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NAMES AND TITLES IN EARLY TIBETAN RECORDS

—HUGH E. RICHARDSON

(Reproduced from Bulletin of Tibetology Vol. IV No. 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) *Mying* (*ming*) is the current word for a personal name. A list of *mying* in early use, with some comments on them, is given later.

(3) *Thabs*, although unknown with that meaning in current Tibetan, clearly relates to rank or official title. It is found in TLTD II 361 and 370—rather obscurely; and in REV quite clearly in the form *gral thabs*. The meaning is confirmed by the Chinese version of the Lhasa Treaty Inscription where, as Dr. Li has shown in TP XLIV, *thabs* is the equivalent of the Chinese *wei* "position, rank, title".

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

Within those broad categories of greater and lesser, some ministers held titles describing their specific duties. In the higher rank are found a *ban de chen po*, Great Monk Minister (this post only appears in the later years of the royal period), and a *dmag dpon chen po*, Commander-in-Chief. In the lower grade some ministers are described

as *nang blon* and others as *phyi blon*, probably referring to their duties respectively within Tibet at the king's court and outside it on the frontiers or in occupied territory; of these the *nang blon* took precedence over the *phyi blon*.

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

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

Further posts which are frequently recorded are: the *bka' phrin blon* (Treaty Inscription; TLTD; LINV; REV) whose duties were perhaps similar to those of the present day *mgron gnyer* which include making known the orders of the ruler; the *rtsis pa* (Treaty Inscription; TLTD; REV) who can be assumed to have been the equivalent of the modern *rtsis dpon*, an officer responsible for the assessment of revenue and the keeping of revenue records: the *zhal ce pa* (Treaty Inscription; LINV; TLTD) who were judicial officers the name of whose post survives in the title of the code of laws attributed to Srong Brtsan Sgam Po—the *zhal ce bcu gsum*. Another judicial officer, named only in the Zhol

inscription and in the XVIth century *Chos Byung* of Dpa Bo Gtsug Lag, was the *yo 'gal 'chos pa*. According to reliable Tibetan informants the term implies mediation and reconciliation (*'chos*) of conflicting parties (*'gal*).

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

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

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

Some information about the grading and ornaments of Tibetan ministers is also found in the T'ang Annals (Hsin T'ang Shu).¹ The Chief Minister is there called *lun ch'e* and his assistant *lun ch'e hu mang*. These two are further described as great and little *lun*. There is a Commander-in-Chief called *hsi pien ch'e pu*; a chief minister of the interior called *nang lun ch'e pu* or *lun mang jo*; an assistant called *nang lun mi ling pu* and a lesser one called *nang lun ch'ung*; a chief consulting minister—*yu han ch'e po* with assistants also designated *mi ling* and *ch'ung*. All the ministers taken together are described as *shang lun ch'e po t'u chu*.

Their ceremonial ornaments are, in descending importance, of *se se*, gold, gilded silver, and copper; they hang in large and small strings from the shoulder.

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

I do not propose to examine the rather scanty evidence about the personal names of the Tibetan royal family or the regnal titles of the kings, which fall into a pattern of their own;² but some other terms applied to important personages, and not designating specific official functions, may be mentioned. *Chen po*, "Great One", is sometimes used as a sort of title (TLTD 97.98; and 339); but this is rare and probably provincial. *Rje blas*, a term used of officials in high position, has caused some speculation. Thomas, although translating it in TLTD II as "Your Excellency", later, and more satisfactorily, concluded that it means "succession, or successor in a post".³

The title *zhang*, in certain clearly definable circumstances, signifies that the person so described or a member of his

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

Another *zhang* relationship was that described as *zhang dbon*, "uncle and nephew" which existed between the Emperor of China and the King of Tibet as the result of the marriage of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po, and later of Khri Lde Gtsug Brtsan, to Chinese princesses. There was a similar relationship between Tibetan kings, as *zhang*, and the 'A Zha chiefs, as *dbon*, through the marriage in 689 of the Tibetan princess Khri Bangs to the 'A Zha ruler. Other Tibetan princesses also married neighbouring rulers—in 671 a Zhang Zhung prince; in 736 a Khagan of the Dur Gyis (Turgesh); and in 740 the Bru Zha Rje. None of those rulers is specifically mentioned as *dbon* nor are they recorded as *rgyal phran*—"vassals", although at some times Bru Zha and parts of Zhang Zhung may well have been claimed as tributary. The King of Nanchao, at times a powerful ally, at others a formidable enemy of the Tibetans, was accorded the title of Btsan Po Gcung⁶—the Younger Brother King; and it is possible that when Nepal was under Tibetan domination their king held the title of Btsan Po Gcen⁷—the Elder Brother King. But by the time of the edicts of Khri Srong Lde Brtsan and Khri Lde Srong Brtsan the only princes to be mentioned as *rgyal phran* are the Dbon 'A Zha Rje whose name is given as Dud Kyi Bul Zi Khud Bor Ma Ga Tho Yo Gon Kha Gan;⁸ the Rkong Dkar Po Mang Po Rje, the head of a princely family of Rkong Po who were ancient congeners of the Tibetan royal family;⁹ and the Myang Btsun Khri Bo, the head of a Myang principality which may have been the heritage of the great minister Myang Mang Po Rje Zhang Snang who was all-powerful in the early days of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po and was disgraced and executed in about 636.¹⁰

Other personages who may have been included among the *rgyal phran* can be seen in documents in TLTD and LINV relating to the administration of the border regions. The term *rtse rje* appears frequently, sometimes with a territorial label e.g., the *rtse rje* of Sha Cu (Tun Huang); of

Ka Dag; of Nob Chen (Greater Lob Nor); of Nob Chung; others are known by names e.g., *rtse rje* Khrom Bzher Bzang Khong; *rtse rje* Ju Cug; and one is described as *to dog rtse rje*. That title *to dog*, which also appears frequently and is found in THD, is related by Thomas to the Turkic *tu tuq*; another title *co bo* (*jo bo*; *zho co*; *jo cho*, etc.) is related to the Kharoshti *cojhbo*; and *a ma ca*, a title used in Khotan, is identified as representing the Sanskrit *amatya*. The title *ra sang rje* is also found in connection with distinctly non-Tibetan, possibly Zhang-Zhung, names—Rid Stag Rhya and Spung Rhye Rhya—; and the title *nang rje po*, although similar in appearance to the well documented Tibetan rank of *nang blon*, may have had a special local significance. There is scope for further study of the distribution of these non-Tibetan forms.

Returning to the *mying*: it has been surmised that some frequently recurring elements in Tibetan names, apart from those identifiable as *thubs* and *rus*, signify some sort of rank or title. Bacot, etc. have translated the names of Khri Sum Rje Rtsan Bzher and 'Bal Skye Zang Ldong Tshab as "le bzher Khri Sum Rje Rtsang de Dba's" and "Bal Skye Zang, le Tshab de Ldong"; and it is noted there that *bzher* means "haut fonctionnaire". This is apparently mere guesswork; and a key to the significance of such syllables is found in three early documents—LINV 1240, 1415, and TLTD II p. 370 B—which seem to have been overlooked. Taking the first and last as examples, they read: (1) *rus ni 'brom/mkhan ni mdo bzher/mying ni 'jong bu/rus ni 'brung yas/mkhan ni rgyal gzigs/* (quotation left incomplete); and (2) *rus ni schu myes/mkhan ni brgyal gzigs/mying ni nya slebs/rus ni 'gra had/mkhan ni lang skyes/mying ni don rtse/rus ni 'bre/mkhan ni. . .* (document damaged).

