FURTHER FRAGMENTS FROM TUN HUANG

—HUGH E. RICHARDSON

In vol. II no. 1 of this Bulletin I examined a fragment which has been omitted from the end of the Annals section of Documents de Tun Hong (8) and the Historical, as well as the Historical, section of the Principalities etc. (pp. 80—87) and from the end of the Chronicle (p. 112). These fragments provoke more questions than they answer; but the historical and semi-historical documents from Tun Huang are of such rare value that every available sentence deserves to be studied.

The editor of THD state that the 5 lines which they omit from the beginning of the Principality section are much damaged and are separated from the main body of the text by a considerable interval. The later Mile Lalo has transcribed 3 of the lines in a note of her Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains du Tun Hong (LNV) and has quoted them at p. 145 of a note in Journal Asiatique 1959 (JA). As I have no photographic or other copy of the manuscript, I can refer to present to those 3 lines only. The Tibetan text as given by Mile Lalo is as follows; the attempted translation is mine.

(1) [spa guyen mtha’ bshad rabs la/ldi’i kongs bar na/fde sza’i gngang rgya/ma’yi la sna’ nas/’skyi sza’i’i d... (3), ...]/[de rgyi bshad snyan/ dags sza’i gnyu mgon ma’/mchims na yis phug dbar nas/mchims ... (3)...sha bzhang ma’/spa guyen mtha’ bshad/Nyvan on ma’/ ...]

"As for the lineage of those who of old were associated on the borders: in the midst of the snows of the De, the De lady Gang rgya ma’; in the valley of sKyi, the sKyi lady ’D...; in b’sheen mkar of Dags, the Dags lady Gnyu mgon ma’; in d’Ngul khar of the mChims country, the mChims lady Sha bzhang ma’. As for the associates on the four borders, their dominion, ..."

The several different versions of the lists of the Principalities on the territory of the Tibetan kings have been analyzed by Mile Lalo among her many memorable contributions to the study of the Tun Huang documents (JA 1964); I am concerned here only with some of the problems which this small fragment adds to an already complicated subject.
In some of the lists the princes, their capitals, consorts, and ministers are variously named. This fragment, which perhaps has no direct connection with the remainder of the text reproduced at pp. 90-93 of THD, mentions only the consorts and their residences. The form za's, rather than za, may strictly mean "in the capacity of consort" but I have translated it simply as though it were za.

Ile is one of the dynastic names of the kings of Tibet whose seat was in the Yarlung valley. The lady Ggong-sag-ma does not figure in any of Mille Lhou's lists but a Dge-lugs-pa is named in LINV 1239 and a lord of Ggaggar langa in Yarlung is named in LINV 1794 which Mille Lhou has edited in JA 1959.

The lady of Skyi, whose name is effaced here, appears in other lists simply as Skyi btsug gi btsun mo — the queen of the master of Skyi. The mChims lady, Sla-ibsang-ma is named in LINV 1049 but the place (Ngedkhor (Loud of Silver), which recalls Dge-ma in Zhangzhung, is not mentioned elsewhere.

Dage has been left for special mention. Bshon-mchok appears to be a place name; but in other lists the capital of Dage is called Shing-nal, Shing-nag, or Gru-bon. The name of the lady, here given as Gyim-pang, appears in other lists as Khung-pang. The reading Gyim turns once thoughts to two documents in An Ancient Folk Literature From N.E. Tibet by F.W. Thomas (AFL pp 16-19, 40-41) in which there are lengthy but obscure stories about a Gyim-po family. Where they lived is not clear but since names in the documents are given both in "the language of Phags-pa" and in "the language of Namdak" the Gyim-po must have had close connection with those two regions. Nam, which Thomas placed to the S.E. of the Konkur region, has also been identified with the Naan Chau kingdom (R.A. Stein, Deux Notules, JA 1961, note. p. 141). That is a long way from Dagepo; but the ruler may well have been supposed to have taken his consort from some other country. Gyim-po is also mentioned in a fragmentary inscription on the remains of a stone pillar from a site near Zha'ba'i Lhakhang which was the territory of the Muong clan (JRAS April 1953 pp. 10-11). There it is associated with ancestral tribal names connected with Eastern Tibet—Cho phyil; mla"; Tse kyi and Phyang-po (See AFL. 6, 30, 40; and R.A. Stein, Les Tribus Anciennes du Marché Sino-Tibétain, Paris 1955, pp. 52, 176, 157).

