FURTHER FRAGMENTS FROM TUN HUANG
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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 Huang relatifs à l’Histoire du Tibet, Basset, Thomas and Toussaint, 1946 (THD). The passages to which I now draw attention come from the beginning of the short section on Ancient Principalities etc. (pp. 96-97) 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 These fragments provoke more questions than they answer; but the historical and semi-historical documents from Tun Huang are of such rare value that every available sentence deserves to be studied.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 editors of THD state that the 5 lines which they omit from the beginning of the Principalities section are much damaged and are separated from the main body of the text by a considerable interval. The late Mlle Lalou has transliterated 3 of the lines in no. 2186 of her Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Tun Huang (LINVY) and has quoted them at p. 165 of an article in Journal Asiatique 1959 (JA). As I have no photographic or other copy of the ms I can refer at present to those 3 lines only. The Tibetan text as given by Mlle Lalou is as follows; the attempted translation is mine.

(1) [spa goyen mtha' 'babs rabs la][ldi' gongs bar nas te'za'i' gang raq ma/kyi la mda' nas skyi za'i 'd . . . (3), . . . ][dags kyi bhen mkhar na/ dags za'i gsum phang ma'/mchims yel gbi bshad khor nas/mchims . . . (3)]. . .sha tshang ma' ][guyen ni rna' 'khis ][sho ma

“As for the lineage of those who of old were associates on the four borders: in the midst of the snows of the IDE, the IDE lady Gang ral ma; in the valley of ski, the ski lady ‘D. . . ; in bhen mkhar of Dags, the Dags lady Gyim phang ma; in d’Ngul khor of the mChims country, the mChims lady Sha tshang ma. . . . As for the associates on the four borders, their dominion . . . .”

The several different versions of the lists of principalities bordering on the territory of the Tibetan kings have been analysed by Mlle Lalou among her many memorable contributions to the study of the Tun Huang documents (JA 1962); 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. 86-88 of THD, mentions only the consorts and their residences. The form za’i, rather than za, may strictly mean "in the capacity of consort" but I have translated it simply as though it were za.

Lhe is one of the dynastic names of the kings of Tibet whose seat was in the Yarlung valley. The lady Gang-rag-ma does not figure in any of Mlle Lalou’s lists but a lady De-rgug-log-ker is named in LNV 1239 and a lord of Ga-gar langa in Yarlung is named in LNV 1285 which Mlle Lalou has edited in JA 1959.

The lady of skyi, whose name is effaced here, appears in other lists simply as skyi bsdug gi btsun mo — the queen of the master of skyi. The mChims lady, Sha-ibsang-ma is named in LNV 1039 but the place (Nged khor (Loud of Silver), which recalls d’Ngul-anakar in Zhangzhung, is not mentioned elsewhere.

Dago has been left for special mention. Bhon-mikar appears to be a place name; but in other lists the capital of Dago is called Shing-nad, Shing-nag, or Gru-bon. The name of the lady, here given as Gyi-ma-pa, appears in other lists as Khung-phantse. The reading Gyim-pa turns once thoughts to two documents in An Ancient Folk Literature from N.E. Tibet by J. 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 skor-rgyal Tibet" and in "the language of Nam-tsi" the Gyim-pa must have had close connection with those two regions. Nam, which Thomas placed to the S.E. of the Kokonor region, has also been identified with the Nao Chao kingdom (R. A. Stein, Deux Notules, JA 1894, 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 Zhwa’i Lhakhang which was the territory of the Muong clan (JRAS April 1951 pp. 10-11). There it is associated with ancestral tribal names connected with Eastern Tibet—Cho phyi; mila’; Tse 7 and Phug-po (See AFL. 8, 50, 41; and R. A. Stein, Les Tribus Anciennes des Marchés Sino-Tibétains, Paris 1956, pp. 51,71,16,57).