The important element in each case is the word *mkhan* which seems to signify some sort of title by which the person was known. *Mkhan* with that specific meaning is not current in Tibetan today but is familiar as a suffix (like the Hindi *wala*) indicating a man's skill or profession—what he knows, and also what he is doing, e.g., *shing mkhan*, a carpenter; *mdza mkhan*, a potter; and *'gro mkhan*, one who is going; *bsad mkhan*, one who has killed. Jaeschke, in his dictionary—followed as usual by Das—states that this suffix can also be used in a passive sense, e.g., *sad khan ni lug*, "the sheep which was killed". Such a use would be in line with the suggestion that *mkhan* in the old documents

could mean how a man was known; but well educated Tibetans have denied that such a form is permissible in Tibetan today and I cannot recall any instances in classical Tibetan. Jaeschke's example is attributed to Western Tibet; and even if the practice is not now known in Central Tibet, the step between the two forms is perhaps not a very long one.

At all events, it is possible in the light of the two passages quoted above to analyse official names and titles even further than in terms of *thabs*, *rus*, and *mying*. For example: (1) Dba's Khri Sum Rje Rtsan Bzher. His *rus* is Dba's; his *mkhan* Khri Sum Rje; his *mying*, Rtsan Bzher. (2) 'Bal Skye Zang Ldong Tshab: his *rus* is 'Bal; his *mkhan* Skye Zang; his *mying*, Ldon Tshab. (3) Taking a name from the Treaty Inscription, Nang Blon Mchims Zhang Rgyal Bzher Kho Ne Brtsan. His *thabs* is Nang Blon; his *rus*, Mchims, he is *zhang* through relationship with the royal family; his *mkhan* is Rgyal Bzher his *mying*, Kho Ne Brtsan. (4) A name from THD, Blon Che Dba's Stag 'gra Khong Lod. His *thabs* is Blon Che; his *rus*, Dba's; his *mkhan*, Stag Sgra; his *mying*, Khong Lod.

Abbreviations of the names of officials take different forms in different documents but generally in each document a consistent practice is adopted. In THD two systems are used. For example (1) the full name and title of Blon Che Dba's Khri Gzigs Zhang Nyen is abbreviated to Blon Che Khri Gzigs—i.e. *thabs* + *mkhan*; and (2) when a *rus* is mentioned the *mying* is used and not the *mkhan*, e.g. Mgar Stong Rtsan Yul Zung, Dba's Mang Po Rje Pu Tshab, and Cog Ro Snya Zing Kong appear as Mgar Yul Zung, Dba's Pu Tshab, and Cog Ro Zing Kong respectively. These systems are followed in the majority of the documents in TLTD and LINV but two other systems also are found there, although in fewer instances than (1) and (2) above. They are: (3) some officials are described by their *thabs*, *mkhan* and *mying* but their *rus* is omitted. There is also an example of this in the Zhwa'i Lha Khang inscriptions where a member of the Myang *rus* is described as Blon Snang Bzang 'Dus Khong. In system (4) both *thabs* and *rus* are omitted and we find such names as Rgyal Bzher Legs Tshan—*mkhan* and *mying* only. Yet a further two systems appear in the edicts from PT which, it may be remembered, are not original documents. In the third edict there are a few instances of system (2) e.g. Cog Ro Khyi Btsan; Khu Mye Gzigs. These are *rus* + *mying*; but the greater

number of the abbreviations are in the form (5) *rus* + *thabs* + *mying*, e.g. Cog Ro Blon Gung Kong. Persons who are *zhang* are described in a different manner from that used in the Treaty inscription. There the practice is Mchims Zhang, etc., etc.; in the edict the form is Zhang Mchims, etc., etc. The first edict produces system (6) using the *thabs* and the *mying* only, e.g. Blon Ngan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Gong is abbreviated to Blon Klu Gong; and in this edict *zhang* are also described by their *mying* only, e.g. Zhang Legs 'Dus. This usage may perhaps also be found in THD where the names Zhang Rgya Sto and Zhang Tre Gong look more like *mying* than *mkhan*; but there is also an instance there of the name *zhang* Bstan To Re which is an established *mkhan*.

The forms of abbreviation are, therefore, numerous; but on the available evidence the most common system is (1), i.e. *thabs* + *mkhan*. The existence of a *rus* + *mying* abbreviation, however, makes it impossible to say with certainty whether all nobles possessed a *mkhan*; but as there are examples where the names of persons known to have possessed a *mkhan* are abbreviated to *rus* + *mying*, and as a very large number of *mkhan* existed—lists are given below, it seems probable that all nobles who attained ministerial rank were known by a *mkhan*. It seems equally probable that ordinary people did not have a *mkhan*. LINV 2169, for example, refers to persons only by their *rus* and *mying*; and many documents in TLTD and LINV relate to persons who can be seen from the context to have been farmers, soldiers, workmen and ordinary citizens. The names usually consist of two syllables only and many of them can be shown from established examples to be *mying*; the form of others differ from the usual mould of a *mkhan*, as can be seen from the lists which follow. Many of the names are prefixed by a *rus*, usually differing from the well established *rus* of the Tibetan nobility, and in many cases of non-Tibetan appearance. This is not surprising as the documents originate in the border regions and the *rus* fall into distinctive groups in the different regions. From Sha Cu (Tun Huang) there are such family, clan or racial names as 'Im; Hong; Le; Le'u; K'eu. The usual prefix for names from Khotan is Li and from the Tu Yu Hun, 'A Zha. The *rus* Ngan does not appear often but may perhaps refer to people of Sogdian origin." Similarly the personal names fall into distinctive groups. From Sha Cu are found for example—Le Shing; P'eu P'eu; Hyan Ce; 'Im 'Bye Le'u; Wang Kun

Tse: from Nob (Lop Nor) Spong Rang Slong; Nga Srong; Lbeg Ma; Nung Zul; Nir Sto: from Li (Khotan) Ku Zu; Ye Ye; Shi Nir; Gu Dod; Bu Du. Lists of such names have been collected by Thomas and can be seen in TLTD II.

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

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

MKHAN

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

[B] Klu Sgra; Klu Mayen; Klu Gzigs; Khri Dog Rje; Khri Rma; Khri Bzher; Glu Bzher; Dge Bzang; Rgyal

Sgra; Rgyal Tshan; Stag Po Rje; Stag Bzang; Stag Sum Rje; Stag Sum Bzher; Brtan Bzher; Mdo Sgra; Mdo Bzang; Dpal Bzang; Dpal Sum Rje; 'Phan Po Rje; 'Phan Bzher; Byang Bzher; Mang Po Brtsan; Mang Zigs; Rma Sgra; Rma Bzher; Gtsug Btsan; Gtsug Bzher; Btsan Bzher; Btsan Zigs; Btsan Bzang; Rtsang Bzher; Mtshan Bzher; Mtsho Bzher; Zhang Brtan; Zhang Bzang; Zla Bzher; Zla Bzang; Gzu Sgra; G-yu Sgra; G-yu Rmang; G-yu Bzher; Legs Sgra; Legs Bzang; Lha Dpal.

MYING

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

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

The general appearance of the *mkhan* and *mying* can be seen from the above lists. Although most of the components are common to both, certain pairs of syllables

occur far more frequently—though not exclusively—in one group or another. In the examples I have collected *bzher* is almost exclusive to the *mkhan*; while *slebs*, *legs*, and *kong*, as final syllables, are exclusive to the *mying*. The instances where one pair of syllables appears to be used as either a *mkhan* or a *mying* are not a large proportion of the available material.¹² Uncertainty on this point is increased by the apparently indiscriminate use of either *mkhan* or a *mying* after the title *zhang*; and perhaps also personages of border clans—e.g. those described as *jo co*—may not always have possessed a *mkhan*. Ordinary people on the border may have taken as personal names forms used in Tibet itself only as *mkhan*. In general one can detect a characteristic pattern in both *mkhan* and *mying*; and further research might remove doubt about the equivocal examples.