Although the lists of principalities contain at least one name—vi, Li-ga-Sa-shar—which it appears possible to place approximately in the early seventh century, other names go back to the legendary past and there is no way of fixing the lists in any particular period. That applies to the lady Gyim-pang in the fragment; but the syllable Gyim appears also in the names of persons who can be assigned to a historical setting.
For example, sDud Gyi-mtang rgyun-bu was a vassal of Ngags-zang of Tshi-kung, one of the nobles who combined to establish the grand-father and father of Stong-htsen sgam-po in power. sDud Gyi-mtang killed his wife for fear that she might betray the conspiracy in which he was engaged (THD p. 114, 115 and 116). These events can be put c. 350 A.D. Later, one sDud Gyin-rtsen rgyun-chang is recorded in the Tsin-Huang Annals as being sent in 364 to take charge of the administration of Zhang-chung (THD, pp 111, 112). He is presumably the same as sDud Gyi-mtang rgyun-chang who went to help the sister of the Tibetans king who had been married to Li gnyis rens, ruler of Zhang-chung, and was naively treated by him. The visit ended in the subjugation of Zhang-chung (THD, pp 115-117, and 111-115). Although the rulers' names do not agree exactly, that event is probably to be placed c. 364 about which time as the Annals record "Li-gnyis shu war destroyed and all Zhang-chung subjected." (THD pp 115 and 116). A later subjugation of Zhang-chung in 373-378 (THD p. 151) will not in became the affair took place during the late time of Stong-htsen sgam-po. If that is so, sDud Gyin-rtsen's experience in the affair of the princes may have been rewarded later by the appointment as governor. The name sDud, which has an un-Tibetan ring appears in the lists of principalities as that of a minister of sKyi (whose ruler's name was Trong-po). The capital of sKyi is given as Li-kang, a name associated with Na gtsang sNams. sDud also appears in the name of a monk apparently of non-Tibetan origin in the time of Khri De-dzung-brtse (LIV 197). The same may derive from same branch — perhaps an Kham one — of the widespread complex of people's name as Zhang-chung, whose western extension was in the kingdom of Li gnyis shu in the neighborhood of Lake Memsarvar. There would be nothing unusual in the use of such a person for dealing with others of similar racial origin. Another example can be seen in the activities of the cunning minister Spang-dor Tsu-ma who took part in the subjection of some Zhang-chung peoples to Stong-htsen sgam-po's father (THD II 44 and THD 150). The description of him as Khung-po identifies him as belonging to a Zhang-chung tribe; and the syllable spang appears in other Zhang-chung names e.g. Pa-sangs-rje spang-drin-bye (THD 144) and cf. sNga-brtan byang-tshugs rgyu-mtsho (THD 113). Spang-dor Tsu-ma was responsible for the fall of the great great Minister Zhang-sang of Myang, whom he supplanted c. 412 A.D. Associated with him in that coup was a man named Pa-tshab Gyin-po who was a vassal of Myang. The reason for Pa-tshab's hostility to his overlord can be seen in the events leading to the establishment of the Yar-long dynasty. The father of Myang Zhang-sang, a minister of a local prince probably in the upper valley of the Lhasa river, found himself on the losing side in warfare with the prince of Na-po and was subjected to the overlordship of one of the ministers of his conqueror. The minister, sMen-lus Lha-brtan, was married to a lady of Pa-tshab who proceeded to humiliate the new vassal. Myang, therefore, organized a
conspiracy against his new masters and in favour of the ruler of Yar-lung. The venture was unsuccessful. The prince of Ngag-po was signally defeated, and Muyan and his henchmen were made subjects of their one-time vassal Myang. A Pa-tsab was, therefore, ready for revenge when an opportunity presented itself to help in the destruction of Myang Zhang-sung. (See Bulletins ii. and iii. 1.)

