into details here.

fer from that of the Amchog monastery. This system assists the reconstruction of the language, which Guñ than pa tried to describe.

From the geographical point of view, Norbu's dialect is NE to the Rebkong-Amdowa recorded by Roerich, while Amchog is to the south, thus there are three regional variants.

They could be called Banag Amdowa, Rebkong Amdowa and Amchog Amdowa, but only in the sense that they are subtypes of the monastery language and not that of the lay population.

Consonants

In the speech of A the guttural stop + *ya-btags* series (*ky-* etc.) are clearly distinguished from the affricates (*tš*, *tš'*, *dž*). They are strongly palatalized guttural stops *k'*, *k''*, *g'* near to the palatalized details (as *t'*, *t''*, *d'*) while in the speech of N the two series converged into the affricates *tš*, *tš'*, and *dž*. Roerich describes pronunciation of the guttural + *ya-btags* series as palatalized affricates *tš̪*, *tš̪'*, *dž̪* (*č̪'*, *č̪''* and *j'* in his system of transcription) or as affricates which have an additional palatal element, as an *i*-glide *tš̪̫*, *tš̪̫'*, *dž̪̫*.⁶³ In R's material these palatalized affricates are also reflexes of the guttural and labial stop + *ra-btags* series. In the pronunciation of both A and N, the latter are retroflex affricates (*tš̪*, *tš̪'*, *dž̪*) which very rarely lose their spirant element.

Thus the difference among the three can be tabulated as:

series	<i>ky</i>	<i>kr/br</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>source</i>			
R	<i>tš</i> , <i>tš̪̫</i>	<i>tš̪</i> , <i>tš̪̫</i>	<i>tš</i>
A	<i>k'</i>	<i>tš̪</i>	<i>tš</i>
N	<i>tš</i>	<i>tš̪</i>	<i>tš</i>

In the speech of A the voiced stops and affricates can always be clearly apperceived. In N's speech they sometimes tend to voiceless mediae. I have not marked this feature, because it is much dependant on the phonetic environment and I could not decide whether N's excellent command of Mongolian or his knowledge of the Lhasa dialect were, or were not at play here.

In the speech of A the voiced character of WT *ž* and *z* is always preserved. In N's pronunciation *ž* is regularly *š*, *z* is mostly preserved,

⁶³ In R's system *č̪̫* etc. But e.g. WT *khyed* he writes *k̪̫̫e*.

but sometimes it is s. The sound r is a sound described by Roerich as "liquide vibrée" more consequently in N's and less in A's speech, I rendered it as ř. The WT š is a palatal x ("ich-Laut") not palatalized, more consistently in N's speech, and as an exception in A's pronunciation. The sound corresponding to the labial stop + ya-btags series is a palatalized š, in some cases a dentilabial spirant f can be heard before it: fs. The final -g became a guttural x if followed by a spirant bilabial w, sometimes it is voiced y as in doxwa, dox^ua. In place of the cluster db- a voiced spirant y can be heard, sometimes in A's speech only a glottal stop. The postlingual η in word initial position, as noted by Roerich, is in many cases a spirant, but never in word final position. To WT ph normally a laringeal h- does correspond; in carefully spelling, e.g. after a pause an aspirated p' can be heard.

The WT final -l, if preserved, is mostly r. Roerich noted a palatalized l' both for final -r and -d. This is absent from our material. Final -d disappeared or is -d. The cluster zl- as in the other Tibetan dialects is pronounced as d.

The most interesting feature in A's reading style is the preservation of the preradicals, not only in word-internal position, but also in word initial position, if the preceding word ends in a vowel. In these cases, the two words are in a kind of phrase junction as e.g. naqk'i rk'an^ua. The preradicals can also be observed after a pause in the speech continuum. In a few cases, if the preceding word ends with a consonant a prothetic vowel can be heard as hams su dga' yan rmi lam tsam- A hams'i rgayag armalamtsam, mar 'khor - mar enk'ora. The tendency to avoid a consonantal cluster in wordinitial position resulted sometimes in an inserted vowel as in gha' - A yaha. I think that this refers to prothetic and inserted vowels, and not to a preserved archaism indicating an original bisyllabic pronunciation. The fact that the preradicals are pronounced only after vocalic finals shows that there is a tendency towards closed syllables.

In the following table I give the corresponding forms for the consonants according to their position:⁶⁴

WT	A, N	WT	A, N
p-	p-, b-, w-, ^u w-	z-	z-, s- ⁶⁵
t-	t-	ž-	š-, ⁶⁶ ž-, z-
k-	k-	l-	l-
ph-	h- (p'-)	r-	ř-, r-
th-	t'-	s r-	s-
kh-	k'-	z l-	d-
b-	b-, w-, ^u w- (B-) ⁶⁵	d p-	x ^u -
d-	d- (r-) (D-) ⁶⁵	d b-	y-
g-	g- (G-) ⁶⁵		
py-	(f) š-		
ky-	k'-, tš- ⁶⁵		
phy-	(f) š-		
khy-	k''-, tš' ⁶⁵		
by-	(f) š-, y-, ž- ⁶⁵		
gy-	g'- dž- ⁶⁵		
khr-	tš'-		
phr-	tš'-		
br-	dž-		
dr-	dž-		
gr-	dž-		
m-	m-		
n-	n-		
ň-	ň- (spirant)		
my-	ň- (also before i, e)		
h-	ň-		
ts-	ts-, s-		
tsh-	ts'-, s-		
dz-	dz-		
tš-	tš-		
tšh-	tš'-		
dž-	dž-		
s-	s-		
š-	x- (š-)		
h-	h-		

In preradical position

WT	A, N
g--	y-, x-
r--	r-, ar-
l--	r-, x-
s--	s-, š-, r-, x-
b--	w-, (g-)
m--	n-, m-
'--	n-, m-

In final position

-b	-b, -ø, (-w)
-l	-r, -ø
-r	-r
-s	ø
-d	ø, -d
-n	-n, (-mb) ⁶⁶
-ñ	-ŋ, ø
-m	-m

Vowels

There exists only one quantitative opposition, short : long. Phonetically, however, we find also half-long vowels. The long vowels are shorter in closed syllables, the short vowels are longer in open syllables, under stress, in sentence-final position or under emphasis. The latter was not marked, only if long vowels became short or short vowels became long.

Short vowels

- a A non labial, open, backvocalic sound. It occurs in place of WT a if it does not shift to ä or e. It appears in place of i and e due to assimilatory process as:

rim pa ~ A ramba, N rimbä; bar du ~ A,N warda; dag ni ~ A,N dagna; son ni red ~ A soñaré, N sognérë; min pa ~ A manba, N mïnba; mi rtag pa ~ A martax^üa, N mïrtax^üa; myin na ~ A hïngga, N hängga; etc. The assimilation process can be well observed in such cases as hin-khu ~ A hñgk'ü, N hnök'ü.

- ä Non labial, open front vocalic sound. It corresponds to WT a, which became fronted under certain conditions. Before final consonants as -n: yed-mkhan ~ A,N yink'än; 'goñ rgan ~ A ngoñongän, N gongän;

⁶⁶ More frequently in N's reading style.

-r: *gar* ~ A,N *gär*. N's speech has a greater tendency to a > ä: *phyin chad* ~ A *šintš'ad*, N *šintš'äd*; *rgad pos* ~ A *gabō*, N *gäpi*. Rarely in syllable final position, if the following syllable is front(ed), as *cha pos* ~ A *tš'awō*, N *tš'awō*. The short ä can be a secondary shortening of a long ä: *žab rgyas* ~ A *žabdži*, *šabdži* (< *žabdži*); *bžad pa'i* ~ N *šabi*, A *žabi*. It has to be noted that the a > ä change does not occur in bisyllabic words where the other vowel is a or o: *pha rgan* ~ A *p'agan*, N *hargan*, *hagan*; *btson ran* ~ N *tsoqran*; etc. The change a > ä is more common in N's speech than in A's. Since it also occurs in cases where the final consonant disappeared and the originally long ä has been shortened in wordinternal position, it has gained a phonemic status.

- e A non-labial mid-open, front vocalic sound. It corresponds to WT e if it is not subject to change. It corresponds further to WT a in cases where a originally shifted to ä and then under the assimilatory influence of an i, è or ö of the other syllable it moved further. See *yab rje* ~ N *yewdži*, A *yabdže*; *thams chad gi* ~ A,N *t'amtš'egi*; *Mar-pa'i* ~ N *merwī*, A *marbī*; *chos can* ~ A,N *tš'ötšen*. While ä can be raised by the influence of i, è, ö, WT i can be lowered with two grades even to e under the influence of a more open sound as in *mi sgo ni* ~ A,N *mürgone*. There is an uncertainty in the pronunciation of the demonstrative pronouns 'di, di and de. In some cases 'di and di are pronounced de.
- è Non labial, mid-closed front vocalic sound. It occurs in place of WT e in special phonetic environments. It is frequent after affricates as: *yab rje* ~ N *yewdžé*, A *yabdže*; *di tshe 'di* ~ A,N *dits'ende*; *skya 'chi* ~ A *k'entš'i*, N *tsentš'i*; *che ba'i* ~ A,N *tš'ěwi*, and after h-: *gňen* ~ A,N *hén*, *myi* ~ A,N *hè*. The WT finals which change to ī (see there) can be shortened to è as in *sans rgyas gi* ~ A *saj^rg'igí*, N *sajdžègi*; *skyes bu* ~ A *k'íwa*, N *tšéwa*. Also short i can become è by the influence of the neighbouring vowels: *soň ni red* ~ A *sojnare*, N *sojnérē*: *byuň ni bo* ~ A *šugnawo*, N *šugnéwo*. Original i becomes è after š as in *phyin* ~ A *šér*, N *fšér*; *phyi zog* ~ A *šezog*, N *šeso*. In some instances more complicated assimilatory effects are at play as in *sin re* ~ A *sinre*, N *seré*. The WT e remains e in cases where perhaps the backvocalic second syllable has an influence: as in *khyed rug* ~ A *k'eríg*, N *tš'eríg*; *brtse ba* ~ A,N *tsewa*; even *chen po'i* ~ A *tš'enbī*, N *tš'embī*, in open syllables as in *che yan* ~ A,N *tš'eyan*. The phonemic status of this vowel is problematic. Its emergence is undoubtedly due to combinatory effects, as it can be seen in such examples as *de riň* ~

A derēŋ, N deraq or dug tu 'gro ~ A,N dīgtēndžo or on the other hand in such cases when it changes to i as rdo rje ~ A dordži, N dordžé, dordži. There does, however, exist an opposition between WT mi, G myi ~ A,N hè, "man", and WT me, G mye ~ A,N hé, "fire".

- i Non labial, high closed front vocalic sound. It corresponds to WT i in front vocalic environment or in monosyllables: zig ~ A,N zig, A zgi; yin ~ A,N yin; di ~ A,N di. As we shall see, WT i is in most cases ī, but after affricates its front character may be preserved: chi ra zig ~ A tš'irazig, N tš'irazig; phyin skyed ~ A śink' id, N tš'intšid; skye 'chi ~ A k'ěntš'i, N tš'ěntš'i. As it has been pointed out above, ē becomes easily i (examples see there).
- o Labial, half-open back vocalic sound. It occurs in place of WT o if not under influence of the environment: rdo rje ~ A,N dordžé, dordži; 'og ma og ma'i ~ A,N oma omī; pho rog gis ~ A p'oroggi, N horoggi.
- ö The front vocalic counterpart of o. Its short form occurs before -n, -d and -l: gžan don gi ~ A,N žendöngi; bton ni ra ~ A,N tönnire; 'od yon ~ döyön; brjod ~ A džöd, N džō; kha 'gyod che ~ A k'ang' ödtše, N k'andžödtše; phyi bsol ~ A śiśöl, N śiwsöl; gsol ~ A sol, N sō. The long ö is shortened in many cases as: chos gi ~ A,N tš'ögi; yod pa ~ A,N yöpa; rdzos ra ~ A,N dzöra.
- u Labial, closed back vocalic sound. WT u is preserved before ŋ, where N's u is slightly nasalized: gsun ~ A sun, N sūŋ; but gsuŋ gi ~ A sīŋgi, N sūŋgi. The sound u is preserved because of assimilatory processes as: khis hīn par ~ A k'ihīŋbar, N k'iħuŋbar; tsugs sa po ~ A ts'īgsawo, N ts'ugsawo - it is not clear whether here the interference of the Lhasa dialect is not at work. The preservation of u can be also due to the reading style as in rje btsun ~ A,N džébtsun, džébtsün. In most other cases, as we shall see, WT u becomes ī. Since also i can become ī, there exists an opposition -iŋ > -īŋ: uŋ < uŋ as riŋ > rīŋ and ruŋ > ruŋ; u has a phonemic status, even if in very limited cases.
- ii According to Roerich ī is a "son dur, postérieur, non labialisé. Dans le dialect de Rebkong il correspond à u et i de la langue écrite; très souvent ī passe à ö". According to my observation this sound is in fact a back vocalic, high-closed vowel very close to the Russian ю. It has two variants, a non labialized and a slightly labialized form. The second occurs mostly in words with another labial vowel. Even this slightly labialized variant has the same raising grade as i and u/ü, and not ö (on which see later). The assimilatory process can be

observed in such cases as *rdzogs rim* - A *dzorum*, N *dzorim*, where the *i* is slightly labialized, see also *tshugs sa po* ~ A *ts'ügsawo*, N *ts'ugsawo*. Thus this labialisation is not due to the original labiality of the sound. As stated by Roerich, it is the most frequent corresponding sound to WT *u* and *i*. After *tš*, *dž* and *š* it tends to *i* as in *chi a* ~ A *ts'ia*, N *ts'ia*, and this tendency is more consistent if in the other syllable there is an *i*, *e* or *é* as in *chi red* ~ A *tš'irē*, N *tš'ére*; *bskyed rim* ~ A *k'erim*, N *tšerim* (see above).

The two following vowels have no phonemic status:

- ó This sound has been described by Roerich as "ressemble à l'anglais 'u' dans 'lunch'. Il est plus postérieur que le ö de Lhasa." The phonetic characteristics are more or less precise, I would classify this sound as a more central one between *o* and *ö*. Its occurrence in our material is, however, totally different from that described by Roerich. According to Roerich it corresponds to *u* and *i* of the written language. In his texts *i* and *ó* are in free variation as *rò* - *rí* "mountain" (WT *ri*). But it renders also WT *o* in the texts of Roerich as WT *ston ka* ~ RA *tòn ka*; WT *stod* ~ RA *xtòl'*; etc. This second is the only occurrence in our material, it is representing WT *o* and its change is due to clear assimilatory processes as in '*gro ba'i* ~ A *džói*, N *džówí*; *dgo tshus* ~ A,N *góts'ü*, or in cases where an *ö* would be expected, it is *ó*, because of further assimilatory processes as in *hon da gson da* ~ A *hönda sónda*, N *hönda sönda*; *kha' gyod che* - A *k'ang' ödtše*, N *k'andžödtše*; *dgo rgyu red a* ~ A *görg' iréa*, N *gidžiréa*; *thon rag ga* ~ A *t'önraxga*, N *t'önragga*. Even if *ó* is sometimes a result of a shortening of *ö*, as in *dgos pa* ~ A *gówa*, N *gówa*, there can be no doubt that *ó* is not yet an independent phoneme, it is a variant of *ö*.
- ü A labial, closed front vocalic vowel. It occurs in place of WT *u* before final *-n*. See *kun mkhyen* ~ A *künk'én*, N *künts'én*; *rgyun* - A *g'ün*, N *džün*. Also in secondary cases as *han tshul di'a* - A *hänts'-ündia*, N *hänts'ündia*. There are some sporadic cases where *-ug*, *-ud* became *-üg*, *-üd*, or where the long *ü* is shortened, as '*brug* - A *džug*, N *džü*; *chud* ~ A *tš'i*, N *ts'ü* (*ts* is a misreading); *dbugs* - A *?ug*, N *ug*; *sdug* ~ A *dý*, N *dü*, but: *dug pa'i* ~ A,N *dígwi*. Since *ü* occurs only before *-n* or is a phonetic variant of long *ü* or of short *u*, its phonemic status is questionable.

Though the latter two sounds are not phonemes in our corpus, the various tendencies that can be observed (assimilation, shortening) work toward a situation, which surely will result in a stage where we have to

reckon with them as phonemes. To observe such transitory stages seems to be of considerable relevance.

Long vowels

- ā The long counterpart of a. It occurs in our material in interjections, as ā, yā, in such emphatic cases as *a rgya* ~ A arg'ā, N adžā and in sentence final finite forms as ...šes a ~ A šiā, N xiā,yin na ~ A,N yinnā, ...mi khom ma ~ A,N mī k'omā. It is interesting that these cases are mostly written by G with subscribed a chūn, on the other hand, not all words with subscribed a chūn are pronounced with long ā, as 'dom ma 'ja'ne tshos ra ~ A doma ndžanets'öra, N doma džanits'öra (where 'dom ma is WT 'dom la), tha ra ~ A,N t'ara (WT thal daň), yod da ra ~ A yōdara, N yōdara. Considering the above the phonemic status of long ā is uncertain.
- ă Long, open front vowel. Occurs in place of -ad as bšad ~ A,N šā; thams cad ~ A t'amtš'ă, N t'amđă. It can also occur as the result of assimilation as in břtas nas ~ A,N tăna. In many cases it is shortened, and this short form can under assimilatory influence become or remain a, as bsdad na ~ A dana, N däna; dal 'byor ~ A dandžör, N dändžör.
- ē Long mid-closed front vowel. It occurs in place of WT -ed as in red ~ A,N rē; med ~ A,N mē; yed da ~ A yēda, N ēta; khyed ~ A k'ē, N tš'ē. Due to assimilatory influence it can occur in place of ī as in la las ~ A,N lalē. It occurs in emphatic sentence endings as gsun de ~ A suñdē, N suñdē. It can be shortened as in med zer ~ A mezer, N mēzer. We find it in the interjection ē!
- í Long closed nonlabial front vowel. It occurs in place of the WT sound combinations -v'i and -vs where v in the first case denotes all WT vowels, and only nonlabial vowels in the second. See e.g. a'i in -pa'i, -bai' ~ A,N -wī, -bi'; de'i ~ A,N dī; rin po che'i ~ A,N rim-botšī; -ni'i ~ A,N nī; phyi'i ~ A,N ſii (careful reading); chen po'i ~ A tš'enbī, N tš'embī; sems 'bu'i ~ A,N sembī; lta bu'i ~ A tawu, N tawī; further -yas ~ A,N yī; rtag pas ~ A rtax^ui, N taxwī; Arya de bas ra ~ A,N aryadevīra; snañ šes ~ A naqšī, N naqxi; brdzes ~ A,N dzī; rin po ches ~ A rinbotš'ī, N rimbots'ī; -ris ~ A,N ri'; khur ris ~ A,N k'irī; with labial vowel only as an exception: de dus ~ A dedī, N didī. As it can be seen, nonlabial + i and nonlabial + s are converged, and this is the reason why G interchanged these cases.

- ö Long, half open labial back vowel. It occurs in WT *yod* where both A and N have *yō* and *yō̄*; *yod na* ~ A *yōna*, N *yōni*. As a result of fusion of the syllable *-bo:* *skye bo* ~ A *k'ū*, N *tšō*; *jo bo* ~ A *džō*, N *džowo*; *nō bo* ~ A *ŋōwo*, N *ŋō̄*; *myi bo* ~ A, N *hō*. This fusion depends on the tempo of the reading, in fast tempo it is ö, in slow -*wo*. We find the vowel in emphatics as ē-*rō*, ö.
- œ Long, half open labial front vowel. It occurs in place of WT *-os* as a rule: *chos* ~ A, N *ts'ö*; *khos* ~ A, N *k'ö*; *ne tshos* ~ A, N *nets'ö*. Also before disappearing *-d* as: *yod* ~ A, N *yō*, *yō̄*; *khyod* ~ A *k'ö*, N *tš'ö*; *gnod* ~ A *nōd*, N *nō̄*; see further ö.
- ü Long, closed, labial front vowel. It occurs in place of WT *-us*, where it alternates with i: *'drus* ~ A, N *džü*; *dus* ~ A *dü*, N *dü*; *'brus* ~ A *ndžü*, N *džü*. It also corresponds to WT *-ul*, which is therefore many times written by G as *-us*: WT *dgos tshul*, G *dgo tshus* ~ A, N *gōts'ü*. See further i.

One would also expect a long ī in the system. Though Roerich enumerates it on p.16 of his book, I could find no convincing example in his material. In our material in such cases as *žus ni* ~ A *žīni*, N *šīni*, it is definitely short. The remarkable cases are: *'dud* ~ A *ndīd*, N *dō̄*; *mdud* ~ A *mdīd*, N *mdī*; *chud* ~ A *tš'i*, N *tš'ȫ*.

The system of the vowel phonemes is the following:

short				long		
i	u	(ü)	i	ü	ī	
		é		ö	ȫ	ē
o	(ö)	ö	e			
a	ä			(ā)	ā	

nine short and six long vowels with two short and one long allophones, which are on their way to gaining a phonemic status.

It is very difficult to contrast the vocalic phonemes of Amdo with those of Lhasa and I would venture only to compare the two systems. For Lhasa I accept the system of Chang and Shefts, also used with a slight modification by Goldstein. I suggest to change two symbols, namely ü for ö and ö for o. Chang's ö is a centralized counterpart of ü and his o is a centralized counterpart for o. For e write ä.

		Front	Central	Back
Closed	Lh	i, ü	é, ú	~, u
	A	i, (ü)	é i	~, u
Open	Lh	e, ö	ä, ö	a, o
	A	e, ö	ä, (ö)	a, o

Two phonemes of Lhasa ü and ö are only allophones in Amdowa but, as stated, on their way to become phonemes. ~ has no counterpart in Amdo. The only essential difference is the delabialization of ü.

As it is known,⁶⁷ in Lhasa Tibetan there exists a strong assimilatory process, the so called Tibetan "vowel harmony", according to which in a bisyllabic word only high or only low i.e. only closed or only open vowels can occur. This could not have been observed in Amdowa. From the assimilatory processes extant in Amdowa, I would mention the total assimilation in such cases as: *bsod nams* ~ A,N sonom; *dai por* ~ A dog-wor, N daqwor; *shin po* ~ A hinqwo, N hogwo; *rim pa* ~ A ramba, rïmba, N rïmba; *mi rtag pa* ~ A,N mirtax^üa, martax^üa; *den san* ~ A,N daqsan; *myin btag gi* ~ A,N hættaggi, etc. In all of these cases the process is regressive. The assimilation is progressive in cases of suffixes or particles: *bar du* ~ A,N barda; *btañ ni red* ~ A,N tagnareñ; *nañ gi* ~ A naŋga, N naŋi; etc., but *rim pa* ~ A ramba, N rïmba. In very rare cases, partial assimilation appears as *rdzogs rim* ~ A dzorum, N dzorïm, or *los zig* ~ A lözig, N lëzig, where there exists a partial labial assimilation or a delabialisation. Other assimilatory processes are frequent and were dealt with above.

How much did the Amdowa monastery language change since the time of Guñ than pa? If we find in place of WT *dgos* : G *sgo* or for WT *yod* : G *yo*, if we bear in mind that the long vowels are in one or another way marked, the finals disappear, it can be assumed that at least the phonetic peculiarities of early 19th century Amdowa did not much differ from those of the 20th century. Certainly the various assimilatory processes were less at work, but for this the means of Guñ than pa would not have been sufficient even if he would have recognised them and would have intended to fix them. If we compare his transcription system with that of Roerich, the difference, taking into account the given cultural circumstances (to quote Steinkellner), is not too great.

⁶⁷ See R.K.Sprigg, Vowel harmony in Lhasa Tibetan. *BSOAS* 24. 1961, 116-138; R.A.Miller, Early evidence for vowel harmony in Tibetan. *Language* 42. 1966, 252-277; K.Chang - B.Sheets Chang, Vowel harmony in Spoken Lhasa Tibetan. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica XXXX* (sic). 1968, 53-124. (Offprint).

The lexical, the morphological and the syntactical features of the text deserve further study. The material is too brief to make overall systematic description, but the scattered, highly interesting dialectal features can be gathered from the text itself.

DIE ÜBERRESTE DES KLOSTERS ĀNAR MA IN LADAKH

von

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Der Lotsaba Rin chen bzañ po (958-1056) war unbestritten eine der überragendsten Persönlichkeiten des tibetischen Buddhismus. In seinem nahezu 100jährigen Leben übersetzte er unter dem Patronat der frommen Könige von Gu ge eine große Zahl buddhistischer Texte aus dem Sanskrit und gab damit einen starken Impuls zum Wiederaufleben des Buddhismus in Tibet um die Jahrtausendwende, nach dem Rückschlag, den dieser durch die Verfolgung unter König Glañ dar ma erlitten hatte. Rin chen bzañ po selbst war nie in Zentraltibet, sein Wirken war vielmehr auf den Westen Tibets, Gu ge, Pu hrañ und Mar yul (Ladakh) beschränkt. Dies mag auch der Grund dafür sein, daß Rin chen bzañ po - zu Unrecht - im Schatten des Atiśa steht.

Rin chen bzañ po war nicht nur als Übersetzer bedeutend, sondern ebenso sehr als Gründer von Klöstern und Tempeln in Westtibet und Ladakh.¹ Die verschiedenen Biographien des Rin chen bzañ po² berichten, daß er insgesamt 108 größere und kleinere Tempel sowie zahlreiche *mchod rten* in der Region Gu ge, Pu hrañ und Mar yul erbaut hatte. Wenn auch die Zahl 108 nicht unbedingt wörtlich zu nehmen ist, so sind doch heute, so weit es Ladakh betrifft, noch viele Tempel und *mchod rten* erhalten, die dem Rin chen bzañ po zugeschrieben werden oder in seine Zeit zurückgehen dürften, wie z.B. die Tempelanlage in Mangyu oder der Señ ge Lha khan

¹ Vgl. G.Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica II. Rin c'en bzañ po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno alle mille*. Roma 1933-XI, besonders 62-74.

² Zusammengefaßt in: *Collected biographical material about Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzari-po and his subsequent reembodiments. A reproduction of a collection of manuscripts from the library of Dkyil Monastery in Spiti*. Hrsg. Rdo-rje-tsche-brtan, Delhi 1977, 88, Zeile 4: ...gtsug lag khān brgya rtsa ... bžeris pa'i žal bžes mjad do; vgl. auch D.Snellgrove und T.Skorupski, *The cultural heritage of Ladakh*. Vol.2, Warminster 1980, 91 und 106, Zeile 2. Über die Abhängigkeit der einzelnen Biographien s. ebenda, 83.

in Lamayuru.³ Darüber hinaus werden eine Reihe von Bauwerken, die nur noch als Ruinen in der Landschaft aufragen, in der Lokaltradition als Gründungen des Rin chen bzañ po angesehen. Diesen Ruinen, mit massiven Mauerwerken von einem Meter Durchmesser und 20-30 Metern Länge, ist vor allem eines gemeinsam: Sie sind in der ebenen Landschaft angelegt und meist am Fuß oder in unmittelbarer Nähe von Burgen und Festungen zu finden, wie z.B. in Basgo, Chigtan oder Ñar ma.

Bisher ist keines dieser dem Rin chen bzañ po in Ladakh zugeschriebenen Bauwerke quellenmäßig zu belegen, ausgenommen Ñar ma. Die Gründung bzw. Erbauung des Klosters Ñar ma in Ladakh ist in den Biographien des Rin chen bzañ po belegt und wird dem Kloster mTho ldiñ an Bedeutung gleichgesetzt.⁴ Abgesehen davon ist das Kloster Ñar ma auch inschriftlich erwähnt.

Eine der Inschriften im 'Du khañ von Alchi berichtet, daß skal ldan śes rab, der Erbauer des 'Du khañ in mar yul [11] ñar ma chos kyi pho brañ studiert hatte.⁵ In einer anderen Inschrift im gSum brtsegs-Tempel von Alchi wird Ñar ma in Zusammenhang mit einem See erwähnt: mtsho [?] las bo žin gans las x || x x x kyi ñar ma bsdad ||⁶ Ferner zitiert L.Petech eine unveröffentlichte Inschrift, die G.Tucci in Ñar ma aufgenommen hatte. Darin ist ebenfalls ein See genannt: Chab srid yañ pa'i ñer ma lha mtsho 'dir |⁷

Der Zeitpunkt der Gründung des Klosters Ñar ma ist in den Biographien des Rin chen bzañ po nicht angegeben, er kann aber aufgrund seiner Lebensdaten annähernd bestimmt werden. Da Rin chen bzañ po im Alter von 18 Jahren (975) nach Kaschmir reiste und nach 10jähriger Abwesenheit in seine Heimat zurückkehrte (985), daraufhin die Klöster Kva char in Pu hrañ, mTho ldiñ in Gu ge und Ñar ma in Ladakh gründete, ist als frühestes Datum für die Gründung des Klosters Ñar ma die Zeit nach 985 bis

³ s. D.Snellgrove und T.Skorupski, *The cultural heritage of Ladakh*. Vol.1, Warminster 1977, 19ff.

⁴ s. *Collected biographical material* 88, Zeile 5: de nas bla chen po lha ldes khva char gyis gtsug lag khañ bžeñsu gsol ba dañ | gu ge ru phebs pa dañ lha bla ma ye śes 'od kyis mtho ldiñ gi gliñ phran bcu gñis bžeñpa dañ | mar yul du ñar ma bžeñpa dañ ... | = D.Snellgrove und T.Skorupski, op.cit. Vol.2, 91 und 106, Zeile 3. Vgl. a. *Collected biographical material* 175, Zeile 5 und 258, Zeile 5.

⁵ D.Snellgrove und T.Skorupski, op.cit. Vol.2, 129, *Inscription No.3*.

⁶ D.Snellgrove und T.Skorupski, op.cit. Vol.2, 138, *Inscription No.7*.

⁷ L.Petech, *The kingdom of Ladakh C.950-1842*. Roma 1977, 26, n.5.

etwa zur Jahrtausendwende anzusetzen.⁸

G.Tucci hat das einstige Kloster Ñar ma mit dem Ruinenfeld ca. 1,5 km südlich von Tikse und ca. 800 m östlich von dem an der Fahrstraße gelegenen Ort Rambipur der Karten identifiziert.⁹ Die Ruinen liegen am Fuß eines Bergausläufers, auf dem die Überreste einer gewaltigen Burganlage, Zeuge für die frühere weltliche Bedeutung des Ortes, erhalten sind. Im Osten und Süden ist Ñar ma durch Berge mit ausgedehnten Sandkaren geschützt. Im Westen, Norden und Osten begrenzt der schon in den oben-zitierten Inschriften erwähnte See das Kloster.

Heute ist das Kloster Ñar ma fast völlig in Vergessenheit geraten und nur vereinzelt findet man gelehrte Geistliche, die um seine Gründung durch Rin chen bzan po wissen. Der dKa' chen Blo bzañ bzod pa aus dem Kloster Tikse gibt in seiner 1976 verfaßten Rin chen bzañ po-Biographie folgende Beschreibung des einstigen Klosters Ñar ma und seiner Gebäude:

"Darauf gründete [er] in Khrigs se'i Ñar ma acht größere und kleinere Tempel. Der Haupttempel maß in Länge und Breite je 25 gom khru.¹⁰ Die Mauerstärke betrug 3 lag khru¹¹ und ihre Höhe 13 lag khru. Die Umfassungsmauer maß an den Seitenlängen jeweils 250 gom pa,¹² ihre Stärke betrug 1,5 lag khru und ihre Höhe etwas mehr als 8 lag khru. Große und kleine mchod rten waren mehr als 100 vorhanden".¹³

⁸ Zu einer abweichenden Datierung kommt der dKa' chen Blo bzañ bzod pa aus dem Kloster Tikse, der in seinem 1976 verfaßten Lo tstsha ba chen po rin chen bzañ po'i rnam thar dad idan dge 'phel (= Historical texts from the monastery of kyi in Spiti). Spiti 1978, 17, Zeile 1 schreibt: gmas der gtsug lag khan chags nas spyi lo chig ston dgu bryga don drug bar du lo dgu bryga re lha soñ - "Seit der Gründung des Vihāra an diesem Ort [Ñar ma] bis 1976 sind 965 Jahre vergangen." Das ergäbe eine Gründungszeit Ñar ma's im Jahre 1011. Dies steht in Widerspruch zu seiner Angabe, daß Rin chen bzañ po im Alter von 55 Jahren zum ersten Mal nach Ladakh gekommen war. Vgl. op.cit. 13, Zeile 5: lo tstsha ba 'di dgu[n] lo ha lha'i skabs la dvags su 'phebs | - "Dieser Lotstshaba kam im Alter von 55 Jahren nach Ladakh."

⁹ G.Tucci, op.cit. 64.

¹⁰ gom khru ist in den Wörterbüchern nicht belegt. Hier ist offensichtlich gom pa (= Schrittlänge) gemeint. D.Snellgrove und T.Skorupski, op.cit. Vol.2, 91, n.21 übersetzen "yard".

¹¹ lag khru = Elle

¹² gom pa = Schrittlänge

¹³ dKa' chen Blo bzañ bzod pa, op.cit. 14, Zeile 1: de nas khrigs se'i ñar mar gtsug lag khan bzeñs par lha khan che chuñ brygad ; lha khan che ba'i dkyus bzeñs gñis la gom khru ñer lha re ; lha khan gi rtsig bzeñs la lag khru gsum ; rtsig pa'i tho tshad la lag khru bcu gsum ; phyi lcags ri'i phyogs re la gom pa ñi bryga lha bcu re ; lcags ri'i rtsig gzeñs la lag khru phyed gñis ; mtho tshad la lag khru brygad lhag tsam yod mchod rten che chuñ bsdoms pa rgya phrag lhag tsam dañ

Der Verfasser gibt die Quelle für seine Beschreibung nicht an, möglicherweise beruht sie auf dem, was augenscheinlich in Nar ma noch erhalten ist. (s. Plate VIII)

Die Ruinen beträchtlichen Ausmaßes lassen noch erkennen, daß Nar ma einst eine ausgedehnte Klosteranlage war, die von einer rechteckigen Umfassungsmauer umgeben war.¹⁴

Wie lange das mit Sicherheit älteste Kloster Ladakh's bestanden hat, liegt ebenso im Dunkel wie die Gründe, die zu seinem Verfall geführt haben. Dies ist erstaunlich, da eine so große Klosteranlage nicht so sang- und klanglos untergehen kann, erklärt sich aber zumindest teilweise aus dem Mangel an Quellen, die für die Geschichte Ladakhs bis zum 15. Jahrhundert sehr spärlich sind.

Es darf angenommen werden, daß Nar ma bereits in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts in Ruinen lag, da aus der obenerwähnten Rin chen bzañ po - Biographie¹⁵ hervorgeht, daß für den 1447 errichteten 'Du khan dkar mo in Tikse¹⁶ "Bauholz, wie Balken usw. die Überreste aus dem durch Hochwasser und kriegerische Einwirkungen zerstörten Nar ma" verwendet wurde. Durch den Abtransport der Holzteile der Bauten von Nar ma waren die Gebäude des letzten Schutzes beraubt und jahrhundertelang der Verwitterung preisgegeben. Die Grundmauern zeigen sich heute fast bar jeden Schmuckes, und nicht zu Unrecht sprachen Besucher bisher von "empty shells" und "complete ruins".¹⁷

Eine detaillierte Studie über den gesamten Ruinenkomplex von Nar ma, die in Vorbereitung ist, wird trotz des verfallenen Zustandes der Gebäude wertvolle Erkenntnisse über diese Klosteranlage vermitteln.

Hier soll zunächst eines der besterhaltenen Bauwerke innerhalb des Ruinenkomplexes, ein äußerlich unauffälliger, halbverfallener mchod rten (s. Plate IX, A), der bisher anscheinend unbeachtet geblieben ist, aber wegen seiner Fresken als letztes Zeugnis des einstigen Glanzes von Nar ma gelten darf, behandelt werden. Die quadratischen Grundmauern des mchod rten messen außen 6 m, sein Aufbau ist zerstört, sodaß von oben Licht einfällt. An seiner Ostseite befindet sich ein teilweise verschütteter

¹⁴ Eine ähnliche Anlage, nur etwas kleiner, die ebenfalls auf Rin chen bzañ po zurückgeht, das Kloster Tabo in Spiti ist bei Romi Khosla, *Buddhist monasteries in the Western Himalayas*, Kathmandu 1979, in Farbabbildung Nr.3 wiedergegeben.

¹⁵ op.cit. 17, Zeile 2 bis 18, Zeile 3: *rjes su chu log dañ dmag khrug sog srgyen han pas dbañ gis ... phal cher žig 'jig rku khyer du soñ bas ... bral gdun lhag lus rnams bžes par mdzad |*

¹⁶ Blo bzañ bzod pa, *Khri tshogs tshul khriims rnam par dag pa'i glin gi mkhan brgyud rnam thar dad pa'i rgyan mchog*. Thimpu 1979, 14a4-6.

¹⁷ D. Snellgrove und T. Skorupski, op.cit. Vol.1, 19 und L. Petech, op.cit. 165.

Eingang von 89 cm Höhe und 55 cm Breite. Der Innenraum ist 2,8 x 2,8 m groß. Die Wände des *mchod rten* sind bedeckt mit den Resten feiner Male reien, hauptsächlich in Braun-, Weiß- und Blautönen, die im folgenden beschrieben werden.

Die Ostwand mit der Zugangsöffnung zeigt in der obersten Reihe eine Guruparamparā, bestehend aus 26 Einzeldarstellungen, beginnend links mit Vajradhara und acht Mahāsiddhas und in der Folge 17 Mönchen, die sich einander zuwenden. In der zweiten Reihe von oben finden sich auf einem durchgehenden Lotusthron zehn stark zerstörte, tantrische Gottheiten, von links (1) Yamāntaka, (2) eine rote, nicht identifizierbare Gottheit, (3) Acala weiß (?), (4) vierarmige, viergesichtige Gottheit, (5) Vajradhara, (6) Uṣṇīśavijayā, (7) Sitātapatrā, (8) Mañjuśrī, (9) Avalokiteśvara und (10) Vajrapāṇi. Zwischen Avalokiteśvara und Vajrapāṇi ist in der Höhe des Lotusthrones eine kleine Darstellung des Cakrasaṃvara eingeschoben. In der dritten Reihe von oben sind die Umrisse von zehn Einzeldarstellungen von Gurus zu erkennen, darunter Rin chen bzañ po und drei weiß gewandete Personen. Links und rechts von der Eingangsöffnung sind die Flammenaureolen zweier Schutzgottheiten sichtbar, rechts ist deutlich ein Schwert zu erkennen. Die Eingangsöffnung ist mit einem facettierten Bandmuster¹⁸ eingeraumt (s. Plate IX, B).

Die Nordwand ist sehr stark beschädigt und Malereien sind nur noch in den Zwischenräumen der steinernen Deckenträger erhalten, nämlich links zwei Mönche mit flacher roter Mütze sowie in der Mitte, vermutlich, Rin chen bzañ po.

Die Fresken der Westwand sind ebenfalls weitgehend zerstört. Inmitten einer Vielzahl kleiner Buddhadarstellungen ist in der Mitte der Wand noch der rechte Arm des Buddha Śākyamuni sichtbar, daneben ein stehender Schüler. Links davon finden sich vier sehr schlecht erhaltene Figuren übereinander, zuoberst Vajradhara (s. Plate X) in feiner Umrißzeichnung, darunter zwei Siddhas und ganz unten ein Mönch.

Die Südwand zeigt ausgehend von der Ostwand in der obersten Reihe, zwischen den Dachträgern, zwei Mönche mit flachen roten Mützen und zwei Mönche mit der spitzen Pandita-Mütze (s. Plate XI, A) sowie Avalokiteśvara und Amitāyus (s. Plate XI, B) und weiterhin eine Form des Padmasaṃbhava (?) in dunkler Kleidung mit dreispitziger Kopfbedeckung, in den Händen Vajra und Schädelschale haltend¹⁹ (s. Plate XII). Darunter

¹⁸ D.Snellgrove und T.Skorupski, op.cit. Vol.2, 80, Abb. 73 zeigt ein solches Muster in den Höhlen von Saspol.

¹⁹ Eine weitere Darstellung dieser Art ist außen am gSum brtsegs Tempel in Alchi zu sehen.

schließt sich ein schmales Band mit Darstellungen von Buddhas und Mönchen an. Als Hauptfigur ist ein Mönch mit Pandita-Mütze dargestellt. Es handelt sich vermutlich um Tsōn kha pa, möglicherweise aber auch Sa skya Pandita²⁰ (s. Plate XIII). Links und rechts von der Hauptfigur sind zwei stehende, ihr zugewandte Mönche (s. Plate XIV) und darunter eine weisse Tārā zu sehen. Als Abschluß nach unten ist an manchen Stellen ein facettiertes Bandmuster auszumachen.²¹

An vielen Stellen ist die Putzschicht, die diese Malereien trägt, abgeblättert oder abgeschlagen, sodaß darunter eine zweite, bemalte Putzschicht sichtbar wird. Es ist nicht immer feststellbar, welche Darstellungen sich auf der älteren Malschicht befinden, da die einzelnen Flächen sehr klein sind bzw. an vielen Stellen beide Schichten zerstört sind und das Mauerwerk freiliegt. Einige Darstellungen sind mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit der älteren Malschicht zuzuordnen, so z.B. der Mönch (s. Plate XIV).²²

Mitten im *mchod rten* liegt auf dem Schutt am Boden ein ca. 80 cm langer Überrest einer Bodhisattva-Statue aus Lehmstück, deren Oberschenkel ein aufgemaltes Beinkleid zeigen (s. Plate XV). An der Bruchstelle der Statue, die wahrscheinlich Avalokiteśvara darstellt, wird ihre Herstellungstechnik deutlich: Lehm, vermischt mit Fasern und Stricken. Rings um die Statue verstreut finden sich Bruchstücke einer Blumengirlande. Es ist nicht gesichert, daß dieses Fragment einer Bodhisattva-Statue ursprünglich seinen Platz in diesem *mchod rten* hatte, aber es ist gewiß der älteren Periode der Ausschmückung Ñar ma's zuzuordnen. Die wenigen Details des Beinkleides und besonders die der Blumengirlande rechtfertigen den Vergleich dieses Bruchstückes einer Bodhisattva-Statue mit ähnlichen Stücken, die aus Alchi und vor allem Mangyu bekannt sind²³ und

²⁰ Sa skya Pandita-Darstellungen in dieser Form sind in Ladakh häufig zu sehen, wie z.B. im sogenannten Guru Lha khan in Phyang, wo eine Bildunterschrift keine Zweifel läßt.

²¹ vgl. Anm.18.

²² Da die Darstellung eines Mönches neben Tsōn kha pa bzw. Sa skya Pandita nicht üblich ist, muß angenommen werden, daß sich an der Stelle der jetzigen Hauptfigur ursprünglich eine Buddha-Darstellung befunden hat. Übermalungen dieser Art, jedoch sichtlich schlechter, sind vor allem aus Saspol bekannt. Vgl. dazu auch D.Snellgrove und T. Skorupski, op.cit. Vol.2, 80, Abb.72.

²³ Der Vergleich mit den Statuen von Alchi ist nur bedingt gültig, da die besonders hübschen Malereien auf deren Beinkleidern aus der Zeit der Renovierung im 16.Jahrhundert stammen. Vgl. die Abbildungen der Statuen von Alchi bei D.Snellgrove und T.Skorupski, op.cit. Vol.1, Abb.X und XI sowie 46-47, Nr.30-32, und Charles Genoud und Takao Inoue, Peinture bouddhique du Ladakh. Genf 1981, 26-27. Eine Abbildung der Bodhisattva-Statue von Mangyu ist bei Anneliese und Peter Keilhauer, Ladakh und Zanskar (Dumont Kunst-Reiseführer). Köln 1980, Farbabb. Nr.34 gegeben.

damit auch ihre zeitliche Einordnung um die Wende des 10.Jahrhunderts.

Ebenso wie die Statue darf auch die ursprüngliche Ausmalung des *mchod rten*, die an einigen Stellen zutage tritt, in die Zeit der Gründung von Ñar ma datiert werden. Dieser *mchod rten* mit seinen fragmentarischen Fresken und dem Bruchstück einer Bodhisattva-Statue läßt ahnen, daß auch die übrigen Tempel der bedeutenden Klosteranlage in ähnlicher Weise ausgeschmückt waren. Darüber hinaus scheint es mit diesem *mchod rten* eine besondere Bewandtnis zu haben, denn er wurde frühestens in der Mitte des 15.Jahrhunderts, als Ñar ma nachweislich schon in Trümmern lag, erneut mit einer Putzschicht versehen und mit Malereien von einer Feinheit und Schlichtheit in der Ausführung und Farbgebung verziert, die in Ladakh selten zu finden ist. Der gesamte Ruinenkomplex der Klosteranlage Ñar ma steht, was seine Ausmaße und seine Anlage betrifft, in Ladakh einzigartig als Beispiel für eine Klostergründung *Rin chen bzañ po's*.

MITTEILUNGEN DES JESUITEN JOHANN GRUEBER ÜBER TIBET

von

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Jahrhundertelang herrschte allgemein die Überzeugung, der Franziskanermönch Odorico von Pordenone habe als erster Europäer Tibet betreten und sei um das Jahr 1328 in Lhasa gewesen. Diese Ansicht stützte sich auf das Kapitel *De Provincia Tibor magni Canis* in Odoricos Reisebericht. Erst im 20. Jahrhundert widerlegten der Tibetologe Berthold Laufer (1914) und noch eingehender der Franziskaner Anastasius van den Wyngaert (1929) die herrschende Auffassung. Nach ihren Untersuchungen "könnte Odorico wohl Randgebiete Tibets berührt haben, aber nie in das Innere des Schneelandes vorgedrungen und auch nie in Lhasa gewesen sein". Um 1627 drang der Jesuit Antonio de Andrade von Indien aus in den Südwesten Tibets ein und gründete sogar zwei Missionsstationen, die jedoch nur kurze Zeit bestanden. Die ersten Europäer, die sicher in Lhasa waren, sind die Jesuitenpatres Johann Grueber und Albert d'Orville.

Wer ist dieser Johann Grueber? Am 28. Oktober 1623 in der Nähe von Linz in Oberösterreich geboren, trat er 1641 in den Jesuitenorden ein und genoß bis 1655 eine gründliche Ausbildung in Philosophie, Theologie, Mathematik und Astronomie. Er war auch ein begabter Zeichner und Maler. 1655 erhielt er vom Ordensgeneral Goswin Nickel den Auftrag, eine günstige Landverbindung zwischen Europa und China ausfindig zu machen. Bei der Hinreise mußte er wegen kriegerischer Verwicklungen in Innerasien teilweise den Seeweg benutzen. Zwei Jahre arbeitete er in Peking an der Sternwarte und als kaiserlicher Hofmaler. 1661 trat er, begleitet von d'Orville und dem chinesischen Christen Matthäus, die Rückreise an. Bei der Grenzstadt Hsi-ning verließen sie China im Anschluß an eine Handelskarawane. Der Weg führte zunächst zum Kukunor, dann in etwa süd-südwestlicher Richtung quer durch Tibet, nach einmonatigem Aufenthalt in Lhasa etwas westlich des Mount Everest über den Himalaya nach Nepal. Im ganzen waren die Patres etwas mehr als vier Monate in Tibet.

Vor seiner Abreise aus Europa war Grueber längere Zeit in Rom gewe-

sen und hatte sich dort mit dem Universalgelehrten Athanasius Kircher befreundet. Kircher führte seinen jüngeren Mitbruder in die Anfangsgründe der chinesischen Sprache und in Feinheiten der angewandten Mathematik und Astronomie ein. Als Gegenleistung sollte Grueber während seiner Reisen viele Vermessungen vornehmen, Notizen und Zeichnungen machen und all das Kircher für sein geplantes Werk *China Illustrata* zur Verfügung stellen. Grueber hat dieser Bitte reichlich entsprochen, vor allem in Tibet, da ihm klar war, daß man in Europa von diesem Land so gut wie nichts wußte.

Welche Quellen haben wir für Gruebers Mitteilungen über Tibet, und wie verlässlich sind diese Quellen?

Die Antwort ist etwas ernüchternd. Grueber hat nichts publiziert. Er hat 14 Jahre lang an einer ausführlichen und reich illustrierten Darstellung seiner Reisen - *Itinerarium* - gearbeitet. Kaiser Leopold I. wollte das Werk auf seine Kosten drucken lassen. Bei Gruebers Tod (1680) war es noch unvollendet. Derzeit ist es verschollen und konnte trotz der Bemühungen vieler Forscher bisher nicht gefunden werden. In den zahlreichen eigenhändigen Schreiben Gruebers, die im Original erhalten sind, finden sich nur drei kurze Texte über Tibet. Etwas mehr enthält Gruebers Beantwortung von zehn Fragen, die ihm der Großherzog von Toskana vorgelegt hatte. Eine am Hof von Florenz für Kircher hergestellte Abschrift ist erhalten.

Die reichsten Quellen sind sekundärer Natur. Wir verdanken sie zwei Männern. Im Februar 1664 hat Grueber das versprochene Material Kircher übergeben und ihm überdies in mehreren langen Besprechungen weitere mündliche Mitteilungen gemacht und Fragen beantwortet. Kircher hat vieles davon in seinem bereits genannten Werk verwendet. Hier sind aber viele Fehlerquellen zu beachten. Grueber verstand nicht Tibetisch und war auf Dolmetscher angewiesen. Kircher können bei seinen Notizen wieder Hör- und Lesefehler unterlaufen sein. Stellenweise hat Kircher offensichtlich eigene Auffassungen und Vorstellungen einfließen lassen. Überdies hat Kirchers Kupferstecher Wenzel Hollar manche Zeichnungen Gruebers nicht sehr glücklich zusammengefaßt und einige Ausschmückungen eingefügt. Grueber war darüber sehr ungehalten. Noch weit problematischer als Kircher ist Lorenzo Magalotti. Der Naturwissenschaftler, Dichter und populärwissenschaftliche Schriftsteller hat Grueber am 31. Jänner 1666 in Florenz stundenlang interviewt und auf vielen Zetteln Notizen gemacht. Aus diesen hat er sein Werk *Viaggio del Padre Giovanni Grueber, tornado per terra da China in Europa* zusammengestellt. Hör- und Lesefehler, Mißverständnisse und Ergänzungen durch eigene Anschauungen und Vermutungen

schwächen den Wert des reichen Inhaltes beträchtlich ab. Trotz alledem sind wir in erster Linie auf Kircher und Magalotti angewiesen.

An mathematisch-geographischen Mitteilungen haben wir nur Kirchers Angabe, Grueber habe die nördliche Breite von Lhasa mit $29^{\circ}6'$ festgestellt. Obwohl eine Ungenauigkeit von etwa einer halben Minute vorliegt, war diese Vermessung für die damalige Geographie sehr wertvoll.

Mehr erfahren wir an politischer und ethnographischer Geographie. Die zahlreichen Zeichnungen Gruebers, die Kircher veröffentlicht hat, geben uns die Möglichkeit, all das an Hand der Bilder zu betrachten.

Bild 1 (Kircher 67)



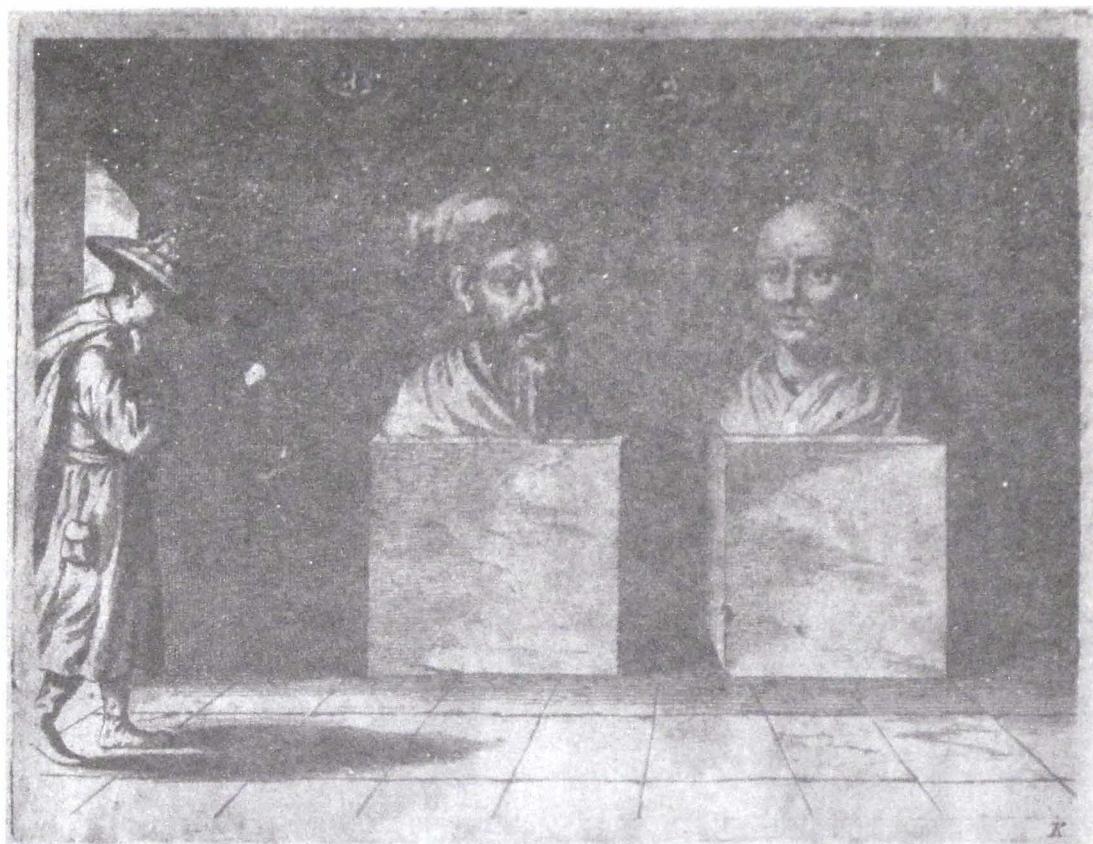
Grueber kam vom Nordosten her nach Tibet. Wie weit sich Tibet um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts in dieser Richtung erstreckte, ist aus den beiden Karten, die Kircher seinem Chinawerk beigegeben hat, nicht zu erkennen. Eine Karte ist dem *Novus Atlas Sinensis* des Martino Martini entnommen, die andere dürfte von Kircher entworfen sein. Aus beiden wird deutlich, daß man damals von den Gebieten nördlich und westlich von China nur ganz vage Vorstellungen hatte. Südlich des Kukunor wandert Grueber durch ein fruchtbare Gebiet. Dort sieht er Zeltdörfer und zahlreiche lamaistische Priester. Die Menschen nennt er Tataren vom Stämme Kalmak oder Kalmuk. Das ist insofern bemerkenswert, als die Hauptmasse der Kalmücken rund 30 Jahre vor Gruebers Ankunft nach dem Westen abgewandert war. Die Kleidung beschreibt Grueber so: der Mann (Fig.II) trägt Gewand und Mütze aus weißem Fell; die Frau (Fig.III) trägt ein Kleid aus Fell in Grün und Rot; der Lama (Fig.I) trägt einen weißen, nach hinten zurückgeschlagenen Mantel, eine rote Schärpe und ein weißes Untergewand, an dessen Gürtel ein Täschchen hängt. Alle tragen am Hals ein Amulett. Die Zelte sind innen aus faltbaren Stäbchen gebaut, außen von einem dichten, von Stricken durchzogenen Wollstoff umgeben. Zu Füßen des Lamas ist eine Gebetsmühle dargestellt.

Höchstwahrscheinlich hat Grueber nur einzelne Personen oder Gegenstände gezeichnet oder gemalt. Die Bildkompositionen stammen von Hollar, der auch seiner Vorliebe für Hunde frönte.

Weiter südlich kam die Karawane durch eine riesige unbewohnte Wüste mit gewaltigen Gebirgen. Grueber nennt sie "Tataria deserta" oder auch "Desertum Kalmak". Ein Gebirge verlangte den Reisenden fast Übermenschliches ab, vermutlich das Burchan-Buddha-Gebirge. Wochenlang traf man keinen Menschen, sah nur gelegentlich Bären, Löwen, Tiger und Yaks.