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

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

NOTES

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

zhang lon che phra are recorded as witnesses to a decree in the Zhwa'i Lhakang inscription. In the Zhol inscription it seems that a person not related to the royal family by marriage could be given the rank of *zhang lon*. It may also be noted that no examples are found of e.g. *lon che, nang lon, phyi lon, etc.*

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

Zha chief were established in their proper places as Uncle and Nephew.

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

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

only a contemporary but also a fellow countryman of An Lu Shan whose Sogdian origin and whose name—Rokshan—have been established by Pulleyblank in “The Background to the Rebellion of An Lu Shan”?

12. I note examples I have detected; there may well be several more. (1) Klu Bzher is found in REV as apparently a *mkhan*—Blon Klu Bzher Sngo Btsan; but in TTK third edict, where many other names are quoted with an established *mying*, it appears as Le’u Blon Klu Bzher; and in TLTD II the name appears without any title and therefore looks like a *mying*.
- (2) Legs Bzang. LINV 1230 and TLTD II 138 have Blon Legs Bzang—a usual *mkhan* form. TLTD II 20 has Zhang Legs Bzang which is equivocal; but in LINV 1094, 1127 and 1175 it appears to be a *mying*.
- (3) Khri Sgra is an established *mkhan* in THD pp. 65, 66; also in TTK third edict but in TLTD II 50 it seems to be a *mying*.
- (4) Stag Bzang is quoted by Thomas in TLTD III from a Miran document in the name Stag Bzang Khri Dpal; there are several instances in TLTD II of Blon Stag Bzang—the usual *mkhan* form; but in LINV 540 it is found with what looks like a non-Tibetan *rus* name—’Bi Stag Bzang—apparently as a *mying*.
- (5) Mdo Bzher, described as a *mkhan* in LINV 1240, appears in LINV 1078 apparently as a *mying*—Shag Mdo Bzher.
13. Rkong Dkar Po Mang Po Rje is an attested *rgyal phran* (JRAS 1954 and TTK third edict). The Da Rgyal Mang Po Rje appears to have been an ’A Zha prince. The third edict mentions a Myang *rgyal phran*; the great minister of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po whose father led the movement which put Srong Brtsan’s grand-father in power, is called Myang Mang Po Rje Zhang Snang. His family may have been awarded the status of *rgyal phran* for this service. Mang Po Rje is also found as part of the names of persons of special distinction from the Mgar Khu, Dba’s and Cog Ro *rus*; but evidence is not conclusive.

INDIA IN 'DZAM—GLING RGYAS—BSHAD

-Lama Sherab Rhaldi

However if one may describe simply and briefly a few of the main sacred objects, structures and holy places (in India). As mentioned above¹, there is a town, known as Gutapasara in the south of the Mithila region. One reaches there after crossing many small and a big town known as Lālasahor and which is part of Mithila. After a journey of about seven to eight days, one comes to the river Gandak/Yid-'Ong-lDan. After crossing (the Gandak) one comes to the city of Yang-pa-chan(Vaisālī). Among the people of India it is known as Baisalagriha/Besarghar. In ancient times, this city was surrounded by three boundary walls, and there were many multistoried buildings with roofs of gold, silver and copper within the inner-most boundary wall. According to the Sutras the most prosperous among these houses have been compared to the abode of gods. Today, they are all in ruins and the Licchavis clans are no more because of the changes through time.

The river Ganga is to the south and the river Gandak to the north of this city. It is learnt from the Acharyas that the southern boundary of the city has disappeared totally due to floods. Now there is a newly settled city known as Hājipur, which survives on the banks of the Gandak river to the east of Yang-pa-chan. There are remains of the residence of Li-Tsa-Byi Dri-Med Grags-Pa² (Licchavi Vimalakīrti) : to the north-west of the outer iron boundary of Yang-pa-chan city. Close by is the Rig-pai Lhaxhang (Vidyā Devālaya) where once Vimalakīrti had fallen sick. According to Thang-Zing's guide book, this place happens to be one of the holiest places. Near by is the place where our sTon-Pa (Śāstā i.e. Lord Buddha) had turned the Wheel of the Law for the last time and had preached the mDo-sDe bsKal-Ba bZang-Po (Bhadrakalpika Sūtra) in a Temple, known as sPreu-rZing-Gi-gTsug-Lag-Khang (Vānara Jaladhara Vihāra). Also close to this place is a stupa enshrining the relics of a past Buddha. The place where the Evil one requested Sasta to enter Nirvana soon is also quite close to this city of Yang-pa-chan.

There is another place where Li-tsa-byi mGar-ba (Licchavi Karmakāra) prayed Śāstā not to enter Nirvāṇa and Śāstā accepted the request and extended his life-force by three months. To the north-west of this is the place where all the bewailing followers fainted when Śāstā proceeded for Ku-sha'i Grong-Khyer (Kusīnagara). It is mentioned in the guide book of Thang-Zing that the place where Śāstā saved a huge eighteen headed fish from hell and preached Dharma to five hundred fishermen on the bank of the river Nārāṇi (Nārāyaṇī), to the north of the city of Yang-pa-chan. In all these places there are still extant many remains of the stupas which were constructed by king

Aśoka and other devotees in ancient times. After travelling for about half day to the north-east of Yang-pa-chan one reaches the place where the second Buddhist council was held. After travelling for another half-a-day from there, one reaches the place of activities and seats of four previous Buddhas. There are stupas each containing relics of Kun-dGa'-Bo (Ananda), on either side of the river Ganga south of Yang-pa-chan city. From this place, after crossing the Ganga one reaches a medium size city known as Patana (Patna). In ancient times it was the residential place of Dharma Asoka and was known as the great city of Pātaliputra. In the city there is a fort, known as Benakor (Bankepur/Bankipur) which is now in ruins only. Patna is a newly established city around the remains of this fort. This region was a part of the kingdom of Magadha. The gSer-lDan (Sone) river flows to the west of this city and today it is known as Andhanata. The river Nirañjanā lies to the east of the city. Both the rivers flow from south to north and join the Ganga. At a short distance from the confluence of the Sone and the Ganga, there are a few rocky structures on a small rocky hillock. According to the Acharyas, they are the remains of Vikramaśīlā Mahāvihāra. In ancient times there were several temples and monasteries in the city, which were destroyed by the Du-Rush-Ka Mahamasti (Turki Mahammadan) invaders, and they could not be restored again. It is heard from the Acharyas that even now there are some monks in the form of Tantriks.