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

(1) mgar mung po rje stag rnam d邦 pa tshab rgyal tse rgya la 'bras pa'i tshes pa tshab rgyal to tshis klu blangs po'i (3) nus la[ sman shi ni la 'da' kyung shi tsho' na stod lunga ming (3) gres bu ni sga' dbang rnas ni sem ni sdag ge bde.byed tshos ka ni che s (4) gngon 'di ni skor pung pa rgya rje ni bsdun lung thig [par myi ni skor pa rgya (5) chos sbyon [mgar mung po rje stag rnam byi sgyal brang [long ro la khyo d邦 [bsal chig rgya la (6) aphan blangs pa' [byar kun ni stag tse na] bya'i bsdun byi khyo. chig sbyon ni sde la dra nas (7) bsdun brang] neg le ni dang nag nas bya b'gros] (8) ... [ogs ni s (8) ... 'da' ni sa' ni bshad chen gong] 'droma s ni ni go 'phag stbyang sa s[ 'khang dam dang (9) ... nying stag pa rje ni bso'i bsam lung gnyos byed ... ni do r (10) ... ni sang la na] [lrong bu ni zhor brag [sde na rtsi ni bzar] 'dua ... (11) sgyal []

"When nGar Mung-po-rje Tso-rgan and Pa-tsab Gyel-to-re fled to China Pa-tsab sang this song."

Even if medicine has been put on the fch, leprosy remains ever after. When they are old, even if their mundfolk are wise, mother and daughter are pursued by sorrow. In great Tsong-ka.

The one whose lot it is to be ruler is Emperor of China. As for the man of Tibet*, in his lot, China……………is broken." The wife

* par myi=par myi ? referring to sPa-rgyal Bod.
of mGar Mang-po-rje stTag-rtsan, the lady of Cog-rgos... to China, spoke like this: 'From Nyen-car stTag-rtse, a dwelling of iron (or' in 'Cags 7). In China itself... from the net. ...sent smoke signals (or' sent signs of submission 7... From Meg-le gling-mar... (about one and half lines omitted). The lord stTag-rtsan and the Chinese Emperor bSam-lang, these two. Praised..."'

(the remainder is too obscure to attempt)

In spite of the damaged nature of the passage it can be seen to refer to the fall of the nGar family in 698/699 after some 50 years as effective rulers of Tibet. The Chief Minister at the time was nGar Khris-brin bTsan-brod, son of stong-brtan nGar-po's great minister, stong-rtsan yul-nang. In the Tibetan Annals Khris-brin alone is named as involved in the disaster to his family (THD 59) but from the T'ang Annals it is learnt that when his troops would not fight against the Tibetans king Khris-brin committed suicide together with many of his entourage. Other members of the family fled to China, among them a brother of Khris-brin named Tsonpo, and Mangpu-chi, the son of his elder brother. This can hardly be anyone but the nGar-po-rje stTag-rtsan of the fragment. In Dux Nield, referred to above, Professor Stein in a note, which deserves to be developed into an essay, quotes the T'ang Annals as recording the great honours given to a son of Khris-brin, named Louen Kong-ran, who submitted to China in 698 bringing with him 7000 tents of the 'A-cha. This too must be the Mang-po rje of the fragment. The influence of Khris-brin in the 'A-cha country is seen in many entries in THD and there is mention of other members of the nGar in that region including one nGar Mang-nyen; but the family, or clan, was too extensive to attempt to identify him with Mang-po-rje.

The name of the Chinese Emperor bSam-lang appears also in line 26 of the East face of the Lhasa Treaty Inscription (752 rje san lang... ) where it certainly refers to the Emperor Hsiao Tsung (713-756) though how the name came to be applied to him is not clear. Nor is it clear why that name is mentioned in connection with the flight of nGar Mang-po-rje which took place 14 years before his accession, during the reign of the usurping Empress Wu. Although her activities are known to the author of the Blue Annals, they have made no impression on contemporary Tibetan records; or it may be that by the time when the song came to be recorded, the memory of the Emperor who had sent the Chinese princess Mun-sheng as bride to Khris IDe-gling-brtan had faded most others.