Im weiteren Verlauf nennt Grueber eine "terra Toktokai", wohl das Gebiet um den Fluß Toktonai Ulan Muren. Ferner erwähnt er die Reiche (wohl Provinzen) Tangut, Reting, Cain, Pottant, Radok, Cottam, vor allem aber die beiden Reiche Sifania mit der Hauptstadt Changur und Barantola, dessen Hauptstadt von den Chinesen Cham, von den Tartaren Barantola (Barantala), von den Einheimischen aber Laassa genannt wird. Hier handelt es sich offenbar um die beiden Zentralprovinzen gTsang und dBu. Nach Magalotti herrsche über beide der gleiche König. Kircher ist hier etwas genauer. Er berichtet von zwei Königen, deren einer, Dowa genannt, die Regierungsgeschäfte besorgt, während der andere, der Magnus Lama, in der Abgeschiedenheit seines Palastes der Beschauung lebt und von den Menschen wie ein Gott verehrt wird. Zur Zeit Gruebers lebte der fünfte Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang, weltlicher Herrscher war Jaisang sDe pa.

Bild 2 (Kircher 68)



Drei Monate nach dem Verlassen Chinas trafen die Patres am 8. Oktober 1661 in Lhasa ein. Grueber nennt sowohl die Stadt als auch die Provinz dBus, ja stellenweise ganz Tibet Barantola. Die Geschichte dieses Reichen wollte er in seinem *Itinerarium* ausführlich darstellen. Bei seinen Erkundigungen stieß er immer wieder auf einen Mann, der in der Geschichte Tibets eine große Rolle gespielt hatte und sieben Jahre vor Gruebers Ankunft gestorben war: Gusri Chan. Er nennt ihn *han*, König von Tanguth. Sein Porträt zeichnete Grueber nach einer Büste, die er in Lhasa sah (Fig.V). Er berichtet dazu kurz: Er soll 14 Söhne (nach anderen waren es 10) gehabt haben. Wegen seiner besonderen Güte und Gerechtigkeit verehren ihn alle Eingeborenen als Heiligen mit dem gleichen Kult, den sie ihren Göttern darbringen. Er hat dunklen Teint, kastanienbraunen Bart und hervortretende Augäpfel. Der weltliche Herrscher Jaisang *sde pa* residierte damals in dem von Gusri Chan in Lhasa erbauten "Palast des voll-

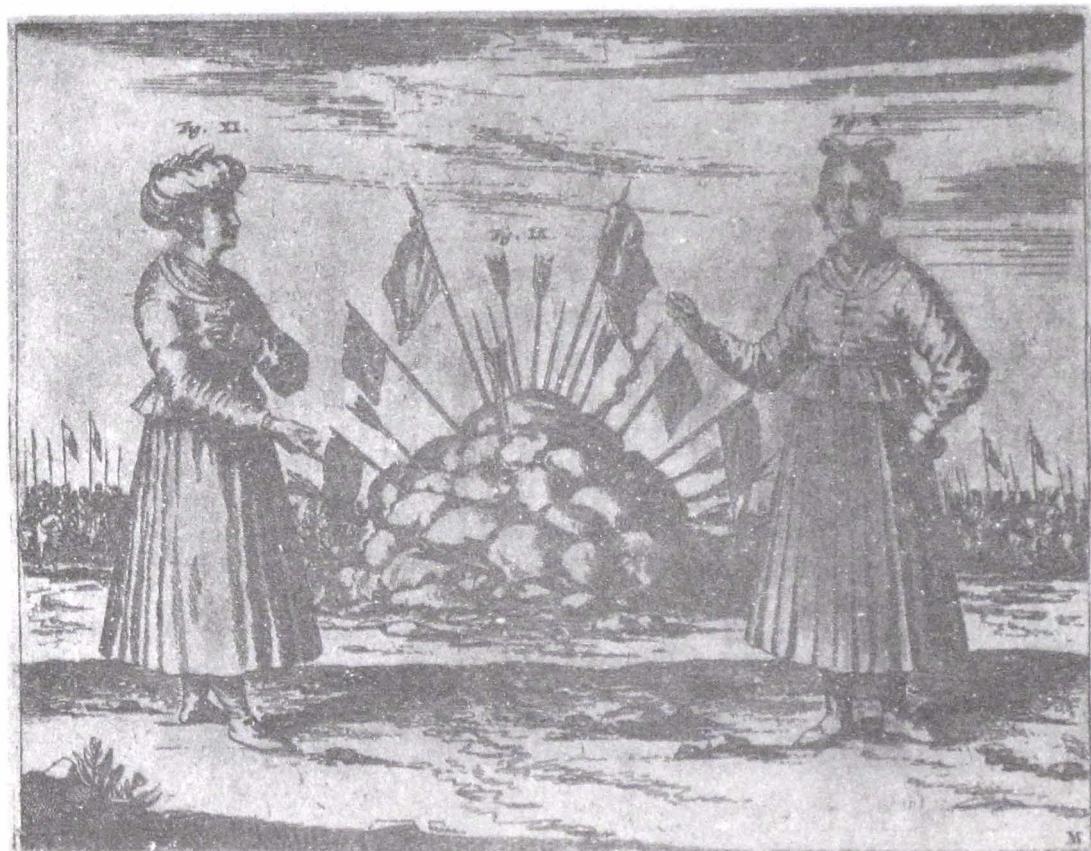
erfüllten Zweckes" (bSam grub p'o brang). Er lud die Patres zu einer Audienz ein, stellte ihnen viele Fragen, war sehr freundlich zu ihnen, übereichte ihnen ein königliches Reisediplom und bat Grueber, ihn zu porträtieren. Hollar hat das Bild auch als Büste dargestellt. Grueber berichtet, daß er wie ein Lama gekleidet war. Besonders hebt Grueber auch die freundliche Haltung der Bevölkerung den Patres gegenüber hervor. Hier taucht die Frage auf, wieso die Patres ohne Schwierigkeit in die "verbotene Stadt" kommen konnten und dort so freundlich und ehrenvoll behandelt wurden. Die Antwort ist einfach. Der junge Mandschu-Kaiser von China, Schun Tschih, der mit dem Dalai Lama befreundet war, hatte ihnen ein pompöses Reisediplom mit Empfehlung an alle Herrscher, deren Gebiet sie durchreisen würden, ausgestellt.

Bild 3 (Kircher 69)



Am Hofe des sDe pa weilte damals eine vornehme Dame aus der Nordtarei. Kleidung und Schmuck waren so auffallend, daß Gruber auch sie porträtierte. Das lange Haar ist zu Zöpfen geflochten. Diese sowie der Gürtel sind mit Meermuscheln verziert. Im Hintergrund hat Hollar wieder Tatarenzelte eingefügt.

Bild 4 (Kircher 70)



Höchst überrascht war Grueber, als er ebendort Männer in Frauenkleidung erblickte. Zwei von ihnen hat er in diesem Bild dargestellt. Eine Erklärung für diese Sitte finden wir bei Kircher nicht. In der Mitte zeigt Grueber eine Art von Höhenheiligtum. Auf vielen Bergeshöhen sind

kleine Steinpyramiden errichtet und mit Fahnen und Pfeilen geschmückt. Grueber erfuhr, daß sie als eine Art Talisman Menschen und Pferden Schutz und Heil bringen sollen.

Bild 5 (Kircher 71)



Die beiden Erwachsenen zeigen die Volkstracht der Tanguten. Figur XIV (der seltsame Knabe) ist mißglückt. Wohl mit besonderer Genehmigung des sDe pa durften die Patres einer Befragung des Staatsorakels in Nächung (gNas c'ung) beiwohnen. Grueber dürfte Kircher nur kurz davon erzählt und einen ekstatischen Ausbruch des vom Dämon Pekar besessenen Mediums (eines jungen Mönches) geschildert haben. Aus der Darstellung von R.Nebesky-Wojkowitz kennen wir ja den Hergang dieser Befragungen sehr genau.

Kircher hat in seinem Text alles Wesentliche übergangen und das schaurige Detail eines solchen Ausbruches allein und sehr mißverständlich beschrieben. Überdies hat Hollar den jungen Lama als Kind dargestellt.

Bild 6 (Kircher 72)



Figur XVII (in der Mitte) zeigt Padmapani in der Erscheinungsform *thugs rje c'en po* (der große Barmherzige mit den elf Gesichtern). Kircher dürfte in seinen Notizen die römischen Ziffern IX und XI verwechselt haben. Nicht nur das Bild, sondern auch der Text sprechen von neun Gesichtern. Figur XXI zeigt eine andere Erscheinungsform der selben Gottheit. Hier berichtet Kircher auch über das häufigste Stoßgebet der Tibeter, *Om ma ni pad me hum*. Grueber waren diese Worte in der verkürzten

Form *o ma ni pe so* geläufig, daß er sie gelegentlich in Briefen an Kircher verwendete.

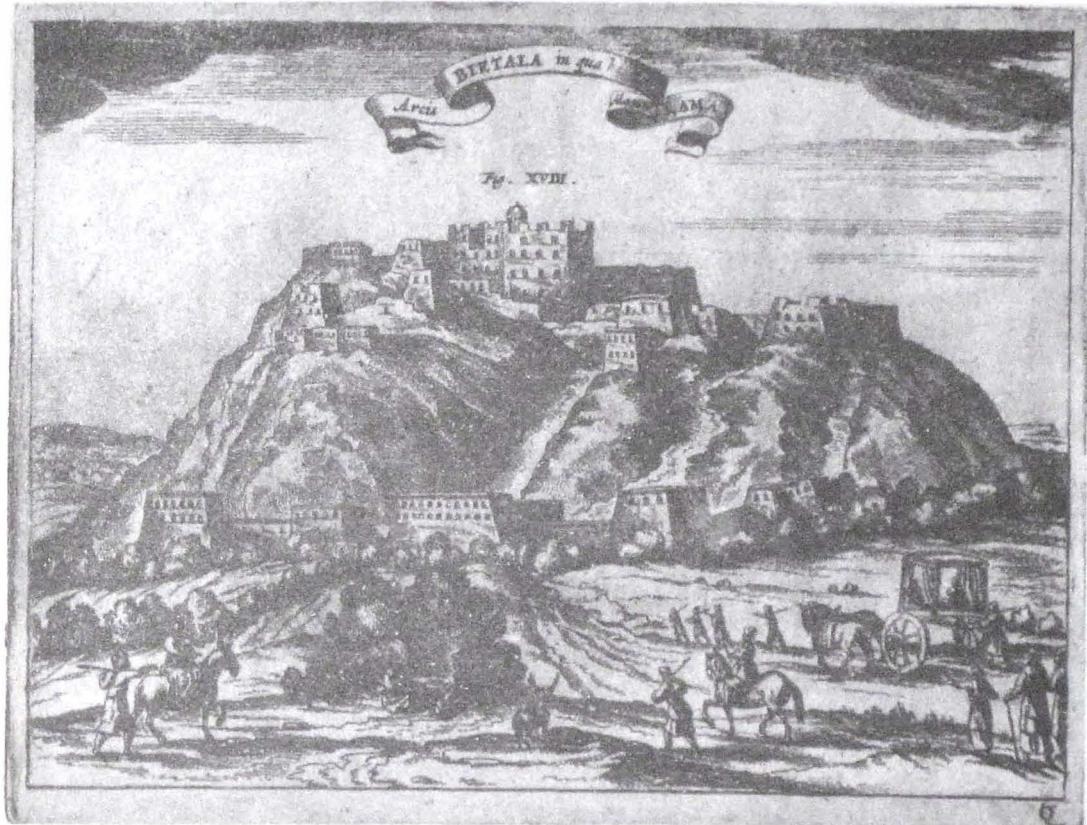
Bild 7 (Kircher 73)



Grueber und d'Orville hätten die Möglichkeit gehabt, den Dalai Lama (Grueber verwendet dieses Wort nie, sondern verschiedene andere Bezeichnungen) persönlich zu sehen. Sie verzichteten aber darauf, weil sie es mit ihrem Gewissen nicht vereinbaren konnten, ihm die vorgeschriebene göttliche Verehrung darzubringen. Sie besichtigten jedoch den Potala. Dort sah Grueber eine Büste des Dalai Lama und fertigte eine Zeichnung davon an. Links Gläubige, die sich wie vorgeschrieben auf den Knien, das Antlitz bis zum Boden geneigt, dem Dalai Lama in Verehrung nahen. Rechts

hat Hollar ganz unmotiviert noch einmal den Gusri Chan eingefügt. Auch der Blick in den Garten ist unrichtig. Grueber berichtet, daß der Dalai Lama seine Audienzen in einem Raum abhält, in den kein Tageslicht eindringt, der nur von Butterlampen beleuchtet ist.

Bild 8 (Kircher 74)



Der Potala, von Grueber auch Putala, hier auf dem Bild und auch im Text Bietala genannt. Wohl ein Hör- oder Lesefehler Kirchers. Hollar hat den Vordergrund nach seinem Ermessen belebt und die Dachzinnen europäisiert. Grueber hat diesen großartigen Palast im Bauzustand von 1661 mit besonderer Sorgfalt gezeichnet. Die Anlage wurde bekanntlich später bedeutend erweitert. Gruebers Bild war bis 1901 das einzige in Europa be-

kannte und wurde in verschiedenen Werken veröffentlicht. Im Jahre 1901 fotografierte der Kalmücke Ovche Norzounof erstmals den Potala. Der Vergleich zeigt, um wieviel der Bau seit Grubers Zeiten erweitert wurde.

Bild 9 (*Kircher* 75)



In Lhasa sah Grueber auch zwei Frauen aus dem Nachbarreich Cain oder Cö in. Was damit gemeint ist, konnte ich nicht eruieren. Aus dem Textzusammenhang bei Kircher liegt die Vermutung nahe, es handle sich um eine Provinz Tibets. Die Frauen tragen eigenartige ovale Zierstücke, anscheinend aus Metall, auf dem Kopf.

Bild 10 (Kircher 76)



Bei der Textierung dieses Bildes ist ein Fehler unterlaufen. Nach Gruebers Beschreibung kann es sich nur bei Figur XXV (ganz rechts) um eine Nepalesin handeln. Die beiden anderen Figuren stellen vornehme Damen aus Tibet dar. Grueber berichtet: Sie flechten ihr Haar zu Zöpfchen und binden diese nach hinten. An der Stirn tragen sie rote, mit Perlen besetzte Binden. Auf dem Haupt tragen sie dosenförmige silberne Kronen, die mit Türkisen und Korallen verziert sind. Allgemein fiel Grueber auf, daß die Emanzipation der Frau in Tibet größer sei als in China. Sie können sich hier frei und ohne Begleitung auf den Straßen zeigen.

Das problematischste Thema in Gruebers Mitteilungen über Tibet ist die Religion. Wie Odorico von Pordenone und Antonio de Andrade war auch Grueber verblüfft über die große Ähnlichkeit der Hierarchie und vieler

Riten und Gebräuche mit der katholischen Kirche. Im Brief an Gamans (der allerdings von Magalotti redigiert ist) lesen wir: Der Gottesdienst stimmt in allen wesentlichen Punkten mit dem der katholischen Kirche überein: Sie feiern ein Meßopfer mit Brot und Wein, sie spenden eine Krankenölung, sie segnen die Ehen ein, sie beten über die Kranken, veranstalten Prozessionen, verehren die Reliquien ihrer Idole, haben Männer- und Frauenklöster, singen wie unsere Mönche Chorgebete, fasten mehrmals im Jahr, verrichten Bußwerke, z.B. Geißelungen, ernennen Bischöfe, entsenden Missionare bloßfüßig und in äußerster Armut in die ganze tatarische Wüste bis China hin. Ihr Pontifex nennt sich Samaconius, d.h. "Gott Vater" (dieses Wort ist offenbar entstellt). Ihm erweisen sie die höchste Verehrung.

Den Europäern, deren Denken sich in aristotelisch-scholastischen Kategorien bewegte, war damals ein Zugang zu der völlig andersartigen Gedanken- und Vorstellungswelt des Buddhismus und Lamaismus noch unmöglich. Begriffe wie Vergleichende Religionswissenschaft, Ökumenismus und weltweiter Dialog unter den verschiedenen Religionen waren damals kaum in ersten Ansätzen vorhanden. So ist die sehr radikale Überzeugung der Missionare von der Einzigartigkeit und Alleinberechtigung des Christentums verständlich.

In der Erklärung der Ähnlichkeiten mit der katholischen Kirche gab es zwei Theorien. Die eine sah darin einen Versuch des Teufels, die katholische Kirche nachzuäffen. Die andere vermutete ein frühes Vordringen des Christentums bis in den Fernen Osten. Hier dachte man vor allem an den Apostel Thomas. Diese Theorie erhielt gerade damals mächtigen Auftrieb durch die Entdeckung der "Nestorianischen Tafel" (1625 in Sian-fu), die das Christentum nestorianischer Prägung für das Jahr 781 nachweist. Diese Tafel hat Gruber an Ort und Stelle besichtigt. Er hat den syrischen Text sorgfältig abgeschrieben und Kircher übergeben. Dieser hat in seinem Chinawerk den syrischen und den chinesischen Text erstmals veröffentlicht und interpretiert. Kircher war überzeugt, der sagenumwobene Priesterkönig Johannes, den die meisten in Äthiopien vermuteten, sei in Ostasien, in der Nähe Tibets zu suchen. Wenn wir die Wiedergabe des Briefes Gruebers an Gamans akzeptieren, vertrat Grueber anfangs die erstgenannte Theorie. In Rom aber scheint er sich doch der Auffassung Kirchers angeschlossen zu haben.

ZUM ENTSTEHUNGSPROZESS VON URKUNDEN
IN DEN TIBETISCHEN HERRSCHERKANZLEIEN

von
D.SCHUH (Bonn)

Während für den Historiker die Auswertung von Urkunden als Quelle für die Darstellung geschichtlicher Ereignisse und Veränderungen von vorrangiger Bedeutung ist, interessiert den Diplomatiker bzw. Urkundenforscher mehr die Urkunde selbst als Resultat und Spiegelbild eines geschichtlichen Vorganges eigener Art, der durch eine rechtsgeschichtliche (Veränderung oder Fortschreibung von Rechtsverhältnissen) und eine bürokratisch-kanzleimäßige (geschäftsmäßige Ausfertigung der Urkunde) Komponente gekennzeichnet ist. Dabei zeigt es sich, daß diese beiden Komponenten bei tibetischen Urkunden fast nie völlig voneinander getrennt werden können, daß also der Prozeß der Gestaltung der Rechtsverhältnisse und der der Ausfertigung häufig parallel laufen und sich überschneiden.

1. Die gerichtliche Vergleichsurkunde (*dpyad mchams*)

An tibetischen Originalurkunden ist die Geschichte ihrer Entstehung auf verschiedene Weise ablesbar. Am deutlichsten wird der Entstehungsprozeß einer Urkunde dort sichtbar, wo in ihr selbst die Geschichte des Rechtsgeschäfts bis hin zur Ausfertigung des Dokumentes dargestellt wird. Solche expliziten Darstellungen finden sich in einem bestimmten Typ tibetischer Urkunden, und zwar in solchen, durch die die einvernehmliche Regelung von Rechtsstreitigkeiten vollzogen wurde. Die einvernehmliche Regelung von Rechtsstreitigkeiten, die hier im Rahmen der Urkundenlehre angesprochen ist, betraf – wie dies mit allen Urkunden der Fall ist – natürlich nur den Bereich der zivilen Gerichtsbarkeit, also Streitfälle über Besitz- und Nutzungsrechte von Äckern und Weiden, über wechselseitig bestehende Abgaben- und Dienstleistungsverpflichtungen und Ähnliches. Amtsstellen bzw. Amtspersonen, die in solchen zivilgerichtli-

chen Auseinandersetzungen angerufen werden konnten, waren die Distriktbeauftragten (*rjon sdod*), der Ministerrat (*bka' ſag*) oder ein Regent (*rgyal chab*). Die vorstehende Aufzählung ist mit Sicherheit nicht vollständig, doch beschränke ich mich hier auf sie, da mir von anderen Amtsstellen untersiegelte Schlichtungsurkunden nicht vorliegen. Für die unter Einschaltung dieser Amtsstellen geschlossenen gerichtlichen Vergleiche sind die Bezeichnungen *dpyad mchams*, *dpyad khra*, *dpyad mchams khra ma* oder auch nur *khra ma* belegt. Urkunden dieser Art finden sich in tibetischen Urkundenarchiven häufiger. So konnte ich im Frühsommer 1978 in Kathmandu aus dem Archiv des Klosters bKra ſis bsam gtan gliñ von sKyid groñ eine *dPyad mchams khra ma*-Urkunde (Kathmandu 12) verfilmen, mit der ein Rechtsstreit zwischen bestimmten Klosterbauern jenes Klosters und Regierungsbauern (*gžuñ rgyugs pa*) des Ortes gNas nub geregelt wurde. Der Vergleichstext, der wie bei allen Urkunden dieser Art üblich die vordere Seite des Dokumentes ausfüllt, ist mit dem Amtssiegel der beiden Distriktbeauftragten untersiegelt. Auf der Rückseite finden sich die von den Parteien jeweils untersiegelten Zustimmungsvermerke der beteiligten Gruppen zu dem auf der Vorderseite notierten Vergleichstext. Wir können hier davon ausgehen, daß diese Urkunde in der Amtsstelle der beiden Distriktbeauftragten, also der Distriktkanzlei, die nach Informationen tibetischer Gewährsleute auch ein eigenes Urkundenarchiv besaß, ausgefertigt worden ist.

Ein weiterer *dPyad mchams khra ma*-Vergleich aus dem Archiv des gleichen Klosters liegt mir über Rechtsstreitigkeiten zwischen den aus dem Kloster bKra ſis bsam gtan gliñ entsandten Verwaltern und Mönchen des berühmten heiligen Ortes Byams sprin lha khan in sKyid groñ und den Bauernfamilien von Chon 'dus vor (Kathmandu 15). Dieser Vergleich wurde auf Veranlassung des Distriktbeauftragten des *rJön dga'*-Distriktes sowie des *sDñ čhen pa*, eines neueingesetzten Distriktbeauftragten des sKyid groñ-Distriktes, ausgefertigt und ist mit deren beiden Siegeln untersiegelt. Auch in diesem Fall war die ausfertigende Stelle mit Sicherheit eine der Distriktkanzleien der beiden Urheber.

Aus dem Archiv des Klosters mTho ldin in Gu ge konnte ich im Jahre 1978 im Tibeterlager Mundgod eine Urkunde des gleichen Types verfilmen, die mit dem Siegel des Ministerrates (*bka' ſag*) untersiegelt ist (Mundgod 93). Dieses mit kleiner Schrift engzeilig geschriebene Dokument ist 62 cm breit und erstaunlicherweise zwölf Meter lang!

Der große Textumfang ist überhaupt ein charakteristisches Merkmal aller dieser Schlichtungsurkunden. So ist ein von mir in den *Monumenta Tibetica Historica* (MTH) veröffentlichter und übersetzter Vergleich (MTH

III/5, Dokument XXX), der auf Veranlassung des 1. Rva sgren-Regenten im Jahre 1861 ausgefertigt wurde, bei einer Breite von 105 cm immerhin 2,42 m lang und umfaßt 56 Zeilen auf der Vorderseite.

Die höheren der oben genannten Amtsstellen bzw. Amtsträger, die zur Regelung zivilrechtlicher Rechtsstreitigkeiten angerufen wurden, pflegten häufig die genaue Untersuchung (žib dpyod) und Regelung dieser Streitfälle an untergeordnete Amtsstellen zu delegieren, wobei sie sich ein Zustimmungsrecht vorbehalten konnten, was eben dadurch zum Ausdruck kam, daß der Vergleich mit dem Amtssiegel der delegierenden Amtsstelle bzw. Amtsperson untersiegelt wurde. Es bestand aber auch die Möglichkeit, die Regelung ganz einer nachgeordneten Stelle zu übertragen.

Die Dominanz des gerichtlichen bzw. amtlichen Vergleiches ist überhaupt ein hervorstechendes Merkmal der tibetischen Rechtspraxis. Es muß den westlichen Leser erstaunen, mit welcher Geduld und Ausdauer tibetische Amtsstellen Streitfälle zu behandeln pflegten, um schließlich - eventuell auch mit mehr oder minder sanftem Druck - die Parteien zu veranlassen, dem Vergleich zuzustimmen.

Die Gründe hierfür werden in diesen Urkunden gelegentlich genannt. Der Vergleich sollte eine endgültige Zerstörung oder nicht mehr reparable Schädigung des Zusammenlebens der unterschiedlichen sozialen Gruppen verhindern und so das Intakthalten sozialer Bindungen und Zusammenarbeit ermöglichen.

Wie die Abwicklung des mit der Ausfertigung solch einer Urkunde verbundenen Rechtsgeschäftes in einer Vergleichsurkunde geschildert wird, sei anhand des schon aufgeführten, auf Veranlassung des Rva sgren-Regenten 1861 ausgefertigten Vergleiches dargestellt. Ich möchte dazu nochmals erwähnen, daß die nachfolgenden Erläuterungen voll auf den expliziten Darlegungen des zugehörigen gerichtlichen Vergleiches beruhen. Der Vergleich behandelt zwei Streitfälle, von denen ich nur den ersten referieren möchte. Dieser entstand zwischen den Bauern von Choñ 'dus auf der einen und bestimmten abhängigen Bauern des Klosters bKra ſis bsam gtan glin auf der anderen Seite und entspann sich um die Benutzung eines bestimmten Weidegebietes. Der Besitz dieser Weide und somit auch das Recht, von Mitbenutzern Weideentgelt verlangen zu können, wurde von den Leuten von Choñ 'dus für sich in Anspruch genommen. Die Choñ 'dus-Leute trieben deshalb eines Tages das Vieh der Klosterbauern zusammen und entfernten es von der Weide, weil die Klosterbauern die Zahlung einer Benutzungsgebühr verweigerten. Als Reaktion darauf zogen elf Mönche des Klosters los und versperrten nun ihrerseits den Choñ 'dus-Bauern gewaltsam den Zugang zur Weide.

In dieser Situation erschien den Beteiligten eine gerichtliche Be-reinigung dieses Streites unausweichlich, zumal die gewaltsame Aktion der Chon 'dus-Bauern wie auch die der Mönche des Klosters klare Rechts-brüche darstellten, die den Bereich der Strafgerichtsbarkeit tangierten. Tatsächlich wurde beiden Parteien im Verlauf der Konfliktregelung für diese strafrechtlich zu ahndenden Aktionen jeweils eine Geldstrafe von drei Gold-Žo auferlegt.

Mit dem geschilderten Ausbruch des Konflikts wurde eine Reihe seit längerer Zeit bestehender Rechtsverhältnisse, die z.T. gewohnheitsrechtlicher Art waren, in Frage gestellt und auf ihre grundlegende Interpretation hin thematisiert. Festzuhalten ist, daß die Klosterbauern bestritten, jemals Weidenutzungsgebühren gezahlt zu haben, und daß es auch im Laufe des Verfahrens nicht gelang, diese Frage verläßlich zu klären. So blieb es auch unklar, wer für die Störung selbst letztlich verantwortlich war, die den Konflikt heraufbeschwor. Wir können somit nicht sagen, ob die Klosterbauern tatsächlich eine seit alters her von ihnen erbrachte Abgabe plötzlich verweigerten oder ob es die Chon 'dus-Leute waren, die nun unvermittelt etwas forderten, auf das sie früher niemals Anspruch erhoben hatten. In jedem Fall wird man annehmen müssen, daß der eigentliche Grund des Konflikts in Spannungen zwischen den beteiligten Gruppen zu sehen ist, die in dem Verfahren selbst nicht mehr erörtert wurden.

Beide Parteien sandten nach dem Ausbruch des Disputes Delegationen nach Lhasa, um dort die Rechtsangelegenheit vortragen zu lassen. Es erscheint als sicher, daß die Amtsträger auf der Distriktsebene hierbei völlig übergangen wurden, denn das Dokument, das ansonsten jede Kleinigkeit des prozessualen Fortgangs schildert, erwähnt sie nicht als Instanz, die im Anfangsstadium der Auseinandersetzung aktiv wurde. Die Instanz, der die Angelegenheit in Lhasa vorgelegt wurde, war der Ministerrat (*bka' ſag*), der die Behandlung der Angelegenheit direkt dem Schatzamt (*rcis khaṇ*) übertrug. Dieses arbeitete einen Vergleich aus, der auch vom Ministerrat schließlich akzeptiert und untersiegelt wurde.

Wenn man den Text solcher Vergleiche und ihre logisch stringente Argumentationsweise als Maßstab nimmt, wird man leicht zu der Annahme verleitet, die betroffenen Parteien hätten angesichts der Verfahrensweise und der großen Autorität der angerufenen Instanz keine andere Wahl, als auf der Rückseite ihre Zustimmung zu geben, was bedeutete, daß diese nur als Formalität anzusehen wäre. Der vorliegende Fall zeigt jedoch sehr deutlich, daß dies keineswegs der Fall war.

Tatsächlich wurde nämlich die Zustimmung zum Vergleich des Minister-

rates von seiten des Klosters verweigert, und zwar mit dem Argument, daß Rechtsverhältnisse geschaffen würden, die gegen den Inhalt alter Herrscherurkunden verstießen.

So wurde der gesamte Vorgang an die Distriktbeauftragten von skyid groñ und an den in Diñ ri postierten Militärikommandanten (*mda' dpon*) übersandt mit dem Auftrag, die Rechtsangelegenheit vor Ort zu regeln. Der Militärikommandant von Diñ ri schickte einen Vertreter, der zusammen mit dem Distriktbeauftragten die betroffenen Gebiete bereiste und vor Ort Untersuchungen durchführte. Dabei wurden insbesondere auch ältere Leute befragt, von denen man sich Aufschlüsse über alte, durch Urkunden nicht belegbare gewohnheitsrechtliche Verhältnisse erhoffte. Als die unter Leitung der genannten Amtsträger geführten Verhandlungen dem erfolgreichen Abschluß nahe waren, verweigerten nun die Bauern von Chon 'dus ihre Zustimmung, da sie sich durch die sich nun abzeichnende Regelung im Verhältnis zum Vergleich des Ministerrates schlechter gestellt sahen.

Als Folge hiervon wurden die Parteien wieder an die Zentralregierung in Lhasa verwiesen, wo es nun der Regent (*rgyal chab*) war, der eine erneute Verhandlung der Angelegenheit veranlaßte.

Der bisherige Fortgang des Verfahrens zeigt deutlich, daß ein auf Distriktebene geschlossener Vergleich nicht automatisch als erstinstanzliche Konfliktregelung angesehen werden muß. Wäre im vorliegenden Verfahren auf Distriktebene ein Vergleich zustande gekommen, wäre dieser nicht einmal durch eine "Zurückverweisung" an die unterste Instanz entstanden, da diese ja von Anfang an von den Parteien übergangen worden war. Andererseits gab es durchaus Fälle, von denen ich den in Kathmandu 12 behandelten als Beispiel nennen möchte, bei denen die Parteien zuerst die Distriktbehörden anriefen und diese auch sofort ohne Rückgriff auf höhere Instanzen einen Vergleich vermittelten.

Im vorliegenden Rechtsstreit wurden nach der Zurückverweisung nach Lhasa vom Regenten der Militärikommandant (*mda' dpon*) von Diñ ri und vermutlich der Hauptkämmerer (*mgron gñer čhen po*) mit der Untersuchung (*žib dpyod*) beauftragt. Die mit der Prüfung beauftragten Amtsträger sahen sich zunächst mit einer Fülle von unbestrittenen Rechtsgewohnheiten im Hinblick auf die Nutzung der Weide konfrontiert. So benutzten die Chon 'dus-Leute zwar die Weide, hatten aber bestimmte Mengen an Butter, Käse und Milch (*dkar phud*) an den Bla brañ des Klosters bKra šis bsam gtan glin abzuliefern. Umgekehrt konnte die Bla brañ-Verwaltung ihr Vieh auf die Weide schicken, hatte sich aber verpflichtet, den Chon 'dus-Bauern dafür jährlich zwei Yakbulen unentgeltlich zur Verfügung zu stellen. Daneben hatten bestimmte Regierungsbauern des Umlandes das Recht, ebenfalls

diese Weide zu nutzen. Sie mußten dafür aber einerseits an die Chon 'dus-Leute ein Weideentgelt entrichten, hatten aber auch andererseits eine *dKar phud*-Abgabe dem *Bla brañ* abzuliefern.

Der Rechtsstreit über die Berechtigung der Chon 'dus-Leute, von den Klosterbauern wie von den Regierungsbauern ein Weideentgelt zu verlangen, mußte zunächst zu der Frage führen, wer der eigentliche Besitzer der Weide war. War nämlich der *Bla brañ* des Klosters der Besitzer, so konnte er auch den Klosterbauern das Recht einräumen, die Weide unentgeltlich zu benutzen. Die mit der Untersuchung betrauten Beamten zitierten im Vergleich ausführlich verschiedene, von den Parteien vorgelegte alte Rechtsbriefe, aus denen aber über die Besitzverhältnisse der umstrittenen Weide nichts zu entnehmen war. Dann versuchten sie, ausgehend von den anerkannten gewohnheitsrechtlichen Verhältnissen Rückschlüsse auf die Besitzrechte zu ziehen, was ebenfalls nicht gelang, da die oben geschilderten wechselseitigen Ansprüche hier keine rechtlich-logisch sauberen Rückschlüsse zuließen. So sprach es zwar für den Besitzanspruch der Leute von Chon 'dus, daß ihnen vom *Bla brañ* jährlich zwei Yakbulen überlassen wurden, doch widersprach dem andererseits die ansonsten unentgeltliche Benutzung der Weide durch den *Bla brañ*. Für den Eigentumsanspruch des *Bla brañ* sprach die Ablieferung der *dKar phud*-Abgabe durch alle Benutzer, doch widersprach dem die Zahlung eines Weideentgeltes durch die anderen Benutzer der Weide an die Leute von Chon 'dus.

So blieb zur Lösung des Rechtsstreites nichts anderes übrig, als die grundsätzliche Frage nach den Besitzverhältnissen als nicht entscheidbar zurückzustellen und die bisher anerkannt bestehenden wechselseitigen Abgabeverpflichtungen durch den Vergleich weiter fest- und fortzuschreiben.

Damit war aber der Streit, welcher der Ausgangspunkt der ganzen Rechtsauseinandersetzung war, nämlich die Frage, ob die Klosterbauern an die Chon 'dus-Leute Weideentgelt zu zahlen hatten, keineswegs entschieden. Denn der gewohnheitsrechtliche Tatbestand vor Ausbruch der Streitigkeiten war, wie gesagt, nicht mehr zu klären gewesen. Die durch den Vergleich hierzu vorgeschlagene Lösung erscheint mir genauso erstaunlich wie die Reaktion der betroffenen Parteien darauf. Der Regent stellte den Parteien nämlich zwei Möglichkeiten zur Wahl, von denen die erste ein grundsätzliches Verbot der Benutzung der Weide durch alle Bewohner der angrenzenden Gebiete beinhaltete. Die zweite Möglichkeit sah vor, daß die Parteien durch ein Wurforakel entscheiden sollten, wer im Recht sei.

Die Reaktion der Parteien zeigt wiederum deutlich, daß die Ausferti-

gung des gerichtlichen Vergleichs und die Zustimmung der Parteien weder zeitlich noch de facto nahtlos ineinander übergingen. Denn jede der Parteien entschied sich für die jeweils andere der zur Wahl gestellten Möglichkeiten. Dies ist aus den Zustimmungsvermerken zu entnehmen, die über den weiteren Fortgang des Verfahrens Aufschluß geben. Offenkundig hatte diese unterschiedliche Wahl angesichts der Tatsache, daß der Regent selbst den Vergleich gebilligt und untersiegelt hatte, die tibetischen Behörden nicht nur verblüfft, sondern auch verärgert. Im übrigen erstaunt das Verhalten der Klosterbauern, deren Entscheidung für ein grundsätzliches Verbot der Weiden wohl kalkuliert gewesen sein dürfte. Diese Wahl brachte nämlich den Chon 'dus-Leuten den größten wirtschaftlichen Nachteil, denn neben dem Wegfall der Weiden hätten sich für sie empfindliche Einbußen an Weideentgelt ergeben.

Mit dieser unterschiedlichen Wahl war zunächst die Geduld der Behörden entgültig erschöpft. Der Minister lHa dban mgon po aus dem Hause lČan rgyab beorderte die Parteien zu sich und erzwang eine Regelung, nach der die Chon 'dus-Leute auf jede Weideentgeltzahlung von Seiten der Klosterbauern verzichteten.

Zur Ausfertigung des gerichtlichen Vergleichs durch die Zentralregierung in Lhasa wurden nach dem vorstehend geschilderten Fall zwei Gruppen von Amtsträgern bzw. Institutionen aktiv. Die rangmäßig untergeordnete Gruppe bzw. Institution, die jeweils ad hoc bestimmt wurde, war mit der Ausarbeitung des Konzepts des Vergleiches betraut. Der übergeordneten Institution (rgyal chab, bka' šag), die die eigentliche Appellationsstelle des Rechtsstreites war, mußte dann das Konzept zur Prüfung und Genehmigung vorgelegt werden. Dieser Genehmigung wurde nach außen dadurch Ausdruck verliehen, daß die Endausfertigungen der Urkunden mit dem Amtssiegel dieser Instanz untersiegelt wurde. Rechtskraft erhielt der Vergleich aber - wie schon gesagt - erst durch die Zustimmung der streitenden Parteien, die diese durch das Anbringen ihrer Siegelstempel unter den rückseitigen Zustimmungsvermerken zum Ausdruck brachten.

Betrachten wir die technische Seite der Ausfertigung der Urkunden, so tritt der rein bürokratische Aspekt stärker in den Vordergrund. Der Entwurf des Konzepts, die Herstellung der Endausfertigung durch Schreiber, der Vollzug der Untersiegelung etc. wurde natürlich auch in Tibet niemals vom Herrscher eigenhändig durchgeführt. Dazu standen ständige Kanzleien und zusätzliche - wie im Falle des geschilderten Rechtsvergleichs - ad hoc beauftragbare kanzleimäßige Einrichtungen mit ihren Hilfskräften zur Verfügung. Für den Fall der Untersiegelung des Anglo-tibetischen Vertrages des Jahres 1904 besitzen wir hierzu folgenden Augenzeugen-

bericht von L.A.Waddell:¹

"It was notable that the Regent, beaming with smiles at this consummation of his wishes, did not himself impress the great seal of the Dalai Lama on the Treaty, but touching this exalted stamp, commanded one of the monks to imprint it for him."

Anzumerken ist, daß selbst die symbolische Handlung der Berührung des Siegels im alltäglichen Vollzug der Amtsgeschäfte unterblieb. Daneben sei erwähnt, daß das vom Regent verwandte Dalai Lama Siegel² keineswegs das "große Siegel" des Dalai Lama war, sondern pikanterweise ein Siegel von relativ untergeordneter Bedeutung.

Die Vielfalt der bürokratischen Einrichtungen bedingte auch notwendigerweise eine Reihe von Kanzleiregelungen, wie z.B. interne Gepflogenheiten über die Kennzeichnung von Konzepten, die der Herrscher durchgesehen und deren Endausfertigung er zugestimmt hatte. Da in Tibet eine schriftliche Kanzleiordnung nicht existiert hat, ist man zur Untersuchung der kanzleiinternen Verfahrensweisen insbesondere auch auf die Befragung ehemaliger Regierungsbeamter angewiesen. Hierzu konnte ich systematische Befragungen des in der Schweiz lebenden Herrn Pha la Thub bstan 'od ldan und von Herrn Tā bla ma bka' zur Thub bstan nor bzañ aus dem Tibeterlager Bylakuppe in Südindien durchführen.

Im Lichte dieser Befragungen, deren Ergebnisse ich weiter unten schildern möchte, ergibt sich für die formale Ausfertigung der eingangs beschriebenen Vergleichsurkunde wenig Spezielles. Zur Anfertigung eines Konzepts bedienten sich höhergestellte Beamte zumeist rangniedriger Schreiber. Das Gleiche gilt für die Ausfertigung der Originalurkunde, die hier - da zwei Parteien beteiligt waren - in zweifacher Ausfertigung ('dra gñis) erstellt wurde. Die Einreichung der Konzepte beim Herrscher erfolgte über eine der beiden noch näher zu beschreibenden, ständigen Kanzleien der tibetischen Regierung der Neuzeit. Der Vorgang der Überprüfung durch den Herrscher entsprach dem aller übrigen Urkunden, deren Durchsicht zum alltäglichen Aktenstudium tibetischer Herrscher gehörte. Die Untersiegelung selbst erfolgte in einem Amtsvorgang, bei dem Urkunden in größerer Zahl ohne Unterschied ihrer Gattung mit Siegelabdrücken der Siegel des Herrschers versehen wurden. Die Konzepte wurden wie die aller übrigen Urkunden behandelt, d.h. sie wurden in der Amtsstelle, die

¹ L.A.Waddell: *Lhasa and its Mysteries, with a Record of the Expedition of 1903-1904.* London 1905, 418.

² Vgl. MTH III/5, 14 (Siegel E 8).

für die Endausfertigung zuständig war, archiviert. Als Besonderheit des gerichtlichen Vergleichs ist hervorzuheben, daß für seine Erstellung eine in den zugehörigen Urkunden näher spezifizierte Gebühr erhoben wurde. Daneben wurden Gebühren für die Ausfertigung der anderen Urkundenarten allgemein nicht erhoben.

2. Urkunden mit Konfirmationszusätzen

Veränderungen von Urkunden durch beglaubigte Zusätze sind äußerliche Merkmale, die uns über die Geschichte einer Urkunde ebenfalls Auskunft geben können. Solche Zusätze spiegeln entweder die Hierarchie der Machtverteilung zwischen den zur Ausfertigung von Rechtsbriefen bestimmter Art berechtigten Amtsstellen wieder oder sie entstanden aus dem Bedürfnis der Sicherung der Rechtskontinuität beim Übergang von einem Herrscher zum anderen.

a) Die Aufteilung von Tibet in Distrikte (*rjōn*) und deren Verwaltung durch Distriktbeauftragte (*rjōn sdod*) sowie die Einrichtung besonderer Verwaltungseinheiten auf Provinzebene³ bedeutete nicht nur die Übertragung von Verwaltungsaufgaben, wie z.B. die Eintreibung von Steuern, sondern auch die Delegierung von Kompetenzen im Bereich der Rechtsordnung. Eine begrenzte Kompetenz der Distriktbeauftragten (*rjōn sdod*) zur Bestätigung und Veränderung von Rechtsverhältnissen wurde schon im Zusammenhang mit den Vergleichsurkunden erwähnt. Eine Durchsicht der von mir 1978 in Indien und Nepal verfilmten Rechtsurkunden, z.B. des Archives des Klosters bKra Šis bsam gtan gliṅ von sKyid gron oder des Klosters mTho ldiṅ von Gu ge, zeigt, daß sich dort zahlreiche von den Distriktbehörden oder vom sTod sgar dpon ausgefertigte Rechtsurkunden finden. Es wäre sicherlich völlig falsch, diesen Urkunden generell eine mindere Rechtskraft zuzusprechen. Dennoch mußte die Delegierung von Befugnissen zur Schaffung bestimmter Rechtsverhältnisse an untergeordnete Instanzen theoretisch die Möglichkeit einschließen, diese Rechtsverhältnisse auch in konkreten Fällen durch die übergeordnete Instanz wieder aufzuheben. Andererseits konnten nicht übertragene Rechtsbefugnisse und schon gefällte Rechtsentscheidungen übergeordneter Instanzen tangiert werden, die gegebenenfalls deren - von Amts wegen erbetene - Zustimmung erforderlich machten. Schließlich sicherte die Konfirmation durch übergeordnete Stel-

³ Vgl. L.Petech, *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet (1728-1959)*. Roma 1973, 12ff.

len vor der Rücknahme einmal gewährter Privilegien durch die ausfertigende Kanzlei, ein Tatbestand, auf den mich Herr Phala aufmerksam machte.

Als Beispiel sei zunächst ein Rechtsbrief der Distriktbeauftragten von sKyid groñ aus dem Jahre 1857 angeführt (*MTH III/5, Dokument XXVIII*). Diese Urkunde gesteht dem Kloster bKra ſis bsam gtan gliñ die Freistellung von einer bestimmten Handelssteuer zu, wobei diese Freistellung schon zuvor in einem mit einem *sBug dam*-Siegel des Dalai Lama untersiegelten Generalerlaß (*rca chig*) zugestanden worden war. Obwohl nun der vorliegende Rechtsbrief der Distriktbeauftragten diesen Generalerlaß und eine diesen Generalerlaß konfirmierende Rechtsurkunde des Ministerrates nur bekräftigte, also eigentlich keine neuen Rechtsverhältnisse schuf, erschien es entweder den Destinatären oder den Urhebern - wer von diesen beiden die Konfirmationen jeweils veranlaßte, kann ich nicht entscheiden - erforderlich, diese Rechtsbriefe der Distriktbehörden durch übergeordnete Instanzen konfirmieren zu lassen. So findet sich über dem untersiegelten Text der Urkunde der Distriktbeauftragten zunächst ein untersiegelter Konfirmationsvermerk des *dBus mda' dpon*, den dieser ausfertigte, als er sKyid groñ in dienstlichem Auftrag bereiste. Darüber findet sich ein Konfirmationsvermerk des Ministerrates (*bka' šag*) und ganz oben ist schließlich ein Konfirmationsvermerk des 1. Rva sgren-Regenten notiert, der 1858 ausgefertigt wurde. Solche über dem Urkunden-Text notierte Zustimmungsvermerke werden terminologisch als '*go mčhan* bezeichnet.

Als weiteres Beispiel sei ein Rechtsbrief des Ministerrates aus dem Jahre 1832 angeführt, der mit einem darüberstehenden Konfirmationsvermerk des 1. Rva sgren-Regenten aus dem Jahre 1852 versehen ist (*MTH III/5, Dokument XXIX*). In diesem Fall wurde diese Urkunde von den Destinatären in Lhasa dem Regenten mit der Bitte um Konfirmation eingereicht. Dabei war es üblich, dieser Bitte durch ein an den Regenten gerichtetes Bitschreiben Ausdruck zu geben, das gleichzeitig mit der Urkunde vorgelegt wurde.

Schließlich sei noch eine 1794 ausgefertigte Rechtsurkunde des Ministerrates angeführt (*MTH III/5, Dokument XVI*), über deren Text die im gleichen Jahr ausgefertigten Konfirmationsvermerke des rTa chag-Regenten und des 8. Dalai Lama notiert sind. In diesem Fall gehen diese Konfirmationsvermerke offensichtlich nicht auf besondere Petitionen der Destinatäre zurück, sondern wurden geschäftsmäßig im Zuge der Ausfertigung von der ausfertigenden Kanzlei eingeholt.

Festzuhalten ist, daß Konfirmationsvermerke der hier geschilderten Art allgemein über den Text der zu konfirmierenden Urkunde notiert er-

scheinen.

b) Eine zweite Gruppe von Konfirmationsvermerken entstand wie gesagt aus dem Bedürfnis der Bewahrung von Rechtsansprüchen beim Herrscherwechsel, d.h. beim Übergang von einem Dalai Lama zum folgenden, beim Wechsel im Amt des Regenten (*rgyal chab*) oder bei der Nachfolge der Mi dbaṅ-Herrscher (Khan čhen nas, Pho lha ba etc.). Solche Konfirmationsvermerke wurden üblicherweise sukzessiv unter den untersiegelten Text der Urkunde geschrieben. Darübergeschriebene Konfirmationsvermerke dieser Art finden sich nur dann, wenn dies aus Platzgründen unvermeidlich war, wie z.B. in einer Rechtsurkunde eines Sa skya-Hierarchen aus dem Jahre 1728 (MTH III/4, Dokument I).

Die Vorlage des Originaldokumentes zur Konfirmation im Falle eines Herrscherwechsels erfolgte zusammen mit einem entsprechenden Bittschreiben, das dem Herrscher mit dem Originaldokument vorgelegt wurde. Stimmte der Herrscher der Anerkennung der in der Urkunde gewährten Vorrechte zu, so wurde von einer der beiden Kanzleien entweder ein Konfirmationsvermerk unter das Originaldokument geschrieben oder eine eigene Konfirmationsurkunde, die ich weiter unten noch näher behandeln werde, ausgefertigt. Die Untersiegelung der Konfirmationsvermerke erfolgte im Rahmen des noch zu schildernden allgemeinen Amtsvorganges der Anbringung von Siegeln an Urkunden.

Belegt sind als Urheber von Konfirmationsvermerken der hier behandelten Art aus dem zentraltibetischen Bereich die Dalai Lama (vgl. MTH III/5, Dokument XXIII), die Regenten (vgl. MTH III/5, Dokument XXII und XXIII) und Mi dbaṅ-Herrscher (vgl. MTH III/5, Dokument IV). Ebenso pflegten die Sa skya-Herrscher die Rechtsbriefe ihrer Vorgänger durch Konfirmationsvermerke zu bestätigen (vgl. MTH III/4, Dokument I und II). Das Anbringen von Konfirmationsvermerken war offenkundig unüblich in den Kanzleien der Könige von Ladakh und Sikkim.

Konfirmationsvermerke wurden von den Kanzleien der zentraltibetischen Regierung üblicherweise niemals auf einen bestimmten Typ von Herrscherurkunden geschrieben, der als *še bam* bezeichnet wird und der weiter unten noch zu erörtern ist. Tatsächlich finden sich Konfirmationsvermerke nur auf Urkunden, die im Vergleich zu den rechtlichen Grundverhältnisse völlig neu schaffenden *še bam*-Herrscherurkunden von nachgeordneter Bedeutung waren und die z.B. ihrerseits schon bestehende Anrechte bestätigten oder modifizierten.

Die Vorlage einer Herrscherurkunde mit der Bitte um Konfirmation war natürlich nicht frei von Risiken, da sowohl die Gefahr des Einzugs der Urkunde und somit der Annulierung der gewährten Vorrechte als auch der

Einschränkung der gewährten Rechte bestand. Andererseits besaß die kontinuierliche Bestätigung gewährter Anrechte durch die nachfolgenden Herrscher rechtlich einen hohen Stellenwert, wurde doch bei Rechtsstreitigkeiten die Kontinuität der Gewährung bestimmter Anrechte stets besonders hervorgehoben. Es wird hierin ein besonderer Aspekt des tibetischen Rechtsverständnisses deutlich. Hohes Alter und Kontinuität sind neben den guten Gründen der Gewährung von Rechten hervorstechende Merkmale gesicherter und schwer anfechtbarer Rechtsverhältnisse.

3. Konfirmationsurkunden

Die Narratio einer auf Seide in '*Bru cha*-Schrift geschriebenen Herrscherurkunde aus dem Jahre 1698 (*MTH III/5*, Dokument XXXIV) erwähnt nur, daß die namentlich aufgeführten Vorsteher des osttibetischen Klosters 'Ba' dha dgon in lDan ma für ihre Klöster angefertigte Rechtsbriefe des Da las huṇ tha'i ji und des Da las da'i čhin besitzen. Dann findet sich folgender Satz: "Zu deren Wortbedeutung habe ich die Konfirmation (*rgyab gnon*) erteilt." Anschließend findet sich noch ergänzend das Verbot, gegen die angeführten Rechtsbriefe zu verstößen und die Mönche zu Hause und unterwegs mit Abgaben, Zöllen etc. zu belästigen oder zu behindern.

Wir haben hier den typischen Fall einer reinen Konfirmationsurkunde gegeben, die trotz ihrer prächtigen Ausstattung doch nur schon gewährte Anrechte bestätigt. Der Ausfertigung dieser Urkunde ist somit wie im Falle der Ausfertigung von Konfirmationsvermerken eine Einreichung von Rechtsbriefen mit der schriftlichen Bitte um deren Bestätigung vorher gegangen.

Warum im Einzelfall die Ausfertigung einer vollständigen Konfirmationsurkunde anstelle der Anbringung eines bloßen Konfirmationsvermerkes vorgezogen wurde, ist schwer zu entscheiden. Die Vorlage mehrerer zu konfirmierender Urkunden mag als einer der Gründe hierfür angegeben werden.

Das eingangs angeführte Beispiel einer Konfirmationsurkunde ist auch deshalb interessant, weil sie selbst wieder als zu konfirmierende Urkunde in einem Rechtsbrief des 7. Dalai Lama aus dem Jahre 1748 erwähnt wird (*MTH III/5*, Dokument XXXV). Dieser Rechtsbrief, der ebenfalls als bloße Konfirmationsurkunde zu klassifizieren ist, ist auch auf gelber Seide sorgfältig in der '*Bru cha*-Schrift geschrieben und besitzt wie der schon erwähnte Rechtsbrief des 6. Dalai Lama eine Intitulatio. Er zählt in der Narratio als zu bestätigende Rechtsurkunden u.a. auch eine Urkunde des 5. Dalai Lama auf und erwähnt - wie schon gesagt - das Dokument

des 6. Dalai Lama aus dem Jahre 1698 als *rgyab bsnon bka' tham*.

Ob es sich bei einer vorgegebenen Urkunde um eine reine Konfirmationsurkunde handelt, ist meist leicht zu entscheiden, da der Urkundentext dies stets direkt aussagt. Klassifikatorisch sind alle Konfirmationsurkunden tibetischer Herrscher als *bka' šog*, *bka' gtan* bzw. *gtan chig* einzzuordnen.

4. Neuausfertigungen von Vorurkunden

Eine größere Zahl tibetischer Herrscherurkunden zeichnet sich dadurch aus, daß der untersiegelte Text rein äußerlich in zwei Teile zerfällt, nämlich in einen häufig mit breiter Feder in *Chugs thuñ-Schrift* geschriebenen Haupttext und einen häufig mit dünnerer Feder in *Chugs čhuñ-Schrift*, nicht selten aber auch kursiv ('*Khyug yig-Schrift*) geschriebenen Ergänzungstext. Bei allen diesen Urkunden fällt auf, daß der Haupttext stets einen mit Schlußprotokoll ausgestatteten vollständigen Urkundentext gibt.

Der Zusatzvermerk dient häufig nur der Bekräftigung des Haupttextes, wie z.B. bei zwei Urkunden des lHa bzañ Khan aus den Jahren 1712 und 1715, deren Zusatzvermerke nahezu gleich lauten (*MTH III/5*, Dokument I und II) und wie folgt zu übersetzen sind: "Befolgt die bis jetzt (bestehende) Praxis unangefochten nach den allgemeinen Regeln." Ähnlich lautet ein Zusatzvermerk auf einer Herrscherurkunde des Pho lha nas aus dem Jahre 1738 (*MTH III/5*, Dokument VII), der sich wie folgt übersetzt: "Handelt nach der bis heute (bestehenden) Praxis ohne Anfechtung!" Der Wortlaut dieser hier vorgestellten Zusätze macht deutlich, daß die mit den zugehörigen Rechtsbriefen festgeschriebenen Rechtsverhältnisse in diesen Fällen schon vor der Ausfertigung der Urkunden bestanden haben.

Zunächst ist festzustellen, daß die in den Haupttexten gegebenen Datumsangaben aller hier in Frage stehenden Urkunden in den Regierungszeitraum der Herrscher fallen, mit deren Siegel die Dokumente jeweils untersiegelt sind. Dies bedeutet, daß die Haupttexte als vollgültige Rechtsbriefe der aus dem Siegel zu identifizierenden Urheber anzusehen sind. Daneben zeigt ein Vergleich der Schrift von Zusatzvermerken an Urkunden mit gleicher Urheberschaft, daß diese Vermerke zumeist von unterschiedlichen Schreibern stammen. Damit ist auch auszuschließen, daß es sich generell um eigenhändige Zusätze des Urhebers selbst handelt. Vielmehr ist anzunehmen, daß die Zusätze in der Kanzlei vor der Untersiegelung von Kanzleibeamten selbst niedergeschrieben worden sind.