Generally now-a-days the rocky hillocks are known as Shilakravati. The Buddhist Yogis of the place and kindred Yogis are known as Akota Siddha. In character and philosophy they are similar to the Gaupalas, the Bantas etc. of Nepal. A short distance to the south-west of Patna city, there is a very huge stupa, like a mountain, known as Gola Gola Ghar. It is mentioned in the Thang-Zing's guide book that a complete set of the eighty four thousand teachings of the Dharma were inscribed and enshrined in this stupa but its veracity is a matter for investigation. South of this (huge stupa), there are five smaller stupas, known as after the Phung-Po-lNga (Pañca skandhas); it is mentioned in many legends that in ancient times after constructing eighty four thousand stupas all over Jambudvīpa by Dharma Aśoka. The rest five relics measures (BIG) which were also enshrined separately in different stupas in his capital. These days, it is believed by certain wandering ascetics that if a person takes water from Ganga and offers to each of these stupas he will attain salvation in the next life. From this city (Patna), after a journey of four to five days to the south, one reaches the province of Kalamka. Gaya city is part of that province as also Bodhi Gaya which abounds in hundreds and thousands of small and big Vihāras close to it. In Bodhi Gaya there is a bronze statue of Lord Buddha, known as Ganja Dhar to Tīrthikas and close to that is the Bodhi Tree. (In the same city) there is a Tathāgatas's statue, made of stone in a temple, known as Gayaji, where there is a tree the same as above. (Because of the

presence of) both the trees in these Vihāras they were recognised as the Mahā Bodhi Vihāras by Panchen Sangyas Palden Yeshe in his own guide book of Sambhala. There are some differences among the different manuscripts on ancient legends and Thang-Zing's guide book but (I am) going to give a short account of them, below later on. Then there are Ri-Bo Gaya (Gaya Mountain) to the south and some distance from it Ribo-lTeng-rGyas (Uruvilva Mountain), etc. The Gaya Mountain is very high and very difficult to climb. The peak of this mountain is known as Gaya Gori. Here there is a huge stupa where, before the Enlightenment, the Buddha had attained the Three Wonderful Dharmas and, after the Enlightenment, had preached 'Phags-pa dKon-mChog-sPrin-Gyi-mDo (Ārya Ratnamegha Sūtra). So it is one of the holiest of places.

Uruvilva Mountain, is not very high but very wide spread and is easy to climb. It is said that once upon a time, Drang-Srong-rNams (Ṛṣi) asked Tsangs-Pa-Chen-Po (Mahā Brahma) for a hermitage and this (mountain) was given them for this purpose. It is learnt from wandering ascetics that this is the place where our Śāstā obtained his first alms after giving up asceticism. Even today that particular place is marked by the foot prints of De-bDzin-gShegs-Pa (Tathāgata). The Nairanjana (Nirañjanā) river flows between these mountains from the south to the north. In the rainy season, it flows with thickness of human size with muddy water. In winter and spring, at the time of rare rain it disappears in sand. However if one digs anywhere in the sand, there will be fresh water of Yan-Lag brGyad-lDan³ (that is possessed of eight attributes). If one sees carefully the water can be seen slowly moving towards the Ganga; this had been observed by certain Acharyas. The water moves without appearance (i.e. in under-current) so it is named Niranjana. It flows close to the Ganga, Gaya city and east of dPal rDo-rJe-gDan (Śrī Vajrāsana). The local people call the ever flowing river Phalgu and Thang-Zing has translated it as Phag-Chu (Arya-Apa). It is held by the Indians that the manes of their dead fore-fathers come and accept the offerings of gTor-Ma (Pindadana) made by their off-springs at these places.

In this region there are many fresh water springs, flowing here and there and mounds of various shapes on either side of the river Nirañjanā. There are a few scattered houses and a small population of Brahmanas and Ṛṣis in this area. The place where sTon-Pa (Śāstā) practised penances for six years the site of his foot prints and the place where Uruvilva Kāśyapa and his two brothes were converted are also in this area. There are many other holy places nearly such as the birth place of Mahākāśyapa and the seats of earlier Buddhas etc. From the city of Gaya as one walks along the river Nirañjanā for more than half a day, one would reach rDo-rJe gDan (Vajrāsana) or Byang-Chub Chen-Po'i gNas (the spiritual place of the Bodhi). According to the Vinaya; this is the Holy Centre and beyond its boundaries lies the sphere of the barbarians. It is also the

central nodal joint of the earth. This is the place where one thousand Buddhas will gain Enlightenment in the present era *bsKal-bZang* (Bhadrakalpa). Naturally, therefore, it will have to have four-fold assembly⁴ of the followers here. So from the religious point of view, it is the centre of the country. It may not be the centre of both India and Jambudvīpa but then according to Sūtras it happens to be the centre of *sTong-gSum-Gyi-sTong-Chen-Po* ⁹*Jig-rTen-Gyi-Khams* (Tri-sāhasra-mahā-sāhasra-lokadhātu).

According to Pharata⁵ when indicating the centre and the boundary of the sphere of the barbarians in the east, it has been mentioned that the river which flows in under current is the western boundary (of that sphere) In Prayag situated to the west of Varanasi, which is more than five days journey from here, there is a Fort, where the confluence of the river Gangā, the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī occurs. The river that flows as an under current is believed to be *Nirañjanā*. The aforesaid (invisible)river towards east and the west (of the centre) might be a mistake in mentioning the directions or it may be some other river in the west which flows as an under current which is described). But it is not quite clear (to me). According to the Vinaya the eastern boundary of the Centre i.e. *Nirañjanā* and Prayag as the western boundary are almost the same, as the lower region in the east, starts from Prayag and falls on the centre line of the *Sa'i-dPe-Ris* (map) of the Jambudvīpa prepared by Pharsisi (?Parsis). This is almost the same opinion as above but it is a matter for further research.

Broadly speaking, the country of *rGya-Gar* (India is situated in the southern part of Jambudvīpa. (In the Centre) it extends southwards from *bSil-Ri* (Snowy Mountain) in the north Southwards from *Me'i-Ri* (Agni Parvata) & or *Me'i-Sa-gDzi* (Agni Bhumi), in the west southwards from *Pharate'i-Yul* (Pharata Desh), and in the east southwards from *Aubri-Yul* (Aubri Desh) which is part of *rGya-Nag Chen-Po* (*Mahāchīna*). These have been measured and (India) comes in the Centre and this is learnt from (different) scholars. In *Sa-Yi-Go-La* (Map), also the same lines are drawn over it. So (I) mentioned it with some details here.

(Coming back to *Mahābodhi*) its boundary which is made of bricks is wider from east to west and a little narrower from north to south. The whole length of the compound is more than five hundred steps. The walls are covered by Bodhi leaves and different kinds of flowers. The *Nirañjanā* river is at a short distance from the gate at the eastern boundary. Near the south gate, there is a big Lotus Pond and the west gate is surrounded by rocks. The north gate is connected with *gTsub-Lag Khang-Chen-Po* (*Mahāvihāra*). According to the *Thang-Zing's* guide book and experience of the Acharyas, there are several *sNgon-Byung-Gi-rNam-Thar* (ancient eventful stories) engraved on the stones in the railings. Therefore it is decidedly a very important Holy Place. *Thang-Zing* has written that here in addition to the seat of our *sTon-Pa*

(Śāsta), there are three other seats of previous Buddhas⁶. According to the Sutras, here is also an Aśoka Tree against which our Śāstā/Buddha leaned at the time of Enlightenment.

According to the Thang-Zing's guide book, it is Pipala tree but wandering ascetics told me that it is called Deva Pipala tree. The flower of the Pipala tree is akin to that of Pipling, and that might have been the reason calling it so. To come under the Aśoka tree leads to the disappearance of sufferings by its coolness and hence the name Aśoka. Therefore it makes no difference whether we call it Deva Pipala or Asoka Pipala. There is an image which represents the Buddha looking at the Bodhi Tree constantly without closing his eyes. There is also a statue of sPyan-Ras gZigs (Avalokiteśvara) whose body up to the chest is under the ground. It is said that it will remain so till the end of Shakya-Thub-Pa'i-bsTan-Pa (the Era of Buddha Śakyamuni). There are some sacred statues of Chu-Klung sGrol-Ma (Nadī Tārā) etc. as also several other statues including that of the Earth Goddess whose body is half buried in the ground. According to the Mendicants, the places visited and sanctified by our Śāstā/Buddha were commemorated by Aśoka and other devotees by building stupas there.