The association of the Pa-tshab clan with the nGar is seen in (THD p 37) which records joint operations in 696 by nGar 'Brin-rtsan rtsang-ston and Pa-tshab rGyul-ston thon-po. A common interest
may have existed for some time. Pa-tshab, as has been seen, was associated with a minister of Nga-po who was hostile to Myang. The lists of principalities show that mGar were also ministers of Nga-po and although there is no evidence that mGar took an active part in opposing Myang and his protectors the ruler of Yar-lung, they were not among his supporters. Later, although there is nothing to suggest that mGar joined with Pa-tshab and Zus ie in the 1 ks against Myang-seng they were waiting in the wings and as soon as the new Zor-tse, who seems to have had no clairvoyment, was removed from the scene, mGar sTeg-rtsan was ready to take up a position similar to that formerly enjoyed by the Myang.

Returning to Mang-po-rje sTag-rtsan: it emerges from the fragment that his wife was from Cog-ro. This clan first appears in Tibetan history in the fall of Myang Zhang-seng, and therefore on the other side from Pa-tshab. It is not named in the lists of principalities nor among the legendary ministers of early Tibet and may, therefore, have been of very remote or of humble origin. On the fall of the mitar a lady of Cog-ro became the wife or mistress of the Tibetan king 'Dus-srong. Although allusion to that union in the chronic are obscure, it appears to have been distasteful to one Khe-rag ndo-smang who, after the death of 'Dus-srong, took part unsuccessfully in what must have been strife about the succession (THD 165, 167, and 400). Later histories state that a Cog-ro minister escorted the body of 'Dus-srong back to central Tibet from the east. Thereafter, the clan appears as active in 'Asha country and perhaps as being allied in marriage to the rular of the 'Asha (TITD II 8-10). It continued to take a prominent part in Tibetan affairs down to the death of Ral-pa-can who married a lady of this clan and among whose murderers was one Cog-ro Lanka-dril. The original home of the clan is uncertain but their association with the 'Asha and the description of the lady of Cog-ro as 'Ba', Cog-ro za suggests an eastern home, perhaps connected with the Tsawa's-clam marshes. It is unfortunate that the fragment lacks the one word which would have shown whether the lady of Cog-ro Cog-ro did (as one might expect) die or accompany her on his flight to China. As she and the lady associated with 'Dus-srong at about the same time are both described simply as Cog-ro za it is possible that they are one and the same and that the wife of mGar sTag-rtsan was either captured by the king or joined him willingly. The tone of Khe-rag's song -- calling her a "widow" and apparently abusive of her -- suggests the latter. At all events, the fragment makes it appear that re-examination of the connected songs in THD might be fruitful. The translators have missed the point that Khi rol bsa's (THD p 921) is the name of a noble of the 'Bro clan who was associated with the Cog-ro at the 'Asha court about the year 710 to 716 in connection with the arrival of the Chinese princess as bride to the Tibetan king. One further speculation about the Cog-ro lady of the fragment -- suggested
by the name of the Chinese king who reigned from 713 to 720. The two songs may relate to two different occasions and it might be that the lady of Log-re became the wife of mGAR Mang-po-shi after the death of 'Dus-brang; but this seems to be an improbable strain on the construction.

The allusion to Nyan-kar raises another crop of speculations. A place of that name was almost continuously the residence of the Tibetan king 'Dus-brang from the first year of his life in 677 until his sixteenth year (694) during which time the power of the mGar was supreme. Nyan-kar had been the residence of an earlier king, Mang-brang, in several years of his minority when mGAR Stong-rtsan yul-zung was in power. In the case of 'Dus-brang, hints of a movement against the authority of the mGAR, which culminated in their overthrow in 694, can be seen almost as soon as the king ceased to reside at Nyan-kar. Although the home of the mGAR appears from the Chronicle (THD 161-163) to have been Sti-pa and it was in Sti-pa that 'Dus-brang took possession of the property of Khri i dying after his fall, the power of the family at its peak must have extended over much of Tibet, and Nyan-kar may have been a mGAR strong hold in which the young king lived under their care. There were probably several places of that name but the Chronicle shows that Nyan-kar mi-yang-pa was in Ngas-po and it was of such principal that mGAR were originally ministers.