Eine einleuchtende Begründung für die Ausfertigung dieser Zusätze

bei einem großen Teil dieser Urkunden ergibt sich aus dem Vergleich der Dokumente IV und XXII von *MTH III/5*. Beide Dokumente stammen aus dem Urkundenarchiv der gleichen Familie. Dokument IV ist eine reine Konfirmationsurkunde, mit der die Gültigkeit mehrerer älterer Rechtsbriefe der Destinatäre über den Besitz bestimmter Weidegebiete anerkannt wird. Der Urheber dieser 1725 ausgefertigten Urkunde ist Khan čhen nas. Das Dokument weist die Konfirmationsvermerke mehrerer nachfolgender Herrscher auf, darunter auch einen, der von Pho lha nas ausgefertigt wurde.

Mit Dokument XXII liegt uns eine Urkunde vor, die 1816 ausgefertigt wurde. Der Urheber ist der 2. De mo-Regent. Der Haupttext wird im Anschluß an das Schlußprotokoll ergänzt durch einen mit dünner Feder und kleiner Schrift geschriebenen Zusatz, auf den der Siegelabdruck des Urhebers folgt. Daneben findet sich unter dem Urkundentext ein Konfirmationsvermerk des 2. Che smon glin-Regenten aus dem Jahre 1824 sowie ein Konfirmationsvermerk des 1. Rva sgren-Regenten, ausgefertigt im Jahre 1849.

Vergleicht man den Haupttext dieser beiden Urkunden, so zeigt sich, daß Dokument XXII nur eine - abgesehen von geringfügigen Veränderungen - wortgetreue Reproduktion des Textes von Dokument IV darstellt. Als wesentliche Veränderung ist die Ersetzung des Schlußprotokolls von Dokument IV festzustellen. Ein völlig analoger Fall liegt mit den Dokumenten VII und XXIII in *MTH III/5* vor. Das Auftreten von Zusatzvermerken der oben angeführten Art ist somit in den meisten Fällen dadurch zu erklären, daß bei der Ausfertigung des jeweiligen Rechtsbriefes der Text einer zur Konfirmation eingereichten Vorurkunde praktisch vollständig übernommen wurde, wobei man das Schlußprotokoll so änderte, daß es das Datum der jeweiligen Neuausfertigung aufwies. Der Zusatzvermerk erschien wohl von daher der ausfertigenden Stelle als eine Art von Konfirmation zu dem übernommenen Urkundentext notwendig. Es erscheint mir auch denkbar, daß die Neuausfertigungen der Vorurkunden gar nicht in der Herrscherkanzlei selbst entstanden sind, sondern eventuell vom Bittsteller zusammen mit den Vorurkunden eingereicht wurden.

Das Verfahren der Neuausfertigung von Vorurkunden ist eine besondere Art der Konfirmation von Anrechten, die den jeweiligen Destinatären schon von vorhergehenden Herrschern gewährt worden waren. Es ist streng zu unterscheiden von der Anfertigung beglaubigter Kopien, die nur eine besondere Überlieferungsform von Urkunden darstellen.

Es ist allerdings anzumerken, daß nicht alle Urkunden mit Zusatzvermerken der hier erörterten Art als Neuausfertigungen von Vorurkunden angesehen werden können. Als Beispiel sei eine mit dem Siegel des Minister-

rates untersiegelte Urkunde genannt, die im Jahre 1794 ausgefertigt wurde. Da der Haupttext nicht nur Erlasse und Rechtsbriefe der Jahre 1767 und 1781 erwähnt, sondern auch einen in das Jahr der Ausfertigung fallen- den Verstoß gegen bestimmte, getroffene Vereinbarungen nennt, kann der umfangreiche Ergänzungstext nur als klärender Zusatzvermerk des Minister- rates aufgefaßt werden. Möglicherweise wurde dieser Zusatz aufgrund interner Gespräche der Urheber angefügt, die nach der Ausfertigung des Haupttextes stattfanden.

5. Beglaubigung der Kopien

Betrachten wir die Überlieferung tibetischer Urkunden, so können wir feststellen, daß uns der größte Teil dieser Dokumente als Originalurkunden vorliegt. Konzepte waren in den letzten Jahrhunderten im Zusammenhang mit dem Verfahren der Ausfertigung von besonderer Bedeutung, doch sind mir solche Konzepte von Herrscherurkunden bisher nicht zugänglich geworden. Im Hinblick auf die Überlieferung von Urkunden in der Form von Kopien sei zunächst auf die Wiedergabe von Urkudentexten in der tibetischen Geschichtsliteratur verwiesen.⁴ Daneben finden sich in den Urkundensammlungen tibetischer Flüchtlinge verschiedentlich unbeglaubigte Abschriften von Herrscherurkunden. An dieser Stelle sollen aber nur amtlich beglaubigte Abschriften behandelt werden, da nur an ihrer Ausfertigung tibetische Herrscher- bzw. Regierungskanzleien beteiligt waren.

Alle amtlich beglaubigten Kopien tragen einen Beglaubigungsvermerk einer Kanzlei. Als Beispiel sei hier ein Dokument der Sammlung Gergan angeführt, das ich im Jahre 1978 in Srinagar photographieren konnte. Bei diesem Dokument handelt es sich um eine amtlich beglaubigte Abschrift mehrerer Herrscherurkunden. Der Kopie- bzw. Beglaubigungsvermerk am Textende ist mit einem Siegel des Königs Ni ma rnam rgyal (Regierungszeit: 1694-1729) untersiegelt. Es ist wie folgt zu übersetzen: "Die oben ersichtlichen verschiedenen Urkunden, die verbraucht und durchlöchert waren, sind hier originalgetreu abgeschrieben worden. (Dafür) wurde das Siegel angebracht."

Mit MTH III/4, Dokument VII, liegt die amtliche Kopie einer 1730 aus- gefertigten Herrscherurkunde des Pho lha nas vor. Der Beglaubigungsver- merk, der mit dem Siegel des Ministerrates untersiegelt ist, erläutert,

⁴ Vgl. MTH III/1.

daß der prüfende Vergleich (*žus dag*) der Kopie mit dem Original (*gtan chig no ma*) von drei namentlich genannten Amtsträgern des Schatzamtes (*rcis khañ*) durchgeführt wurde.

Zur Erstellung einer amtlich beglaubigten Kopie reichte ein Antragssteller gewöhnlich das Original und die fertige Abschrift mit der häufig mündlich vorgetragenen Bitte um Beglaubigung ein. Im vorstehend geschilderten Fall wurde die Überprüfung der Abschrift und die Ausfertigung des Beglaubigungsvermerkes von untergeordneten Amtsträgern durchgeführt. Die Untersiegelung des Beglaubigungsvermerkes erfolgte im Ministerrat. Eine beglaubigte Kopie hatte die gleiche Rechtskraft wie eine Originalurkunde.

Die Beglaubigungsvermerke erwähnen nicht immer, welche Amtsträger die vorgelegte Abschrift mit dem Original verglichen haben. So liegt mir eine Rechtsurkunde (*še bam*) des 8. Dalai Lama für das Kloster bKra ſis bsam gtan glin von sKyid groñ als Kopie vor, die mit dem Siegel des Ministerrates untersiegelt ist (Kathmandu 8). Der Beglaubigungsvermerk erwähnt nur, daß der Vergleich mit dem Original im Ministerrat durchgeführt wurde. Daneben finden sich natürlich auch Kopien, die auf niedrigerer Verwaltungsebene, etwa von den Distriktbehörden, beglaubigt worden sind.

6. Rechtsentscheidungen und Gewährung von Vorrechten aufgrund von Eingaben

Die Bürokratie des zentraltibetischen Regierungsapparates von der Distriktebene bis hinauf zum Mi dbañ-Herrschter, zu den Regenten (*rgyal chab*) oder zu den herrschenden Dalai Lama war für die Regelung vielfältiger Rechtsbeziehungen zwischen den einzelnen Untertanen, ihren Gruppen und Institutionen im weitesten Sinne zuständig. Das komplizierte, historisch gewachsene System von Anrechten in der Form von Besitzrechten, Einkünften und Privilegien auf der einen Seite und von Pflichten in der Form von Abgaben und Dienstleistungen gegenüber Einzelpersonen, bestimmten Gruppen und Institutionen sowie insbesondere dem Herrscher und der ihn vertretenden Bürokratie auf der anderen Seite barg eine Vielzahl von Rechtskonflikten in sich, die der Entscheidung bedurften. Die oberste rechtsstiftende Kraft war der jeweilige Herrscher, der - wie ich schon dargelegt habe - Teile seiner Macht auf andere aus dem einfachen sozialen Zusammenhang ausgesonderte Rechtsinstitutionen zu übertragen pflegte. Die tibetische Bezeichnung für den Herrscher als rechtsstiftender Kraft findet sich in zahlreichen Privatverträgen als *khri ms bdag rin po čhe* "Kostbarkeit eines Herrn über das Recht" belegt. Die rechtsstiftende

Funktion des Herrschers wurde schon an den oben erläuterten verschiedenen Formen von Konfirmationen bestehender Rechtsverhältnisse deutlich. Die Fortschreibung von Rechtsverhältnissen durch eine große Zahl von Konfirmationsvermerken, Konfirmationsurkunden und Neuausfertigungen von Vorurkunden belegt zwar einerseits, daß der an eine Vielzahl traditioneller Rechtsvorstellungen und buddhistisch-moralischer Zwänge gebundene Herrscher dem traditionell durch seine Vorgänger geschaffenen System von Vorrechten und Pflichten verpflichtet war, das somit in seiner urkundlich verbrieften Form eine Rechtsquelle eigener Art darstellte. Sie zeigt aber auch andererseits, daß mit dem Wechsel in der Person des Herrschers die alten Rechtsverhältnisse gleichsam neu zu schaffen waren, was wiederum ein Primat des Herrschers gegenüber der Tradition definiert.

Außerlich dokumentierte sich der Vollzug rechtsstiftender und rechtsordnender Handlungen erstens durch die Ausfertigung von Herrscherurkunden (*bka' šog, gtan chig, bka' gtan, bka' tham*), die die Rechtsbeziehungen einzelner Personen, Gruppen und Institutionen (Klöster) zum Staat und zu den übrigen Mitgliedern der Rechtsgemeinschaft regelten, und zweitens durch die Ausfertigung von Generalerlassen (*rca chig*), die rechtliche Anordnungen und Verfügungen für ganz Tibet oder für bestimmte Landesteile beinhalteten. Der Vollzug rechtsstiftender Handlungen umfaßt neben den schon erwähnten Konfirmationen : 1. Entscheidungen in Rechtskonflikten, die zum Vortrag beim Herrscher gelangten, 2. Gewährung spezieller Anrechte von untergeordneter Bedeutung aufgrund eingereichter Petitionen und 3. grundsätzliche Neuordnungen bestimmter Rechtsverhältnisse in der Form von Übertragung von Rechtstiteln und Privilegien an verdiente Adelige und Klöster.

Ich habe die gerichtliche Vergleichsurkunde deshalb an den Anfang meiner Erörterungen gestellt, weil in ihr die Geschichte des Rechtsgeschäftes bis hin zur Ausfertigung der Urkunde explizit dargestellt wird. Nach einem Vortrag von Rechtsbeschwerden pflegte der Herrscher insbesondere dann nicht auf einen Vergleich zu drängen, wenn nur eine Partei solche Beschwerden vorbrachte. In solchen Fällen erging eine Entscheidung aufgrund der eingereichten Eingabe und der vorgelegten Beweismittel. Diese Rechtsentscheidungen fanden ihren sichtbaren Ausdruck in der Ausfertigung einer entsprechenden Herrscherurkunde oder Verfügung.

Rechtsentscheide haben mit gerichtlichen Vergleichen häufig die Tatsache gemein, daß die Abwicklung des Rechtsgeschäftes deutlicher ersichtlich ist. Dies ist insbesondere dann der Fall, wenn der jeweilige Rechtsentscheid über der Petition auf dem gleichen Blatt Papier ausgefertigt

wurde. Solche Ausfertigungen von Herrscherurkunden werden entweder wie die über Herrscherurkunden notierten Zustimmungsvermerke ranghöherer Instanzen nur als 'go mčhan oder ausführlicher als bka' tham 'go mčhan (vgl. MTH III/5, Dokument XX, Zeile 38-39 und Dokument XXIV, Zeile 41) bzw. als sbug tham 'go mčhan (MTH III/5, Dokument XXIV, Zeile 3) bezeichnet. 'Go mčhan-Herrscherurkunden wurden natürlich zumeist von der Stelle ausgefertigt, an die die Petition gerichtet wurde. Als Urheber von 'Go mčhan-Urkunden sind Dalai Lamas, Regenten und der Ministerrat belegt. Zahlenmäßig überwiegen unter den mir vorliegenden 'Go mčhan-Herrscherurkunden die, die vom Ministerrat untersiegelt wurden.

'Go mčhan-Herrscherurkunden sind trotz der eigentümlichen Form der Ausfertigung vollgültige Herrscherurkunden. Dies wird auch daran deutlich, daß sie zur Konfirmation dem nachfolgenden Herrscher vorgelegt werden konnten. So findet sich z.B. unter einer 'Go mčhan-Urkunde des 2. Che smon gliñ-Regenten aus dem Jahre 1838 ein Konfirmationsvermerk des 1. Rva sgren-Regenten, der 1850 ausgefertigt wurde (vgl. MTH III/5, Dokument XXVII).

'Go mčhan-Urkunden unterscheiden sich von Herrscherurkunden über Rechtsentscheide, die gesondert ausgefertigt wurden, formal erheblich. Sie besitzen keine Publicatio und beginnen im allgemeinen mit den Worten: "Die in dieser (Petition) enthaltenen Begründungen sind (vom Urheber der Urkunde) verstanden worden." Daran schließt sich zumeist eine sehr kurze, gelegentlich aber auch wörtliche, Wiedergabe des wesentlichen Inhaltes der Petition an. Im Anschluß an eine solche Narratio finden sich häufig Formulierungen wie z.B. "wenn dieses ... wirklich wahr ist, so ist dies nicht recht." Hierauf folgt eine Dispositio mit der Rechtsentscheidung. Die Urkunde schließt mit der Angabe des Datums der Ausfertigung.

Einer eingereichten Petition mußten die erforderlichen Beweismittel beigefügt werden. Die Entscheidung, ob nach der Einreichung einer Petition eine 'Go mčhan-Urkunde oder eine gesonderte Herrscherurkunde auszufertigen war, wurde in der Kanzlei des tibetischen Herrschers gefällt, die für die Bearbeitung des Falles jeweils zuständig war. Wurde eine gesonderte Urkunde ausgefertigt, so wurde auch in dieser im Anschluß an die Publicatio in einer Narratio die rechtliche Problematik und Vorgeschichte, die zur Ausfertigung der Herrscherurkunde geführt hatte, meist ausführlich dargestellt. Im allgemeinen wird in solchen gesonderten Urkunden die die Ausfertigung auslösende Eingabe mit dem Vortrag der Rechtsbeschwerde nicht erwähnt. Der Kontext solcher Urkunden macht jedoch deutlich, daß solch eine Eingabe vorausgegangen ist.

Nicht immer war ein Rechtstreit der Grund für die Einreichung einer Bitte um die Gewährung eines Rechtstitels. So konnte von Einzelpersonen und Institutionen – natürlich mit der Angabe von Gründen – z.B. um das Privileg der Inanspruchnahme der Transportleistungen (*'u lag*) der abhängigen Bauern und der kostenfreien Benutzung von Fähren etc. für einen bestimmten Reiseweg gebeten werden. Der hieraufhin auszufertigende Rechtsbrief wurde *lam yig* genannt. Im allgemeinen war der Ministerrat in neuerer Zeit der Urheber für die Ausfertigung von *Lam yig*-Rechtsbriefen.⁵ Des weiteren konnten Gesuche um Freistellung von Grenzabgaben eingereicht werden. Als weiteres Beispiel seien Gesuche von Offizieren angeführt, den Bauern in entfernten, zu bereisenden Gebieten den Ankauf bestimmter Waren aufzwingen zu dürfen (*'bam choñ spus bsgyur*).

Das Erbitten besonderer Privilegien war aber rechtlich keineswegs immer unproblematisch, denn damit wurden eventuell bestehende Rechte anderer Bevölkerungsteile tangiert oder es konnten bestimmte Gruppen von Untertanen mit zusätzlichen Dienstleistungen belastet werden. So ist es nicht verwunderlich, wenn in Herrscherurkunden gelegentlich den in der *Publicatio* genannten Personengruppen ausdrücklich verboten wird, sich durch Eingaben beim Herrscher Urkunden zu beschaffen (*tham ka žu 'bebs*), die die Rechte der jeweiligen Destinatäre einschränken.⁶ Daneben ist zu beobachten, daß z.B. ausgefertigte *'Go mčhan*-Herrscherurkunden keinesfalls immer widerspruchsfrei von der Gegenseite akzeptiert werden. So findet sich der Fall, daß die Distriktbehörden des sKyid groñ-Distrikts Urkunden dieser Art, die das Kloster bKra šis bsam gtan glin aufgrund von Rechtsvortrag bei den Behörden in Lhasa erlangt hatte, nicht akzeptieren. Sie warfen vielmehr dem Kloster vor, es hätte sich diese Rechtsbriefe durch betrügerische Eingaben erschlichen.⁷

7. Grundlegende Neugestaltungen von Rechtsverhältnissen

Die Gewährung wichtiger Privilegien, wie z.B. größerer Ländereien mit Verfügungsgewalt über abhängige Bauern, Pfründen und Steuerfreistellungen größerem Ausmaßes fiel ausnahmslos in den Kompetenzbereich des Herrschers selbst. Solche Privilegien konnten natürlich auch nicht durch

⁵ Vgl. aber auch MTH III/4, Dokument XVIII, dessen Urheber der 13.Dalai Lama ist.

⁶ Vgl. MTH III/5, Dokument V, Zeile 9.

⁷ MTH III/5, 175.

die Einreichung einer Petition erbeten werden, sondern sie wurden nach Fürsprache hochrangiger Amtspersonen und Geistlicher aufgrund besonderer Verdienste vom Herrscher von sich aus gewährt. Die Nutznießer solcher Zuwendungen, die zumeist die Neugestaltung zahlreicher Rechtsverhältnisse in der betroffenen Region zur Folge hatten, waren verdiente Amtsträger oder Klöster. Die Herrscherurkunde, mit deren Ausfertigung man die erstmalige Übertragung solcher bedeutender Privilegien vollzog, wurde nach gleichlautender Auskunft aller Informanten in neuerer Zeit als *še bam* bezeichnet. *še bam*-Herrscherurkunden wurden insbesondere auch durch ihre besonders sorgfältige äußere Ausgestaltung, auf die ich noch weiter unten näher eingehen werde, von den meisten der übrigen Herrscherurkunden abgehoben.

Die *še bam*-Herrscherurkunde war für die Gestaltung der Rechtsbeziehungen zwischen ihrem Destinatär auf der einen Seite und den übrigen Mitgliedern der Rechtsgemeinschaft einschließlich der Exekutivorgane der Regierung Rechtsquelle höchsten Ranges. Am deutlichsten wird dies in den zahlreichen Petitionen und Rechtsentscheiden des Klosters bKra ſis bsam gtan glin von sKyid groñ, in denen der "Gedankengehalt" bzw. "Geist" (*dgoñs don*) der *še bam*-Herrscherurkunde dieses Klosters, deren Urheber der 8. Dalai Lama war, immer wieder als Grundlage der Rechtsauslegungen angeführt wird.

Von den zwei *še bam*-Herrscherurkunden, die mir vorliegen, stammt die erste von Pho lha nas und wurde 1744 ausgefertigt (MTH III/5, Dokument IX). Mit diesem Rechtsbrief gewährte der Herrscher für die Güter der Adelsherren des Hauses rGyal mkhar nañ pa, die er zuvor seinem jüngeren Bruder Rab brtan rgyal po übertragen hatte,⁸ die völlige Freistellung von einer großen Zahl von Abgaben und Dienstleistungen.

Der zweite Rechtsbrief dieser Art ist die große *še bam*-Herrscherurkunde (*še bam* čhen po) des Klosters bKra ſis bsam gtan glin von sKyid groñ. Dieses Dokument ist nicht im Original, sondern in mehreren beglaubigten Kopien überliefert. Der Rechtsbrief schildert ausführlich die Geschichte der Gründung dieses dGe lugs pa-Klosters und befiehlt dann allen in der Publicatio genannten Personen, das Kloster und seine Besitzungen unangetastet zu lassen, es von allen Steuern freizustellen und die Mönche bei ihrer religiösen Tätigkeit nicht zu behindern.

Die Gewährung einer *še bam*-Herrscherurkunde machte häufig die Ausfertigung von Urkunden untergeordneter Art zur Regelung der Details der

⁸ Dieser führte dieses Adelshaus unter dem alten Namen rGyal mkhar nañ pa fort.

neugeschaffenen Rechtsverhältnisse erforderlich. Zu nennen sind hier amtliche Aufstellungen über die in den Besitz der Destinatäre gelangten Ländereien. Solche Aufstellungen wurden *sa tho* genannt, wurden im Ministerrat ausgefertigt und kamen ohne die Besitzer betroffener und angrenzender Gebiete zustande. Die rechtliche Bedeutung einer *sa tho*-Urkunde ist geringer als die einer Landaufteilungsvereinbarung ('*byed khra*), die ebenfalls die Ausfertigung einer *še bam*-Urkunde ergänzen konnte. Nach der Auskunft des *bka'* zur Thub bstan nor bzañ war es zur Ausfertigung einer '*Byed khra*-Urkunde notwendig, daß die Gesamtheit der Personen, die Ansprüche auf betroffene und angrenzende Gebiete geltend machen konnten, oder deren Vertreter unter dem Vorsitz von Amtsträgern des Schatzamtes (*rcis khañ*) zusammenkam und sich über Grenzen, Besitzverhältnisse etc. einigte. Die daraus resultierende Vereinbarung, die der Untersiegelung durch alle Beteiligten bedurfte, mußte dem Ministeramt zur Zustimmung vorgelegt werden. Die '*Byed khra*-Urkunden weisen deshalb auch das Siegel des Ministerrates auf. Die Prozedur des Zustandekommens einer '*Byed khra*-Vereinbarung entspricht somit weitgehend der des eingangs geschilderten *dPyad mchams*-Vergleichs.

8. Der Herrscher und seine beiden Kanzleien

Den regierenden Dalai Lama und Regenten (*rgyal chab*) standen etwa seit der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts zwei Kanzleien zur Verfügung, die für die Behandlung von Rechtsangelegenheiten und die Ausfertigung von Urkunden zuständig waren. Als erste ist hier der Ministerrat (*bka' šag*) zu nennen, der von vier Ministern (*bka' blon* oder *žabs pad*) gebildet wurde.⁹ Bei der Behandlung wichtiger Angelegenheiten nahm der höchste Amtsträger der geistlichen Beamtenschaft, der *sPyi khyab mkhan po*, an den Beratungen des Ministerrates teil. Der Ministerrat, der als oberstes Organ der nicht-geistlichen Beamtenschaft der tibetischen Regierung vorstand, war natürlich nicht nur für die Behandlung von Rechtsangelegenheiten zuständig, sondern regelte auch eine Fülle sonstiger administrativer und politischer Angelegenheiten. Im folgenden soll aber der Ministerrat ausschließlich in seiner Funktion als Kanzlei behandelt werden.

Neben dem Ministerrat ist als zweite Kanzlei die *yig chañ* zu erwähnen, deren Hauptamtsträger vier Großsekretäre (*druñ yig čhen mo*) waren.

⁹ Vgl. L.Petech, *op.cit.* Anm.3, S.9f.

Sie war die höchste Stelle der geistlichen Amtsträgerhierarchie.¹⁰ Grob genommen war die *yig chañ*-Kanzlei für alle Rechtsangelegenheiten der Klöster zuständig, während sich der Ministerrat mit Rechtsfragen außerhalb des klösterlichen Bereiches zu beschäftigen hatte, doch war hier eine klare Trennung häufig nicht möglich. Ein wichtiger Unterschied zwischen der *yig chañ*-Kanzlei und dem Ministerrat bestand darin, daß der Ministerrat offiziell eine begrenzte Befugnis besaß, von sich aus Rechtsentscheidungen eventuell auch ohne Rückfrage beim Herrscher zu fällen und als Urheber entsprechender Rechtsbriefe aufzutreten. Eine solche Befugnis besaß die *yig chañ*-Kanzlei nicht. Der Ministerrat konnte als Urheber folgender Urkundenarten auftreten: '*Go mčhan*-Herrsscherurkunden und '*Go mčhan*-Zustimmungsvermerke, gesondert ausgefertigte Rechtsentscheidungen, *Lam yig*-Reiserechtsbriefe, *dPyad mchams*-Vergleiche, '*Byed khra*-Landaufteilungsvereinbarungen und *sa tho*-Landbesitzregister.

Betrachtet man die noch näher zu erläuternden Verfahrensweisen der Vorlage von Konzepten beim Herrscher, der Endausfertigung und der Untersiegelung von Urkunden, so zeigt es sich, daß nur die *yig chañ*-Kanzlei dem Herrscher unmittelbar zugeordnet war. Die höchsten Amtsträger der *yig chañ* waren auch die Schlüsselverwahrer der Kästchen, in denen die Siegel des jeweiligen Herrschers aufbewahrt wurden. Ein vom Ministerrat beim Herrscher zur Überprüfung bzw. Zustimmung eingereichtes Schriftstück wurde mit dem Eingangsvermerk *bka' šag rgyud nas 'byor byuñ* "über den Ministerrat eingetroffen" versehen. Wurde das Schriftstück von der *yig chañ*-Kanzlei vorgelegt, unterblieb eine solche Aktennotiz. Die Untersiegelung von Urkunden mit dem Siegel des Herrschers wurde von Amtsträgern der *yig chañ* vollzogen. Die Endausfertigung einer Urkunde, die mit dem Herrschersiegel zu untersiegeln war, fiel auch dann in den Aufgabenbereich der *yig chañ*, wenn die Bearbeitung der Rechtsangelegenheit und die Herstellung des Kozeptes im Ministerrat vollzogen worden war. Die Konzepte aller Urkunden, die das Herrschersiegel trugen, wurden in der *yig chañ*-Kanzlei archiviert. Abgesehen von einem *rTags dam*-Siegel des Herrschers, das nur für untergeordnete Amtsvorgänge zu verwenden war, verfügte die *yig chañ*-Kanzlei über kein eigenes Siegel. Der Ministerrat hingegen besaß einen ganzen Satz eigener Amtssiegel.

Die Tatsache, daß praktisch alle an den Herrscher gerichteten Petitionen über eine der beiden Kanzleien eingereicht werden mußten, verdeutlicht den starken Einfluß, den diese Institutionen auf die Abwicklung

¹⁰ Vgl. L.Petech, op.cit. Anm.3, S.7f.

der zugehörigen Rechtsgeschäfte ausübten. Die Kanzleien konnten die Weiterleitung von Petitionen an den Herrscher verweigern. Zwar soll in neuerer Zeit die Möglichkeit bestanden haben, auch unter Umgehung der Kanzleien Eingaben direkt dem Herrscher vorlegen zu lassen, doch barg dieses Verfahren das Risiko einer schweren Prügelstrafe für den Antragsteller in sich. Bei der Bearbeitung unbedeutender Rechtsangelegenheiten konnte der Ministerrat völlig auf die Vorlage beim Herrscher verzichten. Allerdings ist aus der Tatsache, daß der Ministerrat als Urheber einer Urkunde erscheint, nicht zu schließen, der zugehörige Vorgang habe dem Herrscher nicht zur Zustimmung vorgelegen. Dies kann nur anhand der Konzepte festgestellt werden. Umgekehrt bedeutet die Untersiegelung einer Urkunde mit dem Herrschersiegel nicht, daß sich dieser mit der jeweiligen Rechtsangelegenheit auch tatsächlich konkret auseinandergesetzt hatte. Je nach Ermessenslage wurden Petitionen von der zuständigen Kanzlei häufig zusammen mit einem Vorschlag über die Behandlung der Rechtsangelegenheit in der Form eines fertiggestellten Konzeptes dem Herrscher vorgelegt. Der Herrscher konnte insbesondere bei unbedeutenden Angelegenheiten die Beschäftigung mit dem Vorgang ablehnen, so daß dann die gesamte Behandlung des Falles trotz der abschließenden Untersiegelung mit dem Herrschersiegel praktisch völlig in der Hand der Kanzlei lag. Die ausdrückliche Erteilung eines Beurkundungsbefehles vor der Ausfertigung von Konzepten erfolgte von Seiten des Herrschers nur bei ſe bam-Herrscherurkunden oder bei einem begrenzten Teil von Petitionen, bei denen es die Kanzlei als nicht sinnvoll erachtete, von sich sofort einen Vorschlag zur Entscheidung der Rechtsangelegenheit mitzuführen.

In der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts und in den Jahren 1950-1952 gab es in Tibet das Amt eines Staatsministers, *Srid blon* genannt,¹¹ der mit eigener begrenzter Rechtsentscheidungsbefugnis zwischen den Kanzleien und dem Herrscher eingeschaltet war. Dem *Srid blon* mußten alle Schriftstücke, die dem Herrscher von den Kanzleien zugeleitet wurden, zur Einsicht und Überprüfung vorgelegt werden.

Bei der Behandlung sehr wichtiger Rechtsangelegenheiten bestand zwischen den beiden Herrscherkanzleien eine Konsultationspflicht.

9. Die Ausfertigung von Herrscherurkunden

War der Beurkundungsbefehl des Herrschers erteilt oder hatte die zuständige Kanzlei den Entschluß zur Ausfertigung einer Urkunde selbst gefaßt, so mußte zunächst ein Konzept angefertigt werden. Falls der Ministerrat mit dem jeweiligen Fall betraut war, erteilten die Minister einem der fünf Sekretäre (*bka' drun*) dieses Amtes die detaillierten Anweisungen zur Niederschrift eines Konzeptes. Dieses Konzept wurde anschließend einem der Minister vorgelegt, von diesem eventuell verbessert oder ergänzt und abschließend zur Zustimmung mit einem Handzeichen versehen. War die noch zu erstellende Endausfertigung mit dem Siegel des Ministerrates zu untersiegeln, so wurde diese Endausfertigung auch im Ministerrat geschrieben. Dies geschah unabhängig davon, ob dem Herrscher das Konzept zur Zustimmung vorgelegt worden war oder nicht. Das Konzept wurde in diesen Fällen im Ministerrat archiviert. Hatte der Ministerrat die Ausarbeitung eines Konzeptes untergeordneten Dienststellen, wie z.B. dem Schatzamt (*rcis khan*), übertragen, so wurde die Endausfertigung nach Abzeichnung des Konzeptes durch einen der Minister auch in der untergeordneten Dienststelle geschrieben. Das Konzept wurde in diesem Fall in der untergeordneten Dienststelle archiviert.

Falls ein vom Ministerrat ausgearbeiteter Rechtsbrief mit dem Siegel des Herrschers zu untersiegeln war, fiel die Endausfertigung stets in den Aufgabenbereich der *Yig chahn*, die dann auch das Konzept archivierte.

Wurde das Konzept einer Herrscherurkunde in der *Yig chahn*-Kanzlei geschrieben, entwarfen deren höchste Amtsträger, die Großsekretäre (*drun yig chen mo*), zuerst auf einer Tafel eigenhändig den Text des Konzeptes, der dann von einem untergeordneten Schreiber zu Papier gebracht wurde.

Zur Ausfertigung von Urkunden wurden Formularbücher nicht benutzt. Vielmehr orientierte man sich an den Formeln früher ausgefertigter Urkunden und wendete die Erfahrung und das Wissen an, das man im Laufe jahrelanger Verwaltungspraxis erworben hatte. Dennoch gab es in der *Yig chahn*-Kanzlei ein Formularbuch, das *bka' rtags 'phrin yig* genannt wurde.

Die von den Kanzleien fertiggestellten Konzepte waren zu einem bestimmten Teil dem Herrscher zur Überprüfung vorzulegen. Der Herrscher konnte seinerseits auf die Überprüfung verzichten. Vom Ministerrat eingereichte Konzepte wurden mit dem schon erwähnten Eingangsvermerk versehen. Über den Text eines vorgelegten Konzeptes wurde ein Prüfungsvermerk notiert, der eine genaue Angabe des Zeitpunktes der Prüfung erhielt. Wurde die Prüfung zum Beispiel an dem 8. Kalendertag des 7. Monats in einem *Sa rta*-Jahr vorgenommen, so lautete der Prüfungsvermerk *sa rta zla*.

ba bdun pa'i ches brgyad ñin žib 'jug soñ. Hatte der Herrscher seine Änderungen des Konzeptes handschriftlich eingefügt und stimmte er dann der Ausfertigung zu, so notierte er unter die Urkunde als Zustimmungsvermerk das Wort '*thus*' und signierte darüber mit einem kreisförmigen Handzeichen (*phyag rtags*) in roter Farbe ab. Anschließend wurde das Konzept an die einreichende Kanzlei zurückgeleitet.

Für die Endausfertigung aller Urkunden, deren Urheber ein Dalai Lama oder ein Regent war, war seit etwa 1752 die *Yig chañ*-Kanzlei zuständig. Die äußere Form der Ausfertigung orientierte sich am Urkundentyp, aber auch an der Stellung des Destinatärs. Še *bam*-Herrschurkunden wurden immer in der ornamentalen '*Bru cha*-Schrift auf gelber Seide geschrieben. Še *bam*-Urkunden wiesen stets eine Intitulatio auf. Daneben finden sich auch reine Konfirmationsurkunden, die in gleicher Weise ausgefertigt worden sind. Zur Niederschrift solcher elaboriert auszufertigender Urkunden standen besondere Schreiber der *Yig chañ* zur Verfügung, die *E pa* genannt wurden.

Rechtsentscheide und zahlreiche Konfirmationsurkunden wurden vielfach in der *Chugs thuñ*-Schrift auf Papier als Schreibstoff ausgefertigt. Sie besitzen dann generell keine Intitulatio. Unter den Konfirmationsurkunden, die keine Intitulatio aufweisen, finden sich auch solche, die in '*Bru cha*-Schrift auf Seide geschrieben sind. Konfirmationsvermerke des Dalai Lama oder der Regenten wurden zumeist in der *Chugs thuñ*-Schrift oder in der *Chugs čhuñ*-Schrift geschrieben. Für die Ausfertigung von '*Go mčhan*-Rechtsentscheiden verwendete man ausnahmslos die kursive '*Khyug yig*-Schrift.

10. Die Untersiegelung mit dem Siegelstempel des Urhebers

Urkunden erhielten erst dann ihre Rechtskraft, wenn die Untersiegelung des Schriftstückes mit dem Siegelstempel des Herrschers vollzogen war. Ich möchte an dieser Stelle nicht auf die verschiedenen Arten von Siegelstempeln und ihre Unterteilung nach Urhebergruppen eingehen, da dies an anderer Stelle nachzulesen ist.¹² Im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung von Urkunden ist hier nur der Vorgang der Untersiegelung der ansonsten ausgefertigten Urkunden zu behandeln.

Die Untersiegelung von Herrschurkunden war ein Verwaltungsakt von besonderem Aufwand und wurde als *sbug dam dam* zu bezeichnet, wenn Dalai

¹² MTH III/5, 2-17.

Lama-Urkunden zu untersiegeln waren. Man wartete mit der Anbringung der Siegelstempelabdrücke an den Urkunden solange, bis eine große Zahl von Dokumenten ausgefertigt worden war, deren Untersiegelung dann in einem Zug durchgeführt werden konnte.

Zur Untersiegelung von Urkunden wurde der Siegelkasten mit den Siegelstempeln des Herrschers vor dessen Augen in Anwesenheit des *sPyi khyab mkhan po* und der vier Großsekretäre (*druṅ yig čhen mo*) geöffnet. Anschließend wurde das Anbringen der Siegelstempelabdrücke in Anwesenheit aller vorstehend genannten Personen vom zweitältesten der *Druṅ yig čhen mo* vollzogen. Dabei erläuterte der *sPyi khyab mkhan po* dem Herrscher bei jeder Urkunde mit wenigen Worten, um welche Angelegenheit es sich jeweils handelte.

Wie schon erwähnt, verfügte der Ministerrat über einen ganzen Satz von Amtssiegeln, die in einem verschließbaren Siegelkasten aufbewahrt wurden. Der Schlüssel dieses Kastens war stets der Obhut eines der Minister anvertraut. Die Untersiegelung von Urkunden, deren Urheber der Ministerrat war, erfolgte im Amtsraum der Minister (*bka' blon*) vor deren Augen durch die Sekretäre (*bka' druṅ*) dieses Amtes.

TENSE AND ASPECT IN SPOKEN TIBETAN¹

by

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The questions we will consider here relate to tense and aspect in modern spoken Tibetan verbs. Our examples are from tape-recorded conversations, monologues, and stories, which we have published as *Spoken Tibetan Texts* (Chang and Chang 1978-81);² our theoretical framework is that of Comrie, *Aspect* (1976).

Tense, following Comrie (*op.cit.*, 1-2), "relates the time of the situation referred to to some other time", that is, the time to which the tense refers is situation-external. If the time to which the situation is related is the present, the tenses - such as present, past, future - are absolute; otherwise, they are relative. The time with which aspect is concerned is that of the situation in itself, that is, it is situation-internal. If this time is viewed as an "unanalyzable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one", the aspect is perfective. If it is analyzed, if one sees a situation in progress, the aspect is imperfective.

The labels customarily assigned to the first three roots of written Tibetan (Present, Perfect, Future) suggest a tense system. (We shall not be discussing the Imperative root here.) Spoken Tibetan, however, has, at most, two bases where written Tibetan has three roots. One of these bases derives from the Perfect root; the second base generally derives from the Present root.³ Take the three common verbs in example 1. Pho-

¹ We shall be treating this topic in greater detail in a paper to be published by the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*.

² Our transcription of spoken Tibetan is that introduced in Chang and Shefts 1964. Examples are from Chang and Chang 1978-81; the first number in citations refers to the volume, the second to the page, the third to the lines of Tibetan text. Here we have, however, standardized the transcription somewhat and, on occasion, made other modifications or corrections. Written Tibetan forms are from the dictionaries of Jäschke and Das.

³ See Chang and Chang, *The Persistence of Present-tense Reflexes in Modern Spoken Tibetan*.

netically, the base sə "to eat" (example 1a)⁴ could derive from either the Present or the Future. It could, on the other hand, represent a merging of the two; sə appears in verb forms whose time reference includes both present and future. sət derives by regular phonetic change from the Perfect *bzas*. In example 1b, the base che derives from the Present root; there are parallels for the loss of the final consonant of the root. chət derives from the Perfect *byas*. In example 1c, "to go", written Tibetan 'gro has the spoken reflex to. In referring to the past, a reflex of the verb *phyin* has replaced the suppletive *soñ* of written Tibetan; the falling tone of the spoken reflex, however, implies an *-s suffix.⁵

One of the two spoken Tibetan bases, then, derives from the Perfect root; the other derives from the Present or, occasionally, the Future root. If we look at examples of present or future reference where the verb base derives from the Present or Future root and examples with past reference where the base derives from the Perfect root, we might suppose that a three-way tense system of Present, Perfect, and Future had given way to a two-way system of Past and Nonpast. Examples 2 and 3 would support this view; in example 2a, with səpʌ reè, and 2b, with ch̥ipʌ reè, reflexes of the Perfect root occur in sentences which refer to the past; in example 3a, with sʌqT yɔ́ɔ reè, 3b, with tʌqT yɔ́ɔ reè, 3c, with tʌqT yII, and 3d, with sʌqT reè, reflexes of the Present or Future roots occur in sentences where the time reference is present or future. Consider, however, the passage in example 4. ŋāmō ŋāmō cTì lʌ yaa "a long, long time ago" in the first sentence establishes the time as past. lāpʌ reè in the third sentence is the construction we have seen in example 2, where the time reference is past. tʌqT yɔ́ɔ reè in the second sentence, however, has the construction we have seen in examples 3a and 3b referring to the present.

Textual occurrences of a reflex of a Present or Future root followed by -qT yɔ́ɔ reè referring to past time appear in context with expressions indicating habitual actions, such as "always" (Chang and Chang 1978-81 1.160.4-6), "often" (4.293-5), and "usually, ordinarily, regularly" (3. 64.5-7). This is typically imperfective. Comrie (*op.cit.*, 27-28) says of the habitual, one of his two major subdivisions of the imperfective,

⁴ Examples are in the Appendix.

⁵ A reflex of *soñ* "to go" is found in the fixed phrase qh̥tsām soñʌ [*soñ ba] taa ... 4.176.3 "After some time had passed ...". Another reflex of *soñ* means "to be": keepo sōō [*soñ] tsāā 4.50.11-12 "since he's a king"

"The feature that is common to all habituels, whether or not they are also iterative, is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period".

The -pa reè construction referring to the past occurs in contexts with expressions that pinpoint the time of an event, such as höp thi qhā ! "in the wink of an eye" (example 2a), "yesterday" (1.247.16-17), or "year before last" (3.231.16-17). This is typically perfective. Where -qT yɔɔ reè does occur in such contexts we see the sort of imperfective extension over time of the action that may be termed continuous. If we compare examples 5a and 5b, we see that, in 5a, where the meeting of two people is presented as happening at a point in time which is defined as the end of a period of searching, the perfective -pa reè construction is used (i.e. thūup^a reè); in 5b, where the action is portrayed as taking place over a period of time, the imperfective -qT yɔɔ reè construction is used (i.e. tuqT yɔɔ reè). (Comrie [ibid., 26] defines continuous, his second major subdivision of the imperfective, as "imperfectivity that is not habituality". Continuous differs, then, from noniterative habitual in referring to a briefer period of time.)

We have now established that a reflex of either the Present root or the Future root occurs regularly in an imperfective construction which may refer to the past as well as the present. We cannot, however, immediately conclude from this that the reflex of the Present or Future root is imperfective. After all, this reflex is also used in referring to the future; examples such as 3c and 3d do not fit the definition of the imperfective as showing a situation in progress.

The reflex of the Present and Future roots is, then, itself neither present nor future, nor imperfective, and we have yet to determine to what extent aspect is, in spoken Tibetan, a function of syntax and to what extent a function of morphology. In the constructions we have so far examined, the bases have suffixes. Let us now see what bases without suffixes reveal about aspect.

One environment in which both bases occur without suffixes is before auxiliaries. Before some auxiliaries, either base may occur. Generally, however, it is just one of the bases which can occur before a given auxiliary.

Auxiliaries meaning "to finish, complete" (example 6) and "to exist as the result of an action" follow the base which is the reflex of the Perfect root. Indicating the end of a situation, or the result of an

action, involve, according to Comrie (*ibid.*, 16-21), only peripheral features of perfectivity. There are, however, also auxiliaries which engage directly the central feature of perfectivity, the completeness of an action. Among these are yoo and yɔɔ reè, which, in one of their usages as main verbs, occur in construction with the dative to indicate possession. As auxiliaries, yoo and yɔɔ reè follow suffixless bases to form the Perfect. In examples 7 and 8, the actions referred to are complete, but their effects continue into the present. The bases which yoo and yɔɔ reè follow are reflexes of the Perfect root; we interpret their use in the Perfect construction as conclusive evidence that bases as well as constructions may be perfective.

Other auxiliaries, such as "to need to", "to be able to", "to dare to", "to be time to", which refer to situations that precede action, that are potential as opposed to actual, generally follow the base that is a reflex of the Present or Future root. In example 9, "he was able to buy the hat", the construction of the auxiliary verb thū"to be able to" is in the -pa reè construction which we have seen, in examples 2a and 2b, following reflexes of the Perfect root and referring to the past. The main verb, ño "to buy", however, is a reflex of the Present root. What is expressed by these auxiliaries is not part of a situation in progress; it may be viewed as a preamble to action. This is further evidence that the bases which are reflexes of Present or Future roots are not imperfective. We can, however, say that they are nonperfective. Nonperfectivity is a broad concept which embraces imperfectivity; so it is the Nonperfective base which is used in imperfective constructions and in constructions referring to the future.

Another environment in which verb bases appear without suffixes is in nonfinal position in a sentence. Through the use of nonfinal forms in sequence one lends cohesiveness to narration and avoids a monotonous repetition of the same suffixes and auxiliaries. In example 10, the verb construction in final position is a Perfective (šüüp^a reè"they said"); preceding it are two Perfective bases (chɛɛ with qēcā "to talk" and thi with qēcā "to ask"). When, however, the verb construction in final position is an Imperfective, as it is in the chiqt^a reè of example 11, the bases preceding it in nonfinal position are still Perfective, if the verbs in question are those which give a choice of Perfective and Nonperfective.⁶ Though the actions of hitting and getting up and hitting follow one an-

⁶ lañs "to get up" (example 11) has only one base in spoken Tibetan. This happens to be the reflex of a Perfect root, lañs.

other in succession, it is - as in the English translation - the order in which the actions are stated which indicates which one precedes the other, not the nature of the base. Example 12, which again has an Imperfective construction in final position, may help to clarify this point. The Perfective bases chë and kü which precede the final šöqt reë do not point to actions completed before what is described next. Rather, what follows the Perfective base chë is an elaboration of the preceding statement: it tells how the teacher puts down the grades. What follows the Perfective base kü is an alternative to what precedes: if the teacher isn't writing on a board, he writes on paper.

What this means is that, in nonfinal position, the opposition of Nonperfective and Perfective bases is neutralised. Neutralisation is, of course, one of the criteria for identifying markedness; the member of the opposition which appears under neutralisation (here, the Perfective base) is unmarked. There is also evidence for the unmarked quality of a Perfective construction, the Perfective base with the suffix -p^A followed by an auxiliary verb for "to be", that is, yïl or reë. This can be used, with habitual meaning, in place of an Imperfective construction. If the construction of the answer in example 13 were the same as that of the question, with its -qt yöö reë habitual, we should have phöö küqt yöö reë for "they perform the transfer". Here, -p^A reë is an unmarked alternative to -qt yöö reë. This ability to encompass the meaning of the unmarked member of the opposition Comrie (*ibid.*, 112) has called "one of the most decisive criteria in identifying markedness ... the marked category signals the presence of some feature, while the unmarked category simply says nothing about its presence or absence".

The unmarked quality of the modern spoken Tibetan Perfective may be the result of diachronic change. For many verbs, the written Tibetan Perfect root, from which the modern spoken Perfective base derives, had a suffix (-s) which the sources of the Nonperfective bases - the Present and Future roots - lacked. If it is true that "unmarked categories tend to have less morphological material than marked categories" (Comrie, *ibid.*, 114) and, conversely, that marked categories have more, then it was the Perfect root that was, historically, marked. In the case of, say, the verb for "to look" (example 14), the Present root lacked the *b-* prefix of the Future. If extra morphemes alone decided markedness, the Future root of this verb would have been marked in relation to the Present. The Perfect, however, with its *b-* prefix and *-s* suffix, would have been morphologically marked in relation to both.

We may speculate that, with the loss of prefixes and suffixes through

phonological change, the Perfect roots and their reflexes were no longer perceived as formally marked. This, of course, does not resolve all questions. With the development of a two-base system (Perfective, Non-perfective), the relationship of Perfective to Nonperfective could have been equipollent. That is, neither had to become marked or unmarked. What propelled the Perfective to its position of preeminence? That it does occupy this position seems beyond question; there has been an atrophying of Present and Future roots.

Will the spread of the Perfective eventually lead to the extinction of the Nonperfective? Has it already done so in any spoken Tibetan dialect? What was the basis for the claims made by, for example, Jäschke (1954, 42) and Bacot (1946, 72) that the Perfect was the root underlying the spoken Tibetan verb system? An intuitive perception that the reflexes of the Perfect are more common, or something more substantial? To answer these last questions will require solidly documented field work, with extensive records of natural speech, not just forms in isolation.

Appendix

1. a. "to eat". WT (Written Tibetan) (*b*)za ba, zos/bzas, bza. ST (Spoken Tibetan) sa, se.
- b. "to do"; "to make". WT byed pa, byas, bya. ST che, che.
- c. "to go". WT 'gro ba and phyin pa. ST to and chi (*phyin-s)
2. a. ḥn̄t phomō t̄l̄ komāà thi c̄q s̄èpʌ reè, hōp thi qhā l̄ 4.263.12-14 "And then, suddenly, in the wink of an eye, this girl had eaten the sausage" (WT bzas, ST se).
- b. ḥn̄t t̄n̄eè sāà t̄l̄, n̄ecōò sanpō taa k̄epō ḥlpō ch̄ipʌ reè 4.174.10-12 "And then, the next day, n̄ecōò sanpō and the King went together" (WT phyin + *-s, ST chi, chi-).
3. a. ātā qhōtsō qhālāà s̄aqT yōò reè 2.256.15-16 "Right now they are eating" (WT bza, ST sa, s-).
 b. phārcīt̄ ātā qāp s̄upēè qhātūù t̄n̄eè maa, t̄i chiqT yōò reè, tāqT yōò reè 2.143.
 6-8 "As for the phārcīt̄, he's just now doing, that is, studying, from the third section on down" (WT byed, ST che, chi-; WT ita, ST ta, tā-.
 [The written Tibetan Perfect *bltas* has the spoken Tibetan reflex tēè.])
 c. ... nāà n̄iqāà t̄uqt yī 3.212.11 "... I'll go day after tomorrow" (WT 'gro, ST to, tu-).
 d. ... qhōò thōqōò phomō ti s̄aqT reè 4.11.23-12.2 "...tonight he is going to eat this girl" (WT [b]za, ST sa, s-).
4. nāmō nāmō c̄t̄ l̄ yaa phomō p̄ikāà sum yōò reè. qhōtsō s̄upū t̄i- qēè n̄eētāà phācūù tshōqāà t̄uqt yōò reè. n̄imā c̄q qhōtsō phācūù tshōqāà t̄utūù tsā nee ... qhōtsō phācūù yaqō chi yōò reè ... t̄i lāapʌ reè 4.257.1-8 "Once, a long, long time ago, there were three sisters. Every day those three went to tend the cows. One day, when they went to tend the cows ... there was a good cow of theirs ... this one got lost".
5. a. tshēepē qhutūù, n̄imā c̄t̄ phāaqōò nāà tēè ... ḥqū tōpā thūupʌ reè 4.101.9-11 "When he was searching, one day, there in the phāaqōò ... he met ḥqū tōpā".
 b. tha t̄n̄eè qhō yāà lhēesēe nāà l̄, tshēe tshēe tshēe chepēe qhutūù, n̄imā c̄t̄ sūcūù rā qhi suu tēè ... ḥqū ... laqpā tēè cōò chi khīt̄ cee t̄uqt yōò reè 4.106.2-7 "Now, after that, when he was again searching all over in Lhasa, one day, there at a corner of sūcūù rā ... ḥqū was going along, carrying a hoe in his hand".

6. sōō tshaāp^λ taqāā lamsāā tshōō naaqō k^λp... 1.189.14-15 "Just as soon as they've finished making it, they dye it black ..." ("to make": WT *bzo ba, bzos*; ST so, sōō).
7. qhūnī ātā ē yaqāā šāà yōō ... ch^εtsāā, qhōrāā n̄Tqāā!ōō, y^λqēē rōō I^λ yōō reē 3.203.13-20 "And just now, I've put those two up there ... So, both of them are up there at the encampments" ("to put": WT 'jog pa, bzag [ST šāà], gžag, žog).
8. tuŋtēē qhi ... k^{at}ōō qāā nēe šāarēē so r^λ chi kēē yōō reē, tha...ti ātā thēsāā qām yōō m^{ar}eē 1.117.8-12 "From the surface of the tomb's stone slab ... something like deer horns have grown, now ... Even these days, now, they have not yet become dry" ("to grow": WT *skye ba, skyes*; ST kē, kēē. "to become dry": WT *skem pa, bskams* [ST qām], *bskam*).
9. Auxiliary thūū (WT *thub pa*) "to be able to". phomō qēpēe qōō seyāā qhi šamō ti, ño thūūp^λ reē 4.210.8-9 "...he was able to buy the hat his older daughter had said she wanted" ("to buy": WT ño ba, ños; ST ño, ñōō).
10. ḥnT, pōō taa mōō n̄TT qēcā ch^εtsāā; phomō lēē qēcā t^{hi}ì; ḥnT, "tharēē, k^{ee}pōō, thēē c^{ti}q sūūp^λ reē. tēē 'mēē' šūūnā, t^{iq}T m^{ar}eē. taqā rāā, y^ūqT reē" s šūūp^λ reē 4.49.4-10 "And then the two, the old man and the old woman, talked to each other; they asked the girl, too; and then they said, 'This is the only time the King said (i.e. asked for) anything. If we said 'No' to this, it wouldn't be right. It will be just as you say'" (Nonperfective che, ti, šu : Perfective ch^εtsāā, t^{hi}ì, šūū).
11. tēē ni, ḥnT yaqšōō ti^ì sōsōō cōmāā tⁱ n̄TTp^λ nēe maa sūū ni, n̄uqšāā šūū; n̄TTp^λ ti yāā yaa lāā; sōsōō cōmāā tⁱnēē maa sūū n̄uqšāā šūū: tuqs chiqT reē 1.56.11-16 "After they sit down, then, the best one hits the ones below him, counting from the second on down, with a strip of bamboo; again, the second one gets up and hits the ones below him, counting from there down, with a strip of bamboo: this is the way they do it" (Nonperfective šu, che : Perfective šūū, ch^εtsāā).
12. "thāqō tⁱ reē; n̄TTp^λ tⁱ reē; sūp^λ tⁱ reē" s ch^εtsāā: ch^λngšīT y^īlnā, ch^λngšīT qāā I^λ šūū; šūqūū l^ò I^λ t^{hi}ì yōōnā, šūqūū l^ò I^λ ch^εtsāā ceē, qeqēē qhi ḥqT k^λp šōōqT reē 1.56.2-8 "'This is the first; this is the second; this is the third', he puts down: on a writing board if there is a writing board; on paper, if he is writing on paper, the teacher puts down the grades."
13. "phōō" señēē thi qhārēē chēē thu kūqT yōō reē? õō tⁱ ceemāā keēnēē thōō taa cētāā, kēwā ceemāā kūqū lēēyāā taa, ḥnT, yaqa chi lēēyāā qhi, chēē ch^εtsāā ... phōō šūūp^λ

ré 3.159.7-160.6 "For what purpose do they perform this thing called the 'transfer'?" "Well, as to this, for a higher manner of rebirth in the future and so forth, so that one will get the next rebirth quickly and, then, so that one will get a better one (i.e. a better rebirth) ... they perform the transfer."

14. "to look". WT *lta ba, bltas, blta.*

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**DID THE EARLY MING EMPERORS ATTEMPT TO IMPLEMENT A
"DIVIDE AND RULE" POLICY IN TIBET?**

by

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For almost two decades now it has been generally accepted that the major aim of the early Ming court's policy towards Tibet was to prevent the emergence of a strong, unified Tibetan state, and that in pursuing that policy the first Ming emperors selectively granted titles and gifts to various Tibetan hierarchs in order to keep military and political power in Tibet fragmented.¹ This view of early Ming Tibetan policy, however, actually represents traditional concepts of China's so-called "tribute relations" with other Asian states far more than it reflects the realities of Sino-Tibetan relations in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

Many aspects of China's "tribute relations" with other nations and peoples have been undergoing re-evaluation in recent years. Traditional Chinese concepts which hold that such intercourse offered no material gains to China, a country that has always possessed all that it has ever needed within its own borders, and that it was rather a convenient device for controlling, or at least keeping content, "barbarian" neighbours, are at last receiving the scrutiny that they have long needed.² It may be

¹ This is the view expounded by Satō Hisashi in his various studies of Ming-Tibetan relations: *Mindai Chibetto no hachi tai kyō-ō ni tsuite*. *Tōyōshi kenkyū XXI*, 1962, 295-314; *XXII*, 1963, 203-225; *XXIII*, 1964, 488-503; *Mindai Chibetto no Rigompa no keitō no tsuite*. *Tōyō gakuhō XLV*, 1963, 434-452; and *Gen matsu Min sho no Chibetto jōsei*. Tamura Jitsuzō, ed., *Mindai Man-Mō shi kenkyū*, Kyoto 1963, 485-585. It is also echoed by several other scholars. See, for example, Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, Warminster 1975, 74-75; T.V.Wylie, *Lama Tribute in the Ming Dynasty*. M.Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, eds., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster 1980, 338; and Cha-ch'i Ssu-ch'in (= Sechin Jagchid), *Meng-ku yü Hsi-tsang li-shih kuan-hsi chih yen-chiu*, Taipei 1978, 388.