According to Thang-Zing, there is a Vihāra full of beautiful architected pieces near the north gate of the Bodhi Tree and there is a Stupa also enshrining the relics of the De-bDzin-gShegs-Pa (Tathāgata) in a multi-storied structure one hundred Khru (Cubits) in height depicting the six Islands. However there is no confirmed evidence for the existence of an image of Lord. All the same it has been named the Mahābodhi. According to some Acharyas there is a stone image of Tathāgata inside the temple which is known as Bodhi Nātha. The Phe-Reng (foreigners) and Barbarians called it Buddhajira. Therefore this may be accepted as Byang-Chub Chen-Po'i sKu (Mahā Bodhi Image). In the Ko-La'i Kha-Byang (commentary map) the Phe-Reng Ang-Ki-Re-Ji (English people) have described Byang-Chub Chen-Po'i Lha-Khang (Mahā Bodhi Vihāra) as close to the river gSer-lDan (Sone). In ancient times Buddhist monks used to reside in this Vihara, but since the invasion of the Du-Rushka Mahamasti (Turki Mahammadans) it was looked after by (Hindu) Mendicants, known as Brama-Nāti. It is described in the guide book of Thang-Zing and Byang-Chub Chen-Po'i Lo-rGyus (history of Mahābodhi Temple) that after crossing the river Nirāñjanā one comes across a big decorated Vihāra in which there are the silver image of sTon-Pa Thub-Pa'i dBang-Po (i.e. Great Buddha) and other statues of rGyal-Bu Ma-Pham-Pa (Māitreya Bodhisattva), 'Phags-Pa sPyan-Ras gZigs (Ārya Avalokiteśvara) etc. The Acharyas also say that in ancient times there was a beautifully decorated Vihāra on the right bank of the Nirāñjana river east of the boundary of Mahābodhi and there were many bronzes decorated by different kinds of

precious stones embedded in them. And sometime in the mediaval period, the Turki army destroyed it and looted its gold, precious stones etc. Later it was restored by devotees : Kings, Ministers and devotee house-holders of India. The Du-Rushka (Turkis) and the wild people of the 'Bigs-Byed (Vindhya) ranges often invaded the Vihāra. As a result it was shifted to the city of Gaya and only some (Stone) remains were left there. Byang-Chub Chen-Po'i Lha-Khang (Mahā Bodhi Vihāra) once stood here but later on it was shifted to its present site inside Gaya city. When one goes through the thick forest and walks for more than one and half days eastwards, one reaches the place known as Ri-Bo Bya-rKang-Chan (Kukkutapāda/Kukrihar). It is believed that 'Phags-Pa 'Od-Srung Chen-Po (Ārya Mahākāśyapa) is still in mediation in that place, and therefore it is regarded as a very sacred spot.

At present, there is a mountain known as Ri-Bya rKhang-Chan which is situated some where on the border between China and Jang (Jang). However, it is not the real one (i.e original), and it may be said only to represent the older one. To the south of the seat of Enlightenment is the place called Sasiram', a fort named Rodhasi, and a city called Aeks-Su-Ru (Eksuru) etc. To the east of rDo-rJe gDan (Vajrāsana) there is a forest called Buddhavana, and a cave known as Gaurakhsh Gupha etc. When one passes through all these places one reaches rGyal-Po'i-Khab (Rājagriha) after about three days journey. That city is surrounded by mountains like a fort. The people of India called the outer boundary of the fort, Pahaghar. The inner fort is known as Rāja Mahal (Rājmahal). The mountain ranges including both rDo-RJe-gDan rGyal-Po'i-Khab (Vajrāsana/Rājagriha) are known as Srinipadu. In this area are the remains of residences of 'Tsho-Byed gDzon-Nu (Kumāra Jivaka) and king Ma-sKyes dGra' (Ajātasātru) etc. The place has many sacred places visited by the Tathagata including Dur-Khrod Chen-Po bSil-Ba'i Tshal (i.e. Great Cemetery known as Mahāchitavana). According to the Sutras there were one hundred and eight hot springs (at Rājagriha) at the time of the Tathagata. During the time of Thang-Zing there were about twenty hot springs and, at present, only three are in existence—as reported by the Acharyas.

It may be mentioned here that (many) changes have taken place even in terra firma, water courses and stone structures not to speak of monasteries big and small. Just close to the northern gate of Rājagriha fort one can see Gridhakuta, which is called Chivutakutara these days. It is like the back-rest of a chair. It is very high and wide at the top and is surrounded by cliffs. Just below this to the west is the summit of the rocky mountain, where Śāstā preached Sher-Phyin (Prajñāpāramitā). This is a well constructed rostrum while the image of the Lord, in preaching posture is installed. It is said to be of life size of the Master himself. To the east, there is a big flat stone seat where sTon Pa (Śāstā) preached mDo sDe Pad-Ma dKar-Po (Puṇḍarīka Sūtra). To the south, there is a rocky cave where the Sasta had lived for some time. And near about are

many places where the dGra-bChom-Pa (Arhantas) practised meditation. Just behind the cave, there is a big pathway along which Mara came in the form of a vulture and left his foot prints. Also close to the cave, there is a stone slab on which Chos-Gos (Civara) of the sTon-Pa (Śāstā) was dried and its threads have left their marks on it as if engraved. Thang-Zing has said that there are these and such many other sacred spots in the neighbourhood. Except for the place for the Prajñāpāramitās was preached., the statements of experienced Acharyas and Thang-Zing guide book generally agree on other matters. Therefore Thang Zing's guide book seems to be trust worthy.

There is 'Od-Ma'i-Tshal (Venuvana) one rGyang-Grags (Krosa) away to the north from this place Pal-Nalen-Dra'i- gTsub-Lag-Khang (Sri Nalanda Vihara) is at a distance of one Tshalam⁸ from there. According to general belief of the Tibetans, nothing is left thereof Buddhism these days, not to speak of Śrī Nālanda Mahāvihāra. According to the history of Tārānātha both Vikramaśila and Odantapuri Mahāvihāras were destroyed by invading Turki Mohammadans, but no reference is made to Śrī Nālanda Vihāra in it. However it is mentioned that during the reign of king Chamgala, Nālanda Mahāvihāra flourished. It appears that in the beginning Nālanda escaped the ravages of Turki invaders. According to Acharya Lalagiri some remains of Nalanda had been left even during his time. With the passage of time the number of monks and earnestness of the students also diminished. At rGyal-Po'i-Khab (Rājagriha) and other parts of Magadha. There are many places visited and sanctified by the Buddha. The birth place of Sha-Ri'i-Bu (Śāriputra) and Mou-'Gal-Gyi-Bu (Māugalyāyana) are also near here. Venue of the first Buddhist Council also happens to be here. Besides there are innumerable other sacred spots for details of which Thang Zing's guide book may be referred to.

To the west of Bodhi Gaya when one walks about two to three days one comes across the fort of present Rājā of Magadha known as Tikari. Close to this place there are small hamlets called Mahāpalapuri and from there if one goes westwards along the south bank of the Ganga one reaches the region of Aṅga which is known as Ate to-day. When one walks for some days after crossing the Ganga, one reaches Ram Nagar of Rājā of Kāshi. When one crosses again to the other side of the Ganga, one comes to the big city of Vārānasi, which is called Kāshi Saher these days and is known to foreigners as Benaras. it is a big city of about one million houses with a huge population. Most of the houses are built of stone and are several stories high. In the streets, there are wide drains, four to five 'Dom (fathoms) deep and covered with stones. The people of the city are very prosperous, have markets of various merchandises and are well-up in all kinds of arts and sports. Inside the city here is an image of the Buddha in preaching posture similar to the one at Drang-Srong lHung-Ba Ri-Dvags Kyi Nags Tshal (R̥ṣipatana Mṛgadāva).