Of other names mentioned in the song of Log-re za, if long does not mean "from" it could refer to the fortress of Cag-rtsa on the Szechwan border. Meg-ri is mentioned several times in LINV in a context — the copying of religious books—which seems to place it on the eastern border.

The overthrow of the mGAR in 688-694 virtually eliminated them from Tibet. From Chinese records the slaughter of the clan and its associates seems to have been extensive. Others, as has been seen, took refuge in China where they became honoured and valuable officials. Professor Stein in his note referred to above identifies members of the exiled mGAR family in China of the borderlands in 793 and as late as 929; but in the records of the Tibetan kingdom the name does not figure again except for the appearance of a mGAR-brTang long as a minor official (brTang gi dge-pa) in LINV ap. 1949. There are no more mGAR ministers in the Annals, nor among the witnesses to the bka'-rungs of Khri i-brang-brtsan or to the Bhasa treaty of 822. Later histories, it is true, sometimes mention mGAR in connection with the connection of Shab-wa but this is not convincing without any contemporary support. ti-bshad does not mention the name at all, while the reference in rdzogs-pa bka'-rungs (f. 36) is curious; and no mGAR figures in the description of the military organization of Tibet in the bral-po bka'-rungs.

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From the Xith century onwards religious personages with the same mGar, or more usually 'Gar, are not infrequent. Noble families also claimed descent from that clan, in particular the Tshal-pa, the RLang-ron from which the Phug-mo-gru dynasty originated - and the princes of sDe-dge. Those genealogies, which are full of obvious legend, do not refer to 'Gar-po but assign to the mGar a divine of heroic origin usually of indeterminate location but in the case of the sDe-dge legend apparently in the region of Tshchenku.

It is often assumed that mGar and 'Gar are simply alternative spellings. If so, the form 'Gar, which is more frequent in later works, may have been adopted to avoid confusion with the despised caste of blacksmiths (gar-la); but might mGar indicate that the clan did have a remote ancestral connection with that craft? Professor Stein tends to dismiss this because the claim is not made by Tibetan writers, who love that sort of etymology. Nevertheless, the possibility may be allowed to remain open. In the earliest documents the name is invariably written mGar. The occurrence of 'Gar' in the Annals of Khota, quoted by Professor Stein with reference to TLTD, is not from a Tun Huang site but from a late xylograph and the recent edition by Mr Emmenick shows that two out of four of the available xylograph versions read mGar. Although the early Tibetans certainly had the services of skilled metal workers, there is no suggestion that smiths were then regarded either with the aversion which became their lot later in Tibet or with the awe that in some other countries surrounded the worker in metal. Nor, for that matter, is there any hint of special treatment of those other occupations which later appear as Outcasts in Tibet - butchers, potters, cutters-up of dead bodies. But the existence of a superior attitude towards smiths in Central Asia is seen in the special reputation of the Turks as blacksmiths and their subjection in that capacity to their Juan Juan overlords (Chavannes, Documents sur les Turcs Occidentaux p. 227) And it may be noted, for what it is worth, that when the ruler of Ningpo who was the overlord of the mGar, was defeated his son fled to the Turks.

Even though the mGar family ceased to count for anything in the affairs of the early kingdom the well merited fame of their former greatness and achievements has never been forgotten. mGar stong yul-zung is still the favourite hero of store drams it is remarkable how much space and what favourable treatment are given to the mGar in the Tun Huang Chronicle which is principally a eulogy of the Tibetan kings whose authority the mGar overrode for a period. Two rather dubious members of the family are introduced into the lists of early ministers (THD 150), stong-ron yul-zung is suitably honoured (pp 150-160) but it is Khi-brin bran-brod who gets the most praise. It is true that the elevation of the chieftain of the chieftain is mentioned (p 149) and Tson-grong, the son of stong-ron, of triumph after he had overthrown the
Khri-bring is given full value; but the voice of the critic Kh-ragged is also heard even if indirectly (pp. 161-162) and one long section (pp. 167-169) is devoted to the skill and courage of Khri-bring in debate and in war. The Tibetans of that day appear to have enjoyed, without partisan feelings, the achievements of any great man. In later histories there is no mention of the fall of the mGar; only the good is remembered.

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