Although the lists of principalities contain at least one name—viu. Liig Sza-a-shir—which it appears possible to place approximately in the early seventh century, other names go back to the legendary past and there is no way of fixing the lists in any particular period. That applies to the lady Gyim-pang in the fragment; but the syllable Gyim appears also in the names of persons who can be assigned to a historical setting.
For example, sPug Gyim-tang mung-bu was a vassal of Nag-steg of Tsho-pa-yang, one of the nobles who combined to establish the grand-father and father of Srong-brtan sGam-po in power. sPug Gyim-tang killed his wife for fear that she might betray the conspiracy in which he was engaged (THD 104, 105), and 106). These events can be put c. 58 to A.D. Later, one sPug Gyim-brtan mung-chang is recorded in the Tan-huang Annals as being sent in 841 to take charge of the administration of Zhang-chung (THD pp. 111, 112). He is presumably the same as sPug Gyim-tsang mung-ching who went to help the sister of the Tibetan king who had been married to Lig mu rhya, ruler of Zhang-zhung, and was nally treated by him. The visit ended in the subjugation of Zhang-zung (THD pp. 115-117, and 118-118). Although the rulers' names do not agree exactly, that event is probably to be placed in 841 about which time as the Annals record "Lig mu yashar was destroyed and all Zhang-zung subdued." (THD pp. 117 and 118). A later subjugation of Zhang-zung in 873-858 (THD p. 117) will not in become the affair took place during the life time of Srong-brtan sGam-po. If that is so, sPug Gyim-brtan's experiences in the affairs of the princess may have been rewarded later by the appointment as governor. The name sPug, which has an un-Tibetan ring appears in the lists of principalities as that of a minister of sKyi (whose ruler's name was mung-po). The capital of sKyi is given as Lhag, a name associated with Nao Chao (sNam). sPug also appears in the name of a monk apparently of non-Tibetan origin in the time of Khri De-chung-brtan (LIV 495). The same may derive from the same branch — perhaps an eastern one — of the widespread complex of peoples known as Zhang-zung, whose western extension was in the kingdom of Lig mu yashar in the neighborhood of Lake Mamtsetar. 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 coming minister Srong-sol dsam-bzhin who took part in the subjugation of some Zhang-zung peoples to Srong-brtan sGam-po's father (THDD II 55 and THD 150). The description of him as Khung-po identifies him as belonging to a Zhang-zung tribe; and the syllable sPung appears in other Zhang-chung names e.g., Ra-sangs rje srong-rye rgyung (THD 15) and of sNyin-shar sgyang ra rgyung (THD 11). Srong-sol Zang-po was responsible for the fall of the great great minister Zhang-sang of Myang, whom he supplanted c. 612 A.D. Associated with him in that coup was a man named Pa-tshab sGam-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 Ye-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 Ngag-po and was subjected to the overlordship of one of the ministers of his conqueror. The minister, Ngyis 'jigsang, was married to sLadu 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 Ngom-po was signally defeated; and Muyan and his hely were made subjects of their one-time vassal Myang. A Pa-tshab was, therefore, ready for revenge when an opportunity presented itself to help in the destruction of Myang Zhung-sangu. (See Bulletins II. 1 and II. 3). 

Mention of a person with the possibly eastern name of Gyum-po, who was also a member of the Pa-tshab 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 Chronicle style, a historical incident being illustrated by songs which are packed with allusion and aphorisms in language very similar to much of AFL. The transcription which follows has been revised slightly on the basis of a photostat of the 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 fies 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 mang po rje stag trun dang pa tshab rgyal tser rgya la lhos pa'i theb/ pa tshab rgyal te tshis khra blang po/ [...] na la/ sman shing ni la 'da yung/ sha lika' ni slo yung na mng (3) ni/ gres ba ni spad blang na/ mta ser ni sng gye btyed/ trong ba ni che (4) /’thob ni shel rgya rje ni tham lang rig/ [par mnyi ni skal pa ru rgya/ (3) /chag po/ mgar mang po rje/ stag trun byi choth brang/ long ra tsho chung dang/ drak chog rgya la (6) /’aich blang pa/ [bya kyi ni stod trun na/ lhaa byi ni khro/ chog rgya ni se lo dra na (7) /.../ dud tsha brang/ neg te ni sng lang/ nat na/ [ger gyi ni sha la 'dron/ [.../ oga ni (8) /.../ 'da la/ ni sin la chen gong/ [’dron sin ni bo stod btying na/ [sng dang sng (6) /[mng mnyal/ je pho ni stod trun dang/ sgru rje ni tham lang/ guyin bsdv/ [.../ do re (10)/ ni sang gsa na/ 'trem bu ni chu brag te/ na et (11) iyo/ [.../ iyo/ [3.]