² For the traditional views, see J.K.Fairbank and Teng Ssu-yü, *On the Ch'ing Tributary System*. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies VI*, 1941, 139-141. For more balanced assessments see H.Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations During the Ming III. Trade Relations: The Horse Fairs (1400-1600)*. *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques XVII*, 1973-1975, 14-24;

appropriate then, at this time, to venture a different interpretation of the relationship between Tibet and the early Ming, and of the Ming court's policy towards Tibet, than that which is usually advanced.

There is no question about the fact that Tibet was a politically fragmented country both before and during the period of the Ming dynasty. Nor is there any question about the fact that the first Ming emperors bestowed titles and gifts upon the hierarchs of various Tibetan sects and sub-sects. Both Ming t'ai-tsü* (reigned 1368-1398), the Hung-wu emperor, and Ming Ch'eng-tsü (reigned 1402-1424), the Yung-lo emperor, actively pursued such contacts with the various power centers, differing in strength, prestige, and wealth, that they had to deal with in Central Tibet. Although Tibetan sources make note of the various titles granted to several hierarchs as marks of prestige, these monastic figures usually had many groups of supporters and benefactors with much more real power in the Tibetan heartland, as will be seen, than that which could be mustered by the Chinese envoys dispatched to Tibet or by their imperial lords.

Chinese envoys in Tibet, rather than having the kind of influence that would have permitted them to exercise any power in maintaining the conditions of disunity then prevailing there (conditions that actually predated the establishment of the Ming dynasty), found their prestige to diminish greatly the further they travelled from the Chinese border. Not surprisingly attacks upon Chinese envoys were not unheard of, and even the *Ming shih-lu* mentions some of them during the early years of the Ming dynasty,³ as do several Tibetan sources. We are told, for instance, that some time after the visit of the 5th Karma pa to the court of Ming Ch'eng-tsü, Chinese "gold diploma holders" (Tib. *gser yig pa*) were attacked in Se ru roñ, a valley behind 'Bri gun,⁴ precipitating fears that Chinese troops might be dispatched to Tibet. This was averted, it is said,

and especially the researches on this topic of M.Rossabi: *China and Inner Asia*, New York, 1975, 13-22, *et passim*; and *The Tea and Horse Trade With Inner Asia During the Ming*. *Journal of Asian History* IV, 1970, 136-168.

* Chinese characters are given in alphabetical order at the end of the paper.

³ See those mentioned in *Mindai Seizō shiryō* (hereafter *MSL*, as this work is a compilation of *Ming shih-lu* notices concerning Tibet), in Tamura Jitsuzō, ed., *Mindai Man-Mō shiryō*, Kyoto 1959, vol.10, pp.7,17, and 65.

⁴ This is quite likely the Se ri roñ where Yüan troops were stationed in the late thirteenth century according to Shri-bhu-ti-bha-dra, *Rgya-Bod-kyi yig tshañ mhas-pa dga'-byed chen-mo 'dzam-glin gsal-ba'i me-loñ*; Thimphu 1979, I, 209r. See also L. Petech, *Sang-ko, A Tibetan Statesman in Yüan China*. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae XXXIV*, 1980, 199.

by the 5th Karma pa himself, through actions that are unspecified.⁵ In another instance it is related that Chinese gold diploma holders were attacked and robbed by people of Khyuṇ po,⁶ an incident that likewise resulted in fears of a punitive Chinese military expedition. On this occasion it was bKra śis dpal brtsegs, the abbot of sTag lun, whose intervention alleviated the tense situation. Through his mediation efforts, as well as his liberal distribution of gifts, he was able to restore the stolen goods, including eleven "letters patent" (Tib.ka'o miṅ for Ch. *Kao-ming*)⁷ destined for various Tibetan figures, to the Chinese envoys. Once again the feared Chinese expedition did not materialize.⁸

The Chinese court was never, in fact, able to mount a military expedition beyond the Sino-Tibetan frontier regions. This fact becomes strikingly obvious as one glances through both Tibetan and Chinese sources for the period in question, and it becomes hard to believe that the actual impotence of China in Tibetan affairs could not have been equally clear to Tibetan figures of that time. It is thus easy to imagine how it could come to pass, scarcely a century later, that the Ming embassy under the eunuch Liu Yün which was dispatched to the 8th Karma pa could be attacked and pillaged with virtual impunity.⁹

In the early Ming court actually intended to attempt to exert a divisive influence in Central Tibetan affairs it would only have been logical for there to have been some signs of Chinese intervention in the vicissitudes of the Phag mo gru pa rulers, especially in the rather significant "internal revolt" (Tib. nañ zin) that occurred during the reign of Ming Ch'eng-tsu. Tibetan sources, tellingly, make no mention of such

⁵ Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag 'phren-ba, *Chos-'byuṇ mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* (hereafter *Dpa'-bo*), New Delhi 1961, 524; and Si-tu pan-chen Chos-kyi 'byuṇ-gnas, *Bsgrub-brgyud karma kam-tshaṇ brgyud-pa rin-po-che'i rnam-par thar-pa rab-'byams nor-bu zla-ba chu-śel gyi phren-ba* (hereafter *Si-tu*), New Delhi 1972, I, 235v. The incident took place sometime between 1408, when the hierarch departed from China, and 1415, the year of his death.

⁶ The Tibetan district situated between the upper reaches of the rDza chu and Nag chu rivers.

⁷ *Kao-ming* were Chinese documents that served as credentials in the bestowal of honorary titles; see W. Franke, Patents for hereditary ranks and honorary titles during the Ch'ing dynasty. *Monumenta Serica VII*, 38-67. The borrowing of this term into Tibetan is also noted in G.N.Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (hereafter *BA*), Delhi 1976, 646. The dispatch of *kao-ming* to Tibetan hierarchs is mentioned now and again in the *MSL* notices concerning the reign of Ming Ch'eng-tsu; see, for instance, *MSL* 52, 62-65, 68, and 72.

⁸ Stag-lun-pa Nag-dbaṇ rnam-rgyal, *Chos-'byuṇ ḥo-mtshar rgya-mtsho* (hereafter *Stag-lun-pa*), Tashijong 1972, ḥa, 132r-132v.

⁹ *Si-tu II*, 11v-12r; *Dpa'-bo* 680.

intervention, while Chinese sources are totally silent about the internal revolt.¹⁰

It ought to be clear, then, that the main thrust of the Tibetan policy of the early Ming lay beyond the realm of maintaining Confucian ideals of China's foreign relations. To begin with, the dynasty's first emperors had quite sincere religious interests in Tibet. This has been shown elsewhere and there is no need to reiterate the evidence for that here.¹¹ The role of commerce in early Ming-Tibetan relations, however, has conversely received little attention, and its major component, the trade in tea for horses has been given only scant notice.¹²

The commercial aspect of the dealings between Tibet and China during this period is clearly alluded to in various sources. Thus, among the recipients of the gifts distributed by bKra ſis dpal brtsegs in the wake of the aforementioned attack upon Chinese envoys by people of Khyun po were, according to the sTag lun chos 'byuñ written by Nag dbañ rnam rgyal, merchants from dBus and gTsañ who were associated with the Chinese gold diploma holders.¹³ The fact that these envoys were carrying letters patent indicates that their embassy was a diplomatic one, and yet this was obviously not in contradiction with their commercial dealings. On a similar note, one reads in the Sa skyā gduñ rabs chen mo that when Nam mkha' legs pa'i rgyal mtshan of the sTag tshan branch of the Dus mchod Sa skyā pa was given the title, seal, and diploma of fu-chiao wang by Ming Ch'eng-tsu, he was also given another diploma for "mutual presentations", i.e., for trade between himself and the Ming court.¹⁴ It can

¹⁰ Chang T'ing-yü, et al., *Ming-shih* (Hereafter MS), Peking 1974 and MSL both give no indication whatsoever that the Chinese court knew about the "internal revolt", although it created a good deal of instability in Central Tibet; see Stag-luñ-pa ña, 131v.; and (for a general description) Tsepon W.D. Shakapba, *Tibet, A Political History*, New Haven 1967, 83.

¹¹ See E.Eperling, The 5th Karma-pa and Some Aspects of the Relationship Between Tibet and the Early Ming. M.Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, eds., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster 1980, 280-289.

¹² Although the works by Serruys and Rossabi cited in note 2 all acknowledge the establishment of horse markets in areas along the Sino-Tibetan border area, only Serruys (25 and 83-91) says more than a few words specifically about the trade in tea for Tibetan horses. See also Tani Mitsutaka, A Study on Horse Administration in the Ming Period, *Acta Asiatica* XXI, 1971, 74, 76, 79, and 83.

¹³ Stag-luñ-pa ña, 132r-132v.

¹⁴ Nag-dbañ kun-dga' bsod-nams, 'Dzam-gliñ byañ-phyogs-kyi thub-pa'i rgyal-tshab chen-po dpal-ldan Sa-skyā-pa'i gduñ-rabs rin-po-che ji-ltar byon-pa'i tshul-gyi rnam-par thar-pa ho-mtshar rin-po-che'i bañ-mdzod dgos-'dod kun-'byuñ (hereafter Sa-skyā), Dolanji 1975, 229r. The Chinese title is given here in Tibetan as tu (sic, read hu) kya ho vañ. For the Chinese notices on the grant of the title see MS ch.331, 8585;

be seen then that trade was a definite component in Ming diplomatic overtures towards Tibet, and the *Ming shih-lu* also makes note, here and there, of official Chinese contacts with Tibetan merchants.¹⁵

The *sTag lun pa*, while not a strong force in Tibet militarily, seem to have had a good deal of economic power during these times. In particular, *bKra śis dpal brtsegs* performed quite successfully as a mediator in several disputes, using his monastery's wealth to obtain settlements.¹⁶ It was no doubt the economic position and influence of the *sTag lun pa*, as revealed in the aftermath of the *Khyun po* attack on the Chinese envoys, that induced the court of *Ming Ch'eng-tsu* to enter into contact with *bKra śis dpal brtsegs*. The abbot of *sTag lun* was presented with gifts, seals, and a title by the emperor, and enjoyed a good deal of contact with Chinese envoys.¹⁷ Strangely enough, however, neither *bKra śis dpal brtsegs* nor the *sTag lun pa* appear in any of the Chinese sources on the *Ming*.¹⁸

and *MSL* 63-64, which also mentions the grant of an unspecified diploma (or diplomas). Speculation by G.Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Roma 1949, 92, that the *sTag tshān pa* might be a sub-sect of the *bKa' brgyud pa*, obscured their *Sa skya pa* affiliation for a long time (even though Tucci had included *Nam mkha' legs pa'i rgyal mtshan* in his genealogical chart of the *Sa skya pa*: op.cit., table I) Tentative *bKa' brgyud pa* identification has been given by T.V.Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*, Roma 1962, 146; and A.Ferrari, *mKhyen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, Roma 1958, 120. Karmay, op.cit., 98, also mentions the *sTag tshān pa* as *bKa' brgyud pa*, without qualification. Satō, op.cit., 1964, 498-502, however, correctly pointed out their *Sa skya pa* affiliation, and this is of course confirmed by the biography of *Nam mkha' legs pa'i rgyal mtshan* in *Sa-skyā* 228v-229r.

¹⁵ See, for instance, the references to "Tibetan merchants" (Ch. *Fan-shang*) in *MSL* 45 and 50. The *Ming* embassy of *Liu Yün*, already mentioned, is another instance, a century later, of a diplomatic embassy engaging in commercial activities on a very large scale according to one Tibetan source; see *Dpa'-bo* 678-679.

¹⁶ See the disputes recounted in *Stag-lun-pa* *Ñā*, 129v-130r, 131v, and 133v-134r.

¹⁷ Incidents of *bKra śis dpal brtsegs* dealing with representatives of the *Ming* court are recorded in *Stag-lun-pa* *Ñā*, 132r-132v, 135v, 137r, and 142v-143v.

¹⁸ There can be no doubt about *bKra śis brtsegs* having received various honors from the Chinese court, since *Nag dban rnam rgyal* (*Stag-lun-pa* *Ñā*, 143v) has described the presents given, even down to the Chinese inscription on one of the seals:

And even in the silver seal inscription there was (written) *ching-hsiu t'ung-wu kuo-shih*, (meaning) "great meditator, omniscient one, lama of the king and teacher of the nation."

dhul tham gyi kha byañ la'añ | ciñ ze'u thūñ u kvo'i śrī z̄es sgom chen thams cad mKhyen pa rgyal po'i bla ma rgyal khams kyi slob dpon yin

The various elements of the Chinese title are easily reconstructed from the Tibetan transcription and translation, as well as from their appearance in other titles granted by the *Ming* court; cf. *MSL* 56-57 for the use of *ching-hsiu*, and *MSL* 55 for the use of *t'ung-wu*. Concerning *kuo-shih*, see n.29, below.

It is quite a different matter with their 'Bri gun pa rivals, who figure rather prominently in records in the *Ming-shih* and the *Ming shih-lu* of the early years of the Ming dynasty. The reason for this is certainly their relative military strength and their intimate involvement in the horse trade which was vital to Ming China during these years. A few words on this commerce are in order here.

The early years of the Ming dynasty constituted a period of tension along the Chinese state's northern border where the remnants of the expelled Mongol ruling circle of the Yüan dynasty had regrouped themselves. In addition to the threat that they posed there, they made it all but impossible for the Ming to obtain horses from Mongolia, a traditional source of horses for China.¹⁹ The resulting situation has been amply described by several scholars;²⁰ however, to restate it in a few words, one may say that China's new rulers were desperate to secure horses from any quarter, and they dispatched envoys in search of suitable mounts as far afield as the Ryukyu Islands.²¹ Needless to say, under such conditions Tibet took on special significance for the early Ming court, since the excellence of Tibetan horses had long been acknowledged by the Chinese.²²

As a result of the well-known need of Ming China for horses, many foreign missions to the Chinese court brought horses with them for presentation as "tribute". Since such missions expected reciprocal gifts of at least equal value in return, this was only natural.²³ This form of commerce could not come close, however, to fulfilling China's need for horses. Naturally border horse markets sprang up and with them a lively commerce in Chinese tea for foreign horses.²⁴ Although the Ming government tried to monopolize and thus control the trade, this was scarcely possible, and smuggling and private dealings were widespread.

Tibetan horses were obtained in the same ways, that is as "tribute" or in trade for tea. The *Ming-shih* is quite specific about China's need for Tibetan horses, and the government's rather urgent attempts to find the commodity that China could best use in trading for them (although

¹⁹ Rossabi, *op.cit.*, 1970, 136.

²⁰ Serruys, *op.cit.* 26 notes that Ming records mention Mongolia only once, prior to 1400, as a source of horses.

²¹ *Ibid.* 26.

²² Tibetan horses have been appreciated in China since at least the T'ang dynasty; see Sung Ch'i and Ou-yang Hsiu, *Hsin T'ang-shu*, Peking 1975, 6072.

²³ Rossabi, *op.cit.*, 1970, 139-140; and *op.cit.*, 1975, 71.

²⁴ Rossabi, *op.cit.*, 1975, 78-79.

items other than tea, such as silks, salt, and silver continued to be used along with tea in exchange for horses throughout the dynasty).²⁵

As "tribute" items, horses figure quite commonly in the lists of goods presented by various Tibetan missions to the early Ming court. It is interesting to note, in fact, that missions from the sects of seven of the well-known group of eight "religious kings" of Tibet described in chüan 331 of the *Ming-shih* are mentioned in the *Ming shih-lu* as having presented horses to the court of Ming Ch'eng-tsü.²⁶ Since horses were important units of wealth, it is only to be expected that the hierarchs of prominent sects and monasteries would have access to considerable numbers of them, both to use as gifts, and as items of trade. The Ming court knew this quite well and encouraged the presentation of horses by Tibetan missions.²⁷ This fact stands out in Chinese sources, although a Confucian veneer is often applied to records of the court's dealings with these embassies. Thus, for example, one reads in the *Ming shih-lu* that on February 5, 1391, an envoy of Chos kyi rgyal po, the abbot of 'Bri gun, arrived at court to offer up (for renewal, no doubt) official seals that had formerly been granted to the 'Bri gun pa by the Yüan court.²⁸ This is the only reference to Chos kyi rgyal po by name, although another mission which presented horses is recorded as having been sent by the "national precep-

²⁵ MS, ch.330, 8540:

The emperor (Ming T'ai-tsü) assumed that horses would gradually increase by trading with the Tibetans, (who) produce horses. However, the commodities that they use are different from those of China. After the paper currency laws were changed, the horses decreased, and (the emperor) was troubled by that. In the fifth month of the eighth year [of Hung-wu = 31/5/1375-29/6/1375] the court official Chao Ch'eng was ordered to Ho-chou, carrying silks, damasks, and tea from Pa [in Szechwan] to trade. Horses were moderately traded. He generally gave substantial amounts in recompense for their value All of the Tibetan tribes came to trade horses.

A similar account is given in MSL 16, specifying June 8, 1375 as the date of Chao's dispatch. Ho-chou was located on the A mdo border; see Serruys, op.cit. 25. Concerning paper money during the early Ming, see Ch.O.Hucker, *The Ming Dynasty: its Origins and Evolving Institutions*, Ann Arbor 1976, 60.

²⁶ Note the references to the presentation of horses by the 'Bri gun pa, MSL 48, 58, 59, and 66; the Phag mo gru pa, MSL 58 and 66; the Lha khan Sa skyä pa, MSL 65; the dGe lugs pa, MSL 67; the Karma pa, MSL 68; the Gon gyo Sa skyä pa, MSL 54 and 66; and the Glin tshañ Sa skyä pa, MSL 70.

²⁷ Rossabi, op.cit., 1970, 139.

²⁸ MSL 37. The embassy is said to have come from the "'Bri gun lama rin po che Chos kyi rgyal po" (Ch. Pi-li-kung shang-shih-nien-pu-she Shuo-ssu-chi chieh-pu).

tor" (Ch.*kuo-shih*)²⁹ of 'Bri gun during the tenure of Chos kyi rgyal po as abbot.³⁰

The only mentions of China in Tibetan biographies of Chos kyi rgyal po, however, are with regard to the dispatch of horses for presentation there and these mentions are only given in anecdotal accounts meant to demonstrate the hierarch's gifts of prescience; he correctly foretold a devastating Mongol attack upon the seemingly large embassy when it reached the 'Bri chu.³¹ Still, as the accounts make clear, large caravans carrying valuable commercial items could certainly be plundered en route, regardless of the prestige of the principals involved in the venture.³² The strength of the 'Bri gun pa did not, however, rest solely on prestige. The sect had developed its own military structures during and after its confrontations with Sa skya power in Tibet in the thirteenth century, and this strength allowed the 'Bri gun pa to exert a good deal of influence over the horse trade.

The office of the civil and military governor of the 'Bri gun pa was termed *sgom pa*, and these officials played a role in the administrative structure of the 'Bri gun pa similar to that of the *dpon chen* in the organization of the Sa skya pa.³³ Since they wielded considerable power, the 'Bri gun pa *sgom pa* naturally came to the attention of the Chinese court. Thus one reads in the 'Bri gun gser phreñ of Che tshañ bsTan 'dzin padma'i rgyal mtshan that:

²⁹ A common title borrowed into Tibetan and generally rendered as *gu śrī*, *kvo'i śrī* (as in n.18), or other similar variations; see B.Laufer, Loan Words in Tibetan. *T'oung Pao XVII*, 1916, 524.

³⁰ MSL 48.

³¹ 'Bri-guṇ chos-rje Kun-dga' rin-chen, *Dpal-l丹 bla-ma dam-pa Kun-dga' rin-chen gyi rnām-par thar-pa dān bka'-bum* 'thor-bu'i dbu-phyogs (hereafter 'Bri-guṇ chos-rje), Leh 1972, 70v-71r; and Che-tshañ sprul-sku Bstan-'dzin padma'i rgyal-mtshan, *Nes-don bstan-pa'i sñīn-po* 'Bri-guṇ-pa chen-po'i gdan-rabs chos-kyi byuñ-tshul gser-gyi phreñ-ba (hereafter Che-tshañ), Bir 1977, 98v. Concerning the geographical distribution of the Mongols in China during this period, see H.Serruys, The Mongols in China During the Hung-wu Period. *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques XI*, 1959, 176-213.

³² See the instances cited in n.3 of attacks on Chinese envoys.

³³ Che-tshañ 103v:

After that there appeared in succession the *sgom pa* Kun (dga') rin (chen), and others, and taking up the responsibility for the governance of 'Bri gun they were called *sgom pa*

de nas sgom pa Kun rin sogs rim par byuñ bar | 'Bri gun gi srid skyoñ gi khur bzūñ bar sgom pa žes brjod la

Concerning Kun dga' rin chen and the other *sgom pa*, as well as the office itself, see Tucci, op.cit. 631 and 689.

In the iron-dragon year (1400-1401) ... there came from the great emperor of China, seals for the orders and positions of *kuan-ting ta kuo-shih* (Tib. *kwan tān tā gu śrī*) for the dharma-svāmin Don grub rgyal po, and *tsung-ch'i* (Tib. *dzoñ ji*) for the *sgom pa bSod nams rin chen*.³⁴

An entry in the *Ming shih-lu* for February 15, 1409, makes note of a Tibetan embassy that presented horses, among other things, to the court of Ming Ch'eng-tsu. The embassy had been sent out by several people, including Don grub rgyal po, then the abbot of 'Bri gun, and bSod nams rin chen, who is described as holding the title *chih-hui ch'ien-shih*.³⁵ Like *tsung-ch'i*, this, too, is a military title, and both positions were common ones in the Ming military organization; *tsung-ch'i* (or "general ensign") was not ranked, but *chih-hui ch'ien-shih* (or "secretary commanding") belonged to the principal fourth rank.³⁶ It is logical to assume that bSod nams rin chen had received a promotion of sorts from the court in the nine years intervening between the two notices just cited. Nevertheless, the title *tsung-ch'i* is the one that Tibetan sources give to bSod nams rin chen.³⁷ Other Tibetans of the period also appear in various records with this title, which thus seems to have been used now and then, but generally only for military figures, in much the same way that the Chinese title *kuo-shih* was often used for high ranking clerical figures.³⁸

The *Ming shih-lu* notice mentioning bSod nams rin chen states that he held his position in a specific area, Lung-tu, located along the Sino-

³⁴ Che-tshañ 98r:

Icags 'brug lo.....rGya nag goñ ma chen po nas chos rje Don grub rgyal po la kvan
tiñ tā gu śrī dañ | sgom pa bSod nams rin chen la dzoñ ji'i luñ las tham kha sogs byuñ |

³⁵ MSL 58. Concerning the dates of Don grub rgyal po's abbotship, see n.47.

³⁶ Serruys, op.cit., 1959, 98, discusses these titles as well as the assimilation of a foreign element, the Mongols, into Chinese military administrative structures.

³⁷ See the references to him in Tucci, op.cit., 631; and BA 642.

³⁸ The title *tsung-ch'i* has generally been misunderstood by scholars working only from the Tibetan form of the title, *dzoñ ji*. Thus the mention of bSod nams rin chen in BA 642, refers to him ambiguously as "Jön-ji bSod-nams rin-chen", and 641 simply as "Jön-ji". Tucci, op.cit. 631, in his reference to bSod nams rin chen refers to him as "rDson ji", which then makes the term seem like the title of a district official. The term appears similarly as *rdzoñ ji* in *Stag-lur-pa* ña, 129v-130r, with reference to rGyal mtshan bzañ po, a Phag mo gru pa military official who also held the title during this period, but who is referred to by Tucci, op.cit., 645, as "rGyal mts'an bzañ po of rDzoñ p'yí". In spite of all these differing interpretations, it is clear from the reference in Che-tshañ 98r, that *dzoñ ji* is a Chinese title, and its being granted to military figur indicates that it can't be anything other than the Chinese title *tsung-ch'i*.

Tibetan border region.³⁹ Although he certainly wasn't based there, it is more than likely that in granting him a military title the Chinese government affiliated him with their garrison base closest to the territory over which he held sway. His position was also probably commensurate with the strength of the troops under his command, a probable assumption in view of the Ming practice of making such evaluations in granting military titles to Mongol commanders who came over to the Ming with their armies.⁴⁰ In any event, it seems clear that bSod nams rin chen performed military activities or services that proved to be beneficial, in some way, to the Ming, and this is reflected in the subsequent grant of titles to him. As *sgom pa* he would certainly have been active in maintaining the security that was necessary for diplomatic and commercial intercourse.

Such circumstances are quite clear in the career of Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan, the son of Don grub rgyal po who served as *sgom pa* sometime after bSod nams rin chen⁴¹ and as the nominal abbot of 'Bri gun after the tenure of his father. Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan is first mentioned in the *Ming shih-lu* in an entry dated June 6, 1413, recording the bestowal of titles by Ming Ch'eng-tsui on various Tibetan hierarchs during the time of the visit of Kun dga' bkra ſis of the Lha khan Sa skyapa to the Chinese court.⁴² According to this notice, Don grub rgyal po was given the title of *kuan-ting hui-tz'u ching-chieh ta kuo-shih*⁴³ and his son, Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan that of *ch'an-chiao wang*, a much

³⁹ The administrative capital (*tu*), no doubt, of Lung-chou, concerning which see *MS*, ch. 42, 999.

⁴⁰ Serruys, *op.cit.*, 1959, 98.

⁴¹ The succession of the *sgom pa* of 'Bri gun is not very clear, but see Tucci, *op.cit.* 631.

⁴² *MSL* 63. *Dpa'-bo* (a Karma pa source) 524, implies that among the titles that are mentioned here, those of *fu-chiao wang* and *ch'an-chiao wang*, given, respectively, to Nam mkha' legs pa'i rgyal mtshan of the sTag tshan Sa skyapa, and Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan of the 'Bri gun pa (as well as those of all of the other six "religious kings") were granted due to the influence of the 5th Karma pa.

⁴³ As has already been seen, however, *Che-tshai* 98r, notes that he was already accorded the title of *kuo-shih*, or "national preceptor", as early as 1400-1401, and in fact it was not unusual for Tibetan figures to receive the title on more than one occasion, in different forms. Thus, *MSL* 51, mentions him with that title in an entry dated February 23, 1406.

higher title which, in fact, placed him in the ranks of the eight previously mentioned "religious kings" holding similar titles.⁴⁴ What is so striking about this is that it occurred while Don grub rgyal po was still serving as the abbot of 'Bri gun. The only significant position that Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan had held up to that time, according to the available biographical materials, was that of *sgom pa*. Still, his activities in that office were probably very well known to the Chinese court.

All of the major sources on the life of Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan contain similar accounts about him as well as, unfortunately, a similar dearth of dates for the events that they describe.⁴⁵ One reads in these biographies that Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan performed the duties of *sgom pa* quite resolutely, if not ruthlessly. Ultimately, after inflicting a particularly bloody defeat upon the "Black Mongols" (Tib. Nag sog) who seem to have been pillaging 'Bri gun pa properties, he was filled with remorse at the sight of all the carnage that lay about what had been the enemy encampment. He returned to 'Bri gun, renounced the office of *sgom pa*, took ordination as a monk from his father and devoted himself to religion for the rest of his life.⁴⁶ Although he was pressed to take up the office of abbot of 'Bri gun after his father's death in 1427, he refused.⁴⁷ Still, his prestige must have been considerable, for the abbot's chair was left vacant for years, until his own son was able to take it, and yet he is nonetheless included, nominally at least, in the rosters of the abbots of 'Bri gun.⁴⁸

It was undoubtedly Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan's activities in the civil administration of the 'Bri gun pa that resulted in his receiving greater attention than his father from the court of Ming Ch'eng-tsu. In fact the previously cited entry in the *Ming shih-lu* regarding the titles given to Don grub rgyal po and Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan, is the last mention of Don grub rgyal po to be found in the court records. Thereafter,

⁴⁴ The eight "religious kings" are described (as noted) in *chüan* 331 of the *Ming-shih*: MS ch.331, 8571-8585. The *ch'an-chiao wang* is described on p.8584.

⁴⁵ See his biographies in '*Bri-gun chos-rje* 78r-80r; *Che-tshai* 103r-105v; and *Dpa'-bo* 750-751.

⁴⁶ *Dpa'-bo* 751 states that he remained in seclusion for eleven years after renouncing the office of *sgom pa*.

it is Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan who is always mentioned in the *Ming shih-lu* with regard to the 'Bri gun pa in spite of the fact that Don grub rgyal po still served as the abbot of 'Bri gun for fourteen more years following the grant of the titles.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ There is a good deal of confusion about Don grub rgyal po's birth and death dates. Satō, *op.cit.*, *Tōyō gakuhō*, 1963, 436, gives them as 1357-1415. However, since it is agreed upon by all of the biographical sources on Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan that he was ordained by his father, and became a monk after he had fathered a son, Rin chen dpal bzañ po, who was to follow his nominal tenure as abbot of 'Bri gun and serve in the post himself, and since all of the sources state that Rin chen dpal bzañ po was born in the female-iron-ox year (1421-1422; see '*Bri-guṇ chos-rje* 60r; *Che-tshañ* 105v; and *Dpa'-bo* 751), a death date of 1415 is not possible. All of the sources agree that Don grub rgyal po lived for fifty-eight years (i.e., he lived into his fifty-ninth "Tibetan" year) and that he was born in a bird year and died in a sheep year. *Dpa'-bo* 750 specifies the date of his death as the iron-sheep year (1451-1452), which is an obvious error. *Che-tshañ* 100r, however, specifies the year of his birth as the female-earth-bird year (1369-1370), which accords perfectly with the fact that Rin chen dpal bzañ po was born in 1421, for this would fix his date of death as the year 1427-1428. There are further discrepancies, however, with regard to the dates given in the sources for Don grub rgyal po's accession to the abbotship. According to both *Dpa'-bo* 750 and '*Bri-guṇ chos-rje* 74v, this happened when he was forty-five years old, or in 1413-1414. *Che-tshañ* 101r, however, says that it happened in his thirty-ninth year, or 1407-1408, which matches the date of death of the previous abbot, Chos kyi rgyal po, that is given in '*Bri-guṇ chos-rje* (but not in the other sources) 72r, as the female-fire-pig year (1407-1408). *Che-tshañ*, *loc.cit.*, also assigns a Tibetan year date to Don grub rgyal po's accession, the wood-pig year (1395-1396), which is obviously erroneous in the element part of the date, since it contradicts the birth-date given two folia before, assuming Don grub rgyal po became the abbot of 'Bri gun at the age of thirty-nine. The first mention of him in Chinese sources also dates from around this time, the entry in *MSL* 51, dated February 23, 1406, and already mentioned in n.43. As has been shown, however, he received a title from the Chinese court as early as 1400-1401.

⁴⁸ The sources cited in n.45 place his biography in the correct chronological position of the abbot who followed Don grub rgyal po in the post. '*Bri-guṇ chos-rje* 79v and *Dpa'-bo* 751 both state that he fled three days after being asked to take the abbotship of 'Bri gun following Don grub rgyal po's death. *Che-tshañ* 105r states that he sat on the abbot's throne for one and a half months before finally using force to flee (*Dpa'-bo*, *loc.cit.*, states that force had to be used to hold him after he was asked to become the abbot). All of the sources state that he ran off to Wu-t'ai-shan, the famous Buddhist pilgrimage site in China, and that he is widely known to be dwelling there still.

⁴⁹ The last mentions of Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan in *MSL* occur in entries recording the dispatch of a mission to him on April 29, 1427, the year of Don grub rgyal po's death (*MSL* 86), and an imperial decree stating that his son was to inherit the title *ch'an-chiao wang*, dated June 1, 1430 (*MSL* 107).

Some further light is shed upon this, however, by the accounts of the defeat of the Black Mongols. Their main transgression, one reads, is that they murdered an official referred to only as the *lo rta dpon*, or "year horse official".⁵⁰ The significance of this is clarified further when it is seen that the *Ming-shih* states that:

The Tibetans yearly exchange horses for tea.⁵¹

It is logical then, to assume that the *lo rta dpon* was connected precisely with the horse trade, in which the 'Bri gun pa played a fairly significant part, and that Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan's attack upon the Black Mongols resulted from his role, as *sgom pa*, in safeguarding those territories and trade routes under the jurisdiction of the 'Bri gun pa. The Black Mongols are otherwise unidentified, but it is interesting to note that the *Ming shih-lu* records the plunder of a horse relay station (Ch. i) in 1378, seemingly in the vicinity of the Sino-Tibetan border regions, by a people termed the "Black Tartars" (Ch. Hei Ta-tan), who are also otherwise unidentified.⁵² If, as is very possible, these two groups are one and the same, it becomes even easier to understand the special honor shown to Rin chen dpal gyi rgyal mtshan by the Ming court. China had very specific interests in maintaining good relations with those figures who played important roles in the commerce in Tibetan horses, and in this case it meant showing special favor to the *sgom pa* of 'Bri gun beyond that shown to the abbot. It was the commercial aspect of the early Ming court's relationship with the 'Bri gun pa rather than any policy of "divide and rule" that precipitated this seemingly inappropriate ranking of the abbot and the *sgom pa* of 'Bri gun in the bestowal of titles.

This attempt at maintaining influence with the commercial and economic powers in Tibet was a natural result of the position of impotence that Ming China held there. Unable to protect its embassies or even to retaliate against attacks on them, China was hardly in a position to manifest the kind of power needed to implement a policy of "divide and rule" in Tibet. In addition, in dealing with Tibet, early Ming China was usually, contrary to Confucian dogma, the supplicating party. China's great need for horses allowed Tibetan traders along the borders to charge

⁵⁰ 'Bri-gun chos-rje 78v; and Dpa'-bo 751.

⁵¹ MS, ch.330, 8541.

⁵² Serruys, *op.cit.*, 1959, 242-243.

whatever prices they wished,⁵³ while in religious affairs the first Ming emperors were still basically petitioners requesting teachings or religious benefits from some of the hierarchs with whom they established relations.⁵⁴

Once China's religious and economic interests in Tibet started to wane, the Ming court's diplomatic relations with Tibet also declined drastically. As the horse trade between China and the Mongols grew during the fifteenth century the commercial interests of the Ming court in Tibet also began to lessen, so that finally, when the Ming statutes were collected and printed in the late sixteenth century, horses were no longer listed as articles of "tribute" presented to the court from Tibet,⁵⁵ although their prior prominence as such is beyond doubt. In addition, dwindling imperial interest in Buddhism, and hence in the religious figures of Tibet, during the sixteenth century also contributed to a decline in diplomatic intercourse between Tibet and China long before the fall of the Ming dynasty. It is only natural to expect that a Chinese policy of "divide and rule" would have continued regardless of the state's need for Tibetan horses or attitudes toward Tibetan Buddhism, had it existed to begin with.

To underscore the absence of such a policy, one last piece of evidence ought to be adduced: There is not one reference to the formulation or implementation of a Ming policy of "divide and rule" towards Tibet in any of the memorials, edicts, or accounts in the *Ming shih-lu* records of the reigns of Ming T'ai-tsu or Ming Ch'eng-tsu. Although it is possible that documentary references to such a policy were omitted, this is not very likely.⁵⁶ It is important that this significant textual

⁵³ Sperling, op.cit. 286.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 283-284 illustrates such a situation in the relationship between Ming Ch'eng-tsu and the 5th Karma pa.

⁵⁵ See the lists of "tribute items" from Tibet recorded in Shen Shih-hsing, et al., *Ming hui-tien*, Taipei 1968, 2321-2328.

⁵⁶ There are records of several memorials on the topic of border policy having been presented to the court of Ming T'ai-tsu. Among the ideas that they discussed were the use of Chinese settlers to cultivate land in the Sino-Tibetan border regions with the eventual aim of gaining control over the areas and their populations (*MSL* 30); the manipulation of what the Chinese perceived to be the Tibetans' near addiction to tea as a means to control them and obtain horses (*MSL* 34 and 43); and military alliances with powerful border figures to control the border (*MSL* 34). Nowhere, however, is there any mention of a "divide and rule" policy in Tibet, involving religious hierarchs in Central Tibet or elsewhere, in the records of either Ming T'ai-tsu's or Ming Ch'eng-tsu's reigns. Although omissions are certainly possible with regard to *MSL* (see n.18 and, for a rather negative assessment of the *MSL* records of

fact be made quite clear. In actual fact, the first mention of such a policy, crediting Ming Ch'eng-tsu with having fragmented Tibetan power through the grant of titles and special treatment to different Tibetan figures, comes only in the *Ming-shih*, as a comment of one of the authors, rather than as a narrative account or a quotation from a document.⁵⁷

China's official dynastic histories tend, as a rule, to emphasize the Confucian virtues of a dynasty's first emperors, and in this respect the comments in the *Ming-shih* provide an ideologically proper picture of Ming Ch'eng-tsu's dealings with Tibet, if not an objective one. Dynastic histories were always written by succeeding dynasties, and the *Ming-shih* was written between 1678 and 1739. Its comments on Chinese policy toward Tibet then, might actually be of greater significance in understanding early Manchu policies in Tibet, rather than those of the early Ming. It is not, however, the aim of this paper to discuss that intriguing idea.

During the period of the early Ming, Tibet was a fragmented country, politically and otherwise. There is no question about this. Nor is there any question about the fact that many hierarchs of different sects received gifts and titles from the Ming court. There is, however, no reason for deducing a causal relationship between these two facts, and unless one can be shown, there is no basis beyond the comments of an early Ch'ing writer for assuming that the early Ming emperors attempted to implement a "divide and rule" policy in Tibet.

those two reigns by one of the compilers of MS, W.Franke, *An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History*, Kuala Lumpur 1968, 20), the exclusion of documents relating to a major foreign policy initiated at court would amount to an act of suppression on a grand scale.

⁵⁷ MS ch.330, 8542:

During the Yung-lo period most of the monks in all the (Tibetan frontier) garrison (areas) who zealously practised the moral commandments received the titles of lama, ch'an-shih ("meditation master"), and kuan-ting kuo-shih. This was augmented to include ta kuo-shih and hsi-t'ien fo-tzu ("son of the buddha, i.e. 'bodhisattva', of the western heavens"). They were all given seals and patents and this was (all) permitted to be hereditary. Moreover they were all ordered to pay tribute once a year. From then on all of the monks, and all of the local officials of the garrisons converged upon the capital. Other tribal groups, such as those pertaining to the thirteen clans of Hsi-ning, the eighteen clans of Min-chou, and the eighteen clans of T'ao-chou, the larger of them having several thousand people and the smaller of them having several hundred people, were also permitted to pay tribute once a year. They were excellently entertained and given gifts. The power of the Tibetans became increasingly divided, their strength became increasingly weak, and the troubles on the western borders also became increasingly fewer. Interestingly enough, one of the unofficial drafts of an account of Tibet, prepared during the compilation of MS by one of its authors, makes no such statement; see Yu T'ung, *Ming-shih wai-kuo chuan*, Taipei 1977, 198-214.

Chinese Characters

Cha-ch'i Ssu-ch'in 札奇斯欽

ch'an-chiao wang 輔教王

ch'an-shih 禪師

Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉

Chao Ch'eng 趙成

chao-yü 詔諭

chih-hui ch'ien-shih 指揮僉事

Chih-kuang 哲光

ching-hsiu t'ung-wu kuo-shih 淨修通悟國師

chüan 卷

Fan-shang 盤商

fu-chiao wang 輔教王

Hei Ta-tan 黑革革旦

Ho-chou 河州

Hsi-ning 西寧

hsit'ien fo-tzu 西天佛子

Hung-wu 洪武

i 馬罪

kao-ming 言命

kuan-ting hui-tzu ching-chieh ta kuo-shih 蘭頂慧慈淨戒大國師

kuan-ting kuo-shih 蘭頂國師

kuan-ting ta kuo-shih 蘭頂大國師

kuo-shih 國師

Liu Yün 劉允

Lung-chou 隨州

Lung-tu 隋都

Meng-ku yü Hsi-tsang li-shih kuan-hsi chih yen-chiu 蒙古與西藏

歷史關係之研究

Min-chou 山民州

Ming ch'eng-tsu 明成祖

Ming hui-tien 明會典

Ming-shih 明史

Ming shih-lu 明實錄

Ming-shih wai-kuo chuan 明史外國傳

Ming T'ai-tsu 明太祖

Pa 巴

Pi-li-kung shang-shih nien-pu-she Shuo-ssu-chi chieh-pi 必力公尚師

輩卜闍 楠思吉結卜

Shen Shih-hsing 申時行

ta kuo-shih	大國師
T'ao-chou	洮州
tsung-ch'i	統旗
tu	都
Wu-t'ai-shan	五臺山
Yu T'ung	尤侗
Yung-lo	永樂

THE NAMING OF ČINGGIS: THE NEW-OLD VIEW

by
H. STANG (Oslo)

"Whilom Thou didst swoop like a Falcon:
 A rumbling waggon now trundles Thee off;
 O my King!
 Hast Though in truth forsaken thy wife
 and thy children and the Diet of thy People?
 O my King!
 Circling in pride like an Eagle
 whilom Thou didst lead us,
 O my King!"¹

ran the dirge by one of
 Činggis Qān's old comrades, accompanying the rumbling wagon, his corpse,
 and his name, into history. Whither his body, unknown. Whence his name,
 unknown.

Folk traditions do what they can to mystify us. Among the Soyots, a
 Kezer-Čingis-Qaira-Khan is credited with having reshaped the world after
 the Deluge. The Volga Tartars have fathered a highly fantastic collec-
 tion of legends called the گاب نصل داستان نسل چنگر خان; while the Bashkirs
 knew a book of wonders "called Čingyz".²

"Die Etymologie von 'Ginkiz Han' bleibt umstritten," a contemporary
 scholar notes. "Erste Deutungsversuche lassen sich schon bei den persi-
 schen Historikern und den mongolischen Chronisten feststellen."³

¹ Kilügen Bahadur, in Sansang Setzen, English transl., 108; here from H. Yule and H. Cordier, *The Travels of Ser Marco Polo*; Book 1, chap. LII, 1st ed., 219.

² *Mythology of All Races*, 4: U. Holmberg, Finno-Ugric and Siberian. New York 1964, 366; M. N. Khangalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij*, Ulan-Ude 1960, 91-94 tells of Činggis Qān inventing wine (= Soyot Kezer-Č.-Q.-Khan). N. Katanoff, *Türkische Sagen. Keleti Szemle III*. 1902, 174 (Tatar ms. now being translated). *Polnoe sobranie učenykh putešestvij Lepékhina po Rossii*, IV, prodolženie. S.-Peterburg 1822, 36

³ K. Lech, *Das mongolische Weltreich, al-'Umarī's Darstellung*. Wiesbaden 1968, 191.

1) Thus, Rašīd ad-Dīn: "...The meaning of čink - plural čingiz - is 'powerful', 'strong', as with gurhān, the title of the Qarahitai ruler, which conveys 'powerful, mighty ruler'." He is seconded by Abū l-Ğāzī. I may add that in Strahlenberg (1730) "das Wort Cing oder Zing ist bey den Mungalen und Calmucken so viel, als: gross, mächtig, oder Monarch," while the syllable -is is said to mark the superlative "Will also der Name Zing-iss soviel sagen, als: der allergrößte..".⁴

2) Ibn al-'Amid however insists that جنگر خان is a development from جنگری خان, which purportedly signifies *malik mulk aṣ-ṣīn*, i.e. "ruler/king of the realm of⁵ China".⁶

3) Of latterday explanations, one is that proposed by G.Doerfer, who (albeit with all hedgings) believes that the original meaning of činkiz/činggis may be preserved in Yakut čiŋiš - čiŋiš "hard, cruel".⁷

4) There is also the "Mongolo-Sinologist" view of E.Haenisch, with the Chinese transcription 成吉思 cheng gisse as its point of departure, meaning "perfected". The gloss 正 dženg "right, correct, accurate" is adduced, along with quotations from the Secret History (§ 149, 202) regarding a conception of the "correct" or "legitimate" (rechtsmäßige) ruler. "Der wahre Name hieß Jenggis Ḥahan (ḥagan) und war das chinesische Wort 正 dženg, recht."⁸

5) The predominant opinion today, of course, follows Pelliot and Ramstedt: činggis, it is held, is a palatalized rendering of Turkic tengis "sea", in the way of the titles Dalai Lama "oceanic lama" and Gür-qān "universal ruler".⁹

⁴ Rašīd ad-Dīn, Čāmi' aṭ-ṭawārlīh. Ed. Bahman Karimi, Teheran 1338 H, I, 307,15-16; Abū l-Ğāzī Bahādur Ḥān, Sağarayı Turk, Ed. Desmaisons, S.-Peterburg 1871, I, 80, 18-19. Philipp von Strahlenberg, Der nordlichste Theil von Europa und Asien..., Stockholm 1730, 45, n.

⁵ or "by", "in connection with" China, whereas China proper is الصين "China of the Chinese."

⁶ La "Chronique des Ayyoubides", ed.C.Cahen. Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales (Institut Français de Damas) 15, Damascus 1958, 129, 15-17.

⁷ G.Doerfer, Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neopersischen. 1, Wiesbaden 1963, 312-315.

⁸ E.Haenisch, Mongolische Miszellen. Collectanea Mongolica, Festschrift Rintchen. Ed. W.Heissig, Wiesbaden 1966, 65-66. [New transcription inserted]

⁹ P.Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté. Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, série 3, t.23. In: Extrait de la ROC, Paris 1922-1924,23; same, Notes on Marco Polo. 1, Paris 1959, 296-303; G.J.Ramstedt, Mogholica, 25; W.Kotwicz, Les Mongols, promoteurs de l'idée de paix universelle. La Pologne au VI^e Congrès Intern. des Sciences Hist., Warszawa 1933, 1, 199-204, reprint Kraków 1953; L.Hambis, À propos de la "Pierre de Gengis-Khan". 147-148.

6) Lastly, it will bear mentioning that there exists a native Mongol view, ridiculous and long ridiculed,¹⁰ that the name derives from a bird, said to have screached precisely (yet thoroughly inscrutably) "Činggis".

A summary critique of these views, both individually and collectively, follows - the collective argument being, to my mind, the decisive one

As has been exhaustively demonstrated by modern philology, there is nothing to commend the suppositions of Rašid ad-Din and Abū l-Ğāzī, or of Ibn al-'Amīd, on the basis of the Mongolian, Turkic or for that matter Chinese tongues. On the other hand, taken together with the other theories above, it will be seen that they may lend some support to that of Dr. Haenisch: "Strong" might conceivably be a sloppy oral approximation to "legitimate", i.e. "strong of claim"; the equation of "incorrect, illegitimate" with "weak", and of "correct, justified" with "strong" - cf. the Arabic (and Islamic-theological) *da'*¹¹ versus *ṣahīḥ* - is widely met with throughout Eurasia. Rašid ad-Din had both Mongol and Turkic informants and the one thing his and their opinion does show is that a title or name to the tune of "strong" (etc.) may have been the source - but, if so, in a language Turks and Mongols rarely mastered, meaning, preferably, Chinese. Ibn al-'Amīd might be construed as pointing in the same direction: Činggis Qān was the ruler "of Chinese-realm nomenclature".

Dr. Doerfer's suggestion, based on the Yakut čiŋiš - cīgiš "hard, cruel", must be treated with reserve (as Dr. Doerfer has done himself). It is hardly conceivable that the original, Mongolian meaning or connotation of the name has been preserved thus, let alone that the name derives from the Yakut tongue. Mongol-Yakut intercourse of any kind at the time of Činggis has yet to be substantiated; the thrusts of early Mongol activity were directed elsewhere. Though the Mongols certainly did not titulate their emperor as "the cruel", his name may naturally have become a byword for cruelty among other peoples - whence perhaps, secondarily, the Yakut word, or some influence upon it.

What then of the Mongolo-Sinologist proposition of Dr. Haenisch? Early Mongol adoption of nomenclature from the hated Chinese (of Tatar war memory) is not inherently probable. If adoption did take place, it would surely have been of some existing, well-established Chinese title, preferably conveying some measure of rivalry with or designs on the (North) Chinese realm. What clinches the negative argument, however, is the question begged by Dr. Haenisch's words, "*daß cheng, der Vollkommene, dem Sinne nach nicht paßte, sondern eine lautliche Umschrift darstellt, die dann als Name akzeptiert und beibehalten wurde*". Now why should the Mongols, having

¹⁰ e.g. Erdmann 1841.

adopted one Chinese word and ideogram, be in need of another meaning, to render the sound of the first one, and render it badly at that?

It would seem then, in the absence of some novel theory, that we are left with the generally acclaimed yet unproven view of Pelliot and Ramstedt. It too evokes, however, serious misgivings. 1) If the Turkic *tengis* "sea" be taken for the root form one would expect *täng(g)ir in Mongolian, not Činggis.¹¹ (The correspondence of Turkic *t-* to Mongol č- obtains in *ti>či*, not in the case of *te-*, as The Secret History attests.¹² 2) In the Secret History §§ 1, 199 the Turkic word does occur, as "tänggis" in "Tänggis dalai", "the sea called Tänggis". The word is a foreign loanword into Mongolian, which it would hardly have been if a form činggis "sea" had won acceptance as the authorized, authoritative form so to speak. 3) In view of the existence of a word *dalai* "sea", why introduce a foreign loanword to designate the native leader of Mongolia, before the 1206 all-Mongolian kuriltai? The Uigur role in Mongol affairs dates largely from after the 1209 Uigur submission - and only Uigur transmission can reasonably explain Mongol acceptance of this Turkic word. 4) As European visitors testified nearly half a century later, the Mongols were "utterly incapable of understanding" that the Ocean was not just another river or inland sea to be forded and crossed.¹³ The choice of either *tengis* or *dalai* to signify something universal, limitless would appear to be an inappropriate and implausible one in Mongolia around 1203 - the more so in that *tengis* would denote precisely Lake Tenggis, west of Mongolia, and *dalai* Lake Dalai in eastern Mongolia.¹⁴ Hardly limitless, either one. 5) When the "oceanlike limitless" theme did come up with Činggis Qān's successors, the word used is always *dalai*¹⁵ - which would be odd if činggis had been established in the sense of "sea, ocean". The prestige of *dalai* in fact became such as to make for entry into Uigur. (Cf. *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*, Leningrad 1961, 529, or Hamilton 1971, 107.) 6) The standard Islamic rendering¹⁶ is ظنگىز Čingiz or Čingiz, with a final -z and not an -s. The letter used in the inscription on the so-called "Stone of Činggis Qān" is the one designating final -z in the Uigur alphabet.¹⁷ Would one have chosen -z to render the unvoiced ending of so well-

¹¹ Sanžeev, in: *Izvestija Akad. Nauk.* Moscow 1930, 693; cf. Hambis, op.cit., 148.

¹² I thank Dr. Kåre Thomsen for his kind advice here as well as on several points he suggested in proof-reading.

¹³ G.Painter & al., *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, New Haven 1964.

¹⁴ d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*. Paris 1824, III; Erdmann 1841, 22.

¹⁵ letter of Küyük to the Pope, 1246, cf. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, 22.

¹⁶ except ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, ed. C.Defrémery & B.R.Sanguinetti, Paris 1853-1858, III, 22-27, 40: ظنگىز tāngiz.

¹⁷ Hambis, 147.

known and distinctive a Turkic word as *tengis*?

Some of these problems may be explained away, but surely not all. Taken together, they make the "oceanic" interpretation if not impossible then decidedly improbable.

What we are left with is what may be termed respectively the collective argument, the cultural-ecologist viewpoint, and the Arabist contribution.

The collective argument concerning the above sources is the following: In view of the inconclusive and even directly unsatisfactory nature of all the above suggestions, taken one by one, we must ask what can be read out of the very multiplicity of them. For one thing, the oldest ones (by Islamic authors) rule out, or counteract, the least improbable one (by Pelliot/Ramstedt): If indeed činggis meant "oceanic, universal" - which, in the nature of this title, one must suppose was universally known by his followers - why on earth do Rašīd ad-Dīn, Abū l-Ğāzī and Ibn al-'Amīd, as well as their informants, have to take recourse, out of ignorance, to such cerebrations as they do?

The other thing our plurality of unconvincing solutions might convince us of is that there has to be yet another solution, which for some reason has passed into oblivion. One obvious suggestion is that of a name-taboo. The silence of the *Secret History* regarding the origin of the name has been given as an argument here.¹⁸ I find this unconvincing, though the true explanation may nevertheless be very close to it. Taking the example of Tolui ("Mirror"), we may assert that name-taboos have existed among Mongol leaders of Činggis Qān's times. But the case of the dead Tolui, whose mention was tabooed after the end of his career,¹⁹ is far from analogous to that of his father, who received his name Činggis and had it made publicly known at the beginning of his career of greatness. What conceivable reason could there have been for the Emperor to make known a new name and refuse to make known its meaning, in lieu of the well-established Temüjin? The launching of some mumbo-jumbo, which is what an unexplained and unexplicable word would be to Mongol ears,²⁰ would hardly be a way to consolidate his hold on their hearts. The rough

¹⁸ Lech, 192.

¹⁹ same, 214-215.

²⁰ Mongol folk literature knows a number of heroes with names on Čing-, e.g. "the brave Sir Činggis Seril Kūū" and his brother Ejen činggis seril, Čing čiker qān, "the mild qan činggel", "Qağan čingke", Kiya/Jiya Čing boğda (from Chinese), and Mongol history knows names such as Činggünjab - jab being Tibetan, though; cf. W. Heissig, *Geschichte der Mongolischen Literatur*. Wiesbaden 1972, I, 376, 371, 349, 275, 251.

humour of the Mongols, evident from e.g. the Tartar Relation, was such as to ridicule vain pomposity.

We must proceed then from another assumption: Both the name and its meaning were well enough known to Činggis Qān's followers, and perhaps, as we shall see, to some of his allies and enemies as well, though for some reason by the time the Secret History was penned the background story to his name was not considered worth telling. The possible reasons are: a) It was considered so well-known that telling it was superfluous. b) It was considered somehow unedified, too "folksy". c) It, or its originator(s), had fallen into disrepute.

I am convinced all three of these grounds were operative. That is, a taboo proper was not observed, but a certain psychological, political climate saw to it that a tale told orally, roughly, in 1203 and the following years was not included in the highly literary Secret History of the Mongols as edited, it appears, in 1241.²¹ What further characterizes the Secret History is, in my opinion at least, its general concentration on political, military and institutional facts, events, and its shying away from ideological, religious and mythological themes - the stuff dreams, and dreams of empire too, are made of, to paraphrase Shakespeare. The discussion of the historicity of the Baljuna covenant is one result of the reluctance of the Secret History to treat an ideologically charged, politically meaningful yet factually partly obscure theme. On this basis we may posit a fourth possible or probable basis for the reticence of the Secret History as to the background for the name of Činggis Qān: d) it is a mythological, legendary background.

The man who originated and conferred the Činggis name upon Temüjin, and also made the background story fall into the, well, background, is known to us: Köküču Teb Tengri of the Khong-khutan tribe. According to Rašid ad-Dīn the official re-naming of Temüjin by Teb Tengri took place at the 1206 Kuriltai, while the proclamation of him as Qān purportedly occurred in 1202/03. The role of Teb Tengri is underscored and borne out by Ĝuvaini.²² The Secret History does not play down the central role of Teb Tengri at the 1206 Kuriltai, but is significantly silent on the questions of i) exactly what Teb Tengri did, in the way of ceremony, at the Kuriltai, and ii) whence Činggis Qān got his name. Which is to suggest, of course, that the two things may have been connected, as Rašid expressly says.

²¹ same, VIII. G.Doerfer, Zur Datierung der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen. ZDMG 113:1, 1963, 87ff.

²² Ta'rih-i ġahan gušai. Ed. Mirza Muhammed, London 1912; ed. J.A.Boyle, Manchester 1958. Cf. also Barhebræus, below.

Which then is the mythology or ideology which Köküčü Teb Tengri excerpted from, or embellished upon, or originated, which the Secret History did not deem fit to pass on? The last part of what we have termed the collective argument is the following observation and reflection: Of all the etymologies suggested, only one has been voiced by the Mongolians themselves. It is the one which generally has been rejected out of hand by modern-age, critical Western scholars. The one we have not as yet criticized here. One which does not appear acceptable or reasonable at first glance, as do the others, and one which does not meet with all manner of obstacles upon closer scrutiny, as do the others. We shall, after long centuries of obscurity and scorn, take a bird's-eye view, a bird's cry view, of the problem. Or rather, of its solution.