There is also an image of 'Phags-Pa 'Jig-rTen dBang-Phyug (Ārya Avalokiteśvara) made of white marble eighteen Khru (cubits) in height, and regarded (here) as that of Lha-Chen-Po (Mahādeva). Beside there are many other sacred objects here. With the change of time in twenty four sacred places they have come to be regarded as Lha-Chen-Po'i-rTen (Symbol of Mahādeva) known as Viśveśvara/sNa-Tshogs dBang-Phyug, and Umādevi/Annapurnā/'Bru'i-Gang-Ba. There are also images of Śiva in his fearful form of Kāla Vāirava/'Jigs-Byed Nag-Po, Vedukavairo/mGon-Po Mi'u-Thung-Gi-gZugs-Chan in dwarf form etc. etc.

There are also images of other Devas in fearful form. These are Lha-Khyab-'Jug/Srid-Med Kyi-Bu (Nārāyaṇa) and his follower dGa'-Byed dGra'-sTa-Chan (Paraśurāma), Rājā Ramana (Rāma), and Bram-Ze Nag-Po/Krisina etc., in all eight in number. (Kṛṣṇa's) consort Lha-Mo dPal-Mo (Kamālā) and her retinue Hanumān the son of Lha-Chen (Mahādeva) and sPre'u-Ma Anjana (Monkey Anjanā), Lha-sTobs bZang (Deva-Balabhadra), Klu-'Jog-Po (king of the Nāgas Takṣaka), Nam-mKha'-lDing (Garuḍa) etc. all these have their separate statues and temples. There are separate temples of gDzon-Nu gDong-Drug (Kumāraśaḍānana), Tshogs-Kyi bDag-Po (Gaṇeśa), Bringiriti, and dGa'-Byed dBang-Phyug (Iśvara-rāma). The places of hermitages of the following sages such as Tshangs-Pa'i Grong Gautama (Brahmanagrāma Gāutama), Bharadvāja, Śānti and also Drang-Srong Ser-sKya (Ṛṣi-kapila), rGyas-Pa (Vyāsa) and Agra etc. are here. There are besides innumerable temples, with statues of gods which are both well and not so well known, such as the king of the gods mChod-sByin-biGya-Ba (Indra) the teacher of the gods Ṛṣi Brhaspati, chief of the defence Drang Srong bKra-Shis (Ṛṣi Maṅgala), the source of all gods Me-Lha (Agni Deva), the creator of all living beings Kāmadeva/'Dod-Pa'i-Lha, Yamarāja who is watching over good and evil actions, his messenger Kālarūpa etc., the architect god Viśvakarmā, the physician god Tha-sKar-Gyi-Bu (Aśvini-Kumāra), treasurer of the god gNod-sByin Lus-Ngan (Kubera), his follower rMugs-'Zin (Jakhendra), Nor-Bu bZang-Po (Mañibhadra), Gang-Ba bZang-Po (Purnabhadra), Lha (Sūra) and Lha-Min (Asūra), Chu-Lha (Jala Deva) rLung-Lha (Vāyu Deva). Srin-Po (Demon), Nyima (Sun), Zla-Ba (Moon), Ri-Yi-Lha (Mountain God), Shing-Gi-Lha (God of Woods) and Grong-Gi Lha (God of City). It is said by Tirthankaras that these gods can ordain constructive and destructive works. From the Śastā, rDzogs-Pa'i-Sangs-rGyas (Samyak Sambuddhas) to those who feed upon corpses in the cemeteries and burning ghats and all beings in between these, when there abodes and statues are gathered together, they comes to some thirty three millions. This is as told me by the residents of Kāshi. There is also a burnt stone in the shape of a wood, a big and tall one, known as

vairolati. There is also a stone house in the shape of Gandhaupa known as the way to the heaven which is four hundred to five hundred 'Dom (fathoms) long. In this building one could go up to the top. There is also an under ground way known as door to the Ganga, where one could go through, and feel that the Ganga is flowing overhead while crossing it. To this passage no damage is done by water etc. In this manner one hears of so many wonderful things in existence.

However, it seems that there are in this region many statues and temples, and higher ordained monks of different sects. Mirzapur is reached after crossing the Ganga from the south-west end of Kāshi Nagara. It is a big city of some sixty thousand houses. Then to the south, there is a big forest at a distance of one day's journey amidst several scattered hills. Then there is a Mu-sTegs-Pa (Tīrthikas) centre for worship known as Vindhyāsana/Vindhyapashi Devī. It is believed that one who cuts his head and limbs and offers them to the deity he gets them back. Close to this is a statue of Lha-Mo Nag-Mo'i (Kālīdevī) in a cave which is a very powerful one. It is said that there are many wonderful objects here such as the eighteen cubits long Khardga which was used by Dus-Kyi Rigs-IDan Drag-Po (Vidyādhara). To the north-west of Kāshi, at a distance of four to five days journey, there is a country known as Ayodhya on the left bank of the Ganga (Ghagra or Sarju in actual fact). This is an old city known as Gopapur. It is believed that it was residence of Rājā Ramana. It is said that certain articles of the period are still preserved there. A little distance south-west from it, there is the confluence of the Ganga, the Yamuna and the Sarasvastī at Prayak, marked by the Allahabad fort. According to Thang-Zing that is the spot where bDag-Chag-Gi-sTon-Pa (our Śāstā) subdued the six Mu-sTegs-Kyi-sTon-Pa-Drug (heretical Teachers). It is heard from Gāusana (?Gossain), that every six years Sannyasis, Sāivas, Buddhist monks and others assemble there as great festival (?Kumbu Mela). There is also a tree known as Atshai Pasti (Akshay-Bat). The Ate region is in the adjoining area to the west. Also at a distance of Tshalam for Vārānasi towards north-east is a fort known as Chunargar/bTsan-rJong Chen-Po. Drang-Srong lHung-Ba Ri-Dvags-Kyi-Nags (Rṣipātana Mṛgadāva) is near by. There was a small river flowing close to it and our Śāstā/the Great Compassionate One turned the Wheel of Law and preached the bDen-Pa-bDzi⁹ (Four Noble Truths) there. According to certain historical records there was a life-size brass image of our Sasta in Dharmacakramudrā and also many other items of importance. It is believed that the stupas built by devotees to mark the seat of the Śāstā are still to be found there.

From that place towards north-west at some distance, there is a big river known as Sardhoha/Sarju. gNyan-Yod (Śrāvasti) or Kośala kingdom is situated near by and now a days it is also known as Tikshana Ayodya. The great city of Śrāvasti existed there and the palaces of rGyal-Po gSal-rGyal

(king Pasenajit) were there. As a result of the passage of time only the ruins are existant at present. These days this place is known as Kosalapuri. To the left of it is the seat of the sTon-Pa (Śāstā), which is marked by a stūpa. Near by lie the ruins of the residence of sKye-rGu'i-bDag Mo (Prajāpati) and close to that palace are the remains of residences of Khyim-bDag mGon Med Zas-sByin (Anāthapiṇḍika) and Sor-Mo'i Phreng-Ba-Chan (Angulimālā). These places have generally been marked by stūpas built by the devotees. In the eastern part of the city, there is a gate having pillars of fifteen Dom (fathoms) on either side. According to the Catalogue out side the city in a big Vihāra, there was an image of our Śāstā made of both gold and copper. it is not known whether the same is still in existence or not. Thang-Zing says that at a distance of about four to five rGyang-Grags (Yojanas) southwards of the city there is the ruin of rGyal-Byed Tshal (Jetavana). According to many Sūtras, 'Das-Pa'i Sangs-rGyas gSum¹⁰ (past three Buddhas) and our present sTon-Pa (Śāstā) delivered many of their discourses here and sanctified the place. So decidedly it is a sacred site. Further a short distance from there, Śāstā also had permitted the monks to take their bath. There is a place where (Phags-Pa Shari-Bu (Ārya Śāriputra) had saved Mou'u-'Gal-Gyi-Bu (Māugalyāyana) from swooning by his miraculous powers. There is also a well which was used by the Śāstā. It is stated that the pits from where Lhas-sByin (Devadaṭṭa) and some of his followers, a prostitute who had critisized the bChom-llDan-'Das (Bhagavāṇ) and a naked woman etc. had fallen into hell is marked some where near rGyal-Byed Tshal-Gyi gTsug-Lag Khang (Jetavana Vihāra). To the north-west of Jetavana, at a distance of three to four rGyang-Grags (Yojanas) there is a place called Mig mThong (?Cakṣu-Darśana), which had importance in activities performed by the Śāstā. It is also said that there are to be found of many Vihāras where Nyan Thos 'Phags-pa (Ārya Śrāvaka) meditated.