"When mGar Mang-po-rje sTog-trun and Pa-tshab Gyal-to-re/ fded to China Pa-tshab sang this song. "

Even if medicine has been put on the flesh, leprosy remains ever after. When they are old, even if their mouthfolk are wise, mother and daughter are pursued by sorrow. In great Tsongka, 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 mnyi-skun-mnyi ? referring to sPu-rgyal Bod,
of mGar Mang-po-rljø Tag-rtsen, the lady of Cang-nu, to China, spoke like this: "From Nyen-kar Tag-rtse, a dwelling of iron (or iron) in iCaps 3). In China itself ... from the net. .......... sent smoke signals (or ') sent signs of submission 72. From Meg-le gang-mar. (about one and half lines omitted). The lord Tag-rtse and the Chinese Emperor bSam-lang, these two. Praise. .........." (the remainder is too obscure to attempt)

In spite of the damaged nature of the passage it can be seen to refer to the fall of the mGar family in 698/699 after some 50 years as effective rulers of Tibet. The Chief Minister at the time was mGar Khri-brjng bTsal-po, son of bShong-brtan mGar-po's great minister, bStong-rtse gsal-bzang. In the Tibetan Annals Khri-brjng alone is named as involved in the disaster to his family (THD 29) but from the T'ang Annals it is learnt that when his troops would not fight against the Tibe-
tan king Khri-brjng committed suicide together with many of his en-
tourage. Other members of the family fled to China, among them a brother of Khri-brjng named Tsanpo, and Mangpu-chich, the son of his elder brother. This can hardly be anyone but the mGar-po-rljø Tag-rtsen of the fragment. In Dzur Nuden, referred to above, Professor Stein in a note, which deserves to be developed into an essay, quotes the T'ang Annals as recording the great honours given to a son of Khri-
brjng, named Lozen Kong-jen, who submitted to China in 698 bringing with him 7000 tents of the 'A-za.' This too must be the Mang-po rljø of the fragment. The influence of Khri-brjng in the 'A-za country is seen in many entries in THD and there is mention of other members of the mGar in that region including one mGar Mang-nyen; but the family, or clan, was too extensive to attempt to identify him with Mang-
po-rljø.

The name of the Chinese Emperor bSam-lang appears also in line 26 of the East face of the Lhaha Treaty Inscription (572 rje xam 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 mGar Mang-po-rljø 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 contem-
porary 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 Man-sheng as bride to Khri lDe-brjng-brtan had eluded most others.

The association of the Pa-tshab clan with the mGar is seen in (THD p 37) which records joint operations in 696 by mGar 'Brjng-rtse gSalang-rtson and Pa-tshab rGyal-ston thon-po. A common interest
may have existed for some time. Pa-tshab, it has been seen, was associated with a minister of Nga-po who was hostile to Myang. The lists of principalities show that mGor were also ministers of Nga-po and although there is no evidence that mGar took an active part in opposing Myang and his protege the ruler of Yar-lung, they were not among his supporters. Later, although there is nothing to suggest that mGar joined with Pa-tshab and Zu-tse in the joint against Myang-sung, they were: waiting in the wings and as soon as the alien Zu-tse, who seems to have had no clair to support him, was removed from the scene, mGar sTag-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. The clan first appears in Tibetan history as sharing in the fall of Myang Zhang-sang, 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 mixed a lady of Cog-ro became the wife or mistress of the Tibetan king 'Dus-srong. Although allusions to that union in the Chronic are obscure, it appears to have been distasteful to one Khe-rag mdo-smo who, after the death of 'Dus-srong, took part unsuccessfully in what must have been strife about the succession (THD 155, 161, and 40). 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 ruler of the 'A-sha (THD II 81). It continued to take a prominent part in Tibetan affairs down to the death of Ra-lpa-can who married a lady of that clan and among whose murderers was one Cog-ro Lha-thon. The original home of the clan is uncertain but their association with the 'A-sha and the description of the lady of Cog-ro as 'Ba', Cog-ro za suggests an eastern home, perhaps connected with the Tsuwa'i-chu narrows. It is unfortunate that the fragment lacks the one word which would have shown whether the lady of Cog-ro did (as one might expect) not accompany her on his flight to China. As she and the lady associated with 'Dus-srong at about the same time are both described simply as 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 rgya's (THD p 921) is the name of a noble of the 'Bro clan who was associated with the Cog-ro at the 'A-sha court about the year 710 to 730 in connection with the arrival of the Chinese princess as bride to the Tibetan king. One further speculation about the Cog-ro lady of the fragment — suggested
by the name of the Chinese king who reigned from 713 to 756. The two songs may relate to two different occasions and it might be that the lady of Log-za became the wife of mGar Mang-po-le after the death of ‘Dus-arong; but this seems to be an improbable strain on the construction.