As a backdrop to our materials, let us first state a general proposition of what may be termed cultural or historical ecologism. It is that an inherently and abruptly new development within a given area is best explained in the nature (and by the simile) of a seed from afar in the soil of a given landscape, a seed from outside in a womb. The seed is but a catalyst, albeit (forgive the pun) a potent one, for the ensuing intraneous process of creative growth. The seed and the resultant plant grow and are preserved because they have struck root in, and have come to occupy, an ecological *nîche*. In other words, in order to strike root in e.g. Mongol minds, a piece of ideology from the outside, if such did occur, would have to fill a functional *nîche* in the system of Mongol values and needs. And it is not a question of merely an insertion: within an ecological *nîche* in nature two related phenomena are observed; one is the growth of the plant in itself, through its incorporation of local matter, in what might be called a creative coalescence; the other is mutual enrichment, linked subsistence, symbiosis with other, local, pre-given phenomena. Historical-ecologist viewpoints may be both schematized²³ and discussed in further detail;²⁴ suffice it to say here that it in no way is enough to pinpoint some extraneous myth or legend which somehow may plausibly result in a "Činggis" concept. In addition to such a seed from outside, we should ideally be able to locate some matter with which it could and did coalesce, other phenomena with which it might coexist

²³ cf. H.Stang, The Centre-Periphery Myth of the World: Origin of Universalism in Eurasia. *Trends in Western Civilization (TWC) Series, Chair in Conflict and Peace Research, Papers no.91*, Oslo 1981, ch.: "Instrumentality: Periphery Universalism".

²⁴ H.Stang, The Ecology of the Iron Gate & Other Essays. SIAS (Copenhagen), forthcoming.

by mutual confirmation and symbiosis, and a *nîche* of functionality in the needs of 12th-13th c. Mongolia.

We begin with the Mongolian side of the story. In the words of N.P. Šastina: "Lubsan Danzan embellished the birth of Činggis Qān with the whole arsenal of miracles which was usually employed by Buddhist writers in describing the birth of somebody of the venerable saints, such as the Dalai-lama: Here is the rainbow shining above the *yurt*, and the visionary bird warbling the incomprehensible word "činggis, činggis", and the wondrous imprint, the "khasbu", which appeared in the stone which broke asunder of itself."²⁵ Now the rainbow or ray of light above the *yurt* is of course an ancient motif in Central Asia, not of ultimately Buddhist origin.²⁶ And inasmuch as the title of Dalai-lama is of Mongolian provenance, might not the "činggis"-crying bird - which is of course no stock Buddhist motif - and the cracked mountain or stone be so too?

We rephrase our question: Is it not credible that ancient, pre-Buddhist motifs were preserved and passed on here, though somewhat reedited, because they got a new lease on life, a new functionality in Buddhism, in signalling sanctity? In a word, a case of symbiosis. Enter an ancient, pre-Buddhist motif, we quote *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient* by Prince Haithon of Lesser Armenia (1303),²⁷ in the 1735 translation by Pierre Bergeron:²⁸

Il arriva un certain jour, que *Changius* se trouvant avec un très petit nombre des siens, alla audevant de ses Ennemis, que étoient superieurs de beaucoup: aiant donné le combat, pendant que *changius Cham* se défendoit vaillamment, le cheval, sur lequel il étoit monté, vint à s'abatre, & fut tué dans le combat. Les Tartares voiant leur Empereur

²⁵ N.P. Šastina, *Obraz Čingiskhana v srednevekovoj literature mongolov*, 451.

²⁶ cf. Lech, 179 (literature); J.Marquart, *Güwainī's Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uiguren*. K. Ak. der Wiss., Sitzungsbericht der ph.-h.Cl., Mitth.14, März 1912, Berlin 1912, 490 (literature); F.Spiegel, *Iranische Altertumskunde*, I, 246; Heissig, *Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung...*; *Asiatische Forschungen* 5, 160.

²⁷ probably informed by the Prince's kinsman and namesake King Haithon, who in 1251 visited Mongolia.

²⁸ original published in *Recueil des Histoires des Croisades*, t.VII, *Historiens Arméniens*, t.II. Paris 1906, 111-253; I here use the modernized French of Bergeron, *Voyages faits principalement en Asie dans les xii, xiii, xiv, et xv siècles*. La Haye, 1735, t.2, 4; *Histoire Orientales ou des Tartares de Haïton*, 29; cf.t.1, *Traité des Tartares* (par Pierre Bergeron), 19: "Or aiant été un jour batu en une rencontre, il fuit poursuivi, & contraint de se sauver & cacher en des buissons & halliers; où étant cherché par ses ennemis, il ne peut être découvert, par le moyen d'un hibou, qui en sortit alors, & qui leur fit croire qu'il n'y avoit personne, & échappa de la sorte..".

couché parmi les morts, n'eurent plus d'esperance, & prirent la fuite. Et comme leurs ennemis les poursuivirent vivement tous ensemble, & qu'ils n'avoient point de connaissance de la chute de *Cham*; *Changius* se releva & se mit à courre, & se cacha dans quelques buissons, pour échaper une mort certaine. Les ennemis étant revenus de leur poursuite dans leur camp, & cherchant ceux qui étoient cachés, & dépouillans les morts; il arriva qu'un certain oiseau, nommé par plusieurs *Bubo*, vint se reposer sur le buisson, où étoit caché le grand *Cham*. Eux voians cet oiseau perché sur ce buisson jugerent qu'il n'y avoit personne, & le laisserent; conjecturant que s'il y avoit eu là quelqu'un, cet oiseau ne s'y seroit pas reposé. La nuit étant venu, *Changius Cham* s'échappa, & vint trouver ses gens: à qui il raconta, d'un bout à l'autre, tout ce qui lui étoit arrivé. Les *Tartares* rendirent graces au Dieu immortel: & cet oiseau, qui après Dieu avoit été cause de la delivrance de leur Empereur, a été depuis en si grande vénération parmi eux: que ceux, qui peuvent avoir de la plume de cet oiseau, l'estime fort heureux; & la portent avec beaucoup de reverence sur la tête. J'ai fait mention de cela dans ce livre, pour que l'on sache la raison, pourquoi les *Tartares* portent des plumes sur la tête. *Changius Cham* & Empereur des *Tartares* remercia Dieu, d'avoir échapé à un si grand danger. Après quoi il rallia ses troupes, & marcha contre ses ennemis, qu'il renversa & reduisit sous sa puissance. C'est de cette maniere, que *Changius* fut Empereur de tous les païs, qui sont autour de la montagne de *Belgian*.

The mountain of *Belgian* is the *Baljuna*, and there can hardly be any doubt that his defeat and retreat to the *Baljuna* in 1203 is what is referred to. This is the way Činggis became emperor, Haithon avers. Which tallies with Rašīd ad-Dīn's insistence that he was proclaimed Qān in 1202/03.

This then is the tale told by the Armenian allies of the Mongols, and by the Mongols to them, few decades after the *Secret History* was penned. The bird is there not at the Emperor's birth but at his birth as Emperor, we might say. As Chinese sources confirm, at *Baljuna* the "great work" of empire-building began.²⁹

The tale of Temüjin hiding in the shrubbery and being saved by the chance alighting of an owl has a ring of credibility about it. At least, this is how part of the Baljuna thriller may have been told to his followers, heartening them and making them believe, naturally, that this was a sign from God, or high Heaven. Here we have local material with which e.g. foreign material on a bird screeching above Temüjin's head might coalesce. As to the symbiosis phenomenon, we note that owl's feathers are a standard appurtenance of for instance Buryat shamans, and indeed of other Siberian shamans. A crop of owl's feathers adorns the headdress of Kazakh maidens, and may also be seen in the Kazakhstan National Folklore Ensemble, thought to bring happiness and protection. Among South Siberian Turkic peoples the owl appears as a mythical ancestor. And in Buryat tales the Uhu is spouse of the Lord of the Birds and protectress of the small children.³⁰ Moreover, the motif of a bird atop the tree or pole of life is a fundamental and very ancient element in Siberian, Altaic and other Central and Western Asiatic cosmologies.³¹ Such associations were there for the exploiting when a tale such as that of Haithon was told.

What then of the screeching of the owl, or bird? We refer to friar Ricoldus of Monte Croce, who at the end of the 13th century was informed by the "Tartars" or Mongols, that they had been pent in originally behind high mountains with but a single exit, a narrow, strongly fortified defile. Here "an artifice of wind" had been erected to fool the Mongols, resounding like a whole army each time they approached. Once, however, some Mongols set off in pursuit of a hare.

The hare forsooth fled right up to the fortification and entered, fleeing the dogs. Moreover, the hunter in his eagerness ... did not notice the noise, and dared enter ... Then an owl came and stood over the gate and began to screech. Then the Tartars said unto one another: "There is no human habitation where the hare flees and the owl cries."

²⁹ sources and discussion in F.W.Cleaves, The Historicity of the Baljuna Covenant. *HJAS* 18, 1955, 357-421.

³⁰ M.M.Tartar, *Two Mongol Prayers concerning the Cult of the Mountains*. Budapest 1976, 6; W.Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der Türkstämme Südsibiriens*, II, 1868 - Kan Mergen; Khangalov III, 29,39. I am beholden to Dr.K.Uray-Köhalmi for information and references here.

³¹ U.Holmberg (Harva), *Finnish and Siberian Mythology. The Mythology of All Races*, 4, Boston 1938; Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker*. Helsinki 1938, FFC no.125; E.A.S.Butterworth, *The Tree at the Navel of the Earth*. London 1966, ch.1; H.Stang, *The Centre-Periphery Myth of the World*. Op.cit.

Hence they crossed through the deserted fortifications and saw the world outside. Making this hunter their Emperor - an evident reference to Temüjin - they set off to conquer the world.³² As in the Haithon story, the Mongols are convinced that there is no human presence where the owl perches and screeches.

In this version too there is a synthesis of elements. On the one hand the redeeming owl from Temüjin's spot of good luck at the Baljuna. On the other, quite another setting, in which only the owl, the thought it inspires, the attendant good luck and the subsequent elevation of Temüjin are recognizable as the Mongol contribution. There is, though, as any student of Central Asian and East European medieval history will know, a relationship of symbiosis with an ancient theme as well: that of a holy or totemic animal showing a people its way unto a new land.³³ There is a strikingly similar tale, surely related, told by Jordanes of how a hunting party of Huns instead of stopping short at the fens of the Maeotis, as they were wont, followed a dove through the swamps, discovering a way through, and subsequently returned to lead their people off to conquer the world.³⁴

There are also, quite as much to the point, the examples of the legendary world-conquerors Buku Qān and Oğuz Qān, well known to Uighurs and their Mongol adepts. *Bugu*, it will be remembered, means literally "stag" (cf. Scandinavian *bukk*), while *oğuz* is "ox". (Interestingly, a third Turco-Mongolian animal-name with a chance parallel in Indo-European is Mongolian *uguli* "owl", cf. Scandinavian *ugle*.)³⁵ If there was a myth-connected Stag Ruler, and a myth-connected Ox Ruler, why not also a myth-connected Owl-screech or Bird's-cry Ruler?

Khangalov (III,91) has a brief mention of the motif: "Nobody managed to give this boy a name; at this time a small bird descended from heaven and began to cry: 'Čing! Čing!' Hence the newborn boy was named Čingis."

³² *Peregrinatores mediī avi quatuor*. Ed. J.C.M. Laurent, Leipzig 1864, 119.

³³ e.g. Hungariens following a deer; or Mongols following an animal named Arqār by Abū l-Ğāzī "and still today by the Kirgiz, named Argali by the Mongols.." - A.Sjögren, *Gesammelte Werke*. S.-Petersburg 1861, I, 636. Cf. n.35 below.

³⁴ Jordanes, xxiv, 123, ed. C.C.Mierow, *Speculum Historiale*, Cambridge/N.York 1966, 85-86; E.A.Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns*. Westport, Conn. 1975, 15-16, ignores this version but gives other, related ones (stag; gadfly-stung heifer).

³⁵ Yakut *oğuz* "ox", Osmanli öküz "Rind" - cf. Altindisch *ukṣan-* usw., got.idg. *auhsa*, Mongol. *bugu* "stag", *buqa* "ox", ma. *buka* "Hammel", Osm. *buğa* "Stier", altisl. *bukkr*, althd. *boc*, awest. *büza* "Ziegenbock" usw., Mongolian *uguli/ögoli* "Eule", idg. altisl. *ugla*, althd. *ūwila* "Eule" (*Walde-Pokorny I*, 187) - H.Jensen, *Indogermanen und altaisch. Germanen und Indogermanen*, *Festschrift H.Hirt*. Ed. H.Arntz, Heidelberg 1936, II, 130 (critique of Güntert's theory of "Urgeschlechtschaft")

Dr. Piotr Klafkowski kindly draws my attention to the history of Mongolian Buddhism by Dharmatāla (1889), Tibetan text 1975 and transliteration and translation 1977 by Klafkowski (publ. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi), to appear in the *Asiatische Forschungen* series. Page 72 reads, in excerpt:

On the morning of the third day after he took the rule, a strange bird the like of which has never been seen before, appeared on a square rock in front of the palace. It was beautiful, with the wing and neck feathers of five different colours. For a long time it cried melodiously "ching ge se", which was understood to be an auspicious name. In the like manner the name "pog to ching ge se" was offered to the king. Nowadays the language weakened and the Tibetans call him "jing ger", as I have seen.

(Then?) the big square "Ching-ge-se" boulder cracked open by itself all of a sudden. From its inside the white gYang-ti seal the size of mTho-sgang [the distance from the tip of index finger to the tip of thumb] came forth. The back side of it was turtle-shaped. Two encircled dragons were on its top. All these figures appeared by themselves [= without carving]. That was how that famous royal seal appeared.

Or rather: That is how our basic themes appear in Tibetan Buddhist cultural garb. The word gYang ti ག杨ти does not figure in S.C. Das' Dictionary; but Jäschke's (p.517) explains it as "the precious stone chas", on the strength of E.Schlagintweits' *Buddhism in Tibet*. Some of Dr.Klafkowski's Tibetan friends say it is a name of a rare variety of rock-crystal, "but I am not too sure of that". Personally I would believe it to render simply g-yañ "fortune; quintessence" -cf. R.A.Stein, *L'Epopée et le Barde au Tibet*, 1959, 630. The tortoise shape signifies universality (Stein 457, 459; Holmberg 1964, 338, pl.XIII). The two dragons may be auspicious too; and dragons are associated with thunder (= sound, cf. breaking of boulder, and thunderous "artifice of wind".) Here Činggis is not new-born, but newly invested with power in adult age. The palace may be a "harmonization" of the fortifications theme, the bird of course is beautiful and sings harmoniously. And the Tibetan and Buddhist cast of mind is a far cry from Bağdād.

So much for the Tibetan, Mongolian and Turkic side. We come now to the Arabist, or more broadly Semitic studies, contribution, where the bird's cry resounds even more strongly and dramatically, and where the square (i.e. hewn) mountain-stone, complete with imprint, indeed is rent

asunder - as, in a different light, in Dharmatāla, in the Lubsan Danzan chronicle, and in other chronicles too.³⁶ For although these elements have naturally been acculturated through retelling in the East, their initial appearance, singly or in the above complex (- again the collective argument -), cannot very well be explained "locally". It can be explained by a foreign seed.

An imperial venture does not merely "happen". It is fired by equally dramatic ideas. Whence the ideas? Not only the tradition of the Mongols themselves has hitherto escaped serious consideration by scholars searching for the origin of the Činggis name; so too has Nestorian and Islamic tradition, even though they are patently linked.

Was there a reason for Nestorian and/or Islamic mythology to strike root in Mongol minds? There were several - again, in the nature of symbiosis, within the *nîche* of needs of Mongols, Muslims and Nestorians alike. Both Muslim-Mongol and Nestorian-Mongol contact is well attested, as is the more or less superficial conversion to Nestorianism of several Mongolian tribes before the rise of Činggis Qān. Of the 18 comrades of Temüjin at Baljuna, three were Muslims, three were from the Nestorian Kereit and Naiman tribes.

Muslims and Nestorians both had an avid interest, as Muslims and Nestorians, in identifying and locating the savage tribes which according to religious tradition were to break upon the world from inaccessible mountains in northeasternmost Eurasia shortly before Doomsday. This was the *nîche* of deeds within which Mongols had, literally, a rôle to play. In addition to this common Islamic-Christian cultural need, the Nestorians had another, urgent one vis-à-vis the Muslims: Nestorians were a dwindling minority in their own native land of 'Irāq by the 12th century. Though allowed to operate missionary schools in Bağdād itself, Christians were forbidden to try to hinder or reconvert the masses of fellow-Christians who by and by went over to Islam. A thoroughly insupportable situation to any zealous Christian! Thus Nestorians had a particularist need for converting peoples beyond the pale of Islam, such as the Mongols, and for turning the tables on Islam - which such peoples

³⁶ W. Heissig, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen*, I: 16.-18. Jhd., 130, 141, 166 (Lomi 1732-35), Dharma 1739, Ordus chronicle Bilig-ün Jula 1757). The 1739 chronicle is interesting in relating Činggis Qan's meeting with and proclamation of Chang chun as Töb tngri, as well as for another reason, cf. n.41 below. The 1757 chronicle gives the order of events argued in this paper: "...Temüjin, geboren 1162..., Heirat mit Börte Jüsün, Khanwahl, "Činggis" -rufender Vogel und Auffindung des Siegels, seine Feldzüge von seinem 29.-44. Lebensjahr".

might conceivable do, and in the case of the Mongols, actually did. Thirdly, this Islamic-Nestorian legend on the savage northeastern peoples answered to Mongol needs, in fact was "gefundenes Fressen" to any Mongol leader contemplating empirebuilding. For the legend insisted that when the time was ripe and God so willed, and when a leader arose who believed, i.e. believed in the legend at least, then the mountain rock which hemmed them in, or more specifically the gate in the single defile leading out, would cleave asunder, whereupon they would conquer and ravage the world. Indeed the dream of any predatory nomad!

There exists a host of materials showing that Muslims and Christians did identify the Mongolians with these pent-in tribes, not only after Činggis Qān's armies issued to ravage the world, but before too. There exists also a wealth of materials showing that this legend, or many of its components, so suited the Mongols that it was adopted by and naturalized among them. The Tartar Relation is but one source demonstrating Mongol knowledge and use of this legend. To Mongols it was known, and native in their minds, as the legend of the Ergene Kun mountains. We cannot even fleetingly touch upon these materials here, which are analyzed elsewhere.³⁷ What we can say here is that friar Ricoldus above is one instance of this ultimately Islamic and Nestorian legend as retold, adopted and adapted by the Mongols themselves. The owl stood above the wall and the gate in the strategic defile and screeched. And the pent-in Mongols were hunting a hare. Where are the artifice of wind, the hare and the screeching bird refound? The artifice of wind, set up to fool the pent-in savages, is refound in Arabic and other versions of the Islamic legend. The hare might be a Mongol contribution, were it not that a version of the Islamic-Christian legend has the savages breaking loose at long last because they chase a fox burrowing out through the defile. Finally, the bird looms large to the faithful of Islam:

We meet it in the chilling traditions of the famed al-Hasan-al-Baṣrī, from around 720 AD.³⁸ Here a stone eagle is set up on top of the wall and gate in the defile shutting in the threatening savage tribes. It is apparently one version of the artifice-of-wind motif. Each time anyone from the enclosed tribes approaches the wall, the eagle screeches. And

³⁷ H. Stang, *Rise of the Mediæval Central Asian Ideal of World Domination - Činggis Qān and the Rôle of a Legend*, written for the NAVF (Norwegian Council of Science) 1981, 385 pp, as yet unpublished. The authenticity of the Tartar Relation has been questioned, e.g. by N. Poppe.

³⁸ in e.g. 'Umāra ms, Add. 5928 (British Museum), which I am editing with the kind permission of the Dept. of Oriental MSS. & Printed Books.

the cry is heard for ten days' distance from the wall and defile by the terrified peoples to the west, who supplicate God to avert the danger. Upon the wall in the rock is an imprint - cf. the Buddhist chronicles - that it will break asunder when God so wills.

"The bird which appeared and cried, sitting over the Gate, they say was the angel of God", Ricoldus cites his Mongol informants. This angel we meet again in Mongol mouths, in the *History of the Nation of the Archers* by Grigor of Akanč; here too it is first indicated that the Mongols were moved from Turkestan to a state of oppression in the east, until released by God when the time was ripe, as the Islamic and Christian legend has it. Grigor continues:

An angel appeared to them by the command of God in the guise of an eagle with golden feathers, and spoke in their own tongue to their chief, who was named Č'ankez. The latter went and stood before the angel in the guise of an eagle, at a distance - the length of a bow-shot. Then the eagle told them all the commandments of God.

These are the precepts of God which He imposed upon them, and which they themselves call *yasax* ...

When the angel had imparted this, he named their chief Gayan, whom they called Č'ankez Gayan or Č'ankez Xan. The angel bade them rule over many countries and districts, and to multiply without limit and in countless numbers, which also came to pass.

... The Lord roused them in His anger as a lesson to us, because we had not kept His commandments.³⁹

Here as in other parts of Grigor's narrative the Islamic legend is palpable enough. Yet al-Hasan al-Basri's eagle here has been given a new rôle, or several. The symbiotic telescoping of Mongolian *yasakh* and Islamic eagle should not be regarded as merely a blunder; it is a good instance of the workings of cultural ecology in the popular mind; and it shows that Grigor's informants are not top-echelon or ideologically well-schooled representatives of the Mongol power but secondary or lower, rank- and file spokesmen. The bird's voice imparts not only the *yasakh*. It also names the Emperor.

Here we are at the root and the end of the matter - or rather, at its beginning. By way of general conclusion we may stress that there is

³⁹ ed./transl. R.P.Blake & R.N.Frye, *HJAS* 12, 1949, 269-399.

no reason to believe that Temüjin, in what has been described as an atmosphere of superstitious tolerance, believed in the birdie story with anything of the exclusive, immutable conviction of an al-Hasan al-Basri. On the contrary, the original bird has spawned several mutations⁴⁰ peculiar to Mongolia, or the Mongols of the 13th century. This plurality of course fits in well with a situation of superstitious tolerance; moreover, it shows that the bird's cry story was an oral one and a live one, in the mouths and minds of the people, not a literary one reserved for connoisseurs. This tale was such as to captivate and fire the fantasy of the masses.

It was also such as to prove difficult of inclusion, or out of place, to the editors of the Secret History. Teb Tengri the mastermind, (and his ideas more or less, we may surmise,) ⁴¹ fell from favour early in Činggis Qān's career. The story is complicated for its diverse mutations and the coalescing of a narrative on the flight of Temüjin with an evidently mythical theme of the general breakthrough of the Mongols to the west more than fifteen years later. Thus at least it may have appeared to the Secret History editors, stern of eye. The flight and hiding of the Emperor may have been deemed ignominious by hindsight - and the Secret History passes lightly indeed over the ignominy of the Baljuna retreat. Indications are, and not merely in prince Haithon, that the bird's cry motif arose in connection with the Baljuna. Thus, the Islamic-Nestorian legend is the background to Abū l-Farağ Barhebræus' words on "the wall of Baljuna". That it took 15-16 years to breach the mountain wall of Mongolia to the west is and was immaterial to the Baljuna participants and to Teb Tengri, who here simply got his cue. Though to Muslims

⁴⁰ there are two other owl motifs related to Činggis Qān: Qasar at the order of Č.-Q. shoots at an owl but hits a sparrow, Heissig, *Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung*, 185 (on the 1765 Altan tobčiya); the other motif in W. Heissig, *Bolur erike*, 52-55. Finally, there is Körbeljin ḡoo-a's sending a message to Č.-Q. by way of a bird, Heissig, *Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung*, 80. None of these, however, should or need be considered offshoots of the bird motif of this paper.

⁴¹ but cf. the proclamation of the Daoist sage Chang chun as Töb tngri, i.e. Teb Tengri, on Č.-Q.'s expedition near Kesh, nearly 20 years later; Č.-Q.'s interests in this connection, in the Iron Gate and in immortality, are also prime elements of the Islamic-Nestorian legend - and possible indication that the first Teb Tengri broached the same themes.

Significantly, this same 1739 Mongolian chronicle lists "the Amazon people, the people with one eye in their breasts, and the dogheaded people" among the peoples ruled and satisfied by Činggis Qān. These peoples are stock items of the Islamic and Nestorian legend, and another reason for concentrating on this legend as a possible basis for interpreting obscure points - and names - within a milieu of "superstitious tolerance".

and Nestorians the tradition on a wall or mountain barrier naturally concerned the relationship of Mongolia with the west, to Mongolians such a legend, on wall and gate, would first and foremost refer to the Great Wall of China. The first great campaign of Činggis Qān after his victory in Mongolia and official naming at the Kuriltai was against Northern China,⁴² through wall and gate. And in the Ordus, legends related to the Islamic-Nestorian one have survived⁴³ - perhaps boosted by the one-time near-miraculous peaceful opening of the gate, as in the legend from Bağdād. In the Ordus too, the cult of Činggis Qān has flourished.⁴⁴ And finally, in the Ordus we take the litmus test of his name.

For what could conceivably Činggis mean, in connection with a bird's cry? The answer is: Just that. The angel eagle in Grigor of Akanč's narrative literally "named their leader Gayan, whom they called Č'ankez Gayan or Č'ankez Xan". The Mongols could not commence calling him Činggis Qān until after the divine bird had so ordained - and there is no tradition of his having been called solely Činggis, i.e. without the Qān title. (Or Qağān, which Armenian Gayan renders.) Hence, we should be justified in reading Grigor thus: the bird "named their chief Gayan, whom they subsequently called Č'ankez Gayan or Č'ankez Xan [because of this]".

As for the possibilities of Mongolian onomastics, Khalkha dictionaries are of little avail. The same goes for Manchu (E.Hauer, *Mandschurisches Wörterbuch*, 149: činggire seme (to say) "cling-clang"). The Kalmyk possibilities may be slightly bigger (G.J.Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, 111 džiŋ onom. "kling", džiŋ*xə "klingeln, klirren", džiŋgl "klingeln, das Klingeln, Geklirr", džiŋgis "ganz, tief", are all phonetically inadmissible, though the first three are synonymous with or related to p.441 tšiŋl etc. "das Klingen, Klirren", plus the interesting entry tšingiš "irgend ein Strauch", cf. the shrubbery of the Haithon story).

It is the Ordus nomads who help us out. We look up in the rev. Antoine Mostaert's dictionary of the Ordus Mongolian, and find "džingine, faire du bruit (cri aigu, bourdonnement, tintement etc.)", that is, to screech.

⁴² the Hsi-hsia 1205 and 1207-9 expeditions being seen as preparatory.

⁴³ inter alia in A.Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*; considered in H.Stang, *Rise*, op.cit.

⁴⁴ B.Rintschen, Zum Kult Tschinggis-Khans bei den Mongolen. *Opuscula Ethnologia Mem. L.Bíró Sacra*. Budapest 1959, 9-22: K.Sagaster, Ein Dokument des Tschinggis-Khan-Kults in der Khalkha-Mongolei. *Festschrift Rintschen*, Asiatische Forschungen 17, 193ff; Heissig, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichts-Schreibung*, 20, 22, 164, 166, 175.

We bear in mind that Ordus dž- corresponds to Khalkha and Classical Mongolian č-;⁴⁵ thus, in this case, čingine. We know too that in the case of several ancient stems, verb and verbal noun are identical. And we find: "džinGis, dans džinGis Ge-, produire un bruit (bruit plus ou moins aigu, oiseaux qui crient)". The Bird's-cry Qān.

⁴⁵ But cf. A.Mostaert & F.W.Cleaves, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Aryun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel*. Harvard-Yenching 1962, 46, n.161: "dans ce dialecte [l'ordos], le changement des q, k, t, č initiaux en la douce correspondante ne s'observe que dans les mots polysyllabiques dont la première syllabe est portée par une voyelle brève suivie immédiatement d'une dure ou séparée d'une dure suivante par une consonne non nasale." Cf. A.Mostaert, *Le dialecte des Mongols Urdus*. *Anthropos* 22, 1927, 166-168.

A NOTE ON THE TIBETAN-UIGUR TREATY OF 822/823 A.D.*

by

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Both Tibetan attacks on the Uigurs and a peace treaty with them during the reign of Ral pa can are well documented in Chinese sources. According to the testimony of the T'ang annals there were at least two campaigns (in 816 and 822) against the Uigurs. The commander-in-chief of the Tibetan army was *zhang Khri sum rje*. This person is also mentioned several times in the Chinese records. His name occurs first in connection with the events c.767; then he captures Tun-huang (c.800); he is in correspondence with the famous Po Chü-i; he is the commander-in-chief on the Sino-Tibetan border in 819.¹

The name *zhang Khri sum rje* can also be found on the treaty inscription of 821/823.² Richardson has made an attempt to identify him with Rlang blon Khri sum rje sPeg (sBeg) lha³ whose name occurs in the edict (c.812) of Khri lde strong btsan.⁴ Later he links *zhang Khri sum rje* to 'Bro Khri sum rje sTag snang.⁵ 'Bro Khri sum rje sTag snang is the penultimate name in the list of ministers in the Tibetan annals and became minister in around 808-810.⁶ In support of his hypothesis M.Richardson cites the name of *zhang 'Bro sTag stang* from the list of witnesses of the edict of Khri lde strong btsan.⁷ Though this identification is a very se-

* I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. G.Uray for his help in preparing this article.

¹ Demiéville 1952, 172-173, 215, 225, 229, 241-242, 246-247, 264, 266, 281-291, 363, 368, 369. Also Pelliot 1961, 70, 74-75, 126-132; Li 1956, 9, 73, n.10; Karmay 1975, 12, 32, n.65; Richardson 1977, 24; Richardson 1978, 157; Moriyasu 1981, 201-202.

² The most important works on the stone-pillar at Lhasa are those of Richardson 1952a, 1978; Li 1956, 1980; Demiéville 1952, 202-203, 229-231, 234, 246-247, 266, 282, 361, 363-364.

³ Richardson 1952a, 40.

⁴ Tucci 1950, 54.

⁵ Richardson 1957, 58 et seq.; 1977, 18, 22, 24; 1978, 157-158.

⁶ Bacot 1940, 132; Richardson 1978, 157.

⁷ Tucci 1950, 55.

ductive one and cannot be absolutely excluded, nevertheless, there are two main objections to be made to it:

1. to correct *stang* to *snang* without any further explanation is highly problematic because *stang* frequently occurs as an element of proper names; for example, in the same list there are three other names ending in *stang*;

2. In the same work (i.e. PT), the form *Khri sum rje sTag snar* (prob. a mistake for *snang*) does occur (see below).

However, the identity of 'Bro *sTag stang* need not detain us for the moment. What seems certain is that the *zhang Khri sum rje* of the Chinese sources for the first decades of the 9th century is the same person as one of the ministers of 821/823 treaty, and in all likelihood he is also the same as 'Bro *Khri sum rje sTag snang* of the Tun-huang annals.

As we have mentioned Chinese sources record *zhang Khri sum rje* as the commander of the Tibetan troops against the Uigurs, and they refer to a peace treaty between Tibetans and the Uigurs for the year 822.⁸ Apart from one pointless remark in the *La dvags rgyal rabs*, no later Tibetan source seems to reveal any knowledge of this treaty.⁹

An early Tibetan source, however, does make a definite reference to it. This is the famous prayer (more properly a set of prayers) to be found in PT 16 and IO 751. The IO 751 part of the De ga prayer was translated by Thomas.¹⁰ His mistakes are well-known and need not be discussed here.¹¹ The first part of the manuscript, i.e. PT 16 has not been translated so far. As we know it, it was offered from the *khrom chen po*¹² of dByar mo thang. This document makes it clear that the De ga monastery (see below) was founded by the ministers *zhang Khri sum rje* and *zhang lHa bzang* (see below) on the occasion of the peace treaty with China, the Drug-s (i.e. Uigurs)¹³ and the lJang-s (i.e. Nan-chao).¹⁴

⁸ For a bibliography, see n.1.

⁹ Francke 1972, 90. It mentions (without any further detail) a campaign against the Hor-s during the reign of Ral pa can. There is a mysterious reference to a Qarluq envoy in Ral pa can's court (but before the treaty): PT IV, Ja 165b; Kalsang 1967, 93. On the Qarluqs, see recently Ecsedy 1980.

¹⁰ TLT II, 92-109.

¹¹ Demiéville 1952, 246-247, 362-365; TLT III, 4-5, 42-46; also Li 1956, 21-23; Stein 1959, 294; Uray 1966, 252; Macdonald 1971, 220, 228, 335-340; Uray 1979, 295.

¹² On *khrom*, see Uray 1979a.

¹³ We know, Drug may refer either to the Turks or to the Uigurs. For general readings on these two peoples, see Chavannes 1903, Hamilton 1955, Liu Mai Tsai 1958, Clauson 1962, Mackerras 1968, Pinks 1968, Molé 1970 etc. For the problem of Dru gu, Drug, Hor from the point of view of Tibetology, see, amongst others, Yamamoto 1938, Ligeti

With only one exception (see later), no subsequent Tibetan source contains any reference to either these treatises or to Khri sum rje during Ral pa can's reign. Otherwise, however, Khri sum rje is not entirely absent in the sources. First of all, there is an obscure mention of him in the *Blue Annals*. His name is given there as 'Bro sTag snang Khri gsum rje. He is said to have died at the age of 35 in 891 (!), and to have been reincarnated as the famous dGe ba gsal (commonly known as Bla chen po) in the next year. 'Gos lotsāba remarks that he was acting as prime minister of a "religious king".¹⁵ The chronological difficulties of this text have been thoroughly explored in the literature.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the life-span of the minister may contain an element of truth and if Khri sum rje died young than he cannot be the same person mentioned in the Chinese sources for the second half of the 8th century.¹⁷

There are other Tibetan sources which also refer to the treaty and to Khri sum rje, but those date the events to the time of Khri strong lde btsan. According to the *rGya Bod yig tshang*, during the reign of Khri strong lde btsan Khri sum rje sTag sna (sic) came to an agreement with the Chinese, the Gru gu-s¹⁸ and the lJang-s.¹⁹ (Here there is an allusion to a somewhat mysterious story of a contingent of the *bka' ma log*).²⁰ He is also referred to as a minister of Khri strong lde btsan.²¹ Later, this

1971, Ecsedy 1964, Uray 1968 and 1979, Moriyasu 1980 and 1981, Stein 1959 and 1961 (*passim*), TLT II, 267-306 and III 82-84, Bacot 1940 (cf. Ligeti 1971, 132, n.26); especially important, if unfortunately badly damaged, is the edict of Khri lde strong bstan (Tucci 1950, 38-40, 81, n.79, also Richardson 1969). Around the twenties of the 9th century Drug stands for the Uigurs; see Richardson 1952a, 63; Demiéville 1952, 247, Li 1956, 48, 63, 98; Ligeti 1971, 174, n.28; Petech 1947, 84.

¹⁴ On lJang, see TLT III 43-48; Szerb 1980, 271, n.36, 272, n.40. I have no data of the treaty of 822/823 with Nan-chao.

¹⁵ RBA 63, the same story is repeated by Sum pa mkhan po, Das 1908, 177.

¹⁶ RBA IV et seq.; Richardson 1957, 58 et seq.

¹⁷ M. Richardson first identifies *zhang* Khri sum rje with Khri sum rje sPeg lha. Then he withdraws the claim because sPeg lha had no right to be called *zhang*. He thereafter identifies Khri sum rje with sTag snang for the first half of the 9th century. According to Richardson the other Khri sum rje, who was active in the second half of the 8th century was Khri sum rje sPeg lha. My difficulty with this theory is that the Chinese documents also record this Khri sum rje with the title *zhang*. See, Richardson 1977, 23 and 1978, 158 etc.

¹⁸ I.e. = Dru gu, see, however, TLT III, 77.

¹⁹ GBY I, 282.

²⁰ See Petech 1980, 195, who also draws his data from GBY, but from a different part of the book. In identifying the *bka' ma log*, he relies on a minor work of the fifth Dalai Lama and so dates the story to the time of Khri lde strong btsan. GBY, however, is definite as regards Khri strong lde btsan.

²¹ GBY I, 281.

source lists a certain 'Bri Khri rje sTag sna as a minister of Ral pa can.²²

The chronicle of dPa' bo gtsug lag has a similar version. Thus it mentions Khri sum rje sTag snar²³ as a minister of Khri strong lde btsan. The treaty with China, Hor (= Drug = Uigurs) and Nan-chao is attributed to this minister.²⁴

A similar shift from Ral pa can's reign back to that of Khri strong lde btsan can be observed in the case of lHa bzang klu dpal. As we have seen he is mentioned in the De ga manuscript as the other dominant figure in the conclusion of the treaty with China, the Uigurs, etc.²⁵ His name also occurs on the treaty inscription of 821/823,²⁶ in the edict of Khri lde strong btsan.²⁷ In the *bKa'i thang chen mo* (as cited by dPa' bo gtsug lag), he is linked to the foundation of bSam yas, a *dmag dpon* of Khri strong lde btsan, and he founds the temples of Zar chen and Zar chung.²⁸ We find in the Chinese source of GM that he attacks China during the reign of Khri strong lde btsan.²⁹ According to the fifth Dalai Lama he was a *blon po* of Khri strong lde btsan.³⁰ In the index of the sNar thang Kanjur, there is a legendary tale of the victory over the army of the Gru gu-s and Chinese; in it, however, lHa bzang klu dpal's name recurs (together with the names of Khri strong lde btsan and prince Mu khri btsan po).³¹

Among the later Tibetan sources I have scrutinized no reference can be found to the names of any of Ral pa can's ministers in connection with the treaty with China in 821/823.³² There is, however, an interesting

²² GBY I, 287. 'Bri perhaps = 'Bro, I would suggest that this form is identical with that of 'Bro Khri sum rje sTag-sna(ng).

²³ As final *ng/r* can be easily misread, I think that *snar* was originally *snang*.

²⁴ PT IV, Ja, 124a.

²⁵ lHa bzang always follows (never precedes) Khri sum rje.

²⁶ On this person, see Demiéville 1952, 229, 247, 280, 368; Li 1956, 73, n.12; Richardson 1952a, 41-42 etc. A lHa bzang is mentioned in one of the Khotanese documents (the same person?), TLT II, 223.

²⁷ Tucci 1950, 54.

²⁸ GM 179 (also in PT IV, Ja, 102a), cf. also Richardson 1952a, 41 etc.

²⁹ GM 188 (Tucci 1950, 26).

³⁰ Kalsang 1967, 76.

³¹ TLT I, 301 (see also 287). A similar account can be found in the biography of the fifth Dalai Lama (after Stein 1961, 67). For the mythical nature of the story, see TPS 734-737; Stein 1959, 252, 287-288, 303, n.29, 330.

³² Accounts of the treaty can be found in the Chinese sources of GM 188-189 (Tucci 1950, 26-27); PT III, 153; see also Stein 1961a, 74-75; Das 1908, 151; PK 168b-169a; Tucci 1971, 159; PT IV, Ja, 131a-132b. Only the war with China and the newly established bordérs are mentioned in RA 22; GBY I, 290-291.

remark in the chronicle of the fifth Dalai Lama, who reports that the treaty was first drafted between Tibetan lotsābas and Chinese monks (*ha shang*).³³ We shall return to this point. We find in the sources that on this occasion either a stone-pillar (*rdo ring*) or a monastery or both were erected in rMe ru, on the Sino-Tibetan border³⁴ (as well as, of course, in Lhasa and at the Chinese capital). This place must be located in the Kokonor area, in the South-East vicinity of the lake.³⁵

Now as regards the description of the De ga monastery, we find the following (PT 16):

26b2: ...*bKra shis chen po'i yul De ga g.Yu tsal mjai dum thang du rGya Drug dang chab srid gcig tu mjald pa'i tshigs bcas nas yun du chab srid kyi mtha' myi 'god zhing bstan ba dang nam zhar mang po kun kyis yid ches shing bden ba'i rtags rdo rings la dris ...*

33b4: ... *mjal dum chen po'i gtsigs bcas pa'i gzhir bKra shis kyi gtsug lag khang* (34a) *grags pa chen po bzhengs nas nam zhar yang myi 'gyur ba'i gtsigs kyi rdo rings btsugs te*!

34b4: ... *De ga g.Yu tshal mjai dum* (35a, hence IO 751) *thang du gtsigs kyi gtsugs lag khang bzhengs ...*

In IO 751 we find further the following forms: *De ga gtsigs kyi gtsug lag khang*, *De ga g.Yu tshal mjai tum thang tu gtsig kyi gtsug lag khang*, *De ga g.Yu tshal gtsigs kyi gtsug lag khang*, *yul bKra shis dByar mo thang De ga g.Yul* (sic) *tsal.*³⁶

Note, first of all, that there are three references to the erection of a *rdo ring* (i.e. stone-pillar), two in PT 16 (26b2 and 33b4) and the third in IO 751 (40b2-3). The first two in particular seem to suggest that the stone-pillar was erected together with the temple in De ga.

Secondly, the monastery is mentioned as *gtsigs kyi gtsug lag khang*³⁷ throughout the document (*gtsigs* was simply omitted by Thomas in his translation.) Tucci has pointed out that *gtsigs* in connection with *rdo ring*

³³ Kalsang 1967, 96.

³⁴ See the Chinese sources of GM 189 (also Tucci 1950, 26-27); Stein 1961a, 74-75 (Gong du bu rMe ru, Gong bu rMe ru); PT IV, Ja, 131a-132b (rGya'i Gong bu rMe ru); Kalsang 1967, 96 (rGya'i Gong ru rMe ru, also dMe ru); Das 1908, 151 etc. There is another rMe ru near Lhasa, and what is more puzzling a temple was also erected there during the reign of Ral pa can. See GM 186, 191; PT IV, Ja, 133b (here we have the form dMe ru, perhaps in order to differentiate it from the other one, i.e. rMe ru, on the Sino-Tibetan border), see also Ferrari 1958, 94-95, n.70.

³⁵ Stein 1959, 190, 208, n.27; Stein 1961, 75, n.212 (also his note in JRAS 1952, 95); also Demiéville 1952, 185, 246, 293, 319, 369 etc.

³⁶ From TLT II, 92-99.

³⁷ For instance there are the forms *gtsigs kyi gtsug lag khang brtsigs* (PT 16, 28b3-4, 29b1,4).

always means "edict" or "treaty".³⁸ The phrase here probably means "monastery [founded on the occasion] of a treaty"; possibly too - this is less sure - a *gtsigs kyi rdo ring* was erected at the same time.

As regards the place *dByar mo thang* *De ga g.Yu tshal*, I think that *dByar mo thang* and *De ga* are probably complementary terms. *dByar mo thang* is to be located in the Kokonor region,³⁹ just as *De ga* refers roughly to this area.⁴⁰ *g.Yu* is also ascribed to this part of Tibet by Thomas and if he is right then *g.Yu* can be also taken as a complementary designation.⁴¹ The function of *bKra shis* is somewhat puzzling as in one case it stands before *De ga* (26b2), in the other it occurs before *gtsug lag khang*, and thus can be understood as its proper name, 33b4; while in the third instance it is followed by *dByar mo thang*.

As we have seen, in the later Tibetan sources the activity of *Khri sum rje* and *lHa bzang* and the treaty with the Uigurs were shifted back to the epoch of *Khri srong lde btsan*. At the same time, however, these chroniclers retain the memory of the erection of a monastery and/or a stone-pillar built during the reign of *Ral pa can* on the occasion of the treaty with China in 821/823. As the localization of *rMe ru* and *De ga* seems to be approximately similar, I suggest therefore the identification of the two places.

Prof. Tucci argued long ago that the early *Sa skya pa* masters had access to source(s) akin to the records found in Tun-huang.⁴² Here I wish to present further evidence in favour of Tucci's argument. The following quotation is taken from the *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo*, written in 1167 by the second *Sa skya pa* hierarch, *bSod nams rtse mo* (1142-1182).⁴³ The data given by the author refer to the reign of *Ral pa can*:

³⁸ Tucci 1950, 36. Note the similar terms from *PT IV*, Ja, 11b, 119a etc.: *gtsigs kyi yi ge* (translated by Li 1956 as "treaty documents", 45, 57, 62); *bka' gtsigs kyi yi ge* etc.

³⁹ Stein 1959, 186, 196, 198, 207, n.11, 209, n.34, 287, 303, n.29; Stein 1961, 52 (also with the note 147), 67-68, 71, n.203, 73; Richardson 1952a, 17, 19, 20, 23, n.19, 24, 42; Richardson 1978, 149 (cf. Uray 1979, 316, n.38; Li 1956, 23 situates it in the environs of Lhasa (certainly incorrect, see Demiéville 1952, 246, 362-364).

⁴⁰ Lalou 1950 II (Index); Lalou 1955, 175; TLT III, 4-5.

⁴¹ TLT III, 42.

⁴² Tucci 1947; they were edited in Tucci 1971, 127-135.

⁴³ Edition in the *Sa skya bka' bum*, vol. Nga. The last chapter of the *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo* can be divided into two parts. The second one is reproduced (with a short addendum) in the biography of the third *Sa skya pa* hierarch, called *Grags pa rgyal mtshan* (1147-1216) written by the fourth, i.e. *Sa skya pandita* (1182-1251), found *ibid.*, vol. Tha, 296a-299a. *Sa skya pandita*'s variant readings (Tha 297b-298a) have been utilized here; see n.44-48. This last chapter of the *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo* was touched on by Vostrikov 1970, 39, 101-104; Macdonald 1963 (passim) and Macdonald 1971, 202-203.

(Nga 316) *Bran blon chen po zhang Khri sum rje sTag snya⁴⁴ la sog s pa⁴⁵ brGya⁴⁶ dang Drug spa bkong nas mjäl⁴⁷ dum chus gson te | chu pho stag gi lo la rGya dang mjäl⁴⁷ dum bgyis⁴⁸ | chu mo yos bu'i lo la Hor dang mjäl⁴⁷ dum bgyis⁴⁸ te | ... Translation: "The great minister Bran, the uncle Khri sum rje sTag snya and others put the Chinese, the Drug-s (=Uigurs) to flight and forced them to accept (? chus gson)⁴⁹ a treaty; and in the year of chu pho stag (822 A.D.)⁵⁰ the treaty with China was concluded. In the year of chu mo yos bu (823 A.D.)⁵¹ the treaty with the Hors-s (=Uigurs)⁵² was concluded."*

This is the only definite and precise reference to have come to light among the later sources to the treaty with the Uigurs concluded in 822 or 823. It leaves us with the problem, however, of specifying how many ministers were actually enumerated by the author.

As we have seen, in the De ga monuments two names, those of *zhang Khri sum rje* and *lHa bzang*, dominate. Bran may stand for the name of the well-known minister of *Ral pa can*, i.e. *Bran ka dPal gyi yon tan*.⁵³ He is

⁴⁴ Sa pan: *de'ang blo chen po zhang Khri 'bum rje sTag snya*.

⁴⁵ Sa pan: *pas*.

⁴⁶ Sa pan: *rGya*.

⁴⁷ Sa pan: *'jal*.

⁴⁸ Sa pan: *byas*.

⁴⁹ *chus gson* is unknown to dictionaries. I have taken *chus* (from 'ju?) as "to grasp" etc., i.e. "to accept"; and *gson* as "to hurry on by force" - hence the tentative translation above.

⁵⁰ A closer analysis of the text makes it evident that *chu stag* does not allow any interpretation other than 822 A.D. (I hope to publish soon the entire translation of the Text.)

⁵¹ As we have seen, the Chinese sources have 822. The coincidence of the two dates is obvious.

⁵² Note that *Drug* and *Hor* are used in the same context; therefore they seem to refer to the same people.

⁵³ Also known in Chinese sources; see Pelliot 1961, 74, 125, 131 and Demiéville 1952, 21, 224, 228, 229, 235, 282. His name appears in the treaty of 821/823 and previously in the edict of *Khri lde srong btsan* (Tucci 1950, 54). His life and tragic end are related in most of the later sources, for example, GM 184, 190; PT IV, Ja, 131a, 135a; PK 166b, 169a; Kalsang 1967, 93; GBY I, 287, 289, 294 etc. Richardson remarks that he was not only a religious dignitary, but also an active civil administrator (1952a, 136, see also Richardson 1977, 23 etc.). As we have mentioned, according to the fifth Dalai Lama (cf. n.33), the treaty with China was first drafted between Chinese monks and Tibetan "translators" (*lotsāba*). A *lotsāba* is always regarded by the Tibetans as a man of religion. *Bran ka*, in his turn, is frequently referred to as "religious minister" (*chos blon*). We don't know what source was used by the fifth Dalai Lama and there is no proof that *bSod nams rtse mo* knew of the same (or similar) tradition (one, however, that appears to be confirmed by Chinese sources); but if he did, then this might explain why *bSod nams rtse mo*

listed first in the Lhasa treaty of 821/823, but not referred to in the De ga monument. It is also disturbing that Sa skyā pandita for some reason omits Bran.

The second element in Khri sum rje's name, i.e. sTag snyā, may be a mistake for sTag sna or snang and in this case bSod nams rtse mo meant originally two persons: Bran ka dPal gyi yon tan and Khri sum rje sTag snang. However, sTag snyā may represent a third minister's name, viz., dBa' rGyal to re sTag snyā. His name occurs last in the list of ministers in the Tun-huang annals.⁵⁴ I think he also appears in the edict (c.812) of Khri lde strong btsan where the form dBa's rGyal ta ra sTag snyā is given.⁵⁵ It is a fact of some interest (although difficult to interpret or explain) that in the *rGya Bod yig tshang* he is mentioned as one of the ministers of Khri strong lde btsan!⁵⁶ At any rate, it is certain that bSod nams rtse mo was well aware of the events of the early 9th century. This can be only explained by the fact that, as Tucci supposed, he had made of use some authentically ancient documents.

mentions Bran ka. Obviously, there is another possible explanation for the occurrence of his name in bSod nams rtse mo's text - that bSod nams rtse mo was making a dual reference, one to the stone-pillar of Lhasa (where Bran ka's name is listed first among the ministers) and another one to the treaty with the Uigurs and Nan-chao (where Khri sum rje and lHa bzang dominate).

⁵⁴ Bacot 1940, 132, also Richardson 1977, 18, 25. He is also known as dBa's sTag rna can; for an explanation of the change of name, see, e.g., PT IV, Ja, 134a-135a.

⁵⁵ Tucci 1950, 55.

⁵⁶ GBY I, 281.

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REISEBEGLEITSCHREIBEN DER PANCHEN LAMAS
FÜR GEISTLICHE AUS LADAKH

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In ihrer äußereren Aufmachung gleichen diese Reisebegleitschreiben der Panchen Lamas für Geistliche aus Ladakh sehr derjenigen von Herrscherurkunden. Sie sind in 'bru tsha-Schrift mit schwarzer Tusche auf gelbe Seite geschrieben und wirken daher sehr prächtig. Gelegentlich sind sie am oberen Rand mit fein gemalten – oder gedruckten – Darstellungen Tsön kha

¹ vgl. z.B. D.Schuh, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke, Teil 8* (= Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XI,8). Wiesbaden 1981, 54-55.

² z.B. D.Schuh und L.S.Dagyab, *Urkunden, Erlasse und Sendschreiben aus dem Besitz sikkimesischer Adelshäuser und des Klosters Phodang* (= *Monumenta Tibetica Historica* II,3). St.Augustin 1978, 194, Dokument XXV.

³ D.Schuh, *Urkunden und Sendschreiben aus Zentraltibet, Ladakh und Zanskar, 1.Teil: Faksimiles* (= *Monumenta Tibetica Historica* III,2). St.Augustin 1976, 26f. und 138-139, 46 und 277-278, 50 und 314-315, 54 und 318-320; und D.Schuh und J.K.Phukhang, 2.Teil: *Edition der Texte* (= *Monumenta Tibetica Historica* III,4). St.Augustin 1979, 67, 109, 115 und 116-117.

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Die Reisebegleitschreiben sind deutlich sichtbar in zwei Teile gegliedert, die Intitulatio, die bei allen Schreiben zweizeilig ist und in einen Block, der in der ersten Zeile extrem weit eingerückt ist. Dieser Block umfaßt Publicatio, Kontext, gelegentlich eine Poenformel sowie das Schlußprotokoll. Er besteht in den vorliegenden Fällen aus 8-13 Zeilen und ist von der Intitulatio durch einen meist über 20cm großen Abstand abgesetzt. Die letzten Worte der Intitulatio und des Schlußprotokolls sind jeweils mit Siegelabdrücken versehen.

Aus der Intitulatio geht der Name des Ausstellers des Schreibens, geschmückt mit variierenden Beiworten, und, wenn auch nicht bei allen Schreiben, sein Titel hervor. Obwohl die Intitulatio jeweils nur zwei Zeilen umfaßt, ist sie doch sehr unterschiedlich, wie folgende Beispiele veranschaulichen.

"Das Schreiben des Śākyamönches Blo bzañ ye śes dpal bzañ po, des Anhängers des großen Freundes aller Lebewesen, des Allwissenden aus dem Ikṣvāku-Geschlecht."⁴

Gegenüber dieser schlichten Intitulatio ist die folgende wesentlich elaborierter:

"Das Wort des Vajradhara Blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pa'i ni ma phyogs las rnam rgyal dpal bzañ po, des Mönches, der auf dem Löwenthron des großen Klosters bKra śis lhun po als Nachfolger des Śākyamuni eingeweiht ist und der aufgrund der Weisung des irdischen Indra, des Mañjughoṣa, des vom Himmel ernannten Kaisers als Pan chen Er te ni gepriesen ist."⁵

⁴ Reisebegleitschreiben in der Familie Rin chen aus Taru, ausgestellt im Jahre 1707: yid can yoñs kyi ma 'dris pa'i mdza' bses chen po kun mkhyen bu ram śin pa'i rin lugs pa Śākyā'i dge sloñ (2) blo bzañ ye śes dpal bzañ po'i yi ge.

⁵ Reisebegleitschreiben aus dem Kloster Likir, ausgestellt im Jahre 1822: gnam bskos sa'i brgya byin 'jam dbyañs Z goñ ma'i luñ gis pan chen er te nir bshags śin | chos grva chen po bkra śis lhun po'i mi 'jig señge'i khri la thub pa'i (2) rgyal tshab tu dbañ bskur ba dge sloñ rdo rje 'dzin pa blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pa'i ni ma phyogs las rnam rgyal dpal bzañ po'i gtam.

Es ist zu beobachten, daß in der Intitulatio das Proklamationsnomen zwanglos zwischen *gtam* = "Wort, Rede" und *yi ge* = "Schreiben" wechselt. Wie D.Schuh⁶ ausführlich dargelegt hat, ist in der Verwendung des Proklamationsnomens *gtam* das Relikt aus einer Zeit zu sehen, als die Rechts-handlung durch eine zu postulierende Proklamation vollzogen wurde. Es wird auch bei dispositiven Urkunden neben dem Nomen *yi ge* beibehalten.

Der Verweis auf die Ernennung zum *Pan chen Er te ni* durch den chinesischen Kaiser in der Formulierung *goñ ma'i luñ gis* zeigt eine starke An-lehnung an die in den tibetischen Herrscherurkunden gegebenen Autorisie-rungsformeln. Es darf unterstellt werden, daß mit der Übernahme dieser Formulierung der Eindruck einer Weisung impliziert wurde, um dem Reise-begleitschreiben des Panchen Lama mehr Nachdruck zu verleihen, wenngleich ein Reisebegleitschreiben eines so hochgestellten Geistlichen in urkund-licher Form realiter ohnedies einer Weisung gleichgekommen sein dürfte.

Bemerkenswert ist die Intitulatio eines Reisebegleitschreibens aus dem Jahr 1947, in der der Panchen Lama als "großer Lama der Volksrepu-blik"⁷ bezeichnet ist.