In the north-west direction from there (Śrāvasti) and north of Ayodhya is situated a big fort, known as Lucknow. In the east side of Jetavana is the place where Śāstā had a discussion with teachers of other faiths (Ārya Tīrthikas). East of that is the place where Ārya Śāriputra had defeated in argument wandering ascetic Angkara etc. There is also the place, from where on seeing the Śāstā, the Sinner Viruḍaka, who had come with arms to assassinate Śākya, returned. There is also the place where Viruḍaka cut off limbs of Śākya ladies and cremated them. It is said that the rGyal-Po Mya-Ngan-Med (Rājā Aśoka) built stupas to mark all these spots. Near the stūpas, marking the massacre of Śākya ladies, is the spot where 'Phags-sKyes-Po (Viruḍaka) was swallowed by flames and fell into hell. From here after a journey of eight to nine days in the eastern direction one reaches Kapila Kingdom, the birth place of our sTon-Pa (Śāstā) which was so-called after the Drang-Srong Ser-sKya (Rsi Kapilamuni) who (earlier) resided in that place. At present Kapila city Ser-sKya'i-Grong is known as

Jayasipata/rGyal-Ba'i-gNas. After walking through that place, one comes across the river Rohita (? Rohini) which flows from north-east to south-west, and on whose banks is situated the new town of Shikranpur. On the other side of the Rohita are situated Ka-Tsi-Li-Vana (Kachilivana) and Balpo rZong (Nepal district), and ranges of Thag-Pa'i-Yul (Rajju Desh). At a short distance from there, there is a township known as Dhonasahre, or Dhonakota. At a distance of some two to three days journey to the west from there, one comes across the city of Kapilati. It is said to be the site of ancient Grong-Khyer Ser-sKya (Kapilavastu); Both Gausans and Thang-Zing's guide book agree on this point. As also mDo-sDe (Sūtras). As stated in several Sūtras, once king gSal-rGyal (Prasenajit) and 'Phags-sKyes-Po (Virudaka) had gone for hunting when their horses took a wrong path and reached Ser-sKya'i-gDzir (Kapila province). Sinner Virudaka/'Phags-sKyes-Po became hostile to the Sakyans and attacked them with a big force. According to the Vinaya Āgama when Virudaka with a big force attacked the Sakyans, some of them escaped into Bal-Yul (Nepal) and some to Gyad-Yul (Malla country). Further the night Byang-Chub Sems-dPa' (Bodhisattva) renounced the world, he went across several kingdoms namely Śākya, Ke'u-Te (?Kenti), Gyad (Mallae), and Mene (Mithila). He then reached the town of Khrom-Pa-Chan of sPong-Byed (Vriju) Kingdom, on the bank of the river Yid-'Ong-IDan (?Anoma/Aumi), at dawn of the day. This is mentioned in the short life story of the De-bDzin'gShegs Pa (Tathāgata), titled 'Khrul Med-sPyod-Pa'i-gTer (Abhānta-Caryā-Nidhi). According to mNgon-Par Byang-Chub-Pa'i-mDo (Abhisambodhi-Sūtra) the distance of this place from Ser-sKya (Kapila) is said to be twelve sPag-Tshad (Yojana).

However, it is said that Ser-sKya (Kapila) is situated some where near mNyan-Yod (Śrāvasti), Bal-Yul (Nepal), Gyad-Yul (Malla), and Mene (Mithila) kingdoms etc. Kapilata of Jayasipata/Jokina Desh seems to be the actual site of Ser-sKya (Kapila) and according to some Balpo (Nepalese), the old city of Shi-Mangala is the site of Kapila. In the centre part of the ruins of the city are the remains of the palace of king rGyal-Po Zas-gTsang (Suddhodana) with his statue and that of queen bTsun-Mo sGyu-'Phrul Chen-Mo (Mha Māyā) known as Mahā Jokini (Yogini). Now a days, the Acharyas hold different opinions as to why this statue is called Mahā Jokini. According to some, Lha-Mo sGyu-'Phrul Chen-Mo (Mahā Māyā Devī) is rDo-rJe dByings-Kyi-dBang-Phyug-Ma (Vajradhātveśvarī) and she is the same as the spiritual sense of rDo-rJe Phag-Mo (Vajravārāhī). (I) think this might have been the reason for calling her by this name. The place where the sTon-Pa (Śāstā) had entered the womb of his mother is near by. And there is also the image of the same (Śāstā). To the north-east is the place where the sage Drang-Srong Nyon-Mongs-Med (Rṣi Niskleśa/Kaladevala) observed the physical signs of rGyal-Bu (the Prince). It has been marked by stupas built

later by Aśoka. At the four gates of the city, there are the statues of gDzon-Nu Don-Grub (Kumāra Siddhārtha). There are also four statues representing sKye (birth), rGa (old age), Na (disease) and 'Chi (death) and one of dGe-sByong (Śrāmaṇa). In the north-west of the city where Virudaka massacred the Śākya, there are hundreds and thousands of stūpas containing their remains. Such is the report of Thang-Zing and these have been seen by certain Ācharyas even in those days. Outside the southern gate of the city is place where Prince Siddhārtha had competed with other Śākya Princes in demonstrating his strength and skilfulness. The place is also marked by stūpas. Close to it is Glang-Po-'Che'i-gShong (elephant valley) and near by is the place where the statues of rGyal-Po Don-Grub (Rājā Siddhārtha), Grags-'Zhin-Ma (Yaśodharā), and Sras-sGra-gChan Zhin (Prince Rāhula) are said to have existed. This is recorded in dKar—Chhag (Catalogue) and these were seen by the wandering mandant Lālagiri. It is said that when worship is offered to these images, the blind recover their eye sight, those who are sick become healthy, and women get sons. It is said that those who reside near these two statues of Yab (i.e. Siddhārtha) and Yum (i.e. Yaśodharā) and also those who come from outside observe some festival every eight days.