The allusion to Nyen-kar raises another crop of speculations. A place of that name was almost continuously the residence of the Tibetan king ‘Dus-arong from the first year of his life in 673 until his sixteenth year (693) during which time the power of the mGar was supreme. Nyen-kar had been the residence of an earlier king, Mang-arong, in several years of his minority when mGar sTsong-btsan yul-zung was in power. In the case of ‘Dus-arong, hints of a movement against the authority of the mGar, which culminated in their overthrow in 698, can be seen almost as soon as the king ceased to reside at Nyen-kar. Although the home of the mGar appears from the Chronicle (TSH 161-163) to have been ‘lha-pa and it was in Phe-sog that ‘Dus-arong took possession of the property of Khris lha ‘bring after his fall, the power of the family at its peak must have extended over much of Tibet and Nyen-kar may have been a mGar strong hold in which the young King lived under their care. There were probably several places of that name but the Chronicle shows that Nyen-kar nyi-ming pa was in Ngas-po and it was of that principality that mGar were originally ministers.

Of other names mentioned in the song of Cog-za za, if lha-lag does not mean “fortress” it could refer to the fortress of Cog-rtses on the Szechwan border. Meg-le is mentioned several times in LINV in a context — the copying of religious books—which seems to place it on the eastern border.

The overlord of the mGar in 698/699 virtually eliminated them from Tibet. From Chinese records we know that the clan and its associates seem to have been extensive. Others, as has been seen, took refuge in China where they became honored 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 979; but in the records of the Tibetan kingdom the name does not figure again except for the appearance of a mGar-brTan kong as a minor official (bsa’i ye’gyel pa) in LINV pp. 193-99. There are no more mGar ministers in the Annals, nor among the witnesses to the bsad-’dags of Khris Wo-arong-brtan or to the Pasha treaty of 822. Later histories, it is true, sometimes mention mGar in connection with the connection of Dzam-wa; but this is not convincing without any contemporary support. sba-lchos does not mention the name at all, while the reference in sGyal-pa khyi-chang (f. 16) is cursory; and no mGar figures in the description of the military organization of Tibet in the Men-po khyi-chang.
From the 13th 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 Lang-don from which the Phig-mo-gru dynasty originated, and the princes of dredge. Those genealogies, which are full of obvious legend, do not refer to tig-po but assign to the mGar a divine of heroic origin usually of indeterminate location but in case of the dredge legend apparently in the region of Tuchienku.

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-ha); but might not mGar indicate that the clan did have a remote ancestral connection with that craft? Professor Stein tends to dismiss this because the claim is not made by Tibetan writers, who love that sort of etymology. Nevertheless, the possibility may be allowed to remain open. In the earliest documents the name is invariably written mGar. The occurrence of 'Gar' in the Annals of Khotan, quoted by Professor Stein with reference to TLTD, is not from a Tun Huang at but from a later xylograph and the recent edition by Mr Emmerick shows that two out of four of the available xylograph versions read mGar. Although the early Tibetans certainly had the services of skilled metal workers, there is no suggestion that smiths were then regarded either with the aversion which became their lot later in Tibet or with the awe that in some other countries surrounded the worker in metal. Nor, for that matter, is there any hint of special treatment of those other occupations which later appear as 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 (Cheevers, Documents sur le Turfan Occidental p. 172) And it may be noted, for what it is worth, that when the ruler of Nga-po who was the overlord of the mGar, was defeated his son fled to the Turks.

Even though the mGar family ceased to count for anything in the affairs of the early kingdom the well merited fame of their former greatness and achievements has never been forgotten. mGar 'jong Yul-zung is still the favourite hero of store dramas 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 130), stong-'ran yul-zung is suitably honoured (pp 159-160) but it is Khi-'bring lha-brag who gets the most praise. It is true that the chastisement of the chieftain minister is mentioned (p 149) and 'Don-'rong's song of triumph after he had overthrown
Khri-bring is given full value; but the voice of the critic Khe-rgyal 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, Ph-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 Ph-tshab occurs also in later religious histories and in recent times it has been held that the clan was connected with Phu-shon between Gyantse and Shigatse. That would not necessarily hold good for ancient times; and Professor Thomas identifies then 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 Shyam-thang de-lings. Whether the combination of the names Ph-tshab and Gyim-po, mentioned above, points to an eastern origin or not, the early legend and the Tun Hung Annals indicate clearly the extent to which the peoples and affairs of the eastern and north-eastern borders barked in the story of the Tibetan kingdom. The persistence with which folk-memory preserved that traditions is shown by the determination with which any family that later attained to greatness traced its origin and ancestry to that direction.