Die Publicatio der Reisebegleitschreiben nennt den Personen-kreis, an den das Schreiben gerichtet ist. Sechs Reisebegleitschreiben, auch die vier, die D.Schuh publizierte,⁸ sind für Reisen nach Osttibet, in die Mongolei und nach China ausgestellt. Eines der Schreiben hingegen ist vom 4.Panchen Lama an den König von Ladakh, seine Minister usw. ge-richtet und ausgestellt für den Arzt, der seinen Vorgänger, den 3.Pan-chen Lama, nach Peking begleitet hatte. Dieses Schreiben wird in der Ver-sammlungshalle des Klosters Ridzong aufbewahrt, was vermuten läßt, daß sich der Arzt des 3.Panchen Lama nach dessen Tod in Peking nach Ladakh zurückzog.

Der Personenkreis, an den sich die sechs anderen Reisebegleitschrei-ben wenden, setzt sich aus geistlichen und weltlichen Würden- und Amts-trägern von den höchsten über die mittleren bis hin zu den niedrigsten Rangordnungen zusammen. Im einzelnen sind dabei genannt: *bla ma*, *slob dpon*, Mönche, Könige, Fürsten, Minister, *hañ*,⁹ *dbah*,¹⁰ *pa'i li*,¹¹ *pa'i*

⁶ D.Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche* (= Monumenta Tibetica Historica III,1). St.Augustin 1977, 160-161.

⁷ Reisebegleitschreiben in der Familie Tazur in Tikse, ausgestellt im Jahre 1947: *rgyal khab mi ser gyi bla ma chen po*.

⁸ s.o. Anm.3

⁹ mong. *gan* ?

¹⁰ chin. *wang* "Fürst, Prinz", Titel für Angehörige der Kaiserfamilie.

¹¹ mand. *beile*, Prinz 3.Ranges.

si,¹² *guñ*,¹³ *dza sag*,¹⁴ *tha'i ji*,¹⁵ *mi riñ*,¹⁶ *rja vi tug chi*,¹⁷ *ja'i sañ*,¹⁸ *mi bzañ*,¹⁹ *rda ro va*,²⁰ sowie die ausführenden Organe militärischer und ziviler Behörden in folgenden Gebieten: dBus, gTsañ, mDo khams, Kukonor, O'i rod bzw. 'Ol rod,²¹ 'Ur thu su,²² Khal kha,²³ Thu mar,²⁴ Cha dkar,²⁵ Mañju,²⁶ Sog po tsho chen že dgu,²⁷ A mdo, A rig,²⁸ mGo log,²⁹ Va šul,³⁰ mDzo dge,³¹ Ra han³² sowie die neugeschaffenen Provinzen Chin had,³³ Kan byus³⁴ und Šis khan.³⁵

Wie das Proklamationsnomen in der Intitulatio zwischen *gtam* und *yi ge* wechselt, so ändert sich auch das Publikationsverb. So kommt in Verbindung mit *yi ge* das Verb *dgoñs śiñ mñan par bya ba la* = "möge gehört und zur Kenntnis genommen werden", zweimal vor. Daneben ist auch *bsgo*

¹² mand. *beise*, Prinz 4.Ranges.

¹³ chin. *kung* "Herzog" o.ä., hoher Titel

¹⁴ mong. *jasay* "Verwaltung, Regierung". Titel eines mongolischen Bannerfürsten.

¹⁵ mong. *taiji* (aus chin. *t'ai-tzu*), bei den Mongolen Adelstitel, Prinz.

¹⁶ mand. *meiren* "Helfer, Vize-"; vgl. a. L.Petech, *China and Tibet in the early XVIIth century* (= Monographies du T'oung Pao, vol.I). Leiden 1972, 116, n.2.

¹⁷ mong. *jakiruyči* (?) vgl. dazu H.Serruys, *Two mongol letters*. Zentralasiatische Studien 5, Wiesbaden 1971, 100.

¹⁸ mong. *jaisang* (aus chin. *tsai-hsiang* "Minister"), Verwalter eines *Qutuytu*.

¹⁹ tib.?

²⁰ mong. *daruya* "Chef, Kommandeur".

²¹ = Oirot

²² = Ordos

²³ = Khalcha

²⁴ = Tümed

²⁵ = Chakhar

²⁶ = Mandschu

²⁷ = die 49 Banner der Mongolen

²⁸ s. T.V.Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-Gling-Rgyas-Bshad*. Roma 1962, 105. A rig liegt nördlich der rMa chen spom ra - Kette. Vgl. auch J.F.Rock, *The Amnye Ma-Chhen Range and adjacent regions*. Roma 1956, sheet 4.

²⁹ s. T.V.Wylie, *op.cit.*, *loc.cit* and G.De Roerich, *Le parler de l'Amdo*. Roma 1958, Karte im Anhang.

³⁰ s. T.V.Wylie, *op.cit.*, 102: "Wa-si", und J.F.Rock, *op.cit.* sheet 1.

³¹ s. T.V.Wylie, *op.cit.*, 105-106 und J.F.Rock, *op.cit.*, sheet 3.

³² nicht identifiziert.

³³ = Ch'ing-hai

³⁴ = Kan-chou

³⁵ = Hsi-k'ang

ba = "gesagt, befohlen", belegt. In Verbindung mit *gtam* steht dreimal *zlo ba* bzw. *bzlo ba* = "sagen", in höflicherer Form als *bsgo ba* und einmal *gdams pa* = ein verbindliches Verbum für "befehlen".

Der an die *Publicatio* anschließende Kontext vermittelt den Namen dessen, der vom Panchen Lama mit dem Reisebegleitschreiben begünstigt wurde. Dabei handelt es sich ausnahmslos um Geistliche, deren Werdegang meist kurz beschrieben ist. Es ist allerdings in keinem Fall die Herkunft eines Geistlichen aus Ladakh genannt, da diese aus dem dem Titel *dka' chen*³⁶ vorangestellten *stag mo ba* hervorgeht. *stag mo* bezeichnet im Kloster bKra ſis lhun po ein *mi mtshan*, das sich aus Mönchen, die zum Mutterkloster *sTag mo* gehören, zusammensetzt. *sTag mo* ist ein Kloster in Ladakh, das von sTod Šes rab bzañ po, einem Schüler des Tsöñ kha pa gegründet wurde. Es liegt am Schluß eines gleichnamigen Tales, nordwestlich von Tikse. Zu *sTag mo* gehören neben Tikse u.a. auch die Klöster Pug-dal und Karsha in Zanskar. Heute ist das Kloster *sTag mo* gleichsam in Bedeutungslosigkeit versunken und wird nur noch von einem Kustos aus Tikse betreut. Sein Name aber lebt bis in die jüngste Zeit als Benennung für das *mi mtshan* fort, und, wie uns versichert wurde, wurden offizielle Schreiben aus Tibet für das Kloster Tikse an *sTag mo* als dessen Mutterkloster gerichtet.³⁷ Wenn gelegentlich der Hinweis auf die Herkunft eines Geistlichen aus Ladakh oder Zanskar, der durch *stag mo ba* gegeben ist, fehlt, ergibt sich durch die Tatsache, daß die Schreiben entweder von den Angehörigen zu Hause aufbewahrt werden oder von dem verstorbenen Geistlichen selbst dem Kloster vermacht bzw. von seinen Nachfahren ins Kloster gebracht wurden, der Schluß, daß es sich in jedem Fall um Geistliche aus Ladakh handelte.

In den meisten Fällen wird innerhalb des Kontextes auch erwähnt, auf wessen Einladung der Panchen Lama einen Geistlichen entsandt hat.

Als Einladende werden in den Reisebegleitschreiben z.B. genannt der *da las pa'i si g.Yun drun rdo rje*³⁸ oder der *or thog pa'i li bKra ſis rgya mtsho*,³⁹ der *tho sa lag chi Phyag rdor skyabs*⁴⁰ oder einfach ein

³⁶ *dka' chen* entspricht im Kloster bKra ſis lhun po einem *dge b'ses*-Titel.

³⁷ mündliche Information des *phyag mdzod* des Bakula-Rinpoche. Ebenso werden offizielle Schreiben für das Kloster Spituk an Brag khun kha'u che, ein Kloster am anderen Indus-Ufer gerichtet. Offizielle Schreiben für das Kloster Sankar sind an bSam gtan phug oder Gahs las dgon, welches sich am Kardung-Pass befindet, gerichtet.

³⁸ nicht identifiziert

³⁹ für *otoy beile* ?

⁴⁰ *tusalayči*, vgl. C.R.Bawden, *The modern history of Mongolia*, London 1968, 256. *Phyag rdor skyabs* ist möglicherweise identisch mit dem mongolischen Mönch und späteren Revolutionär Chagdarjav, der 1922 hingerichtet wurde. s. Bawden, op.cit., 142.

dpon namens mGon po oder Byams pa śes rab. Namen also, die erst noch mit Sicherheit identifiziert werden müssen, soweit dies überhaupt möglich ist.

Danach folgt im Kontext die Nennung des eigentlichen Zwecks des Reisebegleitschreibens. Es handelt sich dabei zumeist um die sehr allgemein gehaltene Bitte, den reisenden Geistlichen zu unterstützen und ihm behilflich zu sein. Es kommt aber auch vor, daß Lebensunterhalt und Unterkunft erbeten werden. Wer dieser Bitte entspricht, "für dessen Glück und Wohlergehen werde ich beten", heißt es im Schreiben. Der Panchen Lama droht aber auch jenen, die der Bitte zuwiderhandeln. Für einen geistlichen Würdenträger geziemt es sich allerdings nicht, mit Gewaltanwendungen zu drohen und für weltliche Bestrafung fehlt dem Panchen Lama auch die Befugnis, also droht er mit seinen Waffen als Geistlicher. Die Poen-formel wird dadurch noch wirkungsvoller, denn weltlicher Bestrafung kann man sich entziehen, der der Götter kaum. Die drastische Poenformel lautet in einem Schreiben: "Wenn aber jemand [meinem Befehl] zuwiderhandelt, so möge er sich vorsehen, da ich die Verkörperung des Mañjuśrī, den kupfernen Beg tse mitsamt seinem Gefolge veranlaßt und ihm befohlen habe, dessen warmes Herzblut zu trinken!"⁴¹ Das Vorhandensein einer Poen-formel allein in einem Reisebegleitschreiben eines Panchen Lama zeigt sehr deutlich, wie sehr sich diese Schreiben formal an den Urkunden der Herrscher orientieren.

Das Schlußprotokoll verwendet in den Reisebegleitschreiben die Formulierung *brda' sprod pa'i yi ge* = "das bekanntzugebende Schreiben" oder *go bar bya ba'i yi ge* = "das zur Kenntnis zu bringende Schreiben" und gibt das Jahr und den Ort der Ausfertigung des Schreibens an.

In sechs Reisebegleitschreiben ist die tibetische Zeitrechnung verwendet. Daraus ergeben sich folgende Erstellungsjahre: 1707, 1788, 1822, 1901, 1908 und 1909. Als Ort der Ausfertigung ist bKra śis lhun po genannt. Dabei ist anzumerken, daß die Schreiben von 1908 und 1909, mit Ausnahme der Namen der Begünstigten und der Einlader einen identischen Wortlaut haben. Eines der Reisebegleitschreiben gibt als Jahr der Ausfertigung das 36. Jahr der Volksherrschaft an, also gerechnet von 1911, der Ausrufung der Republik in China, das Jahr 1947. Es ist im Kloster sKu 'bum ausgestellt.

Wie oben erwähnt, sind die Reisebegleitschreiben der Panchen Lamas mit jeweils zwei Siegelabdrücken versehen. Einer beschließt die Intitu-

⁴¹ Schreiben im Kloster Likir aus dem Jahre 1822: *gal te log par bcad na 'jam dpal gsun gi sprul pa gnod sbyin zañs kyi begtse 'khor dan bcas pas sñin khrag dron mo žal* (16) *du gsol bar bskul ba'i gñer gtad kyi mtshams bcad yod pas bag yod bsten 'tshal.*

latio, ein weiterer das Schlußprotokoll, wobei der erstere kleiner ist als der letztere. Die Siegelabdrücke sind immer rot und quadratisch. Folgende sechs Siegelabdrücke sind in den sieben Reisebegleitschreiben erwähnt:

Schreiben des 2.Panchen Lama (1663-1737) aus dem Jahr 1707 (s. Plate XVI)

oben: Siegelabdruck 5,5 x 5,5 cm mit der dreizeiligen 'Phags pa-
Inschrift:

dge' = rotes Siegel des Samgha⁴²

dun

mtshal pa

unten links: Siegelabdruck 8,5 x 8,5 cm dreizeilig, in der Mitte *rnam bcu dbaḥ ldan*, das Mantra des Kālacakra, links und rechts davon in Lantsha-Schrift: *mam ga lam*⁴³

unten rechts: Siegelabdruck 11 x 11 cm mit je zwei Zeilen chinesischer und mandschurischer und fünf Zeilen tibetischer Inschrift
chin.: "Chih feng pan-ch'en ê-êrh-tê-ni chi yin

"Durch [kaiserliches] Edikt verliehenes Siegel des
Panchen Erdeni"

mand.: *Hesei fengnehe bancen erdeni i doron*

"Durch den Höchsten verliehenes Siegel des Panchen
Erdeni"

tib.: <i>bka' yis</i>	"Siegel des Panchen
<i>bkur ba'i</i>	Erdeni verliehen auf-
<i>pan chen</i>	grund des [kaiserlichen]
<i>er te ni'i</i>	Befehls"
<i>tham ka</i>	

Dieses Reisebegleitschreiben des 2.Panchen Lama, das die Familie Rinchen aus Taru, einem westlich von Phyang gelegenen Seitental des Indus, verwahrt, ist nicht nur außergewöhnlich, weil es das bisher einzige bekannt gewordene Schreiben ist, das der Panchen Lama im Schlußprotokoll zweimal mit Siegelabdrücken versehen hat. Das Schreiben wiederholt außerdem auch

⁴² Nach der Bearbeitung der vorliegenden Reisebegleitschreiben ist von D.Schuh, Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift (= Monumenta Tibetica Historica III, 5), St.Augustin 1981 erschienen. Vgl. dort Siegel E 16, S.23. Schuh übersetzt *dge 'dun* fälschlich mit "Mönch".

⁴³ s. D.Schuh, op.cit., 22 = Siegel E 15.

⁴⁴ Die chinesischen und mandschurischen Inschriften hat mir freundlicherweise Herr Prof. DDr. Herbert Franke entziffert und übersetzt, dem ich herzlich dafür danke. Darüberhinaus war mir Herr Prof. Franke auch behilflich, die mong. und mand. Titel zu transkribieren und zu erklären.

die Intitulatio in mongolischer Sprache.⁴⁵

Schreiben des 4.Panchen Lama (1782-1853) aus dem Jahr 1788:

oben: Siegelabdruck 4 x 4 cm mit der dreizeiligen Inschrift wie das obengenannte, 8,5 x 8,5 cm große Siegel.⁴⁶

unten: Siegelabdruck 11 x 11 cm = s.o. Schreiben von 1707

Schreiben des 4.Panchen Lama aus dem Jahr 1822:

Siegelabdrücke identisch mit denen des Schreibens von 1788.

Schreiben des 6.Panchen Lama (1883-1937) aus den Jahren 1901, 1908 und 1909:

oben: Siegelabdruck 5,5 x 5,5 cm = s.o. Schreiben von 1707

unten: Siegelabdruck 8,5 x 8,5 cm = s.o. Schreiben von 1707

Schreiben des 7.Panchen Lama (1938-) aus dem Jahr 1947:

oben: Siegelabdruck 7,5 x 7,5 cm in Lantsha-Schrift⁴⁷ dreizeilig:

pu rba gu

ru kr (?) te

la (?) nam

unten: Siegelabdruck 11,5 x 11,5 cm mit zweisprachiger Inschrift, bestehend aus sieben Zeilen Tibetisch und zwei Zeilen Chinesisch:

tib.: rgyal khab "Siegel des allwissenden

skyon ba'i dge gan Panchen Erdeni, des Herrn

chen po rgyal bstan der gesamten Lehre des

yons kyi bdag Jina, des großen,

po thams cad schützenden Lehrers der

mkhyen pa pan chen Nation"

er te ni'i tham ka

chin.: hu-kuo hsüan-jen kuang-hui ta-shih pan ch'an chih yin

"Siegel des großen Lehrers Panchen, welcher den Staat

beschützt, die Menschenliebe verkündet und die Weisheit

verbreitet"

⁴⁵ Das Schreiben ist schlecht erhalten und es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß auch der Rest des Schreibens in Mongolisch wiederholt war. Offensichtlich ist der untere Teil des Schreibens, der eine Darstellung von Schutzgottheiten aufweist, abgerissen oder abgetrennt worden und die dabei halbierten Gottheiten sind nur noch in ihrer oberen Hälfte, in einem ca. 10 cm breiten Streifen erhalten, der gleich einem Vorhang oben über das Schreiben geheftet ist.

⁴⁶ s. D.Schuh, op.cit., 22 = Siegel E 14.

⁴⁷ s. D.Schuh, op.cit., 26 = Siegel E 19. Es handelt sich um eine Variante der Lantsha-Schrift, die sehr schwer zu entziffern ist. Mit der Lesung von *śā* und *bham*. Vgl. dazu auch L. Sander, *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung* (= Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 8), Wiesbaden 1968, Tafel 27 und 28.

Die bisher bekannt gewordenen Reisebegleitschreiben der Panchen Lamas stellen wahrscheinlich nur einen Bruchteil der ausgestellten Schreiben dar. Eine Reihe von Schreiben sind in Ladakh noch vorhanden, sie waren uns aber aus verschiedenen Gründen nicht zugänglich. Leider haben die Reisebegleitschreiben wegen ihres nicht-religiösen Gehaltes keine Niederschrift in den gesammelten Werken der Panchen Lamas erfahren, während Sendschreiben für ihre Anhänger in grosser Zahl vorhanden sind.⁴⁸ In den Biographien der Panchen Lamas finden sich zahlreiche Hinweise⁴⁹ dafür, daß aus dem endlosen Strom von Besuchern aus der Mongolei und aus Osttibet die Bitte um Entsendung eines gelehrten Geistlichen vorgetragen wurde. Da diese Besucher aus dem Nordosten eine Flut von Geld und Geschenken brachten, für das Kloster bKra ſis lhun po ein nicht zu unterschätzender wirtschaftlicher Faktor, zeigen die zahlreichen Reisebegleitschreiben, daß der Panchen Lama die enge Verbundenheit erwiderte und die Verbindung zu den osttibetischen und mongolischen Gläubigen nicht abreißen ließ, bedeutete sie doch neben dem wirtschaftlichen Gewinn für ihn selbst und auch für den entsandten Geistlichen⁵⁰ eine große Mehrung seines Ansehens.

Die Mission der entsandten Mönche, die häufig das Studium im Kloster bKra ſis lhun po mit dem Grad eines *dka' chen* absolviert hatten und die in den Reisebegleitschreiben, was ihre Tugenden und Fähigkeiten in Sūtra und Tantra angeht, sehr gelobt werden, war rein geistlicher Natur und bestand im Abhalten von Ritualen und Einweihungen sowie in der Erteilung von Unterweisungen u.ä.

Der Grund für die besonders häufige Entsendung von Geistlichen aus Ladakh nach Osttibet und in die Mongolei bleibt unklar. Aufschlußreich war aber die Befragung des Mönches Blo bzañ bsod nams aus der in Tikse beheimateten Familie Ka star, der als Begleiter des in dem Schreiben von 1947 begünstigten, schon verstorbenen 'Od zer dge legs reiste.

⁴⁸ s. Catalogue of the Toyo Bunko collection of Tibetan works on history, ed. by Z. Yamaguchi (= Classified Catalogue of the Toyo Bunko collection of Tibetan works, vol 1). Tokyc 1970, Nr. 121-1397, 122-1407, 123-1435, 131-1960, 134-1999.

⁴⁹ Autobiographie des 2.Panchen Lama fol.256a3. Herrn J.U.Hartmann M.A. danke ich für die Überlassung der Autobiographie.

⁵⁰ Nach einer mündlichen Information von D.Schuh waren die Begünstigten der Reisebegleitschreiben prozentual an den auf der Reise erhaltenen Einnahmen beteiligt. Es ist dabei jedoch anzumerken, daß es sich bei den Reisen der Geistlichen aus Ladakh nicht um die sogenannten *hor 'bul sdud* -Reisen handelte, die den Zweck hatten, Spenden in den mongolisch besiedelten Gebieten einzusammeln. In diesem Fall werden keine Reisebegleitschreiben, sondern Spendenaufrufe erstellt und außerdem werden weniger gelehrte Geistliche entsandt.

Nach Blo bzañ bsod nams war es ein Privileg⁵¹ der stag mo ba gewesen, Reisen nach Osttibet und in die Mongolei im Auftrag des Panchen Lama anzutreten. Die Reisegruppe bestand aus sieben Personen, deren Pferde und Mönchsausstattung vom Bla brañ des Panchen Lama gestellt wurden. Auf dem Wege wurde der Begünstigte als Stellvertreter des Panchen Lama mit allen Ehren bedacht, die diesem selbst zugekommen wären, wie z.B. dem höchsten Thron in einem Kloster usw. Aufgrund des Reisebegleitschreibens war die Reise ohne Behinderung verlaufen und die chinesischen Amtsträger in den von China verwalteten Gebieten Amdos waren behilflich, als sie den Siegelabdruck des Panchen Lama in chinesischer Sprache sahen und anerkannten. Insgesamt war die Gruppe sechs Jahre unterwegs gewesen. Das mitgeführte Reisebegleitschreiben war nicht das jetzt vorliegende gewesen, sondern es war auf Papier geschrieben. Auf eigene Kosten konnte sich der in dem Schreiben Begünstigte, dieses auf Seide übertragen und mit den Siegelabdrücken beglaubigen lassen

Besonders der letzte Punkt der Ausführungen des Mönches Blo bzañ bsod nams ist bemerkenswert. Diese Praxis der Zweitschrift auf Seide erklärt den außerordentlich guten Erhaltungszustand der Reisebegleitschreiben.

Andererseits scheint mit der Erstellung von prächtigen Zweitausfertigungen der Reisebegleitschreiben ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung in den Hintergrund getreten zu sein und vielmehr dem Begünstigten bei der Heimkehr nach Ladakh wie ein Diplom gedient zu haben, war er doch in dem Schreiben mit dem erworbenen Grad unter besonderer Würdigung seiner geistlichen Fähigkeiten ausgewiesen. In diesem Sinne bewahren Angehörige die Reisebegleitschreiben der Panchen Lamas und halten sie, da außerdem der Segen dieses hohen geistlichen Würdenträgers auf ihnen ruht, besonders in Ehren.

⁵¹ Privileg wegen des Ansehens und der prozentualen Beteiligung.

TIBET'S CONNECTIONS WITH NESTORIANISM AND MANICHEISM IN THE 8TH - 10TH CENTURIES

by

G.URAY (Budapest)

It has long been the subject of much controversy whether or not, and if so, to what extent Manicheism and Christianity influenced the Indian mahāyānistic and later on the Tibetan lamaistic Buddhism, as well as the Bon and the *mi chos*, the folk religion of Tibet. Apart from the statements of Pater Georgi, in which Lamaism is represented as Manicheism, and similar phantasmagoria of later periods, serious scholarly attempts were made again and again to attribute historical connections with Manicheism and Christianity, especially Nestorianism, to Mahāyāna or one of the religions of Tibet, on the basis of certain definite similarities in the doctrine, concepts and rites. Distinguished scholars such as G. Tucci, H. Hoffmann, E. Conze and H.-J. Klimkeit have expressed the opinion that there are striking analogies between gnostic-Manichean Christology and mahāyānistic Buddhology, and that manifold reciprocal historical links between Manicheism and mahāyānistic and lamaistic Buddhism have come into existence.

My limited knowledge of the doctrines, liturgies and iconography of the religions concerned prevent me from commenting on questions which belong to the field of comparative religious research. Instead, I should like to make some general comment on the passages of literary texts and the archaeological and epigraphic monuments already known, which provide historical and philological evidence for Tibet having had contact with Nestorian Christianity and Manicheism from the 8th to the 10th century. More specifically, I should like to broach the following subjects: 1. the accounts on Nestorianism in Tibet in the letters of the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I; 2. the rock-carvings of crosses and the Sogdian inscription near Drangtse (Tankse) in Ladakh; 3. the criticism on Manicheism in a Buddhist philosophical treatise, compiled by the Tibetan king Khri Sron lde bcan; 4. the occurrence of the name "Jesus, the Messiah" in a

Tibetan book of divination and the drawings of crosses in Tibetan manuscripts from the walled-up library of Tun-huang; 5. the conclusions which can be drawn about Tibet's early history from the monuments and passages mentioned.

Before entering into the discussion of the above-mentioned questions I would like to again thank Prof. H.Buschhausen (Vienna), Prof. B.Csongor (Budapest), Prof. K.Czeglédy (Budapest), Dr.I.Ecsedy (Budapest), Prof. J.Hamilton (Paris), Prof. J.Harmatta (Budapest), Prof. K.Jettmar (Heidelberg), Prof. G.Kara (Budapest), Dr.T.Much (Vienna), Prof. F.S.Pericoli Ridolfini (Rome), Prof. L.Petech (Rome), Dr.G.Somlai (Budapest), Prof. M.Soymié (Paris), Prof. E.Steinkellner (Vienna), Prof. W.Sundermann (Berlin), Dr.J.Szerb (Budapest), Dr.H.Tauscher (Vienna) and Prof. P.Zieme (Berlin) for cooperation, suggestions, readily given information and help in procuring the necessary literature. I am very much indebted to Miss Doreen J.Muenich (Obernbreit) for her assiduous help in getting this paper into its final shape. Last but not least I want to express my thanks to the Division des manuscrits orientaux of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, to Mme Monique Cohen, conservatress of the division, respectively to Prof. G.Evelyn Hutchinson (New Haven, Connecticut) for the photocopies of the drawings of crosses in the mss. Pelliot tibétain 1182 and 1676 and for the photograph of the west side of the Drangtse rock as well as for the permission to publish them.

1.

The most important information concerning Tibet's contact with Nestorianism is contained in two Syriac letters from the Catholicos Patriarch Timothy I, who was head of the Nestorian alias Chaldean church from 780 to 823. These two letters are included as nos.XLI and XLVII in the collection of Timothy's letters, which unfortunately has come down to us very incomplete. Letter XLI is addressed to the monks of the monastery of Mâr Mârôn, and letter XLVII is one of the many letters written by the Patriarch to Sergius, Metropolitan of 'Elam.

The information in Timothy's letters about Nestorianism among the Tibetans and the Turks has been well-known since the beginning of this century, and has frequently been cited in the literature on Nestorian church history and history of early Turkic tribes,¹ but methodical investigations of the letters and the information they contain were for the first time published after the Second World War. Whereas Raphaël J.

Bidawid cleared the transmission, authenticity and chronology of the letters,² Jean Dauvillier worked on the historical problems of the Patriarch's reports on the Turks and the Tibetans.³ In the field of Tibetan studies it was Marcelle Lalou who examined the reports but apart from that they seem to meet with no response among the scholars of Tibetan except for Tucci who once briefly refers to them.⁴

On the basis of Bidawid's and Dauvilliers's results and of the translation of the two letters by Bidawid and Oskar Braun,⁵ the essential points of letters XLI and XLVII can be summarized as follows: In letter XLI to the monks of the monastery of Mâr Mârôn,⁶ there are two passages which concern our topic. In one of them, Timothy discusses the various standpoints of the Nestorians and the Maronites in question of Christology, in connection with the controversial wording of the so-called Trisagion. At the same time, he gives us a comprehensive list of the lands and peoples where the Trisagion is recited according to Nestorian teachings. Among these peoples he also mentions the tûptâyê or Tibetans and the þûrkâyê or Turks.⁶ In another part of the letter, Timothy declares that he was "13 years, more or less" in office,

¹ Braun 1901, 309 and n.1, 311 and n.1; Labourt 1904, 43, 45-46; Sachau 1919, 19-20; Mingana 1925, 12, 30; Stewart 1928, 82-83, 90; Tisserant 1946, 1127; Messina 1947, 78-79 and n.41; Kmoskó as summarized in Czeglédy 1954, 29 and n.28. Cf. also Bang/Gabain 1929b, 420; Tisserant 1931, 209; Gabain 1950, 47, where just the reports on the Turks are quoted and further discussed.

² Bidawid 1956. Concerning the letters nos. XLI and XLVII s.esp.33, 36-37, 51-54, 59-61, 65-66, 71, 74, 84-85, 89-125, and Syriac part, 1*-47*.

³ Dauvillier 1948, 285, 291-292, 311 (by using Bidawid's study that in those days has not been published yet); Dauvillier 1973, 6-7, 203; cf. also Spuler 1961, 154, 157-158. - I regrettably could not consult a further short study of Dauvillier, L'expansion au Tibet de l'Église chaldéenne au Moyen Age, *Bulletin de la Société toulousaine d'Etudes classiques* 49, 1950, 1-4. It, however, seems to not contain any essential statements, not mentioned in other studies of the author.

⁴ Lalou 1957, 16; Tucci 1973, 39; 201, n.18.

^{5a} Unfortunately, efforts to obtain a facsimile, transliteration and English translation of the relevant passages of the letters remained without success.

⁵ A complete Latin translation and an edition of the Syriac text of letter XLI is published in Bidawid 1956, 91-125, and Syriac part, 1*-47*. *Ibid.*33 also a short summary of the letter is to be found.

⁶ Bidawid 1956, 117; 36*, 1.18; Cf. also Labourt 1904, 45; Steward 1928, 90; Dauvillier 1948, 291-292 (talking unexactly about "des chrétiens du pays [sic!] des Tibétains, Bêth Tûptâyê!"); Bidawid 1956, 85; Dauvillier 1973, 203.

and that a "king of the Turks", *malkâ dçûrkäyê*, was converted to Christianity ten years previously, together with the greatest part of his people, and requested by letters to the Patriarch that a metropolitan should be sent - a request which had been granted.⁷ The chronology can be fairly accurately estimated from the statements of the Patriarch. Since Timothy became Patriarch May 7th, 780, the year in which he held office for "13 years, more or less" can be determined as ca. 792/793 and the year of the conversion of the king of the Turks as about the third year of Timothy's pontificate, ca. 782/783.⁸

In letter XLVII⁹ Timothy reports to his confidential friend Sergius that he has recently consecrated a metropolitan for the land of the Turks, *bêt çûrkäyê* and that he is also preparing to anoint one for the land of the Tibetans, *bêt tûptäyê*.¹⁰ Unfortunately, this letter does not contain any information concerning the time in which it was written or in which the events referred to occurred. Therefore Bidawid only was able to determine that the letter could have been written after Sergius' consecration as Metropolitan of 'Elam presumably in 794/795, roughly between 795 and 798.¹¹

⁷ Bidawid 1956, 124, 46*, 11.16-27. Cf. also Labourt 1904, 43; Mingana 1925, 12; Tisserant 1931, col.209; Messina 1947, 78; Dauvillier 1948, 285; Bidawid 1956, 52, 80. - In his famous Book of the Tower Mârî ibn Sulaymân, a Nestorian historian of the 12th-13th centuries writing in Arabic, as well reports on the conversion of the ruler, *hâgân*, of the Turks and his letters to Timothy; see Labourt 1904, 43; Mingana 1925, 14; Tisserant 1931, 209; Messina 1947, 78; Bidawid 1956, 51-52, 84-85.

⁸ In spite of the intelligible statements of the Patriarch, Bidawid has been the very first one who all-out exactly ascertained the time of writing of the letter XLI, to the Maronites (1956, 60, 65-66, 74) and the year of the conversion of the Turkic king (1956, 80). The data given in previous studies essentially were unsufficient and that due to the fact that of the letters to the Maronites just the passages translated by Labourt, who in his version of the queried passage wrote 12 instead of 13 years (1904, 43; cf. the rectification in Bidawid 1956, 124 n.1), were accessible to the majority of the scholars. This act of miswriting was in some cases even combined with miscalculation and other faults. Thus for instance Bang/Gabain (1929b, 420) ascertained the year 781/783, Tisserant (1931, 209) "la deuxième année de son pontificat [c.-à-d. de Thimothée I]-(782-3)" and Gabain (1950, 47) the year 781 to be the time of the conversion of the Turkic king. Mingana's (1925, 12) and Stewart's (1928, 82-83) allegation that ca. 781 has been the time of writing of the letter to the Maronites is basically ill-conceived. Concerning the date of the letter Dauvillier (1948, 291; 1973, 203) adopted Bidawid's definition, concerning the conversion of the Turkic king he, however, maintained Tisserant's contradictory styling (Dauvillier 1948, 285).

⁹ A complete edition and German translation of the letter is published in Braun 1901, 300-313. A short summary is given in Bidawid 1956, 36-37.

¹⁰ Braun 1901, 308, 11.18-20; transl.309-311. Cf. also Labourt 1904, 43 and esp. 45-46; Sachau 1919, 19-20; Mingana 1925, 12; Stewart 1928, 82-83; Messina 1947, 78 and n.41; Dauvillier 1948, 285, 292; Kmokó as summarized in Czeglédy 1954, 29; Bidawid 1956, 37, 85; Dauvillier 1973, 7, 203.

¹¹ Bidawid 1956, 59-61, 71, 74. His dating is applied in Dauvillier 1948, 285, 292, and in Dauvillier 1973, 203, too.

At this point, I should like to briefly refer to the problems which arise out of Timothy's account of the conversion of the Turks. According to Dauvillier, Pelliot had the impression that this account deals with the Turks of the area around Otrar at the middle course of the Sir-daryâ.¹² A.von Gabain, on the other hand, framed a hypothesis which was taken up by Spuler and more recently by Ugo Marazzi, according to which the "king of the Turks", who was converted to Christianity around 782, was the Uighur ruler Tun mo-ho ta-kan (**Tun Bağâ târgan*), also known as Ho Ku-tu-lu P'i-chia (**Alp Outluğ Bilgä*) Qağan, who came to power in 779 following a coup d'état against Mou-yü (**Bögü*) Qağan and his Sogdian advisors who had made Manicheism the state religion.¹³ Unfortunately, the data available are insufficient to answer the question decisively.¹⁴ It is also open to question whether in letters XLI and XLVII one metropolitan or two successive metropolitans of the Turks are meant.¹⁵

¹² Dauvillier 1948, 285; Dauvillier 1973, 6-7.

¹³ Gabain 1950, 47; Spuler 1961, 154; Marazzi 1979, 242. - Even K.Tasaka and C. Mackerras suppose that Tun mo-ho's "coup d'état was not merely anti-Sogdian but also anti-Manichean" yet according to their opinion Tun has favoured "a return to the natural cults of the Turkic peoples"; s.Mackerras 1972, 10, 36, and esp. 152-153, n.146.

¹⁴ In order to identify the "king" of the Turks with the Uighur ruler one could bring forward the argument that Mârî styles this "king" *hâqân* (s. above, n.7) and that under the Turkic chieftains in the 780ies exclusively the Uighur ruler has had the title of *qağan*. Yet Mârî was writing in Arabic during the 12th-13th centuries, the time the Arabs addressed the chieftains of each greater Turkic and Mongolian tribal confederation as *hâqân*. Timothy himself only makes use of the title *mâlkâ*.

¹⁵ According to Dauvillier (1948, 285) Timothy is supposed to speak in his letter XLI to the Maronites as well as in his letter XLVII to Sergius about the dispatch respectively the consecration of one and the same Metropolitan to the Turks. One can object to this averment that in the letter to the Maronites the conversion of the Turkic king is described as an event happening ten years before the letter was written, i.e., ca. 782/783, yet in the letter to Sergius the consecration of the Metropolitan is mentioned as an occurrence taking place shortly before the time of writing of this letter, i.e., before 795/798. Prof. Pericoli Ridolfini whom, as an expert in the field of Syriac, I asked for his opinion on this question considers it to be possible that both letters are about one and the same Metropolitan. On the basis of the letter to the Maronites one can just date the conversion of the Turkic king from the beginning of Timothy's pontificate, whereas it is not safe to say whether the dispatch of a Metropolitan to the Turks took place at the same time or later than the conversion did, may be only when the letter to the Maronites, i.e., ca. 792/793 was written. Thus Prof. Pericoli Ridolfini draws the conclusion that in consideration of the texts being at our disposal it can't be decided whether both letters refer to one and the same Metropolitan or to two different ones. Prof. Pericoli Ridolfini's statements indubitably are correct inasmuch as the letters textually don't make any contributions to the solution of this question, from the historical point of view I, however, believe it to be little probable that after the conversion of the king the Patriarch is supposed to have waited for almost ten years before dispatching the first Metropolitan.

As far as Timothy's reports about the tūptāyē and their country are concerned, there no longer is any doubt that tūptāyē is a derivation of the name "Tibet".¹⁶ One, however, must not merely think of Tibet itself, but of the entire Tibetan empire which in the 790's had reached the point of greatest expansion. Apart from the Tibetan Highland and areas of north-west China, it also at this time embraced the area around the Pamir, the southern part of the Tarim basin and, even if only for a short time, the area around the eastern T'ien-shan. The extent to which Nestorianism had spread in this vast kingdom can only be deduced from other, unfortunately very scanty sources.

2.

Examples of well-known Nestorian monuments from peripheral Tibet are the crosses which are carved into the rocks of Gilgit and Ladakh, often in the vicinity of inscriptions in various languages.

Regrettably the carvings of the crosses aren't always published in an adequate form and in most cases the deciphering of the inscriptions has yet to come. There of course are good photos of the carvings of so-called Jerusalem crosses alias potences framed by thin lines recently discovered by H.-J.Klimkeit and H.Bräker at Gilgit, to the west of the estuary of the Hunza River,¹⁷ but as far as I know there is no decipherment of the inscriptions to be read near to the crosses. A further carving of a cross in Gilgit of which I am aware thanks to the obliging communication of its discoverer, Prof. K.Jettmar, is not published yet. Three carvings of crosses, probably of Shachukul at Drangtse (Drañ rtse, Brañ rtse, Tankse) in the Shayok valley in Ladakh, are merely known through copies made by the Ladakhi bZod phel on behalf of the missionary Sebastian Schmitt.¹⁸

There is, unfortunately, no photo but only A.H.Francke's somewhat

¹⁶ Dauvillier 1948, 292; Dauvillier 1973, 203; and our n.120. Concerning the forms of the name "Tibet" in other languages cf. also Bailey 1932, 945, 947, § 4; Bailey 1940, 599-605; Bailey 1942, 924; Hamilton 1977, 519-520 and n.61. - I should like not to go into the question whether either the Arabic, the Sogdian or the Turkic was the immediate source of the Syriac form of the name Tibet, since I don't want to anticipate the respective study of Prof. Róna-Tas.

¹⁷ Klimkeit 1979a, 103 and n.12; figs.1-2. Cf. also Klimkeit 1979b, 384.

¹⁸ Francke 1925, pl.II, fig.2-4; cf. 370. Cf. also Dauvillier 1948, 294-295; Dauvillier 1973, 203; Klimkeit 1979b, 384.

sketchy drawing available of a petroglyph found at Domkhar in Lower Ladakh. The drawing shows something similar to a so-called Calvary cross i.e. of a cross on a graded pedestal and this again seems to be, through addition of a "crown" on the top transformed by later hands into a stūpa. Under the picture there is a Tibetan inscription in old orthography: phaggilo'[] "[in] the Hog year".¹⁹ Could it be substantiated that the picture and the inscription belong together (and that the picture represents a cross, in fact), then this would furnish evidence for the spread of Nestorianism among the Tibetan population. On the basis of the sketchy drawing only, however, one hardly can draw such a sweeping conclusion.

The most significant, relatively well documented and most frequently treated inscriptions and carvings of crosses are those of a rock close to the village of Drangtse. The place itself deserves attention, for it is near Drangtse where the tracks leading from Bactria, the Pamir and the western Tarim basin to India and Central Tibet meet. Inscriptions and petroglyphs are to be seen on the east, south and west side of the rock. The east side, of which two photographs have up to now been published, bears hunting scenes, images of stūpas, swastikas etc. as well as several very short inscriptions in a script which is obviously Sogdian and a short Tibetan inscription which has no interest for the topic of the present paper and which I will treat on other occasion.²⁰ On the south side, of which three photographs are known, one finds a large Sogdian inscription of nine line and a short one of a single word as well as three great Maltese crosses. Both the left and right crosses are supported - one by one - by stalks rising from flower-patterns; the middle cross seems to be unfinished, than it has only a stalk but no flower.²¹ A similar cross with stalk but without flower is to be seen together with an inscription and two further signs on the west side of the rock.

¹⁹ Francke 1925, pl.II, fig.1. Cf. also Klimkeit 1979b, 384.

²⁰ Francke 1925, 367-368 and pl.II with the photograph taken by Sebastian Schmitt in 1911; Benveniste 1938, 503-504 and pl.V with the photograph taken by G.E.Hutchinson in 1932; Hutchinson 1939, 173.

²¹ Francke 1914/1972, 58-60; Francke 1925, 367, 369-370; Müller 1925, 371 and pl.III with the photograph taken by S.Schmitt in 1911; Benveniste 1938, 502-504 and pls. III-IV with the photograph taken by Hutchinson in 1932; Gropp 1974, 367, fig.219b with the photograph made by H.de Terra in 1932, the most complete photo of the inscriptions and carvings of the south side. Cf. also Hutchinson 1939, 172, 173; Dauvillier 1948, 293-294; Lalou 1957, 16; Dauvillier 1973, 203; Petech 1977, 12. - Concerning the interpretation of the supports of the crosses as flowers cf. the remarks in Müller 1925, 371, and the crosses on the Nestorian (and Manichean?) tombstones from Ch'üan-chou (Marco Polo's Çaiton), in Enoki 1964, pl.I, fig.2; pl.III, fig.1; cf. pp.61, 63.

Of this side only the photograph taken by Prof. G.E.Hutchinson in 1932 seems to exist. This photograph is the first time published on our pl. XVII, A, by Prof. Hutchinson's courtesy, but was already examined by Sylvain Lévi in 1933. Lévi defined the writing and the language of the inscription to be Kuchean and read *tane wewimarušasi*, the first word meaning "here", while the remaining part could not be interpreted. Later at J.Dauvillier's request, the photograph was examined by J.Filliozat and P.Demiéville, too. Filliozat pronounced on the great difficulties in interpreting the Kuchean inscription. Demiéville identified the two signs as Chinese characters meaning "high", "exalted" and "loyal", "loyality" respectively.^{21a}

Besides the crosses, the Sogdian inscriptions of the south side have the greatest interest for the present theme. Renowned specialists of Sogdian, such as F.W.K.Müller, E.Benveniste and W.B.Henning, have been involved in the interpretation and decipherement of these hardly legible inscriptions. Gerd Gropp has recently summarized their results in the form of a transliteration and translation, according to which the large inscription should mean the following: "Im Jahr 210 ... kam der Samarkander ... Nōšfarn als Botschafter zum tibetischen Khagan".²² There are diverse opinions of the era according to which the inscription is dated. The era most frequently used by the Nestorians, the Seleucid era, of which the first year corresponds to 312 B.C., is certainly out of question.²³ Saeki was of the opinion that it was a date according to the Hiğra, because Samarkand had been under Moslem rule since the beginning of the 8th century. Dauvillier endorsed this opinion and pointed out that the Nestorian Christians often calculated time according to the "Years of the Empire of the Arabs".²⁴ Henning, who was obviously unfamiliar with the works of Saeki and Dauvillier, suggested the date to be interpreted according to the Yazdgird era.²⁵ It is difficult to understand, however, why in Samarkand, which never had belonged to the Sāsānian Empire, a Sāsānian era was adopted while denoting a date. On the basis of the above,

^{21a} Benveniste 1938, 503-504; Hutchinson 1939, 172; Dauvillier 1948, 294 and n.143; Professor Hutchinson, in a personal communication dated November 19, 1982.

²² Müller 1925, 371-372; Benveniste 1938, 504-505; Hutchinson 1939, 172; Henning 1958, 54; Gropp 1974, 367.

²³ Müller 1925, 372.

²⁴ P.Y.Saeki, *Keikyō no kenkyū*. Tokyo 1935, 745-746 (inaccessible to me); Dauvillier 1948, 294 and n.145. - Even among the letters of the Patriarch Timothy I there is one dated from a "year of the Arabs"; s. Bidawid 1956, 37, 61, 71.

²⁵ Henning 1958, 54. Cf. also Gropp 1974, 367.

only the conclusion drawn by Dauvillier seems to be correct, according to which the date has to be reckoned according to the *Hiqra*, i.e. year 210 means, in fact, the span of time falling between 24 April 825 and 12 April 826 A.D.²⁶ The inscription above the right cross, consisting of a single word, is more problematic. The suggestion that it should be read *Y(i)šaw*, "Jesus", was proposed, not without reservation, by F.W.K.Müller.²⁷ I am informed by Prof. Sundermann that this is a highly questionable reading; it is also questionable whether the two inscriptions belong together at all, and whether they are connected to the crosses.

However, the proximity of the crosses to the inscription of the envoy travelling from Samarkand to Tibet in the very place where the routes leading from Central Asia to India and Tibet met, is evidence that the way into the interior of Tibet stood open to Nestorian merchants.²⁸

3.

Unlike non-Tibetan sources, Tibetan documents on the spread of Nestorianism and Manicheism in Tibet became known relatively late, that is to say, after the Second World War and even just in recent years. The most interesting part of these documents is a passage of the philosophical treatise *bKa' yah dag pa'i tshad ma las mdo btus pa*, "Summary of the proofs for the right revelation", transmitted in the *bsTan 'gyur*.²⁹ The treatise was written around the last quarter of the 8th century by King Khri Sron lde btsan under the guidance of his *kalyāgamitra* Dar ma Śāntighoṣa, i.e. Śāntarakṣita³⁰ with the purpose of justifying the choice of

²⁶ Dauvillier 1948, 294. Cf. also Lalou 1957, 16; Dauvillier 1973, 203.

²⁷ Müller 1925, 371. Cf. Hutchinson 1939, 172; Dauvillier 1948, 293-294; Lalou 1957, 16; Dauvillier 1973, 203.

²⁸ A finding also counted among the archaeological monuments of Nestorianism in Ladakh is an "ancient cross of iron and bronze" with "ornaments of double spirals at the ends of its beams". This cross dug out on a hill in the vicinity of bKor rdzod at the lake mTsho mo Ri ri in Rubshu was borne by its discoverer as a neck ornament before being purchased by A.H.Francke for the British Government Collection preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1909. See Francke 1914/1972, 53-54; 113, nr.42; cf. Dauvillier 1973, 203. But since as far as I know there is no picture of it published yet, one can't form an opinion on this cross. - In this connection one also can point to the "bronze pendants in the shape of a cross" coming from Lhatse (Lha rtse in Western Central Tibet), preserved in the Bonardi Collection, that are according to Tucci "probably Nestorian and therefore of the Yüan period (1276-1368)"; see Tucci 1973, 30 (fig.29), 39, 221 (n.29).

²⁹ Tibetan Tripitaka 144, nr.5839, 64a4-103b6.

³⁰ Tucci 1958, 122, n.2; Macdonald 1971, 367 and n.594-595; Stein 1980, 331 and n.8; cf. also Stein 1979, 551.

Buddhism as the state religion with the help of logical criteria. In this text, which had been dealt with several times previously, Rolf A. Stein discovered a hitherto unnoticed criticism on Manicheism.³¹ My reading and interpretation of the passage is as follows:

(99b2) ... | par·sig·g.yon·chen·mar·ma·ne | g.yon·mi·gzod·
 (3) pas·gtsug·lag·kun·dañ·mi·mthunpa·gcig·bya·b'a'i³² ·phyir·g'ts'ug³³ · lag·kun·nas·drañs·te | byas·pa·lta·,b,u·
 ched·du·mi·mthun·par·sbyar·sbyar na | gtsug·lag·gžan·gyis·
 grub·pa'i·mtha'·yod·pa·dañ·gyur·te | ma·grub·pa·la·...
 (4) sog·pa'o | | ...

"... The great Persian heretic (lit.: liar) Mar Ma ne of insatiable heresy has borrowed (something) from all systems in order to fabricate a system deviating from all others; and while he, in accordance to what he did, arranged (the elements borrowed) quite deviating (from their original) meaning, the views held by the other systems are present and (at the same time) changed, therefore non-authentic etc. ..."

According to Stein, the passage quoted indicates rather vague knowledge of Manicheism, and the Tibetans would have acquired this knowledge from the Chinese. He points out that *Mar Ma ne* corresponded to Chinese *Mo Mo-ni*, the characteristic form of the name of the founder of Manicheism in Chinese documents of the 8th century. Stein also refers to the fact that, in an edict of Emperor Hsüan-tsung from the year 732, Manicheism was condemned for posing as Buddhism. This would correspond with the expression "the great Persian liar *Mar Ma ne*" in the Tibetan text. The Tibetans must have had knowledge of the edict, because, at that time, the Chinese princess Chin-ch'êng lived in Tibet as spouse of King Khri lDe gtsug brtsan, and there was lively contact between the Chinese and Tibetan courts. Stein also mentions the 老子化胡經 *Lao-tzü hua Hu ching*, "The Book about the Conversion of the Hu by Lao-tzü". This book contains a story, according to which Lao-tzü manifested himself as Buddha in India, and as *Mo Mo-ni* in Su-lin, that is, as Mār Mānī in Suristān in Persia. Stein thinks that this work probably is identical with the *Le'u tse kyañ* which King Khri Sroñ lde btsan is said to have found among the

³¹ Tucci 1958, 122-125; Macdonald 1971, 367-369; Stein 1980, 330-334.

³² Xyl.: *bi'*.

³³ Xyl.: *gcug*.

books of his ancestors according to the *sBa b'zed*.³⁴

However, as Prof. Stein informs me in a letter, he considers his assertion as a hypothesis. I should now wish to be allowed to develop another hypothesis alongside this one on the source of the Tibetan king's knowledge of Manicheism, which I shall introduce with some linguistic points.

Stein already realized that *par sig* "Persian" in the Tibetan text cannot have derived from the Chinese ~~波斯~~ *Po-szú* (ACh. *puâ-siè*³⁵) "(Sāsānian) Persia, Persian"³⁶ and therefore he assumed that Śāntarakṣita replaced the Chinese form of the name by the Sanskrit one.^{36a} The Sanskrit name for the Persians is, however, *pārasīka* or *pārasika*³⁷ and this would not have been transcribed in Tibetan as *par sig*. This Tibetan form can only be explained as a borrowing either from Sogdian³⁸ or from early Middle Persian.³⁹ Furthermore, the extended form *par sig pa* in the Tibetan version of Vasubandhu's *Abidharmakośabhāṣya*,⁴⁰ translated by Jina-mitra and dPal brtsegs⁴¹ at the beginning of the 9th century demonstrate that *par sig* was the usual Tibetan name for the Persians. From the form *par sig* we therefore are not in a position to draw any conclusions about the source of the knowledge of Manicheism.

Concerning *Mar Ma ne* the following equivalents are to be found in the various languages:

³⁴ Stein 1980, 334-337.

³⁵ Karlgren 1957/1972, nrs. 25/1 + 869a-b.

³⁶ In the final analysis the Chinese name corresponds to Middle Iranian [pārs] "Persis", concerning this see Middle Persian of the inscriptions *p'sly* (Gignoux 1972, 31), Parthian of the inscriptions *p'rs* (Gignoux 1972, 60), Manichean Parthian *p'rs* (Boyce 1977, 67). It, however, needs to be elucidated why there is no equivalent of Iranian -r- in the Chinese form; cf. Miller 1959, 37, n.100. - The first occurrence of the Chinese form of name we know about is in a report on Sāsānian envoys arriving at the court of the Northern Wei in October/November 455 A.D.; see Harmatta 1971, 136; Ecsedy 1979a, 228-229; Ecsedy 1979b, 154-155. A survey of later references up to 535 see in Ecsedy 1979a, 229-233; Ecsedy 1979b, 155-159. Concerning the development of Sāsānian-Chinese relations between 455 and 737 see Harmatta 1971, 136-142.

^{36a} Stein 1980, 334-335, n.14.

³⁷ Further particulars in Mayrhofer 1964, 258.

³⁸ Cf. *p'rsyk* [pārsīk] "Persian" in the *Nāfnāmak* "List of Nations"; Henning 1940, 8-9; Gershevitch 1954, § 996.

³⁹ Cf. Middle Persian in Pehlevi script *p'lsyk'* (MacKenzie 1971, 65), Manichean Middle Persian *p'rsyg* (Boyce 1977, 67). The original final consonant of [pārsīg], however, was according to the communication of Prof. Harmatta merely preserved up to the 6th century whereas at the beginnings of the 7th century it already was lost.

⁴⁰ Tibetan *Tripiṭaka* 115, nr. 5591, GU 234a3, b4. The reading "Par si ga pa" in La Vallée Poussin 1924/1971, 147, n.1, is incorrect.

⁴¹ Tibetan *Tripiṭaka* 115, nr. 5591, NU 109a7-8.

Mandaic *m'rm'ny* [mār māniā];⁴² Manichean Middle Persian *m'rym'ny*,⁴³ *mrym'ny*⁴⁴ [mār māni]; Manichean Parthian *m'rym'ny*, *m'ry m'ny*, *m'rmny*, *mrym'ny*, *mry m'ny* [mār māni];⁴⁵ Sogdian in Sogdian script *m'rm'ny*⁴⁶ [mār māni]; Manichean Turkic in Uighur script *mrm'ny* [mar mani];⁴⁷ Chinese in Manichean and Taoist texts 木摩尼 *Mo Mo-ni*⁴⁸ (ACh. muāt muā-ní⁴⁹) and in Buddhist texts 末曼尼 *Mo Man-ni*⁵⁰ (ACh. muāt muān-ní⁵¹).

According to these data, the Tibetan form of the name could have derived from a Middle Iranian language, as well as from Old Turkic. It is, however, difficult to say whether or not Chinese could have been the source of the Tibetan form because from the 7th to the 10th century, the Tibetans usually borrowed names and words from such north-western dialects of Middle Chinese where the nasal initials of Ancient Chinese remained nasal only before nasal finals. That means that the Tibetans normally would have borrowed the Chinese name of the founder of the religion in the form of *'bar 'ba 'ji or *'bar man 'ji.⁵² However, since we sporadically encounter words and names in which Ancient Chinese initials *m* and *n* are represented by Tibetan *m* and *n*, even before a non-nasal final, we in full cannot exclude the possibility that the Tibetan form *Mar Ma ne* could have been borrowed from Chinese. Thus, also this Tibetan form of the name cannot be taken into consideration in deciding the issue.

As far as the content of the critique of Manicheism in the *bka' yan*

⁴² Müller 1904, 9. Cf. also Drower/Macuch 1963, 253, where the late corrupt form *mard mania* inconceivably is used as a headword.

⁴³ Unpublished Turfan MS. M 277, p.2, col.i, 1.13 (according to Prof. Sundermann's communication).

⁴⁴ Unpublished Turfan MSS. M 271, p.1, 1.7; M 273, Ro., 1.22; M 5755, p.1, 1.4 (according to Prof. Sundermann's communication).

⁴⁵ Müller 1904, 47, 54, 60-61, 70 (n.2), 77; Müller 1912b, 18-22, 24, 26 and pls.I-II; Andreas/Henning 1934, 910 and the passages quoted there; Boyce 1975, 106, 110, 143, 161, 193.

⁴⁶ Sogdian inscription of Qara-balvasun, s. Hansen 1930, 17, cf. also 8.

⁴⁷ Le Coq 1919, 10 and pl.II; Bang 1925, 22-23; Gabain 1974, 311. There moreover is a form: *mr nyw m'ny* [mar niw mani] in which the title *nyw* "Hero" (< Manichean Parthian *nyw*) is inserted, see Le Coq 1911, 12 and pl.II.

⁴⁸ Chavannes/Pelliot 1913, 118, 122 (n.2), 154-155; cf. also 172 (and n.2) where the name denotes the Manichees.

⁴⁹ Karlgren 1957/1972, nrs.277/a + 17/e + 563/a.

⁵⁰ 歷代法寶記 *Li-tai fa-pao chi* "Records on the Gem of the Law from various ages", ms. Pelliot Chinois 2125, ed. in Taishō 51, 180b3, 6. (text nr.2075).