At a short distance from here in the southern part of the city, there is a standing statue of Lha-Chen-Po (Mahādeva) known as gNod-sByin Sha-Kya-'Phel (Yakṣa-Sākya-Vardhana), made of stone, in a big temple. It has been seen by the people who visit the place. To the south of this place, there is a well (called) mDa'-Chu'i-Khrom-Pa (well of water of arrow) at a distance of a Tshalam¹¹. It is believed that one becomes free from ailments by taking bath in its waters. Now a day the people of India say that the well was the result of shooting an arrow by Shing-rTa-bChu-Pa'i-Bu (Dāśarathi). It is said by Thang-Zing that by travelling in the southern direction from here about one half days journey one reaches the birth place of the two previous Buddhas :-¹² Khor-Ba-'Jig (Krakutsunda) and gSer-Thub (Kanakamuni). From the above place, Bhagavān Pasavuti, (?Bhagavān paśupati) after making another one half day's journey towards north-east one reaches Lumbini garden. At a little distance from there towards north is the place where the mother of Prince Siddhārtha took hold of the branch of Aśoka Tree with her right hand. Close to that are two ponds with hot and cold water which emerged at that time and also there is an oily looking water known as oil-spring. According to Thang-Zing there are other spots in the neighbourhood where Prince Siddhārtha carried on his activities, from that place to the north-east, there is a big monastery, in a solitary area, which is called Saha-Para Byakar by the Nepalese. After going through this place and travelling a little more than one day's journey, one reaches a small kingdom, which may be Kaputa kingdom. According to the Āchāryas, (as here indulgence in sex is sin) and before copulation comes to an end the house would catch fire. And this is the result of

a curse cast by one Drang-Srong (Sage) in ancient times. In that area there are some gTsub-gLag-Khang (Vihāra) and old villages. It is said that there are some Hindu ascetics here and there and not many of other population.

To the north-east of this kingdom, there is a thick forest known as Jatrevana passing through which one reaches the Malla kingdom. These days it is called Bala Deśa /sTobs-lDan Gyi-Yul/Gyad-Gyi-Yul. Kajilivana is situated to the north-west of this kingdom, and near by is the river gSer-lDan, now a days known as Jatre-Nadi. (On the bank of the river) there is the garden of Sal Trees where the Śāstā attained Nirvāṇa. The Śāstā Mahāparinirvāṇa on a bed under eight tall Sal trees which bent down, on their own, over his seat and became oily and brown in colour. According to Thang-Zing, there is a image of the Sasta in the Nirvāṇa posture in a Mahāvihāra and the Acharyas had not seen it. In other matters the Āchāryas generally agree with Thang-Zing. At a short distance from there towards east is the place where the body of Śāstā was cremated. Now a days the people of India call it Krayata (Angara Chaity). According to Thang-Zing, within the radius of one rGyang-Grags (Yojana) one could see yellowish and blakish earth, and devotees could easily find relics of the size of mustard seed there. The people of India believed that it is the place where the son of Shing-rTa bChu-Pa'i-Bu (Dāśarathi) was cremated. And also this is the place where our Sasta, at the time of practising Slob-Pa Lam-Gyi gNas-sKabs-Su (?Caryā-mārga-avasthāna), was born as a pheasant who saved a group of pheasants from the danger of fire, and while he was born as a deer, protected a group of deer from fire. This was also the place where the relics were divided after Nirvāṇa of our sTon-Pa (Śāstā). This is also the place where the wandering ascetic Rab-bZang (Subhadra) was subdued and where Lag-Na rDo-rJe (Vajrapāni) screamed after sTon-Pa (Śāstā)'s Mahāparinirvāṇa. Later the devotees constructed stūpas which are still in existence. When Vajrapāni screamed and rolled about on the ground, it turned into an uneven valley. Some Acharyas have seen it but they say it is the result of the rolling about of Hanumantha.

Bal-Yul (Nepal) is situated to the north of both Ser-sKya (Kapila) and Gyad (Malla) kingdoms. Close to it is Mukhampur/Khayi Grong-Khyer, with a big fort known as Mu-Phri-Tra-Vara/Dzal-Ngo'i-'Dun-Sā. It has been related by Lakshmi Nara Singha that one could see from there rDo-rJe-gDan (Vajrāsana), Vārānasi, Kapila, and Gyad (Malla) kingdoms. From there to the east is Videha¹². There is an old city known as Janākapur in Videha. In this place are said to be the mDa' (arrow) and gDzu (bow) of rGyal-Po Ra-Ma-Na (Rājā Ramana) as well as the fifteen fathom long rib of sage Drang-Srong Dzo-'thung (Ṛṣi Dadhica) who lived during the Tshe-Lo-dPag-Med (Measureless) era. Besides these, there are so many other wonderful things to be seen. It is heard from Gausans that when the kingdom was being ruled by

one Durgasahe, who was well-up in the art of war, there was war with Gorkha king of Nepal because of which the big war started from 14th Rab-Byung¹³ water-bird year upto fire-rat year between the Ferenki (English) and the Gorkhas. If one starts from the boundary of the king's palace in that country and walks for about two to three days to the east, one reaches again the old path which one had travelled already. There are two ways leading to Bal-Yul (Nepal), one already mentioned and the other a short-cut through Namkhu.

While refering to the mJad-Pa bChu-gNyis (twelve principal events in the life of the Śāstā), and in short, I have tried to give an account for the pilgrims' sake with the help of the guide book of Thang-Zing, the Sutras and discussion (I) had with Gausans.

NOTES

- 1 Bulletin of Tibetology 1984 : 2.
- 2 The famous Licchavi king of Vāisāli.
- 3 i. bSil-Ba (coolness); ii. Dzim-Pa (sweetness); iii. Yang-Pa (lightness/digestive); iv. 'Jam-Pa (softness); v. Dvangs-Pa (clearness); vi. Dri-Ma Med-Pa (freedom from impurities); vii. 'Thung-Na lTo-Bar 'Jam-Pa (soothing to the stomach); and viii. mGrin-Pa Sang-Dang bDe-Bao (cleansing and decongesting the throat).
- 4 Four-fold assembly: Bhikṣu, Bhikṣuṇī, Upāsaka and Upāsikā.
- 5 May be Bhārata (i.e. Mahābhārata).
- 6 i. 'Khor-Ba-'jig (Krakutsunda); ii. gSer-Thub (Kanakamuni); and iii. 'Od-Srungs (Kāśyapa).
- 7 Sahasrārāma, one thousand Vihāras.
- 8 Tshalam is interval period between breakfast and lunch.
- 9 i. sDug-bsNgal (Dukkha); ii. Kun-'Byung (Samudaya); iii. 'Gog-Pa (Nirodha); and iv. Lam (Mārga).
- 10 Vide P. No. 29
- 11 Vide P. No. 31
- 12 Mithila was capital of Videha.
- 13 A circle of sixty years called Rab-Byung in Tibetan.

NOTES & TOPICS

ON NAMES & TITLES

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

That was Juliet in exasperation.

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

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

Hugh Richardson is reading the past history of Tibet direct from inscriptions and manuscripts, much of which have not been fully deciphered so far. Such texts bristle not only with archaic and obsolete spellings and constructions but also names, surnames, titles and occupational designations which throw light on cultural and socio-economic history of Tibet. Many of these became defunct in later times while several new ones coined on foreign words, say from Sanskrit, would be conspicuous finds. The article “Names and Titles in Early Tibetan Records” published in this number of the *Bulletin*, in the opinion of the author, “is some meat for the specialist”—but how about “the rest of your readers”. The general reader, often described as lay reader, of this *Bulletin* has been evincing a wide, as opposed to narrow specialist, interest in the diverse contents of Tibetology and the editors of the *Bulletin* have no doubt that this article will be read by the general reader too. A note is appended

here to indicate the role of names and titles in the migration, conflict, co-existence or commingling of cultures in Inner Asia and India.

*

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

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

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

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

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

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

located much of the cultural as well as political history of Inner Asia will be recovered.

*

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

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

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

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

Some Indian titles found firm place in Tibetan language: the most well-known examples are Guru and Pandita. In Mongolia, Pandita became Bandita as Ratna (for Rin-po-chhe) became Erteni. During the first propagation, the Karmapa hierarch was given the Mongol title for abbot, master or priest, namely, Bakshi (Pakshi/Pashi). During the second propagation, the Gelugpa hierarch was called Ta-le (Dalai) and this remains the most historic loan-word in Tibetan language.

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

*

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

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