⁵¹ Karlgren 1957/1972, nrs.277/a + 266/a-c + 563/a.

⁵² Cf. Csongor 1960, nrs.700 + 47 + 65, as well as pp.112-113.

dag pa'i tshad ma is concerned, we must first consider the highly syncretistic character of Manicheism. In the creation of his religion, Mani fused together Christian-gnostic ideas with Mazdaic ones (and possibly with several Buddhist ideas too) into a coherent system. When he and his disciples were spreading the new religion outside the Aramaic communities and were translating their holy books into foreign languages, they largely assimilated the terminology of their teachings to that of the local religions, Mazdaism and Buddhism, in order to, in the words of Prof. Sundermann, "be comprehensible and to lessen the impression of foreignness".⁵³

As a consequence of this, Manicheism appeared to the world outside as a conglomeration of elements taken from various religions with their contextual value altered, although the inner coherence of the doctrinal system remained intact. Precisely this situation is referred to in the Tibetan treatise where we find the observation that Mar Ma-ne "has borrowed (something) from all systems" and, "in accordance to what he did, arranged (the elements borrowed) quite deviating from (their original) meaning". In extreme cases, the appropriation of Buddhist terminology reached such proportions that Manicheism gave the impression of being a perversion of Buddhism. That was the case with the 摩尼光佛教法儀略 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao fa i lüeh* "The compendium of the doctrines and styles of the teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light",⁵⁴ which gave occasion to the condemnation of Manicheism in the edict of 732.⁵⁵ I quote the English translation of the edict, done for me by Miss Ecsedy: "The doctrine of Mo Mo-ni represents radically heretic views; it is falsely called Buddhism, (by this) deceiving and misleading the people. It should be imposed on strict prohibition (in order) to stop it. But since it is a native doctrine of the Western Hu and other (Barbarians), (as long as) they practise it by themselves, needless to set it against them as a crime".⁵⁶

⁵³ "um ... verständlich zu sein und den Eindruck der Fremdheit zu mindern"; Sundermann 1979, 106.

⁵⁴ British Library MS., Stein 3969 = Giles 7054. Ed. in *Taishō* 54, 1279c-1281a (text nr.2141A). Fasc., transl. and commentaries in Haloun/Henning 1953.

⁵⁵ Haloun/Henning 1953, 188, n.3. Regarding the extent of the use of Buddhist terminology in the "Compendium" see also Asmussen 1965, 149.

⁵⁶ 杜佑 *Tu Yu*, 遷典 *T'ung-tien*. Text in the compilation 九通全書 *Chiu-t'ung ch'üan-shu*. Ed. 蔣晉川 *Kuan-wu-chai*, 1901, ch.XL, fol.37, Vo., col.3a (with a corrupt 未 *wei* instead of 末 *mo* in *Mo Mo-ni*). - Cf. the French translation in Chavannes/Pelliot 1913, 154.

A comparison of the Tibetan and Chinese criticism of Manicheism indicates, in my opinion, that each deals with different aspects of the religion, at the same time the Tibetan criticism, however, is more theoretical than the Chinese. It can therefore be assumed that the Tibetan court didn't merely possess vague knowledge of Manicheism from courtly, Buddhist or Taoist Chinese sources, but was to a certain extent familiar with the doctrines of this religion.

4.

The remaining two or three Tibetan documents which concern our topic come from the walled-up library of Tun-huang.

In this connection I first of all want to point out that Manichean and Nestorian texts in Chinese and a fragmentary Christian or Manichean Chinese-style painting⁵⁷ are already known for a long time past from the walled-up library. These documents indicate that Manicheism and Nestorianism were known and to a certain extent spread among the Chinese of Tun-huang in the 8th-10th centuries.⁵⁸

As far as the Tibetan Tun-huang documents are concerned, Madame Macdonald discovered a paragraph in a Book of Divination adapted to Buddhism, Pelliot tibétain 351, in which the name "Jesus, the Messiah" occurs and she provided us with the first practically complete reading and translation of the paragraph omitting only one short unimportant sentence. At a later date, Prof. Stein also concerned himself with this passage, but merely translated the beginning and the end, leaving out the difficult parts.

The problem with this passage is whether it can be traced back to a Manichean or to a Nestorian source. Madame Macdonald made no comment on this problem, whereas Prof. Stein stated quite categorically: "La source

⁵⁷ British Museum, Stein Collection, nr.48; original mark: Ch.xlix 001. This painting generally is looked upon as Nestorian; many scholars even consider it to be a representation of the Good Shepherd; s. Waley 1925; Waley 1931, 81-82, nr. XLVIII; Matsumoto 1931; Matsumoto 1932; Saeki 1951, frontispiece (reproduction in colour); 416-417; pl. facing 408 (reconstruction by Furuyama); Dauvillier 1948, 311 and n.236. Just a short time ago Klimkeit (1979a, 105; cf. also figs.3-5) commented on the painting not only to be interpreted in Christian terms but possibly also in Manichean ones.

⁵⁸ It, however, is doubtful whether the existence of a Manichean monastery and a Nestorian temple in Sha-chou (Tun-huang) can be demonstrated on the basis of manuscripts. Concerning the interpretation of the passages quoted from the Runic Turkic divination-book in proof of the existence of a Manichean monastery, s. Hamilton 1975, 11-16. Concerning the problematical authenticity of the statements on a Nestorian temple from 717 and 720 made in the colophons of two Chinese Nestorian manuscripts s. Enoki 1964, 74-77.

est certainement un traité manichéen en chinois."⁵⁹

In order to answer the question, the text of the paragraph must above all be examined, and for this purpose I have attempted a new transliteration and translation of the passage⁶⁰ with the valuable and stimulating support of my friend János Szerb:

(40) [o] | myi · khyod · gi · rogs · ni · lha · i · s̄i · myi · s̄i · ha · z̄es ·
 bya · ste · | phyag · na · rdo · rje · dpal · s̄ag · (41) kya · thub · pa · byed ·
 de · | gnam · rim · pa · bdun · gi · sgo · phyes · nas · lha · i · phyag · g · yas ·
 pa · i · khrim · (42) pa · nas · bsnams · pa · i · rnal · 'byor · du · dgrub · 'oñ ·
 gyis · | ci · bsams · rnams · ma · (43) mdzem · ma · 'jigs · ma · skrag · bar ·
 byos · s̄ig · | khyod · rgyal · bar · 'oñ · | gdon · bgegs · ci · (44) yan ·
 myed · te · | m{y}o · 'di · ci · la · btab · kyah · bzañ · {b}rab · bo · ||
 "Man, your friend is named god I s̄i Myi s̄i ha and acts as
 Vajrapāṇi Śrī Śākyamuni,⁶¹ and when the doors of the heaven
 with seven layers will be opened, you will pursue the Yoga
 (= way of conduct) that you will receive from the judge at
 the right hand of God; and what (you) will have thought, do
 it without shyness, unscared, undaunted. You will become a
 Jina (= you will become blissful). There will be no demons
 of sickness and impediments. This lot, for whatever cast,
 is very good."

The following details from this passage deserve attention: 1) I s̄i Myi s̄i ha, that is, the Tibetan form of the name "Jesus, the Messiah", 2) "the judge at the right hand of God" and 3) the "heaven with seven layers".

Prof. Stein has claimed that the Tibetan form of name I s̄i Myi s̄i ha corresponds to the Chinese transcription of the name, pointing to the occurrence of the name in the Taishō text nr.2142.⁶² This claim can be supported by a survey of the forms of the name "Jesus, the Messiah". With help of Profs. Sundermann and Zieme, I have tried to put together all the forms of the name which occur in languages ranging from Nestorian Syriac to the Chinese of the Manichean, Nestorian and Buddhist texts of the T'ang period: Nestorian Syriac *yyšw' mšyḥ'* [išō' məšlħā]; Manichean

⁵⁹ Macdonald 1971, 285 and n.362; Stein 1980, 337. Cf. also Stein 1979, 551.

⁶⁰ My transliteration and translation is based on the facsimile in Macdonald/Imaeda 1978, pl.177.

⁶¹ I regretabley failed to get any information on how the composition of names *Phyag na rdo rje Dpal Śag kya thub pa* respectively how in this connection the relation between Vajrapāṇi and Śākyamuni is to be interpreted.

⁶² Stein 1979, 551; Stein 1980, 337.

Middle Persian *yyšw'* and *yyšw⁶³* [yišō], and *mšyh'h⁶⁴* [mašihā]; Manichean Parthian *yyšw' mšyh'*,⁶⁵ *yyšw' mšyh'h⁶⁶*,⁶⁷ *yyšw mšyh⁶⁸* [yišō mašihā]; Manichean Sogdian *yyšw'* and *yyšw* [yišō],⁶⁹ and *mšyh'h* [məšixā];⁷⁰ Christian Sogdian in Syriac script *yšw'mšyh'* [išōy məšixā], *yšw'* [išōy] and *mšyh'* [məšixā],⁷¹ and in Sogdian script *yšwY* [išōy];⁷² Sogdian in Sogdian script *mš'yγ* [məšixā];⁷³ Kuchean in Manichean script *yšw'yy* [yišwe];⁷⁴ Manichean Turkic in Manichean script *yyšw* [yišo]⁷⁵ and *myšyh'* [mišixa],⁷⁶ in Late Sogdian script *mšy q'* [m.šixa]⁷⁷ and in Uighur script *yyšw msy.q.*, ['] [išo m.šixa];⁷⁸ Christian Turkic in Uighur script *mšyq'* [m.šixa];⁷⁹ Buddhist Turkic in Uighur script *m'r mysq'* [mar mišaxa]⁸⁰ and *m'r'n mysq'* [maran mišaxa]⁸¹ (both direct loans from Syriac);^{81a} Chinese

⁶³ Andreas/Henning 1933, 361; Sundermann 1968, 404.

⁶⁴ Unpublished Turfan MSS. M 325, Ro., 1.3; M 6230, Ro., 1.10 (according to Prof. Sundermann's communication).

⁶⁵ Waldschmidt/Lentz 1926, 115.

⁶⁶ Unpublished Turfan MS. M 24, Ro., 1.3 (according to Prof. Sundermann's communication).

⁶⁷ Unpublished Turfan Ms. M 280, fol.I, Vo., 1.12 (according to Prof. Sundermann's communication); Sundermann 1968, 400.

⁶⁸ Müller 1912b, 25, 28 (1.438) and pl.I.

⁶⁹ Gershevitch 1954, §§ 22, 25, 38, 41.

⁷⁰ Gershevitch 1954, § 63.

⁷¹ Müller/Lentz 1934, 588, 601.

⁷² Müller 1912a, 84, 86, 96, pl.I.

⁷³ Gershevitch 1954, § 63.

⁷⁴ Gabain/Winter 1958, 34-35; cf. also 39.

⁷⁵ Gabain/Winter 1958, 15. Since there is no facsimile the transliteration of the form of the name can merely be given on the basis of the transcription. The text, however, actually contains a complete form: "yišu ḥaryaman" "Jesus, the friend" a borrowing from Manichean Middle Persian *yyšw' 'ry'm'n* in which *'ry'm'n* renders Syriac *mšyh'*; cf. Sundermann 1979, 103 and n.246.

⁷⁶ Unpublished and missing Turfan MS. TM 510, Ro., 1.8 (according to Prof. Zieme's communication; cf. also Tezcan 1974, 71, n.1019-1020; Zieme 1975, 25, n.76).

⁷⁷ Le Coq 1922, 11. I myself relate to the exact reading communicated by Prof. Zieme.

⁷⁸ Zieme 1975, 25, 81, 91 and pl.V.

⁷⁹ Müller 1908, 6-7 and pl.I-II; cf. Bang 1926, 44-46.

⁸⁰ Tezcan 1974, 71 (and n.1019-1020), 92 and pl.LXIII, 1.1019.

⁸¹ Arat 1965, 114-115 (with an incorrect reading), 463 (facsimile); Tezcan 1974, 71-72, n.1019-1020 (with the correct reading).

^{81a} Besides the data contained in the Manichean, Christian and Buddhist Turkic (Uighur) Turfan texts cited above, Prof.G.Kara kindly called my attention upon two more pertinent data of non-Turfan origin: Qoman *misiha* [mišixa] in the Codex Cumanicus, fol. 69, Vo., 1.3 (facsimile: Grønbech 1936, pl.[138]; cf. Grønbech 1942, 277); and Mongolian *mysyq'* [mišiga] in the letter of the Il-qan Arvun written in 1290 to Pope Nicholas IV, 11.4, 6, 8, 22 (facsimile: Mostaert/Cleaves 1952, pl.II; cf. 450-451, 453; cf. also Ligeti 1972, 248-249).

in Manichean texts 売數 *I-shu*⁸² (ACh. i-siu⁸³), in Nestorian texts 祈施可 *I-shu Mi-shih-ho*⁸⁴ (ACh. ie-siwo miei-si-xâ⁸⁵), 翁數可尔 (or 猶) ⁸⁶ 部施可 *I-shu Mi-shih-ho*⁸⁷ (ACh. 'iei-siu mjie-si-xâ⁸⁸), 祈施 *I-shu*⁸⁹ (ACh. ie-siwo⁸⁵), 翁數 *I-shu*⁹⁰ (ACh. 'iei-siu⁸⁸), 尔 (or 施) ⁹¹ 部施可 *Mi-shih-ho*⁹² (ACh. mjie-si-xâ⁹²), 尔 (or 施) 施可 *Mi-shih-ho*⁹³ (ACh. mjie-sie-xâ⁹⁴), and in Buddhist texts 翁數部施可 *Mi-shih-ho*⁹⁵ (ACh.

⁸² Chavannes/Pelliot 1911, 566 and n.3; 602, 1.7; Taishô 54, 1284a 17 (text nr.2141B); Waldschmidt/Lentz 1926, 12-13, 29, 99, 102-103, 110.

⁸³ Karlgren 1957/1972, nrs.551/a-c + 123/r.

⁸⁴ 序魔迷詩所經 *Hsü-t'ing mi-shih-so ching* (problematical title), Takakusu MS., 1.124. Ed.: Taishô 54, 1287c11-12 (text nr.2142); Saeki 1951, 25*, 1.4; Haneda 1958, 246. Cf. also Moule 1930/1977, 61; Saeki 1951, 44, 120-121, 141 and 157, n.24; Haneda 1958, 262-263.

⁸⁵ Karlgren 1957/1972, nrs.3/q + 92/a + 598/e + 559/a-e + 1/k-1.

⁸⁶ 尔 and 施 are considered as variants of one and the same character. In the manuscripts I as far as I could inspect reproductions of originals always found the first variant whereas modern editions in most cases replace it by the second variant looked upon as the main form.

⁸⁷ 一神論 *I-shên lun* "Treatise on the One God", Tomeoka MS., pt.III, 1.157-158. Ed.: Saeki 1951, p.66*, 11.7-8; cf. also 119-121, 226, 246.

⁸⁸ Karlgren 1957/1972, nrs.589/f + 123/r + 359/m-n + 559/a-e + 1/k-1.

⁸⁹ *Hsü-t'ing mi-shih-so ching*, 1.121. Ed. Taishô 54, 1287c8; Saeki 1951, 25*, 1.1; Haneda 1958, 246. Cf. also Moule 1930/1977, 61; Saeki 1951, 140.

⁹⁰ *I-shên lun*, pt.III, 1.8. Facs. and ed.: Saeki 1951, pl. facing p.206; 51*, 1.8. Cf. also Haneda 1958, 237-239; Saeki 1951, 207.

⁹¹ *Hsü-t'ing mi-shih-so ching*, 11.2, 127, 130 etc. Facs.: Saeki 1951, pl. facing p.124, 1.2; Moule 1930/1977, 63. Ed.: Taishô 54, 1286b2, 1287c15 etc.; Saeki 1951, 13*, 1.2; 25*, 1.7, 10 etc.; Haneda 1958, 242, 246-248. Cf. also Moule 1930/1977, 59, 61, 62, 64; Saeki 1951, 120, 125, 141ff.; Haneda 1958, 262. - *I-shên lun*, pt.III, 11.44, 62, 71, 78 etc. Facs. and ed.: Saeki 1951, pl. facing p.206; 55*, 1.4; 57*, 1.2; 58*, 11.1, 8 etc. Cf. also 119, 211ff.; Haneda 1958, 262.

⁹² Karlgren 1957/1972, nrs.359/m-n + 559/a-e + 1/k-1.

⁹³ 志玄安樂經 *Chih-hsüan an-lo ching* "Scripture on Mystic Paradise", Li Shêng-to MS., 11.8, 52, 60 etc. Partial facsimile: Enoki 1964, pl.VI. 11.8, 155. Ed.: Saeki 1951, 77*, 1.8: 83*, 11.2, 10 etc.; Haneda 1958, 274, 276-277 etc. Cf. also Saeki 1951, 119-120, 258, 282 etc. - The inscription of Hsi-an-fu, main part, 1.6, characters 24-26. Facs.: Heller 1897 and 1898, pl.[2], 1.6; Havret 1895, pl.XXIII, 1.1. Ed. Saeki 1951, 2*, 1.3-4. Cf. also Heller 1897, 30 = 1898, 462; Moule 1930/1977, 36; Saeki 1951, 43-44, 54. - 大秦景教三威蒙度真言 *Ta-Ch'in ching-chiao san-wei mèng-tu tsan* "The Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion's Eulogy of the Trinity for Obtaining Salvation" (the so-called Tun-huang Gloria in Excelsis Deo), MS. Pelliot chinois 3847, text I, 11.12, 21. Facs. and ed.: Moule 1930/1977, pl. facing p.53; Saeki 1951, pl. facing p.266; 72*, 1.2; 73*, 1.1; Taishô 54, 1288b13, 22 (text nr.2143 [A]). Cf. also Moule 1930/1977, 54-55; Saeki 1951, 267-268. - 聖經 *Tsun-ching* "Sacred Scriptures", MS. Pelliot chinois 3847, text II, 11.2, 17. Facs. and ed. Moule 1930/1977, pl. facing p.53; Saeki 1951, pl. facing p.272; 74*, 1.2; 75*, 1.7; Taishô 54, 1288b26, c18 (text nr.2143 [B]). Cf. also Moule 1930/1977, 55-56; Saeki 1951, 273, 275.

⁹⁴ Karlgren 1957/1972, nrs.359/m-n + 4/l' + 1/k-1.

⁹⁵ Li-tai fa-pao chi ed. in Taishô 51, 180b3, 6, 10.

mjiē-si-xâ⁹²) and 彌尸可 Mi-shih-ho⁹⁶ (ACh. mjiē-si-xâ⁹⁷).

From this list we can determine that the vocalisation of the second syllable *si* in the Tibetan *I sí Myi sí ha* can neither be derived from Nestorian Syriac nor from a Middle Iranian language nor from Old Turkic. For historical reasons it is not very likely that the Tibetan borrowed the name from the Kuchean. Of the Chinese variants of the name, those with 夷數 ACh. i-siú and 賢數 ACh. iei-siú are out of question, since ACh. siú always is represented in Tibetan as *su* or *so*.⁹⁸ In Tibetan ACh. *siwo*, however, usually is represented as *si*.⁹⁹ Consequently, the Tibetan form can only have derived from the Chinese form 移鼠述師高可, ACh. ie-siwo miei-si-xâ, attested in the *Hsü-t'ing mi-shih-so ching* discovered in Tun-huang, that is, in fact, the form in the *Taishō* text no.2142. Yet this text is as far as I know unanimously and I believe rightly categorized in the literature as a Nestorian work.

The expression "judge at the right hand of God" will evoke in the mind of anyone familiar with Christian doctrine the words of Jesus in the *Gospel of Matthew*, chapter 26 verse 64: "But I tell you this: from now on, you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of God (literally: of the Power) and coming on the clouds of heaven",¹⁰⁰ and also the corresponding passages of the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds. Of the variants of the Apostles' Creed I cite the so-called Old Roman Creed: "I believe in God, (the) Father Almighty; And in Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord, ... He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father, thence He shall come to judge living and dead".¹⁰¹ The most important to our topic, however, is the Nicene Creed, especially its Nestorian version. Of this version there also is a Sogdian translation of which a fragmentary manuscript from the 9th-10th centuries was found and that in the ruins of a Christian temple near Bulayiq in the Turfan area.

⁹⁶ 圓照 Yüan-chao, 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄 Ta-T'ang Chêng-yüan hsü K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu "A Record on Buddhist Doctrines Took up in the K'ai-yüan Period, Continued in the Chêng-yüan Period of the Great T'ang" (compiled 795 A.D.) chap. I, ed. *Taishō* 55, 756a27 (text nr.2156). Cf. Saeki 1951, 470. - Yüan-chao, 貞元新定釋教目錄 Chêng-yüan hsin-ting shih-chiao mu-lu "A Catalogue of Buddhist Doctrines Newly Arranged in the Chêng-yüan Period" (compiled 800 A.D.), chap. XVII, ed. *Taishō* 55, 892a14 (text nr. 2157). Cf. Heller 1897, 62, n.11 = 1898, 494, n.11; Havret 1902, 6; Moule 1930/1977, 69 and n.82; Saeki 1951, 119-120, 251-252, 464.

⁹⁷ Karlgren 1957/1972, nrs.359/m-n + 561/a-b + 1/k-1.

⁹⁸ Cf. Csongor 1960, nr.629.

⁹⁹ Cf. Csongor 1960, nrs.616-617.

¹⁰⁰ New Testament 1970, 51 and n. [b].

¹⁰¹ Burn 1911, 237.

I quote from F.W.K. Müller's German translation: "Wir glauben an einen Gott, den Vater, den alles Haltenden, ... An einen Herrn, Gott, Jesum (Christum), Gottes Sohn, ... er, welcher ... (aufgefahren) ist zum Himmel hin und sitzet zu seines Vaters Rechten, und wiederum bereit ist zu kommen, zu richten, zu den Toten und Lebendigen ..." ¹⁰²

Jesus on the right hand of God, however, also is known in the Manichean tradition. 13 years ago, Prof. Sundermann published a Parthian fragment which contains the passage of Matthew just referred to and which he defined as a Manichean version of Tatian's harmonisation of the gospels, *Diatessaron*. ¹⁰³ Since then Prof. Sundermann has made some discoveries concerning this fragment. He has written to me as follows: "Meine Charakterisierung als *Diatessaron*-Version war eine Übertreibung. Man kann höchstens sagen, daß die Manichäer der Evangelienharmonie offenbar gefolgt sind. In meiner im Druck befindlichen Edition habe ich die Stelle erneut behandelt und nun dank Auffindung spiegelschriftlicher Abbildungen auf einem anderen Fragment mehr lesen können. Es zeigt sich nunmehr, daß auch für die Manichäer die Überlieferung einen eschatologischen Aspekt hatte: 'Aber von nun an werdet ihr sehn den Menschensohn, wie er sitzet zur Rechten der göttlichen Kraft, wenn er im Wagen (nämlich des Mondes) vom Himmel kommt,' und zwar zum Jüngsten Gericht. Wen verstanden die Manichäer unter der 'göttlichen Kraft'? Ich vermute, den Urmenschen [des manichäischen Mythos - G.U.], der auch im Mond seinen Platz hat."

With regard to the seven heavens we have evidence that there was belief in it in Tibet as in many other areas of Asia, too. Since it is mentioned in our passage in connection with Jesus, we must consider to what extent the concept of the seven heavens was known in Christianity as well as in Manicheism. The oldest proof comes from some Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, written between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D., namely in the so-called Slavonic Book of Enoch (alias the Book of the Secrets of Enoch), the Testament of Levi in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Vision of Isaiah, and the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch. According to these texts, the seventh heaven is the highest where, on the "throne of Glory", the "Highest One" is seated. ¹⁰⁴ This notion was not only widespread among the Jews, but also among the early Christians who held the Pseudepigrapha in high esteem until the 4th to 8th century.

¹⁰² Müller 1912a, 86-87, cf. 84-85 and pls. I-II. Cf. also Baumstark 1915, 128. Concerning the age of the finds of Christian manuscripts in Bulayiq s. Sachau 1905, 966.

¹⁰³ Sundermann 1968, 390-394; cf. 389-390, 399. Cf. also Boyce 1975, 129-130.

¹⁰⁴ Kautzsch 1900, 120-121, 218 (n.a), 446, 450 (n.a), 465-466. Charles 1913, 155, 304-306, 432-442 and esp. 530-531. - It has to be noted that in one of the MSS. of the

The Manicheans believed in ten heavens,¹⁰⁵ but as Prof. Sundermann referring to Henning's edition and explanation of a Sogdian text¹⁰⁶ informs me, the concept of seven heavens was not unknown to them; the lower seven were regarded as a special unity ruled over by the 'rex honoris'.

In the paragraph of the Book of Divination Pelliot tibétain 351 there are three motifs known to Christians as well as to Manicheans; namely Jesus, the Messiah, the judge on the right hand of God and the seven heavens. The text, however, contains nothing specifically Manichean. In contrast to this the fact that the seven heavens are joined with Jesus on the right hand of God (and not with the 'rex honoris') is indicative of Christian origin of the passage as well as the form of the name of Jesus, in the light of present knowledge, only can have come from a Chinese Nestorian work.

On the basis of these criteria, I am of the opinion that the treated paragraph from the Book of Divination Pelliot tibétain 351 represents a passage of a Nestorian text which superficially had been assimilated to Buddhism. It is reserved to future investigations to clarify whether or not other paragraphs of this Book of Divination likewise contain traces of Christian concepts. In these investigations, however, the Christian Turkic text from Bulayiq which is represented by the fragments T II B 1, T II B 62/512 (U 5179) and T II B 62 (U 187a),¹⁰⁷ also should be included. Item no.19 of this text seems to exhibit certain similarities, however very vague ones, to the Tibetan text we have been dealing with. Let me quote from W.Bang's translation of the Old Turkic text: "19. Befehl (Ge-bot). Ungünstig ist er. So spricht der Apostel Lukas: Du Menschen-Sohn, wasch Deine Hände rein! Habe keine Furcht vor dem Bösen (sondern bekämpfe es tapfer)! Halt Deine Gedanken rein! Alles was Dir Deine Liebe zu Gott eingiebt [sic!], das tue vollständig! Wenn (Du es nicht) vollständig (tust) ...".¹⁰⁸ If, as a result of these investigations, a relationship

Slavonic Book of Enoch a tenth heaven is mentioned in addition, after the seventh (Charles 1913, 442); this tenth heaven, however, is not only unknown in the other Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, the way of mentioning it in the MS in question seems to be rather accidental; while the first seven heavens are individually described, no mention ever is made of an eight and a ninth either. This problem, however, falls within the competence of the specialists in the Apocrypha.

¹⁰⁵ Chavannes/Pelliot 1911, 514-516, esp. 515, n.1; Pelliot 1914, 464 and n.3; Asmussen 1965, 171, 194 and esp. 215.

¹⁰⁶ Henning 1948, 312-313, esp. 313, n.6.

¹⁰⁷ Ed. and translation of the fragment T II B 1 see Le Cog 1909, 1205-1208; Bang 1926, 53-64 and pls. [2-3]. Ed. and translation of the fragments T II B 62/512 (U 5179) and T II B 62 (U 187a) see Zieme 1977, 271-272 and pls. XIII-XIV.

¹⁰⁸ Bang 1926, 54-55.

were shown to exist between the Tibetan book of divination and the Old Turkic text, it then perhaps could be decided whether, as W.Bang and A. von Gabain claim, the Old Turkic text in fact is a book of divination¹⁰⁹ or as recently supposed by Anthony Arlotto a collection of apocryphal sayings.¹¹⁰

A further interesting document from Tun-huang is the fragment Pelliot tibétain 1182, which reveals writing exercises on both of its sides and on one side, the "recto", even shows a drawing of a cross (see pl. XVIII). The limbs of the cross are equal in length and on the end of each limb little crosses are to be found; the whole cross itself is framed by a thin line and the end of the lower limb of the right little cross is the starting-point of a rather irregular spiral. Marcelle Lalou discovered this cross and not only registered it in the *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang*¹¹¹ but also communicated its occurrence to Jean Dauvillier, together with whom she examined it. They defined it as "une croix de type sassanide" and were in conformity with Pelliot of the opinion that it is a Christian monument from a local Tibetan copying office. But later on when Lalou was working on the Tun-huang manuscripts of the large *Prajñāpāramitā* texts, she discovered that there were manuscripts among them which had been brought in from Tibet. From this she concluded that the cross could already have been inscribed into the document before it reached Kan-su.¹¹² As far as I am concerned I do not consider Lalou's later assumption very likely, as the page only contains exercises of writing and the cross due to the rough, irregular and hasty manner in which it is drawn also appears to be no more than an exercise of drawing. It is furthermore quite improbable that papers covered with exercises of writing and drawing should have been brought from Tibet to Tun-huang. I therefore agree with the earlier claim of Lalou and Dauvillier according to which the cross came from the hand of a Tibetan scribe of Tun-huang.¹¹³

I finally should like to refer to a small figure which up to now

¹⁰⁹ Bang 1926, 55; Bang/Gabain 1929a, 241; Gabain 1964, 216. Cf. also Hage 1976, 119-120.

¹¹⁰ Arlotto 1971, 693-696.

¹¹¹ Lalou 1950, 77.

¹¹² Dauvillier 1948, 292-293 and n.139; Lalou 1957, 16; Dauvillier 1973, 203.

¹¹³ It is remarkable that the drawing of the cross of MS. Pelliot tibétain 1182 is in the same way framed by a thin line as the carvings of crosses discovered by Klimkeit and Bräker at Gilgit are. It should be left to art historians to answer the question whether the manner of representation of the crosses from Tun-huang and Gilgit in spite of the different forms of the crosses are related to each other.

only has been listed in Lalou's *Inventaire*.¹¹⁴ It is to be found at the top of one sheet of a fragmentary large [Śatasāhasrikā]prajñāpāramitā roll, in Pelliot tibétain 1676, and represents a silhouette of a Greek cross of which the limbs are equal in length and breadth (see pl.XVII, B). Yet in this connection the question arises whether it rather is a Buddhist than a Christian or Manichean symbol since similar forms of crosses also occur in the Buddhist iconography. Thus Klimkeit recently drew attention to the crosses appearing in the representation of paradeses of some of the five Tathāgatas found in the gSum brtsegs of A lci, Upper Ladakh, which he interpreted as Manichean crosses of light respectively of beams replacing the vajra and the moon.¹¹⁵ In contrast to this the crosses in the wall-paintings from Bäzäklik in the Turfan area are supposed to represent the cintāmaṇi.¹¹⁶

Examining the age of the three discussed Tun-huang documents it above all is to keep in mind that the use of the Tibetan language was not confined to the period of Tibetan rule in Tun-huang, that is, from 781 or 787 to 848, as one might be inclined to think but continued to be in use up to the end of the 10th century or even until the library was walled up.¹¹⁷ This fact particularly is of consequence to the determination of the age of the Book of Divination Pelliot tibétain 351 since I up to now could not find anything serving as a chronologic criterion, hence the book for the time being only can be dated within the long period from 781 or 787 to the first decades of the 11th century. The exercises of writing and drawing in Pelliot tibétain 1182, Ro., however, seem to go back to the time of Tibetan rule since they contain titles such as nañ rje po "lord of inner (affairs)" and žañ lon ched pho "great uncle-councillor"¹¹⁸ merely used in the administration of the Tibetan Empire. Ultimately regarding the manuscript 1676 it is in the nature of things that not the long text of the Prajñāpāramitā was written on the reverse of exercises of writing but vice versa. As the exercises of writing contain titles and names of Tibetan functionaries¹¹⁹ it is very likely to presume that the Prajñāpāramitā-text was copied during the Tibetan reign. Yet the drawing of the cross has not to be of the same age as the text but could have been attached to it much later, too.

¹¹⁴ Lalou 1961, 123.

¹¹⁵ Klimkeit 1979a, 108-109 and figs.8-10; Klimkeit 1979b, 376-378, 384-386, figs.3-5.

¹¹⁶ Klimkeit 1979a, 106-108 and fig.7b.

¹¹⁷ Uray 1981, esp. 89.

¹¹⁸ Lalou 1950, 77.

¹¹⁹ Lalou 1961, 123.

5.

Since the beginning of this century, when Patriarch Timothy's reports on Nestorianism became known, there are many diverse opinions concerning the extent of the spread of Nestorianism in Tibet. Initially many scholars attempted to deny that Timothy's letters actually referred to Tibet.¹²⁰ But today, as already shown, we merely have a few proofs, from different sources, of the more or less continuous contact Tibet or the Tibetans have had with Nestorianism demonstrably since the early 790'ies at the latest. Besides, we recently have acquired genuine evidence that in the last quarter of the 8th century the Tibetan Royal Court has been familiar with the doctrines of Manicheism.

In order to properly judge the contact Tibet has had with Manicheism and Nestorianism, we must consider its situation at the end of the 8th century. Tibet, at that time, has been a great power taking part in trans-continental trade and controlling some of the most important trade routes. On these routes there were settlements of Sogdian merchants of Nestorian and Manichean faith who here and there could spread their doctrines even among the indigenous population. As is borne witness to by the Sogdian inscription at Drañ-tse, Sogdian merchants found their way into the interior of Tibet and presumably also established trade colonies there. Even if the Nestorian communities living in these colonies were small, the geographical position of the roads demanded the establishment of several episcopates which then made the setting up of a Metropoly essential.

One also must take into consideration that in the second half of the 8th century, society in Tibet had reached a stage in development where it was necessary to adopt a world religion as state religion. This, as we know, became the role of Buddhism, but it can be assumed that Nestorianism and Manicheism tried their luck, too.

¹²⁰ Braun (1901, 311, n.1) proposed to read the name as *bêt tûhrâyê "Tohâristân"*, at a time he merely could be aware of the *bêt tûptâyê* of the letter XLVII to Sergius; cf. Dauvillier 1948, 292, n.134. Yet three years later, on the basis of the occurrence of *tûptâyê* in the letter XLI to the Maronites, Labourt (1904, 45-46) could refute this emendation and identified *bêt tûptâyê* with Tibet. Sachau (1919, 20 and n.1) nevertheless considered it to be improbable that Tibet is meant and rather thought of the Turkic tribe of the Tubbat mentioned by al-Mas'ûdî (not realizing that actually Tibet shelters behind the Turkic tribe). Sachau probably had the conventional conception of "Tibet the forbidden country" in mind whereas he ignored the historical part Tibet played in the 7th-9th centuries; cf. the critical remarks in Messina 1947, 78-79, n.41. In the meantime Syriac *tûptâyê* also was found in a passage of the *Gannat Bûssâmê* "Garden of Pleasures", coming from the 8th-10th centuries, in a context making it quite plain that *tûptâyê* signifies the Tibetans; see Vosté 1938, 115, Syriac text, 1.18; 117 and n.4; Cf. Dauvillier 1948, 292, n.135. Concerning the age of the passage see Vosté 1933, 82; Vosté 1938, 113-115.

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Abbreviations

<i>AAanth</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>ACh</i>	<i>Ancient Chinese</i>
<i>AOH</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>APAW</i>	Abhandlungen der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften / Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>
<i>BSOS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London)</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>OC</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
<i>SPAW</i>	Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften / Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

FRAGMENTS FROM HISTORICAL RECORDS ABOUT THE LIFE OF EMPEROR GONGDI OF THE SONG DYNASTY

by

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I. Episodes in the life history of Emperor Gongdi¹, who was also known as the Duke of the Ying State², or as Lha btsun³.

In January, in the year of Zhiyuan⁵ 13 (1276 A.D.), during the reign of Emperor Hubilie⁶, Boyan⁷, the Yuan Dynasty⁸ prime minister, was leading his Mongolian cavalry troops on a march towards Lin-An (Hangzhou)⁹. Unable to organize a strong resistance, the ruling authorities of Southern Song Dynasty¹⁰ decided to capitulate, therefore, two of their generals who were related to the royal family, Zhao Yinfu¹¹ and Zhao Jifu¹², were sent to meet the Yuan Prime Minister Boyan, to whom they presented the state seal of jade and a written statement announcing the order for Prime Minister Boyan to bring the deposed Song Emperor and his chief officials to the imperial court. Immediately, the 7-year-old subjugated Emperor Zhao Xian (Emperor Gongdi or the Junior Emperor)¹³ left Hangzhou for the north, accompanied by his mother (Dowager Quan)¹⁴ and his attendants. Not long after that, in June, Prime Minister Boyan brought Zhao Xian to the city of Shangdu¹⁵ and held a ceremony to confer the title "Duke of the Ying State" on the deposed ruler. From then on, Zhao Xian, the last Emperor of Southern Song Dynasty was known among people as the Duke of the Ying State. Around this time, the Yuan rulers had stopped their war against the Song regime. However, an opposition group headed by Lu Xiu-fu¹⁶ was still carrying out some activities in the south. Meanwhile, there still remained some kind of resistance in many newly occupied areas. Being aware of this situation, the Yuan rulers considered it necessary to make some arrangements which would please the Duke of the Ying State, who, as a dethroned Emperor, still possessed some potential influence.

In December, in the year of Zhiyuan 19 (1282 A.D.), a high-ranking

official of the Yuan central government presented a message to the supreme ruler, stating that it would be advisable to give permission to the Duke of the Ying State and two of his relatives (former official Zhao Yunei¹⁷ and imperial scholar Zhao Yupiao¹⁸) to live together in Shangdu. In his reply, the Yuan Emperor noted that considering his old age, Zhao Yunei should be allowed to live in Dadu¹⁹ (the capital), while the others might live in the place suggested in the message. The Emperor also added that the Duke of the Ying State should be provided with clothing and provisions while on his way to Shangdu.

That year, the Duke of the Ying State was only twelve. One may wonder why such a small boy should not be allowed to live in Dadu (the capital city), but in Shangdu city (at that time known as Kaiping²⁰). This was because there was a person by the name of Xue Bao-zhu²¹, who wrote an anonymous message to the court, accusing someone of planning an anti-government rebellion. Panic-stricken by the message, the Yuan rulers immediately ordered the exile of the deposed Song Emperor to an interior area of Mongolia. Almost at the same time, they had the former Song prime minister Wen Tianxiang²² executed at Chaishikou²³, a place in the capital.

In January, the next year, that is the year of Zhiyuan 20 (1283 A.D.), the Yuan authorities sentenced the writer of the anonymous message to death on charges of following the example of a convicted criminal named Dong-Fangshuo²⁴, who had conspired against innocent people in an attempt to deceive the court and to obtain high awards from the government. The death sentence came like a bolt from the blue to the writer of the anonymous letter. In November, in the year of Zhiyuan 24 (1287 A.D.), as was disclosed by the Mongolian official, Sengge Timur²⁵, the Yuan rulers were very worried about the political situation. "It is now ten years since the southern regions capitulated, but there are still so many bandits and insurgents", some of the ruling authorities said. "We hope that our Emperor will soon set a time limit for the arrest of all the outlaws." In October, one year later, the Yuan rulers, out of apprehension about the future intention of the Duke of the Ying State, granted him a huge amount of silver. Ten days after that, the Duke of the Ying State was sent to Tibet to study and practise Buddhism, at the age of 19.

According to historical documents, in December of the year of Zhiyuan 28 (1291 A.D.), a minister in charge of nationalities affairs appealed to the court for tax exemption to be granted to the 210 hectares of land owned by the Duke of the Ying State and his mother. Both of them,

the minister said, were leading a Buddhist life.

There can be little doubt that at that time the Duke of the Ying State was a monk studying Buddhism in Tibet, and his mother was living as a nun. However, for a long time after that, the book *A History of Yuan Dynasty*²⁶ made no mention of the Duke's whereabouts. It was not until the year of Tianli²⁷ 2 (1329 A.D.), during the reign of Wen-Zong Emperor²⁸, that information concerning the death of both the Duke and his mother was found in the annals.

It was said that one year later, in 1330, the landed estate of the former Song Dowager Quan was converted into the permanent estate of the Husheng Nunnery²⁹, and that of the deceased Duke into the permanent property of the Jiqing temple³⁰.

However, there were hardly any historical records about when, where and how the Duke of the Ying State died. This brought about a lot of controversy centering around this topic among scholars of the Ming and the Qing Dynasties³¹.

Since the Duke of the Ying State had lived as a Buddhist monk in Tibet for some years, it seems quite natural that Buddhist writings and Tibetan records would most probably shed some light on this subject.

For example, in volume 32 of *Stories of Shākyamuni and his Followers*³² we can find the following descriptions:

"In the year of Zhiyuan 12 (1275), all areas under the control of the Southern Song regime gave themselves up to the Yuan rulers whose formidable troops were closing in from all directions; later, the dethroned Song Dynasty Emperor was designated as the Duke of the Ying State and his mother was asked to be a nun at Zhengzhi Nunnery³³; In the year of Zhiyuan 14 (1277), the Duke was sent to mDo smad lu³⁴ to study Sanskrit and Tibetan Sūtra; In August, in the year of Zhiyuan 19 (1282), at the order of the Yuan Emperor, the 47-year-old former Song Prime Minister Wen Tianxiang was put to death; news about the decision of the deposed Song Emperor to give up his throne and to practise Buddhism made Yuan Emperor Hubilie exceedingly happy, and he then gave the order for the former Song ruler to have his hair as thoroughly cropped as most monks; shortly afterwards, the deposed ruler, dressed in typical Buddhist robes, started on his trip to the country's south-western region where he would settle down and devote himself heart and soul to the study of Buddhist doctrine; in April, of the year of Zhizhi³⁵ 3 (1232), on an order from imperial

court, the Duke of the Ying State was executed in the Hosi³⁶ area, and later a number of distinguished monks and scholars were summoned together and asked to record this incident in the Tibetan Buddhist scripts by writing something in gold."

The time of the above events are not accurate. The overthrow of the Southern Song Dynasty was not in the 12th year of Zhiyuan; it was not until Zhiyuan 25 when he went to Tibet to study the Tibetan Sūtra. Yet, the *Stories of Shākyamuni and his Followers* is still of very important value as a historical record, as it provides us with some facts which no other books have ever given any account before:

1. The Duke of the Ying State became a monk according to the order of the Yuan Emperor,
2. he was called Hezun³⁷,
3. he was executed upon the order of the imperial court, and
4. his mother Quan became a nun at the Zhengzhi Temple.

In the early Ming Dynasty during the year of Hong Wu³⁸, Shu Zhong Wu Wen³⁹ wrote *Notes of Shan'an Temple*⁴⁰, in which was stated the following about the Duke of the Ying State:

"After the Duke became a monk, he wrote a poem in the years of Ying Zong⁴¹, which says:

'Sending words to Lin Hejing⁴²,
I do not know how many times .

The plum-flowers have been in blossom.

Having been the guest on the Golden Stage⁴³,
I have but no chance
To return home.'

The local agents thought that his intention was to instigate the people. So they reported to the emperor. The emperor executed him but later regreted it. Therefore he hired the monks, who were good at writing, to come to the capital to write the incident in the Tibetan Buddhist Scripts."

Wu Wen was a scholar who lived in both the Yuan and the Ming Dynasties. He usually put down notes on most of the events of the time. In this book, he also pointed out clearly that the Duke of the Ying State died in the year of Zhizhi. This statement is the same as that in the *Stories of Shākyamuni and his Followers*. Furthermore, he explained that the reason for his death was for having written an agitating poem.

Tao Zongyi⁴⁴, in Vol.20 of his *Notes upon Rest at Nancun Village*⁴⁵, selected the same poem which sounds differently in rhyme and in tone:

"Sending words to Lin Hejing,
 How many times have the plum-flowers been in bloom?
 Being a nobody beneath the Golden Stage,
 The good times should not again come."

He put some notes down about the poem:

"This is written by the young Emperor⁴⁶ of the Song Dynasty.
 The four lines dedicate boundless mournfulness, for which a
 few will not feel sympathy."

He also selected the same poem with the following explanation:

"The young Emperor is in Yan Jing⁴⁷ in misery and sadness.
 Meanwhile Wang Shuiyun⁴⁸ is leaving for the south. So the
 emperor writes the poem for him."

Why was the Duke of the Ying State executed just because of a poem? Two points need explanation. One is the Golden Stage, the other is the name Lin Hejing. The Golden Stage indicates the miserable life of the young Duke. The name of Lin, who was a famous scholar born in Hangzhou, is used as a symbol of the young Emperor's home town. These two points were used by the local agents and the emperor as excuses to kill him.

One thing must be pointed out here -- that is the inconcistence of the time when the poem was written. Some said it was during the years of Ying Zong (1321-1323 A.D.); some said that it was before Zhiyuan 25 (1288) when Wang Shuiyun went back to the South and the Duke then was still in Yan Jing. Between these two statements of time, there is a more than 30 years' gap.

The following quotes are from some history books written in Tibetan:

Deb ther dmar po, the Red Annals⁴⁹ :

Se chen rgyal po rgyal sar bzhugs nas | tsi dben lo bcu gsum
 pa'i dus su | sman rtsi'i gyi'u ju'i rgyal sar bsdad nas lo
 gsum song ba na | pa yan tshing sang gis rgyal khams blangs |
 rgyal po sa skya btang lha btsun byas | rting la ge gan rgyal
 po'i dus su bsad pas khrag dkar po byung.

"In the 13th year of the Yuan Emperor Xuechan⁵⁰, when it was
 the 3rd year after the young Emperor of the Southern Song had
 ascended to the throne, Minister Bo Yan of the Yuan took all
 Song's land. The Song emperor was sent to Saky⁵¹ and be-
 came a monk. Later he was killed during the time of Emperor
 Ying Zong. He shed white blood."

"Became a monk" in Tibetan is *lha btsun*, which is pronounced Hezun, meaning "monk from a heavenly god's family". Hezun is a respectable form of address for monks from the royal family. Hezun is an honorific title for the Duke of the Ying State after he became a monk.

"White blood" can also be translated "the blood became milk". This is a common saying in Buddhism, which means an unjust charge. There is the same saying in the Tibetan legends.

*Deb ther sngon po, the Blue Annals*⁵²:

Ci'u tha'i rdzung zhes pa'i rgyal po rgyal rabs brgyad spen lyang gi sa char byung | rgyal rabs brgyad pa shang hwang pha bu gnyis kyi lag nas chi tan ta'i gle'u zhes pas spen lyang la sogs pa'i rgyal khams phyed phrog | rgyal khams de la ta'i gle'u zer | shang hwang gi zha gon ma'i bu khang dbang zhe pa sman tsi'i yul du song nas pha'i yul gyi rgyal khams phyed po gzung | hor gyis nam tha'i zer khyen khang hwang je'u bsdad rgyal khab de la gsung zer | de nas sman rtse lha btsun gyi bar du rgyal rabs brgyad sman rtser byung.

"Zhao Taizu"⁵³ became the emperor and established the capital in Bian Liang⁵⁴, where the Dynasty had eight emperors. Till the time of Shang Huang⁵⁵ (Hui Zong) Quidan⁵⁶ (Liao) emerged, who later got hold of Bian Liang, several other cities and then, half of the territory. Kang Wang⁵⁷, the son of Huizong, went to the south and inherited the rest of the territory.

He lived in Hangchow and named his Dynasty Song. Up to Hezun, there were eight emperors."

This quotation shows that the Tibetans did not know very clearly about the relations between the nations in the north during the Song Dynasty. Therefore they took Zhao Taizong as the founder of the Song; took Qidan as the winner of Bian Liang, and took Liao as the Jin Kingdom⁵⁸. These assumptions were not correct. But some of the terms go along with the Mongolian habitual address, e.g. to call the Song "Manzi"⁵⁹ after it moved to the south; to call Lin An "Jian Kang"⁶⁰ or "Hangchow". Especially noticeable is to call Shaodi "Hezun". This is the same as that in the *Red Annals*. This shows that instead of using his name, the Tibetan historians also called the Duke of the Ying State or Shaodi, the last emperor of the Southern Song, "Hezun".

*Deb dmar gsar ma, the New Red Annals*⁶¹, not only records the same account, but also has a very important line:

phyis sman rtse'i yul du rgyal rabs brgyad byung ste sman

rtse lha btsun pa'i bar du'o ('dis sa skyar spyi 'dzin mdzad)
 "Later, in the south, the Dynasty passed to the 8th generation
 and was overthrown in the year of Hezun (who later became the
 chief of Sakya Temple.)"

The Happy Banquet of Scholars⁶² has the same record. Also the History of a Good Luck Tree⁶³ has put the name of the Duke of the Ying State in the Collection of Famous Translators During the Later Period of the Development of Buddhism. The name is listed No.60, which is in front of 'Gos gzhon nu dpal⁶⁴', the author of the Blue Annals, and Tāra-nātha⁶⁵, the author of the History of Indian Buddhism⁶⁶. The Happy Banquet of Scholars also records the name of the Duke as Hezun in the Collection of Translators, Wise Men and Philosophers⁶⁷.

Another more important piece of record is *Tshad ma rigs par 'jug pa'i sgo, On Mastering Logic*⁶⁸. On its front page there are some Han⁶⁹ pronunciations spelled in Tibetan *Gyin ming gshe' cing li'i lun*; at the bottom of the page there is a note:

rgya nag chen po'i lha'i btsun pa chos kyi rin chen gyis dpal ldan sa skya'i gtsug lag du rgya'i dpe dang bod kyi dpe gnyis po legs par gtugs shing bcas te dag par bsgyur pa'o | rgya'i dpe la rigs par 'jug pa zhes snang deng sang bod nams rigs pa'i sgo zhes grags so.

"In the Sakya temple the monk Hezun, who came from the royal family of the Han, compared very carefully, corrected and translated the book in both Han and Tibetan languages. The title of the book is *On Mastering Logic*. Many Tibetans call the book *The Essential Logic*."

Based on this, we can see that after the Duke went to Sakya, he mastered Tibetan and translated in the Sakya temple the Buddhist book on logic; therefore the Tibetan historians listed him as one of the great translators.

To sum up the documents in both the Han and Tibetan languages, the life of the Duke of the Ying State can be summarized as follows:

In September, 7th year of Xianchun of Duzong⁷⁰ (1271), he was born in Lin An. Second son of Duzong. Mother, Quan.

In October, 9th year of Xianchun (1273), entitled the "Duke of the Jia State"⁷¹.

In July, 10th year of Xianchun (1274), ascended the throne at the age of four. The name of the year changed into Deyou⁷². Dowager Quan administered the affairs of state.

Surrendered in the 13th year of Zhiyuan (1276) during the reign of Yuan Shizu. Went to Dadu in May, entitled there "Duke of the Ying State".

In 19th year of Zhiyuan (1282) left for Shangdu in December.

In October, 25th year of Zhiyuan (1288), sent to Tibet upon the order of the Emperor. Studied Buddhism. Lived for a long time in the Sakya temple and was once the chief. Name changed into Hezun. Studied Tibetan and translated Buddhist works, including *on Mastering Logic* and *on the Understanding of Buddhism*⁷³.

In 3rd year of Zhizhi during the reign of Yingzong (1323), ordered to death at Hosi. Some people of the Late Yuan Dynasty said the reason was for writing poems. The Tibetan historians all held the opinion that his death was on an unjust charge.

II. Arguments about whether Emperor Shundi of the Yuan⁴ was the son of the Duke of the Ying State

Shundi, Huizong⁷⁴, of the Yuan Dynasty, also known by his Mongolian name Tuhuan Timur⁷⁵, was said to be the son of the Duke of the Ying State.

The first book which records this story is *The Stories of Gengshen*⁷⁶, written by Quan Heng⁷⁷, a recluse of the late Yuan Dynasty.

"At the beginning of the Yuan, when the Southern Song surrendered, the Duke of the Ying State was still very young. In Dadu, he volunteered to be a monk in the White Pagoda Temple⁷⁸. Upon the order of the Emperor he lived in the temple of Gan Zhou⁷⁹. One day a person named Zhao Wang⁸⁰ happened to walk around the temple. He saw the Duke was old and lonely. He pitied him. So he left him a Hui girl⁸¹. In Yanyou⁸² 7, the girl was pregnant. In April, in the night of 16th, she gave birth to a boy. Emperor Mingzong⁸³ happened to come from the north. While going for a walk in the morning, he saw there were colored dragon patterns above the temple. Therefore he went to seek the place and found the room of the Duke. He asked: 'Is there any treasure in your room?' The Duke answered: 'Nothing valuable.' The Emperor continued to question him. So he said: 'Got a son this morning.' Mingzong was delighted. He asked for the son and took the mother back, too."

The person who spread this story and later exaggerated it was Yu Ying⁸⁴, the director of Confucian Study at Zhenghe County⁸⁵ in Fujian Province⁸⁶. He wrote a poem to narrate the life of Shundi. This poem was wide spread and for a long time nobody knew who the author was. The fol-

lowing is his poem:

"Pity the 16th Emperor of the Song,
Degraded to the Duke of the State Ying.
Lucky was the Duke who was given the princess
of the Yuan.
And was invited to the Ming Guang Palace⁸⁷, banqueting.
Drunk he climbed up the pillar of the Palace,
Frightened the Emperor saw his fingers like the
dragon's claws, outstretching.
The Emperor told his ministers in laughter:
'Look, different from common birds, up, son of
a phoenix, up he is going.'
One said that he should be killed,
And the whole night the princess was crying.
So in a hurry the Duke went to see the Lama
And willingly he became a monk the next morning.
Like a bird he flew out from the cage,
Changed his name to Hezun, and in the desert he was hiding.
Mingzong went to the desert later on,
And made friends with Hezun, in the desert who was living.
Hezun's wife gave birth to a son one night,
Mingzong in his camp heard music going.
He asked for the boy as his son
Who was a little child when Mingzong lay dying.
Wenzong, the next Emperor, ordered the boy to move;
So, to Nanhai⁸⁸ the boy was going.
Five years passed by, the boy was on the throne and the
country he was ruling.
Years had flown away before he was forever resting.
Now his descendants are still the masters of the desert,
Where they keep their glory flourishing.
In the past, their ancestors came from the State of Zhou⁸⁹,
Now they treat the Zhou people with great care
for the gratitude they were cherishing.
Though in their history there were romantic figures
who lost power,
But the generations of the family will last without ending."

In this poem we can see some changes: the Hui girl in *The Stories of Gengshen* became the princess of the Emperor; the lonely and old Duke became the honored guest of the ruler of the time, and some details e.g.

to see the Lama, to run away, to live in the desert, to change the name into Hezun, etc.

Up to Yuan Zhongche⁹⁰, the son of Yuan Liuzhuang⁹¹, a famous astrologist at the early Ming Dynasty, the story was further developed. He wrote in his *Collection of Stories of Fu Tai*⁹²:

"When I was young, I heard my teachers say that the Yuan Dynasty entitled the Young Emperor of the Song the Duke of the Ying State. One day, Shizu, the Emperor of the Yuan had a dream that he saw a golden dragon stretching out his claws and wounded around the pillar of the palace. The next morning, the Duke came to see him. The Duke was standing right under the pillar which he had dreamed. Shizu felt that there might be something about the Duke and therefore wanted to kill him. The Duke knew this and was frightened. He begged the Emperor to set him free. He changed his name into Hezun and said he was willing to go to study Buddhism in Tibet. So the Emperor let him go. When he was passing through Mongolia, Mingzong saw his wife Hanluglu⁹³, who was the descendent of King Alslan⁹⁴. Mingzong loved her and took her as his concubine. Before long she gave birth to Tuhsuan Timur. Later Wenzong sent an imperial edict, saying that when Mingzong was in the desert, he should always say that he was not his son. So the two moved to the Gaoli⁹⁵ Island and later to Guangxi⁹⁶ The Emperor of Yuan was so cruel that he did not even let the wife and the son of the Ying State stay. The Duke stayed in Yan⁹⁷ for eight years and was treated badly. The Emperor had a dream and this caused his suspicion of the Duke. The Duke guessed the suspicion and found an excuse to go to the west. On his way he met the King of Zhou⁹⁸, who took his wife by force. Later she gave birth to Shundi, a posthumous son"

The story is basically the same as the poem. The only difference is that he made Hanluglu the Duke's wife, and so Shundi of the Yuan Dynasty became the posthumous child of the Duke after Mingzong had taken his wife by force.

But this is not yet the end of the story. Yuan Zhongche went on to tell a story of himself.

"After I retired, I had a chance to read the poem by Mr. Yu Wenjing⁹⁹ which narrates the life of the Duke of the Ying

state. I was enlightened. So I wrote down an old event of mine; On May 18, Yongle¹⁰⁰ 10 (1412), Emperor Taizong¹⁰¹ ordered Li Qian¹⁰² and Wang Ji¹⁰³ to bring the portraits of all the Emperors of the Song and let me and Xu Ying¹⁰⁴, a painter, see the portraits. The Emperor said, with a smile on his face: 'Even though those after Taizu all had noses like the goats, they still look handsome and like doctors of the royal family.' The next day we were asked to see the portraits of all the emperors of the Yuan Dynasty. The emperors all looked strong and tall. The Emperor said: 'They all ate sheep meat.' But when we saw the portrait of Shundi, the Emperor asked me why Shundi looked like a doctor. I could not answer his question for I did not know anything about Shundi. Now I am so lucky to have a chance to read the poem about the 16th Emperor of the Song. I regret that I could not answer the question and I feel that the Emperor was wise enough to find the difference between Shundi and others. Therefore I write this down and wait for those who compile books to add this to the records."

This piece of his reminiscences, however, did not make him wiser but betrayed him. He had neither studied the history of the Song and the Yuan, nor had he ever read the collection of Yu. Otherwise, why did he give the copyright of the poem to that Mr. Yu Wenjing? Actually there were some people who immediately pointed out the errors in his writing. Ye Sheng¹⁰⁵, in Vol.37 of his *Diary at Shui Dong*¹⁰⁶, pointed out:

"Recently I read *The General History*, the *History of Zhenghe County* and the *Collection of Stories of Fu Tai*. At this point only did I get to know that the poem was written by Yu Ying. Yuan Zhongche said that it was by Yu Ji¹⁰⁷ (Yu Wenjing). The statement is false."

Huang Pu¹⁰⁸ says in his *Collection of Ancient and Present-day Events*¹⁰⁹:

"I heard Grandfather Nanshan¹¹⁰ say: 'During the years of Yongle, the Emperor saw Mr. Yuan from the printing shop. Yuan said: 'Together with other two ministers I saw the portraits of the Emperors of the previous Dynasties, and I saw the portrait of Taizu of the Ming.' The Emperor said: 'He is indeed handsome.' And he also said: 'From Zhenzong¹¹¹ on, all of them looked handsome like the doctors of the royal family.' When they saw the portrait of Shizu, the Emperor said: 'He looks like a Southerner.'

When it was the portrait of Shundi, the Emperor said: 'This one looks like a doctor again. Why? Yuan could not answer. So Grandfather Nanshan answered: 'How come you to not know this? The wife of Xian (Shaodi, or the Duke -- author) of the Song's was pregnant. Mingzong, the Emperor of the Yuan saw her and took her by force. She gave birth to Shundi.' Yuan regreted that he could not answer, so he recorded the story in his book without writing down the name of Nanshan, my grandfather."

In fact the first one who found out that Yu Ying was the author of the poem was He Qiaoxin¹¹². He said in the *Notes on the Poems by Yu Ying*¹¹³:

"When I was twenty, I went to Jiangxi¹¹⁴ to attend local examinations. I saw poems in the inn, among which there was one called *The Master in the Desert*. The author was said to be Yang Lianfu¹¹⁵. I was so busy with my exams that I did not have time to copy the poem, but I remembered the last few lines as follows:

'Oh, the phoenix became a bird
the dragon became a fish.

Alas, the son of a royal family of 300 years
became a master in the desert.'

A note after the poem says: 'Taizu of the Song was the greatest. He established the Dynasty. He did not give his power to his son but to his brother. Yet Taizong of the Song violated his oath and caused the disaster brought forth by the invasion of the Jin¹¹⁶. So the whole royal family moved to the north. The grand-son of Taizu inherited the throne and kept the Dynasty for more than a hundred years. The Dynasty was overthrown by the Yuan. The son of the Ying State Duke got Yuan blood and became the master of the desert. How greatly Heaven shows its gratitude to Taizu?' The above sounds very similar to Yu Ying. Recently I studied the collected poems of Yang, but no such poem. So someone might have used the name of Yang."

From this note we find out that there was a poem under the name Yang Tieya¹¹⁷ which also help to exaggerate the story.

Such is the emergence, development and the transformation of the story during the Yuan and the Ming Dynasties. The story gradually became an intricate case which caused much argument. In the Ming Dynasty, be-

sides the people mentioned above, there were Cheng Minzheng¹¹⁸, Chen Tingzhi¹¹⁹, Zhang Zhichun¹²⁰, Chen Ruqi¹²¹, Luo Lun¹²² and so on, who wrote tons of books about the case. Most of them believed the story. Huang Xun¹²³, Wang Shimao¹²⁴ and Luo Feng¹²⁵ doubted the reliability of the story. Luo Feng's words are the most representative. He held the opinion that there was a more than 20 years gap between the year when the Duke became a monk and the year when Shundi was born. This shows the impossibility of the story. People like Qian Qianyi¹²⁶ took an equivocal attitude.

Up to the Qing Dynasty, Wan Sitong¹²⁷, Quan Zuwang¹²⁸ and Zhao Yi¹²⁹ all believed that Shundi was the son of the Duke of the Ying State.

Some modern scholars like Wang Guowei¹³⁰, Yu Jiaxi¹³¹ and Chen Dengyuan¹³² all discussed the reliability of the story. Yu Jiaxi in his *Works on Study* did a thorough analysis and denied the possibility of the story. Madam Wei Qingmang¹³³ did a tremendous amount of research and wrote a study on the saying that Shundi of the Yuan was a descendent of the Song. Yet her conclusion was not clear due to her attitude "rather believe it than doubt it, if not sure."

III. A brief review

I started the research rather late. By comparing the historical records in both the Han and Tibetan languages, I definitely know the account of Xian from Shaodi to the Duke of the Ying State and then to Hezun. As for the story that Shundi of the Yuan was the son of the Duke, there is a fundamental error in time, which makes the story untenable. In the Records of Yingzong¹³⁴ and the Records of Wenzong¹³⁵ in *A History of the Yuan Dynasty*, there are very clear accounts that Shundi was born in April in the year of Yanyou 7 (1320). His mother was Hanluglu. He was born in the north. Meanwhile the Duke was around 50. Even if he had had the chance to come to the interior from Tibet where he had lived for a long time, and to meet Mingzong, it is impossible that his wife, after having been taken by Mingzong, only gave birth to a child four years later. Mingzong came to Hexi in Yanyou 3 (1316), yet Shundi was born in 1320. Furthermore, Mingzong was only 16 in the year of Yanyou 3, how could he take the wife of an old man of 46! The story is untrue. But why is it wide spread over hundreds of years and is exaggerated by many scholars? The reasons are simply the following:

- 1) After the overthrow of the Song Dynasty, many Han officials were dissatisfied with the rule of the Mongolians. Therefore they made

up stories like this to comfort themselves.

2. The lack of records of the whereabouts of the Duke of the Ying State after he became a monk left a blank space, which provided the chance for some of the scholars to make up stories.
3. The story serves the need of the struggle for power among the uncles and nephews in the royal family of the Yuan Dynasty.

Some time after becoming a monk, the Emperor Gongdi of the Song Dynasty was sent to Saska for 30 years, because Tibet had become a province under the Yuan Dynasty. At that time many leaders of Tibet served as officials in Dadu (Peking). For example, 'Phags pa¹³⁶ took the honourable post as *di-shi*¹³⁷ (the Emperor's teacher). And it was natural that the Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty requested the *di-shi* to control and instruct his potential political opponents.

CHINESE CHARACTERS

1 恭帝	28 文宗
2 瀘國公	29 護聖寺
3 合尊(藏語譯音)	30 集慶寺
4 元順帝	31 明、清兩朝
5 至元	32 佛祖歷代通載
6 世祖(忽必烈)	33 正智寺
7 伯顏	34 脱思麻路
8 元朝	35 至治
9 臨安(杭州)	36 河西
10 南宋	37 合尊(漢字譯音)
11 趙吉甫	38 洪武
12 趙尹甫	39 慈中無愠
13 趙彊,恭帝或少帝	40 山庵雜錄
14 全太后	41 英宗(格堅皇帝)
15 上都	42 林和靖
16 陸秀夫	43 黃金臺
17 趙與芮	44 陶宗儀
18 趙與黨	45 南村輶耕錄
19 大都	46 幼主,少帝,幼帝
20 開平	47 燕京
21 薛保住	48 汪水雲
22 文天祥	49 紅史
23 柴市口	50 薛禪皇帝(世祖)
24 東方朔	51 薩斯迦
25 藝哥,玉迦帖木兒	52 青史
26 元史	53 趙太祖(太宗,誤)
27 天曆	54 沢梁

55	上皇(宋徽宗)	86	福建省
56	契丹(大遼)	87	明光宮
57	康王	88	南海
58	金國	89	周
59	蠻子	90	袁忠徹
60	建康	91	袁柳莊
61	新紅史	92	符臺外集
62	賢者喜宴	93	罕禪魯氏
63	如意寶樹史	94	阿兜廝蘭
64	管·董奴貝(董祥)	95	高麗
65	達卷那它	96	廣西
66	印度佛教史	97	燕
67	譯師·哲人·智者之品	98	周王(即趙王)
68	因明入正理論	99	虞文立青公
69	漢	100	永樂
70	度宗咸淳	101	太宗(成祖)
71	嘉國公	102	李謙
72	德祐	103	王吉
73	百法明門論	104	徐英
74	順帝、惠宗	105	葉盛
75	妥懥鐵木兒	106	水東日記
76	庚中外史	107	虞集(文立青)
77	權衡	108	黃溥
78	白塔寺	109	閭中古今談(錄)
79	甘州	110	南山先生
80	趙王	111	真宗
81	回回女子	112	何喬新
82	延祐	113	跋余應詩
83	明宗	114	江西
84	余應	115	楊廉夫
85	政和縣	116	金

117	楊鉄崖	128	全祖望
118	程敏政	129	趙翼
119	陳霆之	130	王國維
120	張志淳	131	余嘉錫
121	陳汝金	132	陳登原
122	羅倫	133	魏青鑑
123	黃訓	134	英宗年紀
124	王世懋	135	文宗年紀
125	羅鳳	136	八思巴
126	錢謙益	137	帝師
127	萬斯同		

A STUDY ON THE ANCIENT PRONUNCIATIONS OF THE WORD MIG
 IN TIBETAN - CURRENTLY ON THE OCCURRENCE AND THE
 DEVELOPMENT OF THE TONES IN TIBETAN

by
 WANG YAO (Peking)

I.

Mig, a common, one syllable word in the Lhasa Dialect¹ of Tibetan², means "eye".

This word is written as *mig* and pronounced as *mi? A* while reading; yet in spoken language it is pronounced as *mi? V*. *mi? A* and *mi? V* form

¹ There are many ways to categorize dialects of Tibetan.

- a) In China the main opinion tends to divide Tibetan into three major dialects: Lhasa Dialect (*dBuS-gTsang Dialect*), Khams Dialect and A mdo Dialect;
- b) Two major dialects: Central-Tibet Dialect and Western-Tibet Dialect (Miller, The Independent Status of the Lhasa Dialect within Central Tibetan. *Orbis* 4, 1955, 49-55; C.F. and F.M. Voegelin, Classification and Index of the World's Language. Elsevier 1977, 327-328);
- c) Three dialects: Balti Dialect, Lhasa Dialect and Khams Dialect (Li Fang-kuei, Language and Dialects of China *JCL* 1:1, 1973, 1-13);
- d) Four major dialects: Western-Tibet Dialect, Eastern-Tibet Dialect, Central-Tibet Dialect and Southern-Tibet Dialect (R.Shafer, Classification of the Sino-Tibetan Language, Part II:1, 1955, 94-111; and Introduction to Sino-Tibetan, I-V, Wiesbaden 1966-74);
- e) Five major dialects: Central Dialect, Western Dialect. Eastern Dialect, North-eastern Dialect and Southern Dialect (Nishida Tatsuo, A Study of the Tibetan-Chinese Vocabulary, *Hsi-fan-kuan i-yu*, 1970 [jap.])

My division is *dBuS-gTsang Dialect*, *Khams Dialect*, *A mdo Dialect* and *rGyal rong Dialect*.

² Regarding the division of the periods of Tibetan, there are also different ways. R.A.Miller in 1968 put forward the following:

- a) Proto-Tibetan (? - 7th Century A.D.)
- b) Old Tibetan (7th - early 9th Century A.D.)
- c) late Old Tibetan (early 9th - 10th Century A.D.)
- d) Middle Tibetan (10th - 17th Century A.D.)
- e) New Tibetan (17th - 19th Century A.D.)
- f) Modern Tibetan (20th Century - present)

Vid. *Language* 44:1. Nishida Tatsuo holds the same view. Vid. A Study of the Tibetan-Chinese Vocabulary, *Hsi-fan-kuan i-yu*, 1970 [jap.] (continued)

the so-called difference in the pronunciations for reading and spoken language.³

The word *mig* is a unit which can be used to form many other words, which, too, are pronounced differently in reading and in spoken language. For example:⁴

written	meaning	reading	spoken
<i>mig shel</i>	eye-glasses	mi?ŋ̚ ge: ˥	mi?ŋ̚ ge: ˥
~ <i>ril</i>	eye-ball	~ zi: ˧˥	~ zi: ˧˥
~ <i>spu</i>	eye-lash	~ pu ˥	~ pu ˥
~ <i>dpe</i>	model	~ pe ˥	~ pe ˥
~ <i>chu</i>	tear	~ tɕ'u ˥	~ tɕ'u ˥
~ <i>mangs</i>	chess	~ man ˧˥	~ man ˧˥

Now let's listen to some other pronunciations of this word in other dialects:

in A mdo Dialect: ɣníg or fñíg

(based on the records of investigations in the areas of Jianzha, Huzhu, Xiaho, Zhouqu, etc.)

in the Khams Dialect: mə? ˧

(based on the records of investigations in the areas of Shuodu, Eastern Ehluo, Dar rtse mdo, etc.)

The most extravagant pronunciation of the word *mig* is in the rGyal rong Dialect:⁵ d(ə)mñig

(based on the records of investigations in the areas of Jokeji in 'Bar khams, bTsan la, Lixian County, etc.)

My division is as follows:

- early ancient Tibetan (before 7th Century A.D.)
- middle ancient Tibetan (7th - 9th Century A.D.)
- late ancient Tibetan (10th - 12th Centruy A.D.)
- modern Tibetan (13th - 19th Century A.D.)
- Contemporary Tibetan (20th Century - present)

Vid. Wang Yao, An Introduction to the Study of Tibetan Documents, Preface to the Collection of the Tibetan Inscribed Wooden Slips, 1980.

³ This is common in the dialects which are fairly rich in ancient documents and usually this difference can reflect the dialects' historical development. Mag pa (son-in-law) is similar to *mig*. In the Lhasa Dialect, the pronunciation in reading is mag ˧˥ pa, in spoken language is maŋ̚ pa. In the A mdo Dialect, it is read magua.

⁴ There are some other words wherein *mig* is the second syllable and must follow the principle of changing tones.

For example:

ldə mig (key); *chu mig* (spring water); *re'u mig* (forms), etc.

Now we can make a list of the pronunciations of the word *mig* so as to make a historical study.

The following is an assumption:

d(ə)m̥ig	(rGyal rong)
γ̥ig → n̥ig	(A mdo)
n̥ig	(Dun Huang Documents) ⁶
me? γ̥	(Khams)
mi? γ̥	(Lhasa) [dBus-gTsang]

Why are the pronunciations listed like this? Why should the rGyal rong Dialect be listed as the representative ancient Tibetan? My opinion is supported by one of the Dun Huang Documents written in ancient Tibetan. The document is now in the collection of the British Museum (serial number Or.S., No. 1000). Item 31 of the document *dmyig la 'gan* is translated as "eye".⁷ This item is amazingly similar to the rGyal rong Dialect. I hold the opinion that the Dun Huang Documents represent or, are close to, ancient Tibetan; therefore, I believe that the rGyal rong Dialect has the same position in the history of Tibetan as the Documents.

⁵ rGyal rong Dialect is the dialect used by the inhabitants in the areas of 'Bar Khams, Chi chen, bTsan la and Lixian County. The whole region is called rGyal mo'i rong, meaning "the valley ruled by the Queen". Some people at home and also abroad regard this dialect to be an independent language. I went to this region in 1960 and 1964-65 as an observer. From the view of historical linguistics, rGyal rong is one of the dialects of Tibetan, which reflects several very important features of ancient Tibetan. Some people think that there is a large number of borrowed Tibetan words, or, written forms brought back by those monks who had studied the Sūtra in Lhasa. This opinion, however, is not totally in agreement with the facts. One point must be made clear - if a nation borrowed just the word "eye" from another language, the formation of its language would be a problem.

⁶ *btsan po'i spur ji 'dod | as blu zhes byas na gzhan ji yang myi 'dod, myi'i myig bya myig ltar 'dug pa 'og nás 'gebs pa gchig 'dod ces zer nas ...* (For what do you want to redeem the skeleton of Tsango? Answer: No other request. It would be enough if I could get a person who has eyes like a bird's, and the lower eyelids could open upwards ...). *Dun Huang Historical Documents Written in Ancient Tibetan*, No.II, Chapter 1. Vid. J.Bacot, F.W.Thomas et G.Ch.Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris 1940. Also P.T.1287, No.P.558, Item 37, *Choix de Documents Tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome II, Paris 1979.

In this document, the word *mig* is spelled as *myig*. It should be read as *n̥ig*.

⁷ Vid. F.W.Thomas and L.Giles, *A Tibeto-Chinese Word-and-Phrase Book*. *BSOAS* 12:3&4, 1948, 753-769, plates 12, 13.

Vid. L.Ligeti, *Notes sur le lexique Sino-Tibétain de Touenhouang en écriture Ti-bétaire*, *AOH* 21:3, 1968, 265-288.

Or.S.2736 and Or.S.1000 are two of the Dun Huang Documents. These two are now in the British Museum. These were testbooks for the Tibetans to study the Han language. It is a collection of 214 words and phrases in the Han language with Tibetan annotation for the pronunciations and meanings. The original documents were written on the backs of the Sūtra of Jin Gang and the Sūtra of Magic Lianhua.

Mr. Nishida Tatsuo also holds the same view. He points out:

"...most of the written forms of Tibetan have the quality to take the place of the common early Tibetan; therefore, the most important will be to take the written Tibetan forms as the pronounced forms which represent common early Tibetan."⁸

Mr. Hutan, too, thinks that

"the tones of Tibetan appeared rather late. The general opinion is that around 7th century A.D., the creating period of the written forms, Tibetan was still a tone-less language. At that time preconsonants and closed syllables were relatively developed, changes in high and low sounds were only a current feature which did not possess the function of phonemes."⁹

"During this creating period, there were many preconsonants, such as b-, d-, g-, h/n-, m-, and r-, l-, s-. They formed all kinds of consonant clusters so as to distinguish different words and phrases."¹⁰

From the point of view of its pronunciation (not only the word *mig*), the rGyal rong Dialect and the pronunciations of other dialects, together with the ancient manuscripts, form a historical series which can be put in a few sentences: a) The word *mig* changes according to the oral

system:

$$\begin{matrix} \text{d(a)m̥ig} & \xrightarrow{\quad} & \text{yŋig} & (\text{fŋig}) & \xrightarrow{\quad} \text{ŋig} \\ & \downarrow & & & \downarrow \\ & & \text{mə?χ} & \xrightarrow{\quad} & \text{mi?χ} \end{matrix}$$

- b) It changes according to the written system:
 $dmyig \rightarrow myig \rightarrow mig$ and
- c) The present day difference in reading and spoken language reflects the development in history.

II.

Now, is it possible to determine how the tones of Tibetan came into being? The answer is "Yes".

⁸ Nishida Tatsuo, On the Development of Tones in Tibetan. *Acta Asiatica* 29, 43-55.

⁹ Hutan, Study on the Tones in Tibetan (*Lhasa Dialect*). Thesis on the 12th International Conference of Sino-Tibetan Linguistics, 1979.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

The pronunciations of the word *mig* in different dialects reflect two series:

- a) d(e)m̥ig or yŋig without tones but with consonant clusters
mə?ŋ or mi?ŋ with tones but without consonant clusters

The existing facts in all different dialects prove that the occurrence of tones is closely related to the simplification of consonant clusters.

Nishida Tatsuo points out with keen insight:

"The study of the historical development of Tibetan includes the following important issues:

- A. Changes in consonant: the change should be related to two distinctive trends. One is the simplification of initial consonant clusters; the other is the changing of initial voiced consonants toward voiceless consonants.
- B. The development and the position of the tones of modern Tibetan can be divided into two categories:
- a) dialects with tones that can be taken as functional units;
 - b) dialects without tones.
- The difference in category is closely related to the two trends in the changing of consonants."¹¹

Hutan points out:

"Talking about the Lhasa Dialect, there are three main elements that have influenced the emergence and the break up of the tones:

- a) the disappearance of the contrast between voiced and voiceless consonants;
- b) the dropping of preconsonants;
- c) the simplification of the closed syllables."

Furthermore, he intrigates these elements with the development of the tones in the Lhasa Dialect and points out:

"The earliest division of the high and low tones in the Lhasa Dialect was related to the first two elements. The further split in both tones was related to the third."¹²

¹¹ Vid. n.8.

¹² Vid. n.9.

The tone division of the Lhasa Dialect sufficiently supports this theory of development.

The category of high tone: ancient voiceless and semi-voiceless consonants;

The low tone: ancient voiced consonants and semi-voiced consonants (both can be further divided into two parts. Those which have preconsonants belong to the high tone category; those without preconsonants belong to the low tone category).¹³

This method of division was first suggested in 1930 by Dr. Y.R.Zhao as a historical review of the relationship between the tones and the consonants in Tibetan and this, however, is still accepted today.¹⁴ Miller,¹⁵ Kitamura Hajime¹⁶ and Sprigg¹⁷ all followed this when tracing back to the history of Tibetan. Nishida Tatsuo affirms the effect of the emergence and development of the tones to the history of Tibetan. He points out:

"From a historical point of view, the most important characteristic feature of tonal opposition in each dialect of Tibetan is that they can resume those elements in phoneme and phonologic process."¹⁸

As for the descriptions of the tones in Tibetan, there are three kinds: 3 division method, 4 division method and 6 division method, of which the 4 division method is the most common one. There are three further division forms:¹⁹

A: high flat	˥
high falling	˧
low rise	˩
low rising falling	˨

¹³ [l-] changes into high tone when with preconsonants. It is different when in [zl]. This is specially discussed in the *Study on Sla-ba, Zla-ba*.

¹⁴ Vid. *Love Song of Tshangs-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho*, *Dalai Lama VI.*, 1930.

¹⁵ Miller, *Studies in Spoken Tibetan*, I: *Phonemics*. JAOS 75:1, 1955.

¹⁶ Kitamura Hajime: *Tibetan. Introduction to the World's Languages*, 1955.

¹⁷ R.K.Sprigg, *The Tonal System of Tibetan (Lhasa Dialect) and the Nominal Phrase*. BSOAS 17, 1955.

¹⁸ Vid. n.8.

¹⁹ Other thesis on the same topic:

- A. Hutan, *Study on the Tones of Tibetan (Lhasa Dialect)*;
- B. Nishida Tatsuo, *On the Development of Tones in Tibetan*. *Acta Asiatica* 29, 1975.
- C. K.Sedláček, *The Tonal System of Tibetan (Lhasa Dialect)*. *T'oung Pao*, 1959.
- D. Wang Yao, *Tones of Tibetan*. *Chinese Languages* 6, 1956.

B: high short ˥
 high long ˥˧
 low short ˨˩
 low long ˨

C: high high
 high falling
 low low
 low falling

There are no fundamental differences among these three forms, for all of them admit that they are subdivisions after the formation of the high and low tone categories, that is to say that they are caused by the changes in the closed syllables after the gradual disappearance of the opposition of voiced and voiceless consonants and the transformation into two tones.²⁰

Now let us come back to the word *mig*. According to our elaboration and review of the occurrence and development of the tones of Tibetan, the history of the pronunciation of the word *mig* should be like this:

d- in the consonant cluster drops off; at
dmyig + *myig* the same time tone emerges. The word belongs to the high tone category.

myig + *mi?* The tone breaks up because of the consonant's weakening; therefore it becomes -?. The word belongs to the high-falling tone.

Like a drop of water which can reflect the spectrum of the sun, the pronunciation of *mi?* ՞ reflects one of the aspects of the emergence and the development of the tones in Tibetan.

²⁰ Nishida Tatsuo holds the opinion that middle Tibet dialects represented by the Lhasa Dialect began to have tones around the 9th Century A.D. (vid.n.2). He points out: "Around the 9th Century, Tibetan had already changed the structure of its middle part dialects."

P L A T E S



Wu T'ai Shan Darstellung von 1946

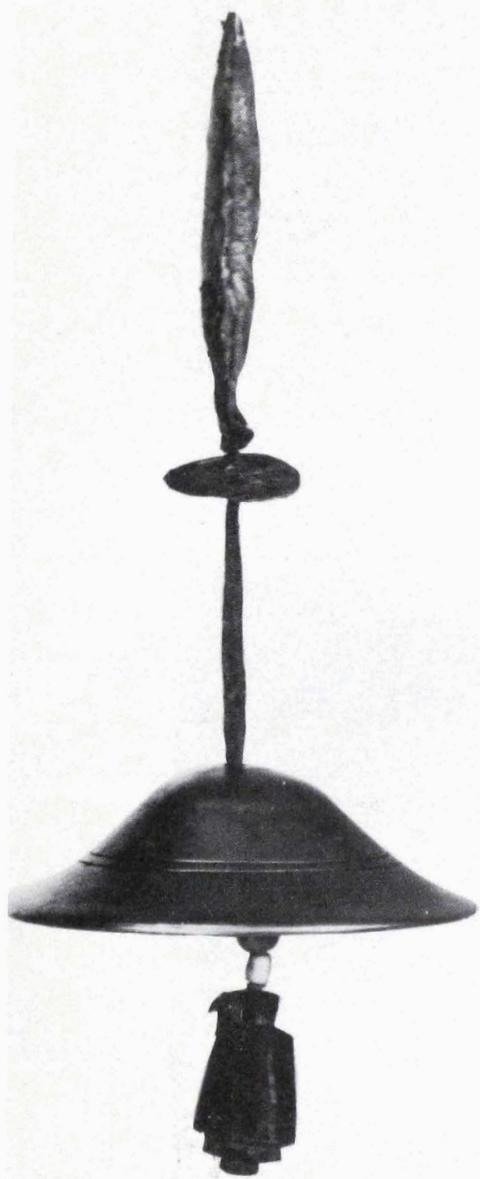


Wu T'ai Shan Darstellung von 1846 - Detail

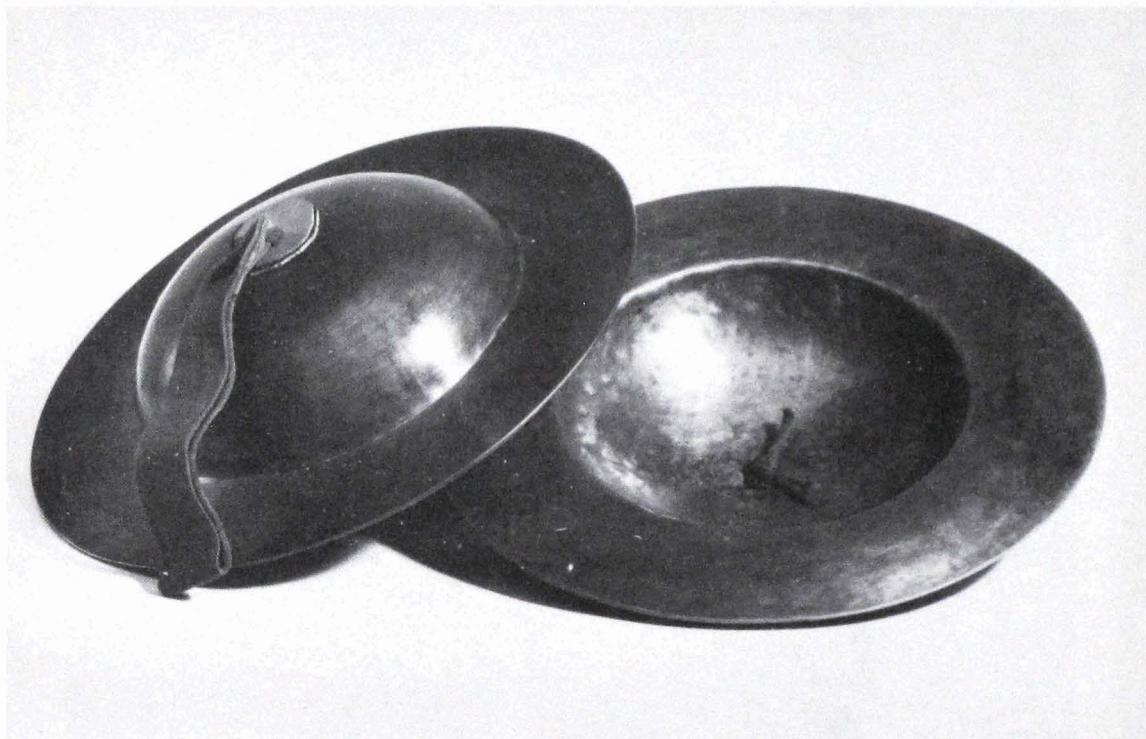
Wu T'ai Shan Darstellung von 1846 - Detail

Plate IV

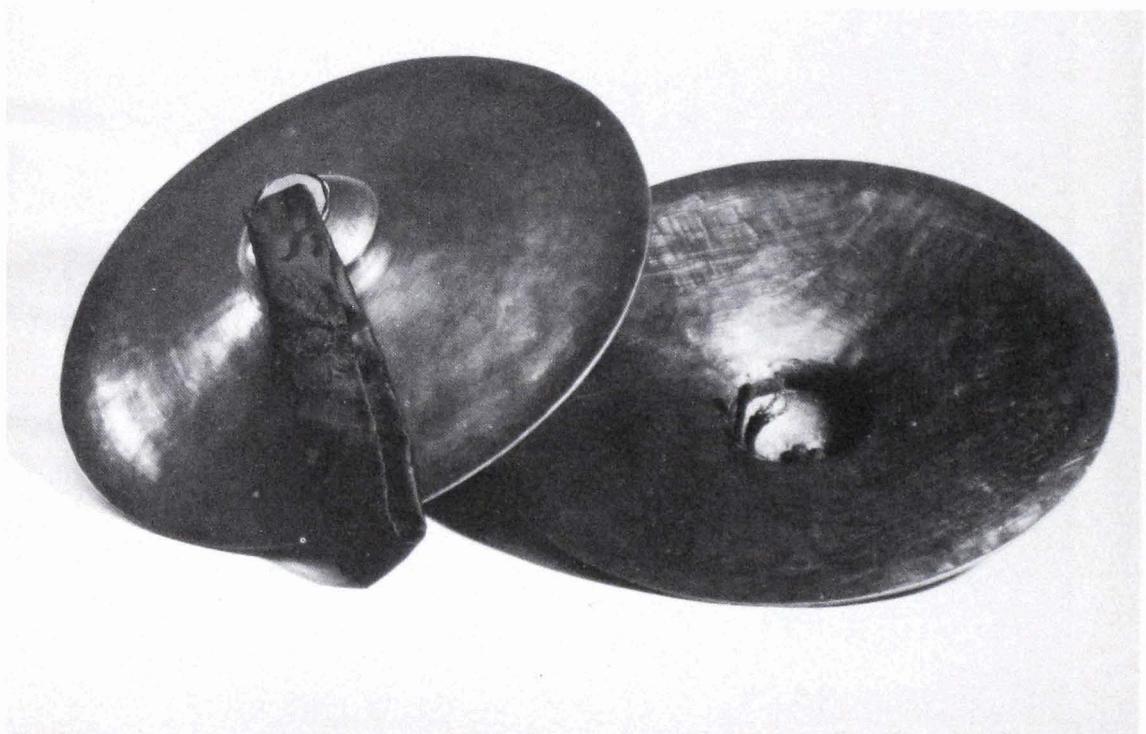
A tambour *rña*, collection particulière. ø 0,50;
hauteur du manche: 0,69
(cliché Musée de l'Homme)



B clochette *gšan*, coll.
Musée de l'Homme 67-
116-27. ø 0,10 (cliché
Musée de l'Homme)

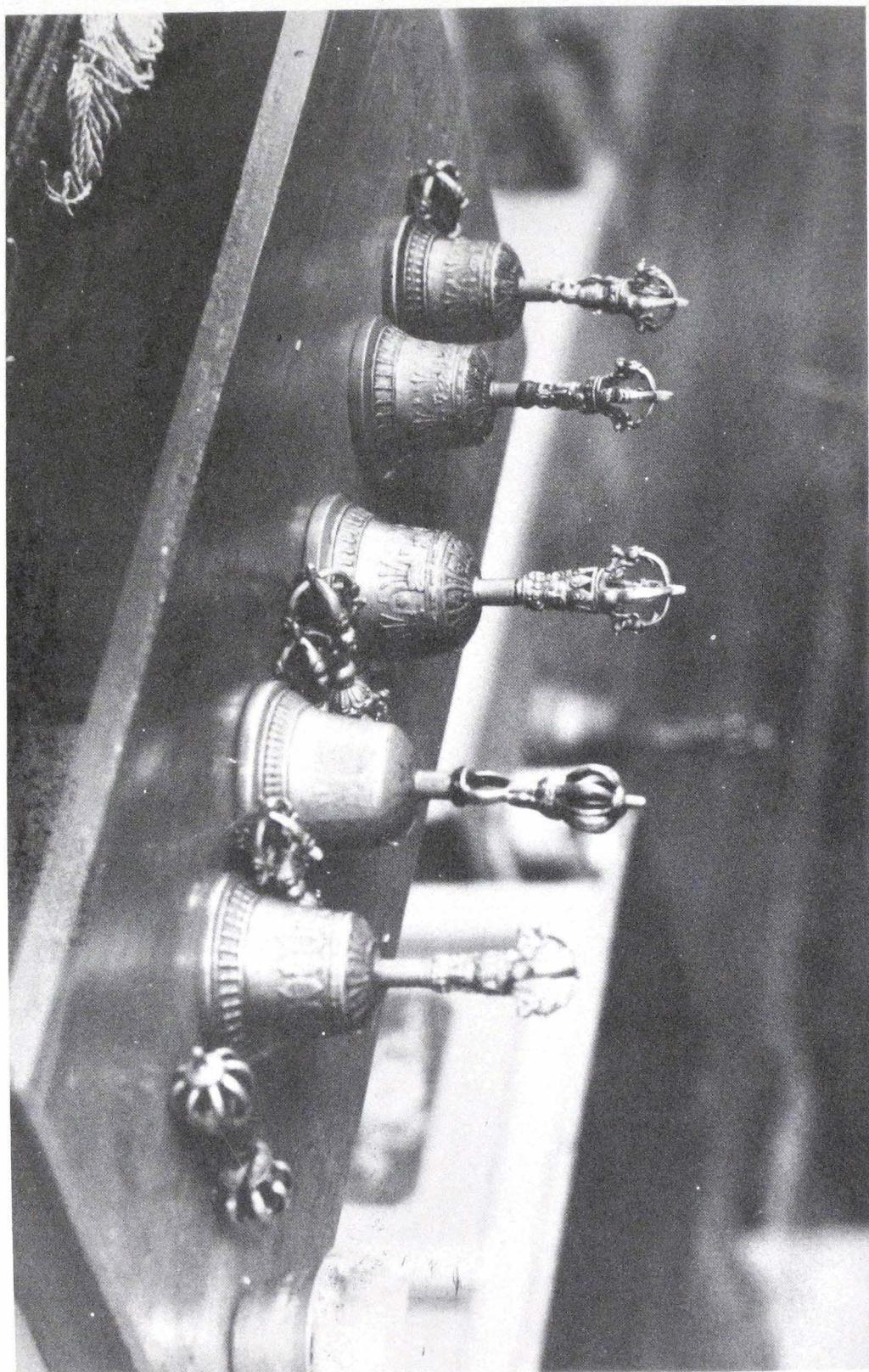


A cymbales *sbub chol*, coll. Musée de l'Homme 980-14-2. ø 0,30
(cliché Musée de l'Homme)

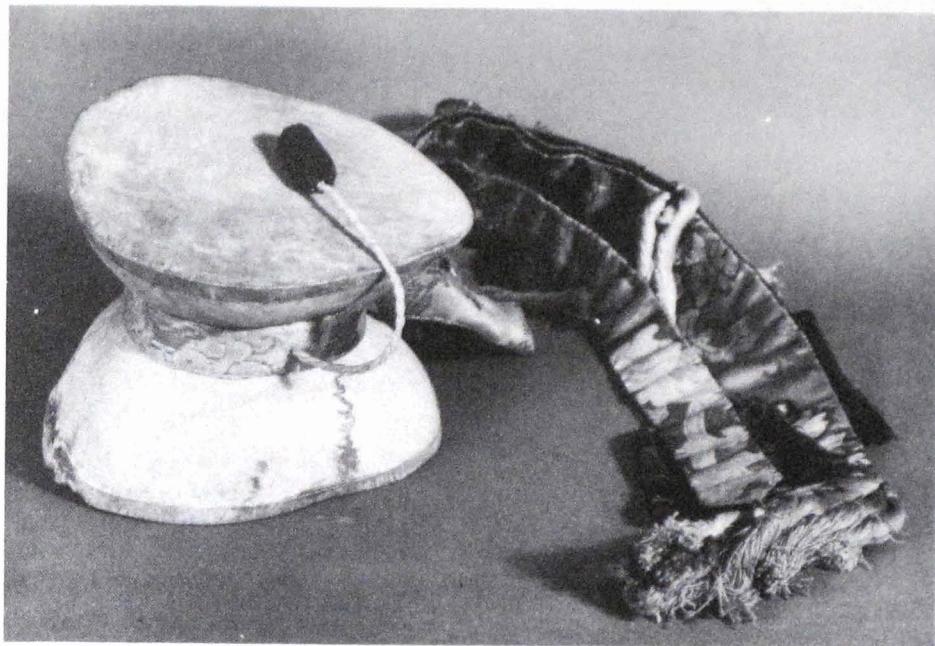


B cymbales *sen chol*, coll. Musée de l'Homme 980-14-1. ø 0,29
(cliché Musée de l'Homme)

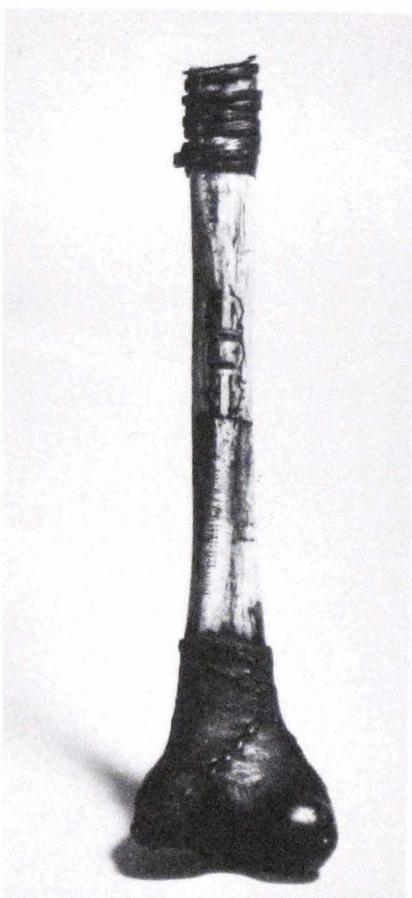
Plate VI



différents types de clochettes dril bu dans un monastère bKa' brgyud pa (cliché Ader-Aubry)



A tambour *damaru* à caisse en crânes humains, coll. Musée Guimet MA 2857.
Ø 0,17 × 0,145 d'un coté;
0,17 × 0,135 de l'autre
(cliché Musées Nationaux)



B trompe *rkañ gliñ* en fémur partiellement gainé de cuir, coll. Musée de l'Homme 43-28-35 (cliché Musée de l'Homme)

Plate VIII



Ruinen des Klosters Nar ma von Nord-Osten gesehen (Photo G.Klinge)



A *mchod rten* in Ñar ma von Osten gesehen (Photo G.Klinge)



B Eingangswand des *mchod rten* (Photo J.L.Panglung)

Plate X



Vajradhara (Photo J.L.Panglung)



A Zwei Mönche (Photo J.L.Panglung)



B Avalokiteśvara und Amitāyus (Photo J.L.Panglung)



Padmasambhava ? (Photo J.L.Panglung)

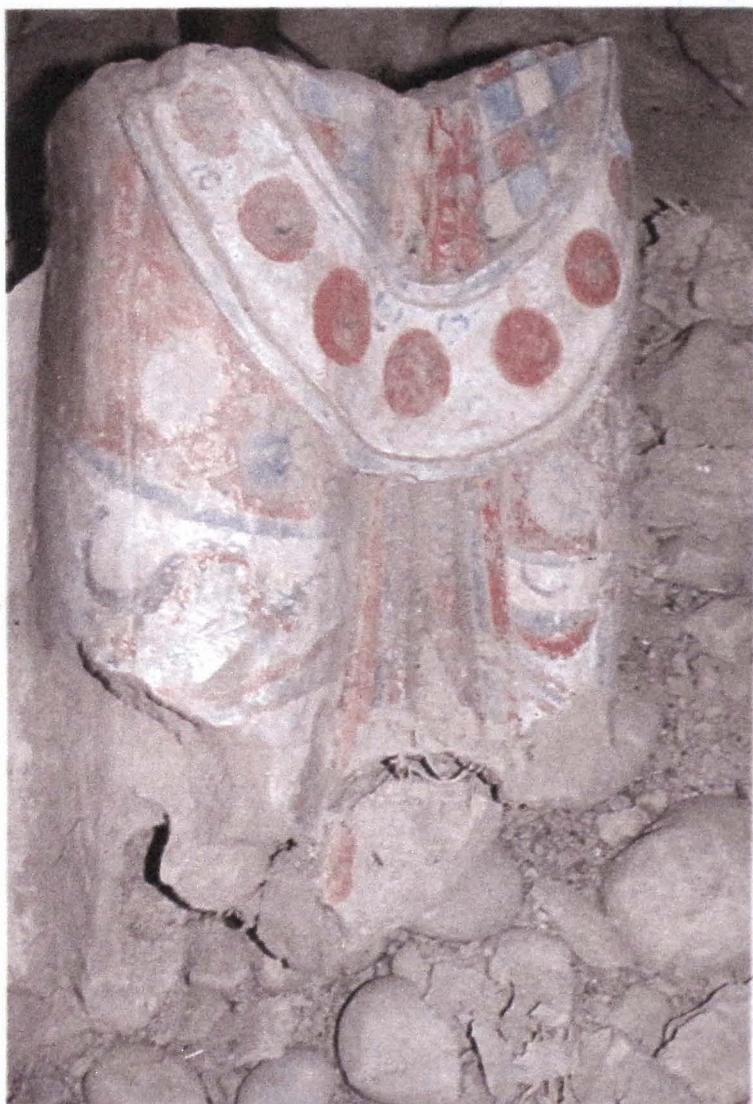


Tson kha pa ? (Photo J.L.Panglung)

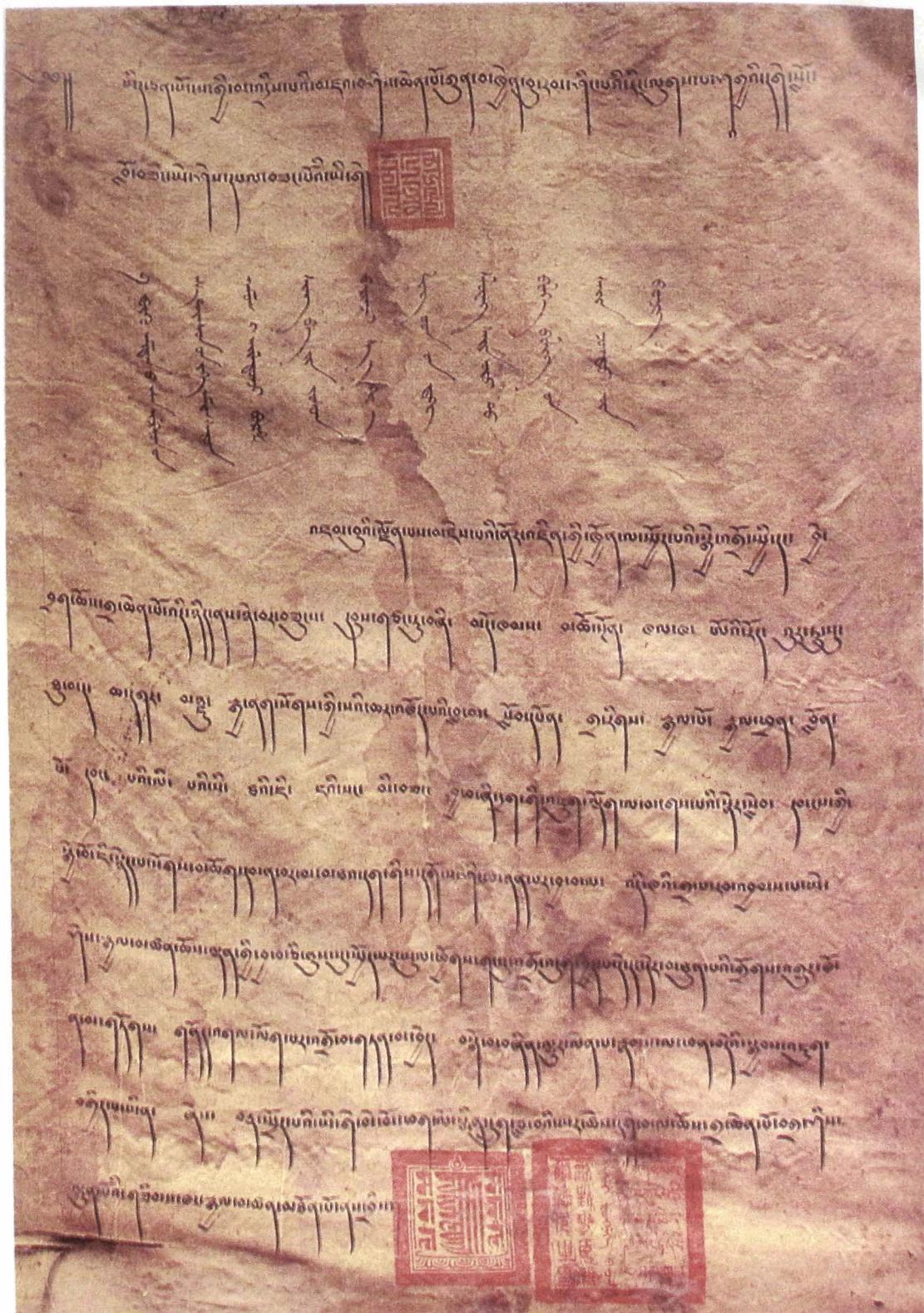
Plate XIV



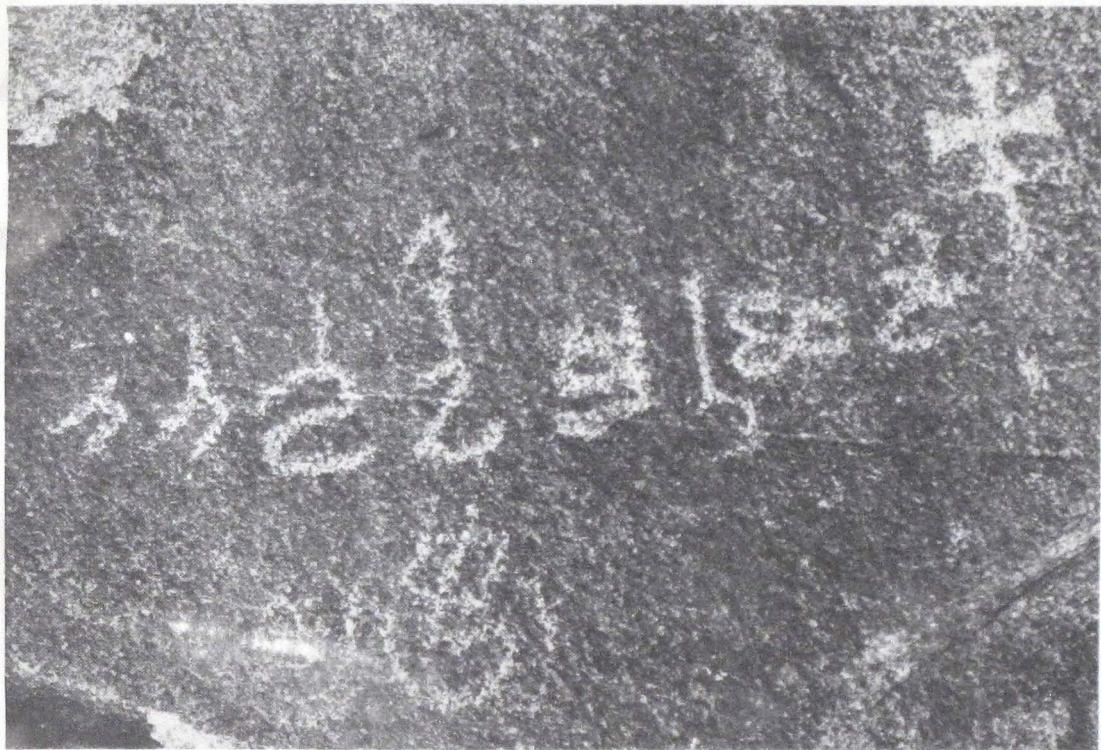
Mönch (Photo J.L.Panglung)



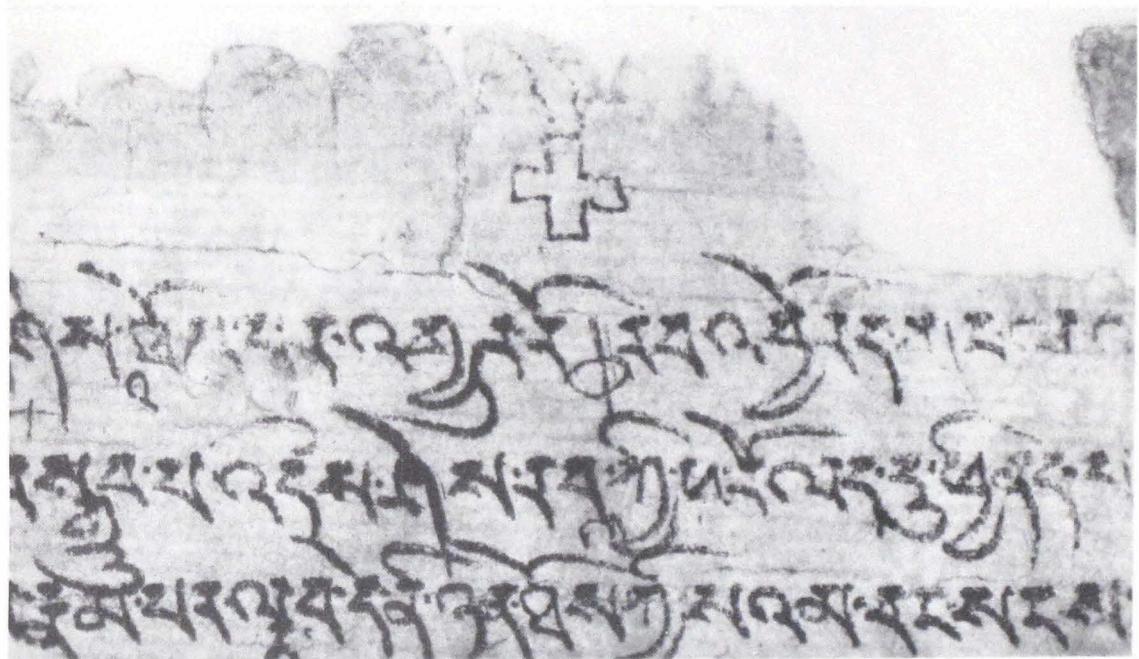
Bruchstück einer Bodhisattva-Statue (Photo J.L.Panglung)



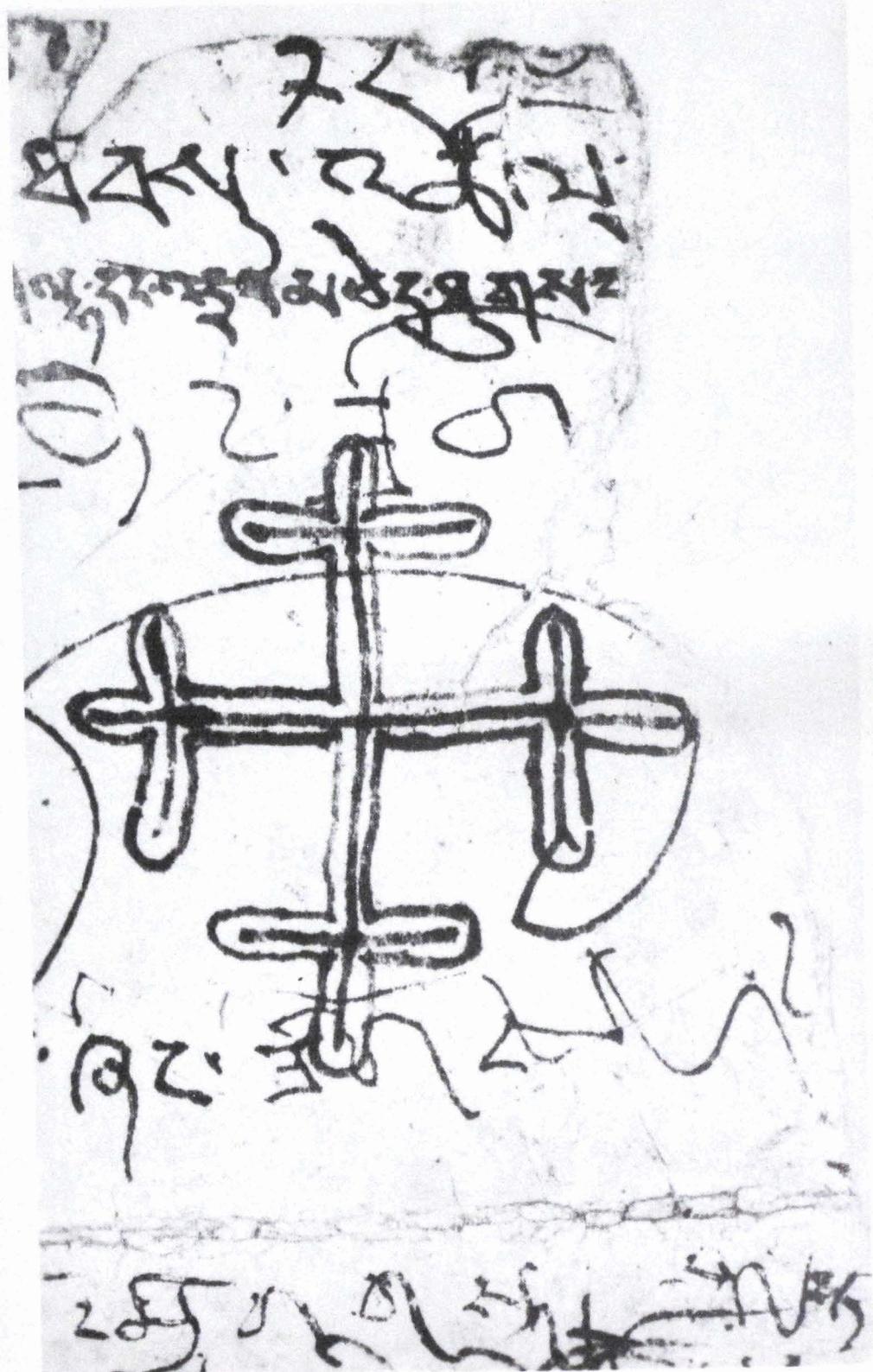
Reisebegleitschreiben des 2. Panchen Lama, datiert 1707 (Photo J.L.Panglung)



A Rock near Drangtse, west side (courtesy Prof. Hutchinson)



B Pelliot tibétain 1676 - detail (Bibl.Nat. Paris)



Pelliot tibétain 1182 - detail
(Bibl. Nat. Paris)

